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G. D. SANZHEYEV

THE MODERN MONGOLIAN LANGUAGE

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LANGUAGES OF ASIA AND AFRICA

Under the General Editorship of
prof G P. SERDYUCHENKO

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"The Modern Mongolian Language" by the well-known Soviet linguist G.D. Sanzheyev is an outline of the structure of Modern Mongolian (phonetics, morphology, syntax and vocabulary). The author pays special attention to the growth and development of the Mongolian vocabulary. A Mongolian text with a lexical and grammatical commentary is appended.

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EDITOR'S NOTE

The "Languages of Asia and Africa" series was founded in 1959 by the late Prof. G.P. Serdyuchenko, under whose general supervision more than 75 language monographs were published. These publications met with considerable interest among the Soviet and foreign readers.

After Prof. G.P. Serdyuchenko's death the publication of the series continued under the Editorial Board.

The monographs comprising the series describe either the living languages of African and Asian countries or the languages of the past which played an important historical role in the life and culture of the peoples of the East.

The series is intended for a broad circle of linguists and historians—research workers and postgraduate students as well as lecturers and undergraduates of the Oriental, philological and historical departments of the universities. The monographs may be useful for readers interested in general linguistics or studying Oriental languages.

Below we give the full list of all monographs which appeared up to date.

1959

Н.В. Юшманов, Амхарский язык.
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1960

М.С. Андронов, Тамильский язык.
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(L.N. Dorofeyeva, The Farsi-Kabuli Language).

Г.А. Зограф, Языки Индии, Пакистана, Цейлона и Непала.
(G.A. Zograph, The Languages of India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Nepal).

В.В. Иванов, В.Н. Топоров, Санскрит.
(V.V. Ivanov, V.N. Toporov, Sanskrit).

Т.Е. Катенина, Язык хинди.
(T.Y. Katenina, Hindi).

Ю.Н. Мазур, Корейский язык.
(Y.N. Mazur, The Korean Language).

Е.Н. Мячина, Язык суахили.
(Y.N. Myachina, The Swahili Language).

Э.Н. Наджип, Современный уйгурский язык.
(E.N. Nadzhip, The Modern Uigur Language).

В.М. Насилов, Язык орхоно-енисейских памятников.
(V.M. Nasilov, The Language of the Orkhon-Yenisei Inscriptions).

З.Н. Петруничева, Язык телугу.
(Z.N. Petrunicheva, The Telugu Language).

Ю.А. Рубинчик, Современный персидский язык.
(Y.A. Rubinchik, The Modern Persian Language).

Г.Д. Санжеев, Современный монгольский язык.
(G.D. Sanzheyev, The Modern Mongolian Language).

М.А. Смирнова, Язык хауса.
(M.A. Smirnova, The Hausa Language).

В.М. Солнцев, Ю.К. Лекомцев, Т.Т. Мхитарян, И.И. Глебова, Вьетнамский язык.
(V.M. Solntsev, Y.K. Lekomtsev, T.T. Mhitaryan, I.I. Glebova, The Vietnamese Language).

А.С. Тесёлкин, Н.Ф. Алиева, Индонезийский язык.
(A.S. Tesyolkin, N.F. Aliyeva, Bahasa Indonesia).

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1961

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1962

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(V. Krupa, The Maori Language).

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/V.P. Starinin, The Ethiopian (Amharic) Language/.

В.В. Шеворошкин, Лидийский язык.
(V.V. Shevoroshkin, The Lydian Language).

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С.Х. Кямилев, Марокканский диалект арабского языка.
(S.Kh. Kyamilev, The Moroccan Dialect of Arabic).

Е.В. Пузицкий, Качинский язык (язык чжингпхо).
/Y.V. Puzitsky, The Kachin (Chingpho) Language/.

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(I.M. Dunayevskaya, The Hieroglyphic Hittite Language).

С.А. Миронов, Язык африкаанс.
(S.A. Mironov, Afrikaans).

Т.Н. Пахалина, Памирские языки.
(T.N. Pakhalina, The Pamir Languages).

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Г.А. Климов, Д.И. Эдельман, Язык бурушаски.
(G.A. Klimov, D.I. Edelman, The Burushaski Language).

Ю.М. Парфионович, Тибетский письменный язык.
(Y.M. Parfionovich, The Written Tibetan Language).

Ю.А. Смирнов, Язык ленди.
(Y.A. Smirnov, The Lahndi Language).

1971

М.С. Андронов, Язык брауи.
(M.S. Andronov, The Brahui Language).

Б.А. Захарьин, Д.И. Эдельман, Язык кашмири.
(B.A. Zakharyin, D.I. Edelman, The Kashmiri Language).

Е.Г. Титов, Современный амхарский язык.
(Y.G. Titov, The Modern Amharic Language).

1972

Л.Н. Морев, А.А. Москалев, Ю.Я. Плам, Лаосский язык.
(L.N. Morev, A.A. Moskalyov, Y.Y. Plam, The Laotian Language).

Н.А. Сыромятников, Древнеяпонский язык.
(N.A. Syromyatnikov, The Old Japanese Language).

The Editorial Board has undertaken the publication of the series in English. So far the following essays have appeared:

1965

M.S. Andronov, The Tamil Language.
I.M. Diakonoff, Semito-Hamitic Languages.

1966

Y.A. Gorgoniyev, The Khmer Language.

1967

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S.N. Sokolov, The Avestan Language.

1968

Viktor Krupa, The Maori Language.

1970

M.S. Andronov, Dravidian Languages.

1971

E. Nadzhip, Modern Uigur.
Y.A. Rubinchik, The Modern Persian Language.
R.P. Yegorova, The Sindhi Language.

1973

A.A. Lipin. The Akkadian Language.

We beg readers to address their wishes and criticisms to: Editorial Board of "Languages of Asia and Africa", Central Department of Oriental Literature, "Nauka" Publishing House, 2 Armyansky Pereulok, Moscow, U.S.S.R.

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INTRODUCTION

Today the Mongolian languages are generally considered to be most closely related to the Turkic languages, with which they go back to the Common Proto-Mongolo-Turkic language. The latter, in its turn, is presumed to have descended from the hypothetically assumed Proto-Altaic language, from which there may also have come the Common Proto-Tungus language believed to be the ancestor of the modern Tungus-Manchu languages. Thus, the wide spread hypothesis is that modern Mongolian languages, and the Turkic and Tungus-Manchu languages, constitute the Altaic language family.[1]

The modern Mongolian languages developed from various ancient dialects of the one-time single Mongolian language as a result of the fact that, after the fall of the empire of Genghiz Khan and his successors, separate groups of the once monolithic Mongolian people (or numerous tribal confederations) scattered over the vast expanses of Asia. As they settled in far-flung geographic areas lying between the Yellow River and the Volga, the different ethnic groups of Mongols gradually lost all contacts; they had failed to create a common literary language by that time. In this way various modern Mongolian languages gradually came into being.[2] The process of their formation took place in a comparatively recent period, approximately the 14th-16th centuries.

[1] See: B.Y. Vladimirtsov, *Sravnitelnaya grammatika mongolskogo pismennogo yazyka i khalkhaskogo narechiya*, Leningrad, 1929, pp.44-47 .

[2] For more detail, see: G.D. Sanzheyev, *Sravnitelnaya grammatika mongolskikh yazykov*, vol. 1, Moscow, 1953, pp. 5-14.

At present the following Mongolian languages, studied to a lesser or greater degree, are known:

(1) Buriat, spoken in the Buriat Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, and the Irkutsk and Chita Regions of the Russian Federation; (2) Oirat, or Kalmuck, used by the bulk of the population of the Kalmuck[1] A.S.S.R. and isolated groups of Oirats in the People's Republic of China (Sinkiang-Uigur Autonomous Region, etc.), in the Mongolian People's Republic (Kobdo Aimak), in the vicinity of the town of Przhevalsk (Kirghiz S.S.R.) and in Orenburg Region (Russian Federation); (3) Dagur, spoken in the People's Republic of China (Helungkiang Province and the Autonomous Region of Inner Mongolia); (4) Monguor, spoken by the Monguors living in the People's Republic of China (Ch'inghai and Kansu Provinces, etc.); (5) Tung-hsiang, used in the People's Republic of China (Kansu Province); (6) Pao-an, spoken by the few Mongols living in Kansu and Ch'inghai Provinces; (7) Moghol, spoken in some areas of Afghanistan, and, finally, (8) Mongolian, which is the subject of the present work.

Mongolian is the language spoken by the bulk of the population of the Mongolian People's Republic (the Khalkhas), as well as by the Mongolian ethnic groups in the Autonomous Region of Inner Mongolia and in some other areas of the People's Republic of China—approximately 2.5 million speakers in all.

Dialectological studies of the Mongolian language have not been exhaustive. It has been established that Mongolian comprises two groups of dialects—"mellow", spoken mainly in Inner Mongolia, and "strident", used chiefly in the Mongolian People's Republic. The basic differences between these groups of dialects are the following: in the "strident" dialects, e.g. Khalkha, Darkhat and some others, (1) there are both the "strident" and the "mellow" affricates *dz*, *dž*, *ts* and *č*, (2) the Old Mongolian *i* undergoes a vowel shift, (3) non-initial syllables containing short vowels are apocopated, (4) the comitative in *-lā* is lacking, (5) the second form of the conditional verbal participle in *-qalā* is likewise lacking; in the "mellow" dialects, e.g. Urdus, Chakhar, etc.,

(1) only the mellow affricates *dž* and *č* are present, (2) there is a shift in the vowel *i* in a relatively small number of cases, (3) non-initial syllables containing short vowels are not apocopated, (4) the comitative in *-lā* is present, (5) the second form of the conditional participle in *-qalā* < *xula* is preserved.

The literary language of the Mongols first emerged at the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th centuries; the dialectal basis of this language remains unknown. Students of Mongolian distinguish three periods in the development of Written Mongolian.

During the first period, which ended by the late 13th century, writing was chiefly used for the needs of the government and administration, although there also existed works of a historical narrative nature, e.g. *The Secret History of the Mongols*.

The second period embraced the 14th-16th centuries, when written Mongolian, while serving the purposes of official correspondence, was also widely used for the translation of various Buddhist works, primarily from Tibetan, which led to the introduction of numerous loan-words into the Mongolian vocabulary (see the section "Vocabulary" in this work). During these two periods the Uigur alphabet assimilated by the Mongols at the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century remained practically unchanged, although the style of the script (the shape of the letters) underwent slight alterations.

The third period, which was of great importance to the devolopment of Written Mongolian, began approximately in the late 16th century and was marked by considerable changes in the language itself and in the alphabet. Old words and grammatical forms, which had become incomprehensible, were replaced by new ones, and numerous dialectal elements were incorporated into the vocabulary and grammar. Of the words borrowed from other languages, those taken from Tibetan played a particularly important part. The script, too, underwent some modifications: certain symbols were specified, additional symbols were introduced to transliterate loan-words, etc. As a result Ancient Written Mongolian acquired its traditional shape which is generally referrred to as Classical

Mongolian. It was in use in the Mongolian People's Republic up to 1945 (in the Buriat A.S.S.R., up to 1931), and it is still used in Inner Mongolia. By the beginning of this period in the development of Ancient Written Mongolian, the modern Mongolian languages evolved from the dialects of the formerly common Mongolian language, had diverged noticeably from one another, and the modern phonemic and grammatical system began to emerge in these incipient languages and dialects. In the social and economic sphere, feudalism was consolidated during this period, and the Buddhist clergy gained in strength. It was at that time that Ancient Written Mongolian gradually became the language of the Mongols proper, while to the other Mongolian ethnic groups (the Buriats, Oirats, etc.) it began to be foreign, although comprehensible.

During the third period Ancient Written Mongolian gradually changed in accordance with the changes in the living speech, accumalating elements of the latter and shedding obsolete forms. It could thus serve the needs of written communication between the speakers of living Mongolian. Ancient Written Mongolian has therefore never been an archaic language for the Mongols—unlike, for example, the language of the Orkhon-Yeniseian inscriptions for the modern Turkic peoples.

The ancient Mongolian alphabet, borrowed by the Mongols from the Uigurs at the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th centuries, goes back to the Sogdian alphabet. It contains a number of homonymous characters. Thus, the consonants *d* and *t*, *γ* and *χ* (in words containing front vowels), *č* and *ts*, *dz* and *dž*, and the vowels *a* and *e*, *o* and *y*, *ō*, and *ū* are designated respectively by the same letters. This has always created difficulties in the use of the ancient Mongolian script, but at the same time there are certain advantages seeing that Mongolian is multi-dialectal. Under such conditions, the question of the dialectal basis of the literary language never arose, and the dialect of a written work can be determined only by its lexical and grammatical elements (features of style did not depend on the dialects,

since they derived from the peculiarities of the different literary schools which developed in monasteries and local administrative offices). The Mongols wrote (and they still do in Inner Mongolia) more or less uniformly, but pronounced the written text differently, in accordance with the phonetic norms of the dialects. This led the government of the Mongolian People's Republic to introduce a new alphabet in 1941, which was based on the Cyrillic alphabet and rendered more precisely the phonetic peculiarities of Modern Mongolian. As a form of the national language of the Mongolian people, modern literary Mongolian emerged on the basis of the Khalkha dialect. This is spoken by the bulk of the population of the Mongolian People's Republic and ranks first among the local Mongolian dialects. In this way the centuries-old gap between the writing and the living speech has been closed.

The new Mongolian alphabet consists of the following 35 letters: *Аа, Бб, Вв, Гг, Дд, Ее, Ёё, Жж, Зз, Ии, Йй, Кк, Лл, Мм, Нн, Оо, Өө, Пп, Рр, Сс, Тт, Уу, Үү, Фф, Хх, Цц, Чч, Шш, Щщ, ъ, Ыы, ь, Ээ, Юю, Яя.*

The thirty years of experience in the use of the new alphabet in the Mongolian People's Republic has proved its viability and stability. In Inner Mongolia the ancient written form of literary Mongolian is still in use.[3]

PHONETICS

As is known, Mongolian belongs to the agglutinative languages; accordingly, it is vowels and not consonants that play a particularly important part in its system.

VOWELS

According to their quantitative and qualitative characteristics, the vowels of Modern Mongolian (the Khalkha dialect) are classified as follows:

[3] The present work gives an exposition of the grammar of modern literary Mongolian in its new written form, which is in use in the Mongolian People's Republic.

1. Short vowels: (a) strong, and
   (b) weak (reduced).
2. Long vowels: (a) normally long, and
   (b) overlong.
3. Diphthongs.

According to the place of formation, the vowels are divided into back, central and front; and according to the rules of the harmony of vowels, into masculine, feminine and neutral. In the former case, the classification is physiological, and in the latter, phonological. These two classifications should not be confused, even though they are closely connected with each other.

Besides, Modern Mongolian also has nasal vowels, which occur only at the end of a word and derive from "a vowel + a final dental *n*" combinations. In the pronunciation of these nasalised vowels, the soft palate is lowered but remains flaccid, and the outgoing air passes both through the nasal and oral cavities.

Short Vowels

There are the following strong back, central and front vowels in Modern Mongolian: *a, o, y, ө, Y, э, u (a, o, u, ӧ, ӱ, e, i)*. They generally occur only in the initial syllable, since in non-initial syllables vowels are weak. It can be said that strong vowels are accented and weak ones are unaccented, since in Mongolian the dynamic accent is on the initial syllable.

Short vowels in non-initial syllables are pronounced with the articulating organs being extremely lax, hence they are not so distinct and clear acoustically as vowels in the initial syllable, which are strong phonemes. Acoustically, vowels in non-initial syllables, which are weak sounds, resemble the English unstressed vowel in "sofa", "custom", "circus", etc. However, Mongolian weak vowels are pronounced with the articulating organs still laxer than in the pronunciation of the above-mentioned English sound. In the flow of speech, these reduced vowels can easily undergo assimilation according to the rules of vocalic harmony. Depending on the nature of the preceding or following

sounds, reduced vowels are frequently articulated so weakly that they disappear altogether.

Long Vowels

In Modern Mongolian, all strong vowels may be short (they have been described in the preceding section) and long, the latter being designated in orthography by doubling the relevant vowel letters, viz.: *аа, оо, уу, өө, үү, ээ, ий(ы); ā, ō, ū, ȫ, ǖ, ē, ī.*

The long vowels *аа, оо, уу, үү* and *ээ* do not differ qualitatively from the corresponding short vowels *а, о, у, ү* and *э*. As far as the long *өө* is concerned, it is a central, rounded vowel, more open and back than the corresponding short *е*, e.g.: *бөөр* 'kidneys', *өөрөө* 'oneself', *дөрөө* 'stirrup', *зөөр* 'property', 'chattels'. The long *ий(ы)*, which is designated by the sign *ī* in more accurate transcription, is an unrounded closed vowel, more open, however, than the corresponding short *и*. This vowel is not stable qualitatively: when following non-palatalised consonants,[1] especially in words containing back vowels, it resembles the Russian *ы* in "дыра", "тыл", etc. (therefore it is designated by the letter in orthography), and when occurring after palatalised consonants or at the beginning of a word (or syllable) it resembles the stressed English *e* in "eve", "eke", etc. (it is designated in orthography by *ий*), e.g.: *ардын* 'of (a) people' (gen.), *ханын* 'of a wall' (gen.), *малыг* 'cattle', 'live-stock' (acc.), *ийм* 'such', *хий* 'air', *ханийн* 'of a friend' (gen.), *сургуулийн* 'of a school' (gen.).

As far as their quantity is concerned, all long vowels are overlong when they occur in a non-final syllable, and are normally long in the final syllable or in a monosyllabic word; however, these vowels may become overlong if the syllable they are in should become non-final due to inflexion or derivation. Overlong vowels resemble lengthened English vowels in words pronounced with a special emphatic intonation, e.g.: "Indee-eed!". Long

[1] Nearly always in the endings of the genitive and the accusative.

vowels resemble long English vowels in stressed syllables, e.g.: 'ask', 'bought', 'who', etc. Since overlong and normally long vowels are not distinguished phonemically, being positional variants of the same phonemes, they are both designated in the orthography of modern literary Mongolian by doubling the relevant vowel letters, e.g.: *хөө* 'coal'—*хөөгөөр* 'with coal' (instr.), *хаа* 'where'—*хаанаас* 'where from', *хатуу* 'hard', 'strong'—*хатуугаар* 'hard', 'strongly', *хоол* 'food'—*хоолдоо* 'in food', *ээл* 'happiness'—*ээлтэй* 'bringing happiness'.[2]

In Mongolian, the length of a vowel has phonemic significance therefore, many Mongolian words and forms are distinguished by whether their vowel phonemes are long or short, e.g.:

бол 'be!' —*боол* 'slave';
дэр 'pillow'—*дээр* 'above';
хол 'far'—*хоол* 'food';
дэл 'mane'—*дээл* 'long outer garment', 'robe';
эм 'medicine'—*ээм* 'shoulder';
тэх 'goat'—*тээх* 'to put';
ул 'sole(of a shoe)'—*уул* 'mountain';
суга 'armpit'—*суугаа* 'sat down';
эвлэ 'make peace(with the enemy)!'—*эвлээ* 'making peace';
олго 'grant!', 'pay out!'—*олгоо* 'granting', 'paying out';
арга 'manner'—*аргаа* 'one's own manner';
гарга 'take out!'—*гаргаа* '(who) took out'.

Long vowels have developed from the combination of "a vowel+a consonant (in most cases b or γ) + a vowel"; the main combinations of this type are given below:

аа < *аγа*, e.g.: *саа-* < *саγа-* 'to milk';
иа < *иγа* " *наа-* < *наγа-* 'to glue';

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[2] The hyper-length of vowels is designated in transcription by the sign ^ , and their normal length by the sign - (placed over the relevant vowel letter), e.g.: *qatïγ* 'hard', 'strong'—*qatûgār* 'hard', 'strongly'. For the long vowel *ā*, which is a positional variant of the diphthong *аэ (au)* in orthography), see the section on diphthongs.

оо < *оɣо*, e.g.: *хоорондо* < *хоɣorundu* 'between', 'among';
оɣа " *тоо* < *тоɣа* 'amount';
уɣа " *долоо* < *doluɣan* 'seven';
уу < *аɣu* " *уул* < *аɣula* 'mountain';
uɣu " *уураг* < *uɣuraɣ* 'beestings';
iɣu " *нуу-* < *niɣu-* 'to hide', 'to conceal';
ээ < *ege* " *ээж* < *egem* 'shoulder';
ije " *хэзээ* < *kedžije* 'when';
ige " *бичээд* < *bičiged* 'having written';
өө < *öge* " *бөөр* < *bögere* 'kidneys';
üge " *өргөөд* < *ergüged* 'having lifted';
YY < *egü* " *YYo* < *egüde* 'door';
ügü " *бYoYYлэг* < *büdügülig* 'backward';
ий < *igi* " *чийг* < *čigig* '*dampness*'.

Cf. also *дээл* < *debel* 'long outer garment', 'robe', *өөрийн* *öberün* 'one's own', *хий* < *kei* 'air', *нэхий* < *nekei* 'fur', 'sheepskin'.

Besides, in monosyllabic words with a final vowel, this vowel is also long, e.g.: *хий* < *ki-* 'to make', *баа* (spelled *ба*) < *ba* 'and', *маа* (spelled *ма*) < *ta* 'you', *чий* (spelled *чи*) < *či* 'thou'.

On the whole, however, it was by gradually losing the intervocalic consonant that long vowels were formed in the course of the history of Mongolian: *аɣula* > *ahula* > *a'ula* > *u'ula* > *уул* 'mountain'. But this does not mean that the intervocalic consonant (ɣ or b) is always dropped; it is quite often retained and, consequently, no long vowel is formed, e.g.: *бага* 'small', 'little', *унага* 'foal', *тугал* 'calf', etc. Long vowels are also formed when an initial consonant, for instance ɣ of a suffix, added to the stem of an inflected word, becomes intervocalic, e.g.: *хара-* plus *-ɣад* > *хараад* 'having looked', *jabu-* plus *-ɣа* > *явaа* 'going', 'walking'. If such suffixes are added to a stem with a final long vowel, the vowels of these suffixes become long on their own account, so to say: *sayu-* plus *-ɣад* > *суугаад* 'having sat down', *dolija-* plus *-ɣа* > *долоогоо* 'licking'.

Diphthongs

Mongolian has diphthongs, which are spelled as *аӯ, оӯ, уӯ, Уӯ*. These sounds are peculiar in that they are mostly polyphthongs, i.e. complex vocalic combinations which change continuously from one vowel to another and are not uniform qualitatively, their quality depending on their position—on whether they occur in the first or last syllable. Therefore Mongolian diphthongs should most probably be regarded as long vowels whose quality is modified somewhat in the process of their articulation.

The orthographic diphthong *аӯ* of a non-final syllable may be designated in transcription by *a̯ă̯*, and that of a final syllable by *ā̯* (an unrounded open front vowel closely resembling the long Finnish vowel in words like *tāälä* 'here'), e.g.: *саӯхан /sa̯ă̯qa̯ŋ/* 'beautiful', *аӯмаг /a̯ă̯ma̯q/* 'district', 'category', 'class', *манаӯ /mana̯/* 'our', *араӯ /ara̯/* 'hardly'. In emphatic speech or singing, the diphthong *аӯ /ae/* in a non-final syllable is also apprehended by the ear as *ä*.

The orthographic diphthong *оӯ* may be designated in transcription by *o̯ă̯* irrespective of the syllabic position it occupies, this sound undergoing no qualitative changes either in speech or in singing; it is therefore a special kind of long vowel, e.g.: *оӯ* 'woods', 'forest', *оройӯ* 'late', *хоолӧӯ* 'throat'.

While the diphthongs *аӯ* (in a non-final syllable of a normally pronounced word) and *оӯ* cannot be classed as rising or falling, since they may be regarded as special kinds of long vowels with qualitatively uneven articulation, the orthographic diphthongs *уӯ* and *Уӯ* should be classified as rising and designated in transcription by *ŭi* and *ŭī* respectively, e.g.: *уӯлах* 'to weep', *уӯгар* 'Uigur', *дугтуй* 'envelope', *Уӯл* 'deed', *хУӯмэн* 'cold'.[3]

Besides, there is one more orthographic diphthong—*эӯ*. It is none other than the long vowel *ē*, which is rendered in writing by *ээ*. This orthographic diphthong occurs only in the ending of the comitative case or in derivatives from a word in this case

[3] In Mongolian studies, all these real and quasi-diphthongs were formerly considered falling.

(in accordance with the historico-morphological principle of the morpheme spelling), e.g.: *эхмэ̄* 'with the mother', 'having a mother', *Усмэ̄* 'with hair', 'having hair', *сҮҮмэ̄* 'with milk', 'having milk' (in transcription *eqtē*, *ustē* and *sūte* respectively).

In several words, there occurs the rising diphthong *уа*, e.g.: *линхуа* 'lotus', *гуалин* 'log', 'beam', *хуарам* 'barracks', etc.; all these words have been borrowed either from Chinese or from some other foreign language.

Vocalic Harmony

The Modern Mongolian vowels described above according to the place and manner of formation are given in Table I (positional variants and reduced vowels are not taken into account).

Table

Classification of Vowels

Vowels	Front	Central		Back	
	unrounded	unrounded	rounded	unrounded	rounded
Closed	*u* /*i*/	*uй, ы* /*ĭ, ī*/	*Y, YY* /*ш, ш̄*/		*y, yy* /*u, ū.*/
Mid-open	*э, ээ, эй* /*e, ē, ē*/		*o* /*ȯ*/		*o, oo* /*o, ō*/
Open	*aй* /*ä*/		*өө* /*ȯ̇*/	*a, aa* /*a, ā*/	
Diphthongs		*aй* /*ȧĕ*/	*oй, Yй* /*ȯĕ, ш̄ī*/		*yй* /*ўī*/

Note. The mid-open front unrounded vowel *эй* occurs only in the ending of the comitative or in words derived from that case; the open *aй*, in the final syllable of a word; the diphthong *aй*, in non-final syllables.

The sounds are given in Mongolian spelling and transcribed in Roman characters (in brackets).

As is known, in accordance with the laws of synharmonism front and back vowels cannot occur together in one and the same word. In fact, according to vocalic harmony the Modern Mongolian vowels fall into the following three phonological series the names of which could be conveniently borrowed from traditional Mon-

golian terminology (so as not to confuse the phonological and physiological classifications of the vowels):

masculine *(эр): а, аа, аӣ, о, оо, оӣ, у, уу, уӣ, ы;*
feminine *(эм): э, ээ, эӣ, ө, өө, Y, YY, Yӣ ;*
neutral *(саарма): и, иӣ.*

Thus, the phonological classification of the Modern Mongolian vowels does not completely coincide with their physiological division according to the place of formation, even if the central vowels were treated as front, or more front than the back ones. A comparison between the two classifications of the vowels shows, for instance, that the diphthongs *аӣ* and *оӣ*, and the long vowel *ы* (all orthographic!), which are described as central (or even front if one includes here the orthographic diphthong *аі* in the final syllable, i.e. practically the long *а*), belong to the masculine vowels; the latter are generally defined as "back" in linguistic literature. This discrepancy between the two classifications of vowels—according to the place of formation and according to vocalic harmony—is accounted for by the fact that the diphthongs *аӣ* and *оӣ* belonged historically to the back vowels.

Thus, in Modern Mongolian, masculine and feminine vowels cannot occur together in the same word. The neutral *и* and *иӣ* may co-occur in one and the same word with either masculine or feminine vowels. However, if a word contains only neutral vowels, feminine vowels are used in inflexion or derivation, cf. *хиӣ* 'air', *би* 'I', *чи* 'thou' and *хиӣгээр* 'through the air', *минийхээр* 'according to me', 'my', *чинийхээс* 'from thine'.

Synharmonism is not limited to constraints on the co-occurrence of masculine and feminine vowels, it also includes the process known as labial attraction, which may be summarised as follows: first, the initial syllable containing *а, аа, аӣ, у, уу, уӣ, э, ээ, эӣ, Y, YY, Yӣ* may be followed by a syllable which contains only these (respectively masculine or feminine) vowels, but not *о, оо, оӣ, ө, өө*; second, the initial syllable containing *о, оо, оӣ, ө, өө* may be followed immediately only by a syllable which

contains either the vowels of the initial syllables or *уу, уӯ, УУ, Уӯ*, but not the vowels *а, аа, аӯ, э, ээ, эӯ*. This means that the vowels *а* and *о* or *э* and *ө* (both short and long, as well as the corresponding diphthongs *аӯ, оӯ* and *эӯ*) can occur in one word only if there is *уу, уӯ, УУ, Уӯ* or *Уӯ* in the second syllable between *о* or *ө* in the first syllable, on the one hand, and *а* or *э* in the third syllable, on the other, e.g.: *о-руу-лав—оруулав* 'took into'; *мө-рУУ-лэв—мөрУУлэв* 'bred', 'grew'.

The vocalic harmony is reflected in the rules of modern literary Mongolian orthography, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">If the first syllable of a word contains</td><td colspan="2">the following vowels may occur in:</td></tr>
<tr><td>the second syllable</td><td>the third syllable</td></tr>
<tr><td>а, аа, аӯ, иа, я, яа, у, уу, уӯ, иу, ю, юу, ы</td><td colspan="2">the same vowels except the short у and ю</td></tr>
<tr><td>э, ээ, эӯ, е, еэ, У, УУ, Уӯ, ю, юУ</td><td colspan="2">the same vowels except the short У and ю</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">о, оо, оӯ, ио, ӧ, ӧӧ</td><td colspan="2">the same vowels and</td></tr>
<tr><td>уу, уӯ, иу, юу, ы</td><td>а, аа, аӯ, иа, я, яа, уу, уӯ, юу, иу, ы</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">о, оо</td><td>УУ, Уӯ, юУ</td><td>э, ээ, эӯ, УУ, Уӯ, юУ</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">and the same vowels</td></tr>
</table>

Note. *ю* is used to designate the combinations *ju* and *jш*; *е*, to designate the combinations *je* and *jӧ*.

As is seen from the Table, the third syllable of a word relates to the second as the second does to the first. Therefore, to determine the vocalism of the fourth syllable of a word, the third syllable should be assumed to be the first, and the fourth, to be the second.

As a rule, the vocalism of foreign words borrowed into Mongolian is influenced by vocalic harmony, and they undergo the relevant phonetic changes, particularly when such words were adopted through oral speech or when they were borrowed in the distant past. As to modern literary Mongolian, its latest loan

words are not subject to vocalic harmony, at least as far as their spelling is concerned, e.g.: *радио /араажив/* 'radio', *сестра /систраа/* 'trained nurse', *кино /хиноо/* 'cinema', *цемент /цээмэнт/* 'cement', *шовинизм /шовинийзом/* 'chauvinism', *норм /ноором/* 'norm', 'standard', 'quota', etc. (enclosed in square brackets are hypothetical variants corresponding to the orthographic rules for the indigenous Mongolian words).

ACCENT

In Mongolian, accent is dynamic and very strong, and it invariably falls on the initial syllable. It is precisely for this reason that the short vowels of non-initial syllables are reduced and articulated very weakly, which leads to their total disappearance, e.g.: *мо́dun > мо́dŏn > мо́d* 'tree', *qа́ra > χа́ra > χа́r* 'black', *у́sun > у́sŭn > у́s* 'water'. Mongolian accent has no relation to the length of the vowels: dynamic (expiratory) accent falls on the initial syllable of the word irrespective of the length of the vowel; long vowels may occur either in the initial or in non-initial syllables.

Besides dynamic accent, Mongolian has also musical accent, which falls on the final syllable of a word and is accompanied by a uniform rise in the tone of the voice. Such accent occurs at the end of a breath-group, especially when a question, doubt, exhortation or irony is expressed or when there is a logical accent.

Unlike English and many other languages, in Mongolian accent—either dynamic or musical—has no phonemic significance. Therefore it is not designated in spelling in the modern literary language.

It is important to mention that in words borrowed from foreign languages the accented vowels are reflected as long. This, however, is not shown in spelling, e.g.: *ректор, роман, коммун, комиссар, хими* instead of the expected *рээктэр* 'rector', *романа* 'novel', *хомуунa* 'commune', *хомисаар* 'commissar', *хийми* 'chemistry'.

Modern Mongolian consonants are divided into stops and continuants, whose description according to the place and manner of formation (approximately after Vladimirtsov) is given in Table 3.

Table 3

Classification of Consonants

		Labial	Lingual		
			apical	palatal	velar
Stop		*п, б*	*т, д*		*к, г*
	affricate		*ц, ч, з, ж*		
	nasal	*м*	*н*		*(ŋ)*
Continuant		*в* /*ṿ*/	*с, ш*	*j*	*х*
	liquid lateral		*л*		
	liquid trilled		*р*		

In Modern Mongolian, alternation of the consonants *д//т* and *г//х* is wide spread, e.g.: *дуслах//туслах* 'to help', *гатан//хатан* 'lady', 'madam'. Cases of alternation of the affricates *ц//ч* and *з//ж* are much rarer, e.g.: *цагаан//чагаан* 'white', *зах//жах* 'edge'. Forms regarded as the more correct are specially indicated in handbooks and manuals. Alternation of vowels takes place less frequently *(о//у, ө//Ү)*, e.g.: *чухам//чохом* 'exactly', 'right', *мүмэн//мөмөн* 'many', 'ten thousand'; it is sometimes connected with assimilation, e.g.: *хошуун//хушуун* < *Хosiүun* 'khoshun' (an administrative division of old Mongolia), *өгүүлэл//Үгүүлэл* < *ögülel* < *ügülel* 'sentence', 'speech' (assimialtion of this kind is observed when the root of the word is no longer productive).

As far as the "alternation" *э//и* is concerned, it is primarily connected with the character of the articulation of the vowel *э*, which may positionally acquire the character of a more front sound: *тэв//тив* 'continent', *нэлээд//нилээд* 'considerably', etc.

The velar *ŋ* is a voiced stop, in the pronunciation of which the back of the tongue is pressed against the soft palate. This sound, occurring at the end or in the middle of a word, mainly before the consonants *г* and *х*, goes back either to the combination *ng*, e.g.: *аŋ* < *ang* 'wild animal', 'beast', or to the apical *н* at the end of a word, e.g.: *altan* < *altan* 'golden'.

In both cases, the velar *ŋ* has no special designation in the modern Mongolian alphabet. It is not an independent phoneme but only a positional variant of the apical *н* at the end of the word or in the middle, before the consonants *г* and *х*. The apical *н* never occurs in such positions; it was always followed in writing by a vowel letter (in accordance with vocalic harmony).

We shall note in passing that if a common noun with an unstable final *н* is used as a proper name, this consonant turns into a stable velar *ŋ*, acquiring in such a case all phonetic and morphological characteristics of the latter. Thus, the common noun *alt(aŋ)* 'gold' used as a proper name is pronounced *Алтан(г)* 'Altan', i.e. the original word *алтан* 'gold' developed into two words—*алтан* > *алт* 'gold' and *Алтан(г)* 'Altan', each word following its own pattern of declension:

	'gold'	'Altan' (proper name)
Nominative	*алт*	*Алтан(г)*
Genitive	*алтны*	*Алтангийн*
Accusative	*алтыг*	*Алтангийг*
Dative-locative	*алтанд*	*Алтанд*
Ablative	*алтнаас*	*Алтангаас*
Instrumental	*алтаар*	*Алтангаар*
Comitative	*алттай*	*Алтантай*

Palatalised Consonants

In Modern Mongolian, palatalised consonants developed from the corresponding non-palatalised consonants in the position before the vowel *i*, which later fell out, e.g.: *al'* < *ali* 'which', *bar'-* < *bari-* 'to hold', etc.

Palatalisation of consonants is designated in writing by the "soft mark" (*ь*) if the rules of orthography do not require a short vowel after them, e.g.:

больё 'we shall stop'; *харь* 'strange', 'foreign';
хонь 'sheep'; *соль* 'change!';
урьд 'before'; *хувьсгал* 'revolution';
амьд 'live', 'living'; *харьсан* '(who) went home'.

If the same rules require the writing of a short vowel, the palatalisation of the consonant in question is designated by the vowel *и*, e.g.:

харилцаа, not *харьлцаа* 'connection';
гурил, not *гурьл* 'flour';
зориг, not *зорьг* 'will', 'desire';
майлингуу, not *майльнгуу* 'flax'.

Palatalisation of a consonant before long vowels is conveyed by representing those vowels as "*и* plus the respective vowel letter", e.g.: *сургуулиар* 'with a school' (instr.), *харийн* 'strange', 'foreign', *холиод* 'having mixed', *танайхиар* 'according to you', 'yours', *хонио* 'one's own sheep' (acc.).

The phonemic character of palatalised Modern Mongolian consonants is most graphically revealed when they occur before long vowels, e.g.: *qar'ī̄ŋ* 'strange', 'foreign'—*qarī̄ŋ* '(of) black' (gen.), *qon'ō̄* 'one's own sheep' (acc.)—*qonō̄* 'spending the night', *qal'ū̄ŋ* 'otter'—*qalū̄ŋ* 'hot', etc.

Consonant Distribution [4]

Distribution of consonants in Modern Mongolian has not yet been studied in detail since this study is complicated by various phonetic phenomena (metathesis, syncope, apocope, reduction and elision of vowels), as well as by the dialectal heterogeneity of that language. It seems more appropriate to describe the consonant structure of a Mongolian word by drawing on Ancient Written Mongolian, since in many respects the latter can present a picture common to nearly all modern Mongolian languages.

While the division of the consonants into *lenes* and *fortes* is characteristic of most modern Mongolian languages, it seems

[4] This section is a reprint of the relevant chapter of our essay (G.D. Sanzheyev, *Staropismenny mongolsky yazyk*, Moscow, 1964, pp.44-53).

more appropriate to classify the consonants of Ancient Written Mongolian, or—which is the same thing—of the Mongolian dialects of the past, as voiced and voiceless, as is done in the present work.[5] However, from a purely distributional point of view, these phonemes fall into two groups, viz. (1) prevocalic consonants, and (2) non-prevocalic consonants (these tentative terms are introduced by the author for the first time). Such a division of the consonants is prompted by the fact that the prevocalic consonants *χ*, *t*, *č*, *dž*, *j* and *k* (and in the "strident" dialects also *ts* and *dz*~ *z*) never occur before any consonant and, consequently, at the end of a syllable; in other words, these consonants can be found only before a vowel. In this respect, the picture here is opposite to that observed in the Turkic languages, where these sounds are known to occur in the final position, e.g.: *kerek* 'must', 'necessary', *bolat* 'steel', *köč*~ *köš* 'moving to a new place', etc.

Non-prevocalic consonants may either precede or follow vowels, i.e. they may occur either at the beginning or at the end of a syllable (as is known, in the Mongolian languages a consonant never occurs in the middle of a syllable). These consonants include *n*, *ng*, *γ*, *b*, *d*, *l*, *m*, *r*, *s* and, in isolated cases and in very few words, *š*, *m*, *ng* and *n* never occur in the final position in verbal stems. Some Turkic loan verbs with a final *n* generally take an "additional" vowel, *u* ~ *ü* or *a* ~ *e*, at the end, e.g.: *qanu-* 'to be satisfied', *tuna-* 'to become clear' and *suna-* 'to stretch' (cf., for instance, Kirghiz *qan-* 'to be satisfied', *tun-* 'to become clear' and *sun-* 'to stretch out'; see K.K. Yudakhin, *Kirghizsko-russky slovar*, Moscow, 1940, pp. 360, 450, 517). This "additional" vowel, however, is not found in the causative forms derived from the stems of these verbs, thereby demonstrating their Turkic origin: *χangγa-* 'to satisfy', *tungγa-* 'to make clear' and *sungγa-* 'to stretch out' (incidentally, there are variations here: Buriat and Khalkha *tungā-* and *tunā-* 'to make clear', Khalkha *sungă-* and *sunā-* 'to stretch out').

[5] Actually Mongolian linguists have traditionally classified these consonants into *fortes* and *lenes*.

From what has been said above, the character of consonant distribution in Mongolian—to be more precise, in the ancient written language (or in the Mongolian dialects of the past)—emerges with greater clarity. However, all attempts made so far to determine the types of consonant distribution have not produced any tangible results. The point is that it seems more appropriate to determine the types of consonant distribution not inside words in general but within and at the junctures of the morphemes of which words are composed. Therefore the following positions should be considered relevant in Mongolian in order to determine the types of consonant distribution inside: (a) the no longer indivisible lexical stems, mostly root morphemes (words of foreign origin should be taken into account only in exceptional cases with strictly specified purposes and retracing their entire phonetic development in accordance with the laws of Mongolian); (b) the derivational morphemes, i.e. within the province of thematic morphology, specially taking into account the now non-productive or fossilised suffixes; (c) the inflexional morphemes, i.e. within the sphere of grammatical morphology proper, and also (d) at the junctures of all those diverse morphemes. In other words, a distinction should be made between intramorphemic and intermorphemic consonant combinations (as is known, no Mongolian language has any vowel combinations). It seems obvious or, more accurately, possible that such a differentiated consideration of types of consonant distribution and of sounds in general will help discover a definite diachronic sequence of such types and their historical succession.

The extent to which root stems have so far been studied makes it impossible to give a comprehensive exposition of consonant distribution and its types within indivisible lexical stems since, in addition to other factors, this should be preceded by a more detailed investigation of the stems themselves both in the comparative and etymological aspects. Accordingly, given below is but a tentative sketch of the more essential characteristics of consonant distribution inside the now indivisible lexical stems.

This outline is best represented in tabular form:

Table 4

Combination components		Examples	
first	second		
b	*d*	*ɣobdoɣ*	'greedy'
	s	*debse*	'saddle cushion'
	t	*debte-*	'to get wet through'
	č	*tobci*	'button'
	ɣ~k	*dabɣur*	'double'; *tebker* 'square'
ɣ~g	*d*	*ɣaɣda*	'dry grass of the preceding year'; *džigde* 'at once'
	dž	*uɣdži*	'baby's feeding bottle'; *oɣdžam* 'abrupt'
	l	*aɣlaɣ*	'secluded'
	s	*bögse*	'buttocks', 'rear'
	t	*aɣta*	'gelding'
	č	*čegče*	'order'
d	*t*	*ddter*	'quickly'
	ɣ~k	*udɣa*	'content(s)'; *sedkil* 'thought', 'idea'
l	*b*	*elbeg*	'abundant'
	ɣ~g	*ilɣal*	'difference'; *belge* 'sign'
	d	*eldeb*	'different', 'various'
	dž	*boldžaɣa*	'stipulation'
	m	*elmeg*	'untamed horse'
	t	*altan*	'gold'
	ɣ~k	*ɣalɣa*	'shield'; *salkin* 'wind'
	č	*alčaɣar*	'bow-legged'
m	*b*	*jambar*	'what'
	ɣ~g	*nimgen*	'thin' (of flat objects only)
	d	*dumda*	'middle'
	dž	*amdži-*	'to do something in the required time', 'to be in time'

Combination components		Examples	
first	second		
	s	*χomsa*	'rare', 'scanty'
	t	*amta*	'taste'
	χ ~ k	*χomχurasun*	'shell', 'husk'; *čimki-* 'to pinch'
	č	*čomčaγ*	'hair gathered into a tuft'
n	*d*	*anda*	'friend'
d	*dž*	*köndžil*	'blanket', 'quilt'
	t	*χantar-*	'to pull (the reins) tight'
ng	*γ ~ g*	*čingγa*	'strong'; *könggen* 'light'
	χ ~ k	*mangχan*	'sand-hill'; *engke* 'peace'
	s	*engse-*	'to desire ardently'
r	*b*	*arban*	'ten'
	γ ~ g	*aryа*	'method'; *ergi* '(steep) bank'
	d	*χurdun*	'quick', 'fast'
	dž	*kürdze*	'spade'
	l	*örlüge*	'morning'
	m	*irmeg*	'edge', 'border', 'fringe'
	n	*sarni-*	'to scatter'
	s	*dürsü*	'form', 'figure'
	t	*urtu*	'long'
	χ ~ k	*darχan*	'craftsman'; *berke* 'difficult'
	č	*arči-*	'to wipe'
s	*χ ~ k*	*asχa-*	'to pour out'; *eske-* 'to cut out (as material)'

The Table contains some 50 different types of consonant combinations inside indivisible lexical stems. This list cannot be considered complete, although it does include the most characteristic and common types of consonant combinations as far as notional and subordinate words are concerned (onomatopoeic and descriptive words stand apart in this respect).

Inside derivational morphemes the following consonant combinations occur: (a) a voiced consonant + a voiceless consonant,

as in the noun-derivational suffixes *-btur, -bki, -bči, -γči, -msig, -msüg, -mta, mtaγai, -lta, -ngχax* and in the verb-derivational (including also the voice-formative) suffixes *-rχa* and *-lča;* (b) a voiced consonant + another voiced consonant, as in the noun-derivational suffixes *-lγa, -mdži, -nggi, -nggüi* and in the verb-derivational suffixes *-ldža, -baldža -γaldža, -lγa, -ldu* and *-γda.* Thus, 22 out of the 95 derivational suffixes considered in this work, have 16 types of initial consonant combinations.

Inside inflexional morphemes, consonant combinations present a heterogeneous picture. The case suffixes do not contain any such combinations, and neither do the suffixes forming the plural and the various groups of numerals. Inside the 32 different suffixes forming the same number of verb forms from a verbal stem, there are but four types of consonant combinations in the following six suffixes: (a) a voiced consonant + a voiced consonant, e.g.: *-ngγud,* (b) a voiced consonant + a voiceless consonant, e.g.: *-γtun, -γsan, -γsaγar, -γči* and *-maγča.*

Thus, there are 20 types of consonant combinations altogether in only 28 out of more than 150 different derivational and inflexional suffixes, viz.:

Table 5

Voiced consonants + voiced consonants	Voiced consonants + voiceless consonants	
ngγ ~ ngg	*ngχ ~ ngk*	*bč*
γd ~ gd	*γs ~ gs*	*lt*
lγ ~ lg	*γt ~ gt*	*lč*
ld	*γč ~ gč*	*ms*
ldž	*bχ ~ bk*	*mt*
mdž	*bt*	*rχ ~ rk*

Let us now examine the types of intermorphemic consonant combinations, i.e. combinations of the final consonant of the stem of a word and the initial consonant of a suffix. It should first be noted that if the suffix already contains an initial consonant combination, the connecting vowel *u ~ ü* is inserted between the stem of the word and the suffix to avoid a three-consonant cluster, e.g.:

olulčа- (ol-u-lčа-) 'to come across something (together)', *bajiɣulu-lɣa (bajiɣul-u-lɣa)* 'organisation', *ösülte (ös-ü-lte)* 'growth'. Likewise, to avoid a two-consonant cluster at the end of a word, the same vowel *u* ~ *ü* is inserted between the stem of the word and a suffix consisting of only one consonant, e.g.: *ɣarul (ɣar-u-l)* 'origin'. The same connecting vowel is also used when the final consonant of the stem and the initial consonant of a suffix are sounds which either cannot form clusters at all or can do so only in limited cases,[6] e.g.: *bosuɣa (bos-u-ɣa)* 'rising'.

The types of intermorphemic consonant combinations—of the final consonants of the stems of words and the initial consonants of the relevant suffixes—can be presented as in the following table (*g* and *χ* should be pronounced as *ɣ* ~ *g* and *χ* ~ *k* respectively).

Only two-consonant clusters are possible in intramorphemic and intermophemic consonant combinations since three-consonant combinations are eliminated by inserting the vowel *u* ~ *ü*. In intermorphemic consonant combinations, the first component is the final consonant of the stem and the second, the initial consonant of a suffix. Therefore, the relation between the first and the second componen of a consonant combination is that between a joining component and a component being joined.

In examining the various types of consonant combinations, the character of such combinations of phonemes, on the one hand, and their theoretical possibility, on the other, must be strictly differentiated. The character of a consonant combination—by which

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[6] Thus, in the entire system of intermorphemic consonant combinations, the occurrence of the voiced *ɣ* ~ *g* immediately after a consonant is ruled out, though there is a single exception in one of the causative voice forms: *ɣarɣa-* 'to lead out' and *bolɣa-* 'to cause to be' from *ɣar-* 'to go out' and *bol-* 'to become' respectively.

Table 6

Intermorphemic consonant combinations in the formation of:									
verbal forms	case forms	nouns	voices	verbs	verbal forms	case forms	nouns	voices	verbs
–	*nt*	*nt*	–	*nt*	–	*gl*	*gl*	–	*gl*
–	*nd*	–	–	*nd*	–	–	–	–	*gdž*
–	*nl*	*nl*	–	*nl*	*bx*	–	*bx*	*bx*	–
–	–	*nč*	–	–	*bb*	–	–	–	–
–	–	–	–	*ndž*	*bs*	–	–	–	*bs*
–	–	–	–	*ngn*	*bt*	*bt*	*bt*	*bt*	*bt*
–	*ngt*	*ngt*	–	*ngt*	*bd*	–	–	–	*bd*
–	*ngd*	–	–	*ngd*	–	*bl*	–	–	*bl*
–	*ngl*	*ngl*	–	*ngl*	*bč*	–	*bč*	–	*bč*
–	–	*ngč*	–	–	*sx*	–	*sx*	*sx*	–
gx	–	–	–	–	*sb*	–	*sb*	–	–
gb	–	–	–	–	*ss*	–	–	–	*ss*
gs	–	–	–	*gs*	*st*	*st*	*st*	–	*st*
gt	*gt*	*gt*	*gt*	*gt*	*sd*	–	–	–	*sd*
gd	–	–	–	*gd*	–	*sl*	*sl*	–	*sl*
gč	–	*gč*	–	*gč*	*sč*	–	*sč*	–	*sč*
dx	–	*dx*	*dx*	–	–	–	–	–	*mn*
db	–	*db*	–	–	–	–	–	–	*ms*
ds	–	–	–	*ds*	–	*mt*	*mt*	–	*mt*
dt	*dt*	*dt*	–	*dt*	–	*md*	–	–	*md*
dd	–	–	–	*dd*	–	*ml*	–	–	*ml*
–	*dl*	*dl*	–	*dl*	–	–	*mč*	–	*mč*
dč	–	*dč*	–	*dč*	–	–	–	–	*mdž*
–	–	–	–	*ddž*	*rx*	–	–	–	–
lx	–	*lx*	–	–	–	–	–	*rg*	–
–	–	*lg*	*lg*	–	*rb*	–	–	–	–
lb	–	*lb*	–	–	*rs*	–	*rs*	–	*rs*
ls	–	–	–	*ls*	*rt*	*rt*	*rt*	*rt*	*rt*
lt	*lt*	*lt*	–	*lt*	*rd*	–	*rd*	–	*rd*
ld	*ld*	–	*ld*	*ld*	–	*rl*	–	–	*rl*
–	*ll*	–	–	*ll*	*rč*	–	*rč*	–	*rč*
–	–	*lč*	–	*lč*	–	–	–	–	*rdž*
ldž	–	*ldž*	–	*ldž*	–				

the obligatoriness of a certain combination of definite phonemes is meant here—depends entirely on the nature of the joining component and presupposes the existence of dependent allomorphs, i.e. different variants of suffixes, mainly in accordance with the voiced - voiced or voiceless - voiceless correlation.[7] The possibility or, conversely, impossibility of a consonant combination depends solely on the nature of the component being joined, the nature of the joining component being of no importance whatsoever. Thus, consonant combinations which are at all possible may be subdivided into (1) free, i.e. relatively independent of any factors, and (2) dependent, i.e. possible or obligatory under definite phonetic and positional conditions; often a combination possible inside morphemes of one kind never occurs inside morphemes of other kinds or at the junctures of different morphemes.

First of all, let us specify the limitations that are common to all types of consonant combinations. In all these combinations (1) there never occurs the palatal *j*;[8] (2) the spirant *s* is the only voiceless consonant that can be the first component since no other voiceless consonant occurs as the final phoneme of a syllable; (3) none of the prevocalic consonants can be the first component since these consonants never occur as the final phonemes of a syllable; (4) neither the liquid *r* nor the velar *ng* can be the second component since *ng* cannot precede any vowel; it should be noted here, too, that consonant combinations are always parts of the complex CCV or VCCB (V, vowel; C, consonant); (5) there can be no combinations *nn*, *mm*, *rr*, *γγ*~*gg*, *dγ*~*dg*, *sγ*~*sg* and *bγ*~*bg*.

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[7] Here and further on, the allomorphism of suffixes with respect to the consonants is meant since, owing to vocalic harmony, nearly all Mongolian suffixes are allomorphic; the few exceptions are suffixes consisting either of a single consonant or of a consonant plus the neutral vowel *-i*.

[8] In Buriat dialects, the combination of a consonant and *j* is a result of the development of the syllable *gi* > *ji*, e.g.: *erjē* < *ergi* '(steep) bank'.

The material examined shows that consonant combinations inside indivisible lexical stems basically coincide with those inside intermorphemic combinations formed in the derivation of nouns and verbs. Such a coincidence is apparently not fortuitous since in this case it is possible to suppose that in the Mongolian languages indivisible lexical stems of the non-monosyllabic type go back genetically to compounds, either of polysynthetic or agglutinative character, with fossilised morphemes. To a certain extent, this is also true of consonant combinations inside derivational morphemes. It should be borne in mind here that in the Mongolian languages, first, compound suffixes are quite common and well known and, second, initial consonant combinations do not occur in lexical stems. Noteworthy in this connection is the fact that prevocalic consonants, which do not occur either at the end of a syllable or before consonants in general, are never found as the first components of any consonant combinations.

What is most characteristic of and essential in consonant combinations found inside indivisible lexical stems and derivational suffixes, and at the junctures in the derivation of nouns and verbs is the absence of any dependence or restrictions except the preceding general ones; in other words, here consonant combinations are free.[9] This is proved by the fact that in such complexes the second component may be either a voiced or a voiceless consonant. Therefore, out of the approximately 75 possible variants of consonant combinations considered above, only three are missing: *gk* ~ *gk*, *gb* ~ *gb* and *bb*.

A few consonant combinations inside the inflexional suffixes—*ngg*, *gs* ~ *gs*, *gt* ~ *gt*, *gč* ~ *gč* and, in old monuments of Mongolian writing, *dǰ* ~ *dk*—are independent positionally; in other words, these suffixes have no allomorphs apart from the

[9] The only exception in this case is probably the verb derivational suffix *-na* ~ *-ne*, if this suffix is really a positional variant of the verb derivational morpheme *-la* ~ *-le*.

synharmonic correlations. Thus, the consonant combinations here are basically analogous to those already described.

The intermorphemic consonant combinations arising when case, voice and verbal forms are obtained, present an altogether different picture. A notable feature of this type of combinations (although not in all the forms) is that if the first component of an intermorphemic consonant combination is ɣ~*g*, *b*, *d*, *s* or *r*, the second component cannot be the voiced *d*, *dž* or ɣ~ *g*, and instead of it there occurs the voiceless *t*, *č* or χ~*k* respectively. This, however, applies only to those intermorphemic combinations which appear when suffixes which have allomorphs are attached to the respective word stems, for instance, the passive voice suffix *-da* ~ *-ta*, the causative voice suffix - ɣ*a* ~ *-ga*, the dative-locative suffix *-dur* ~ *-tur*, the imperfective converb suffix *-džu -ču* and the suffix of the indicative form of the past tense of an unexpected action *-dzuɣui* ~ *-čuɣui*. That is why there occur such "contradictions" as, for example, *bostuɣi* 'let (him) stand up', *bosdaɣ* 'being in the habit of standing up' and *nom-tai* 'having a book', on the one hand (in the absence of allomorphs like *-tuɣai*~ *-duɣai*,*-daɣ*~ *-taɣ* and *-tai*~ *-dai*), and *bosču* 'standing up' and *nom-dur* '(being) in a book' (with the allomorphs *-ču* ~ *-džu* and *-dur* ~ *-tur* respectively), on the other. Therefore, a combination of the first component, which can be only a non-prevocalic consonant, and the following voiced consonant which is possible in one case, is impossible in the other.

This is true of all intermorphemic combinations involving case, voice and verbal forms. Specific of the system of declension is the fact that the initial *b* of the reflexive possessive suffix *-ban* cannot combine with any final consonant of the preceding morpheme (a noun stem or case suffix), and therefore another allomorph of this suffix— *-ijan*—is used in such cases: *mal-dur-ijan* 'to one's own cattle' (dat.), but *mal-i-ban* 'one's own cattle' (acc.) (see the section on the declension of nouns). Also characteristic here is the occurrence of intermorphemic combinations

with the second component *l*, e.g.: *mal-luγa* 'with cattle', *nökür-lüge* 'with a friend', *ekes-lüge* 'with mothers', etc., although such combinations are not tolerated when the consonant *l* is the initial sound of a verbal form suffix.

The combination of *l* or *r* and the voiced *γ* ~ *g* is often attested in intermorphemic consonant combinations formed by voice suffixes, e.g.: *bolγa-* 'to cause to be' and *γarγa-* 'to take out', although the voiced *γ* ~ *g* never occurs as the second component in any other intermorphemic combinations (as has been before said, the possibility of an immediate juncture is eliminated by inserting the vowel *u* ~ *ü*). The unique case of this intermorphemic combination is related to an equally unique case where the voiced *γ* ~ *g* (also the voiceless *χ* ~ *k*) is an allophone in the allomorphs of the causative voice - *γa* ~ *-ge* (after *r* or *l*) ~ *-χa* ~ *-ke* (after *b*, *s* or *d*: *abχaγul-* 'to cause to take', *bosχa-* 'to lift' and *jekedke-* 'to increase'); no other such case is attested in Mongolian.

In intermorphemic consonant combinations within verb forms the initial consonants of the verb suffixes of these forms are folfowed by *m*, *n*, *γ* ~ *g*, *l*, *j* or *r*; the possibility of their being immediately joined to the final consonant of the verb stem is eliminated by inserting the vowel *u* ~ *ü*. In other words, these consonants cannot be the second components in this type of intermorphemic consonant combinations. But at the same time the consonants *m*, *n*, *γ* ~ *g* and *l* may be the second components of consonant combinations of other types, whereas the palatal *j* and the liquid *r* never occur in such a position at all.

At present it is difficult to explain why consonant combinations inside indivisible lexical stems, derivational suffixes and at the junctures of these morphemes are free, whereas intermorphemic consonant combinations appearing in case, voice and verbal forms are limited or dependent. There is no doubt, however, that we deal with phenomena belonging to different periods in the historical development of Mongolian. In this connection, it should

be mentioned that the genesis of the compound inflexional suffixes in the Mongolian languages—and in the Altaic languages in general—is more transparent than the origin of, also compound, derivational suffixes (here we certainly do not refer to the naive attempts to etymologise these morphemes from the notional words of the modern languages). Therefore, it is quite possible that the constraints upon consonant distribution appeared in a later epoch than the relatively free distribution of the same sounds in the sphere of derivation.

There can be no doubt that further and more specialised investigation of consonant distribution will reveal much more, specifically in the sphere of certain isolated exceptions of the type of *ǯarudža* 'expense', 'loss' instead of the expected *ardža* with *oldža* 'find', 'finding'; *salusi ügei* 'inseparable' instead of the expected *salsi ügei*, etc.

The emergence of the constraints upon consonant distribution which reflect the character of the morphemic composition of a word may be accounted for by the fact that whereas, in the Mongolian dialects of the past these morphemes were productive and were apprehended as such by the speakers, in modern Mongolian languages and dialects such morphemes are no longer distinguished clearly and begin to fuse, since many of the derivational suffixes have long since ceased to be productive. Therefore at present consonant distribution in these languages and dialects, except some Buriat dialects, assumed a different, mainly phonetic character. Thus, in the Khalkha dialect, a tendency has developed either to avoid consonant combinations altogether (*зэрэг* instead of *зэргэ* 'degree') or to shift such consonant combinations forward from the end of the word (*орлого* instead of *ороло* 'income'): such a metathesis takes place partly by analogy with what takes place in words of the *хэрэг* 'affair' type (for the phonetic phenomena, see also the section on the structure of a syllable given below). Of course, the above description covers only one of the diverse factors calling for a special investigation of

the data of the modern Mongolian languages and dialects. For the time being it may be pointed out here that as far as other phonetic phenomena are concerned, an ever growing tendency is observed in the Khalkha dialect to replace "voiced consonant- voiceless consonant" combinations by "voiceless consonant - voiced consonant" ones, e.g.: *ymıa* instead of *yдxa* 'essence', 'meaning', 'content'.

SYLLABIC STRUCTURE

The word in modern Mongolian may be made up of one or several syllables consisting of either a single vowel (V) or of a combination V + C (consonant), C + V, C + V + C.

It is very difficult to determine the quantity as well as the quality of syllables in words the spelling of which contains two or more adjacent consonants, since short vowels in some cases remain unmarked in writing. Historically, one syllable could not include two or more adjacent consonants, therefore such combinations were ruled out either at the beginning or the end of a word, except for some onomatopoemata, cf. *xapm* 'crunching sound' and loan-words, cf. *бapc//бap* "tiger", *мэрс* "heretic", etc. For a better understanding of the problem let us dwell on some phonetic processes in Modern Mongolian, connected with the syncopation and apocopation of the vowels and the specific articulation of some consonants, mostly stops.

Modern Mongolian knows the frequent apocopation of the final short vowels, which depends on the tempo of the speech. Thus, double phonetic forms exist for some words, e.g.: *сав* and *савa* < *saba* 'vessel', 'dish', *сар* and *сарa* < *sara* 'moon', *дал* and *дала* < *dala* 'shoulder-blade', *эх* and *эхэ* < *eke* 'mother', *бас* and *баса* < *basa* 'also', 'again', *бат* and *бата* < *batu* 'strong', *хуц* and *хуца* < *хuča* 'ram', *олз* and *олзо* < *oldža* 'find', 'treasure'.

This phenomenon of apocopation is further supported by the elision of the final apical *н*, which leads to an apocope of the final syllabic vowel: *modun* > *модо* and *мод* 'tree', *usun* > *ус* and *усу* // *уса* 'birch'.

The Modern Mongolian spelling prefers contracted forms in such cases: *сав, сар, дал, хар, эх, бас, бат, хуц, олз, хус* (cf. above). Such words appear in spelling as mono- or disyllabic rather than di- or trisyllabic, which should be regarded as arbitrary representation since the final consonants in the words of this kind are syllabic. The character of the final glide in the articulation of the same final consonants is in fact different. Thus, during the final glide in the articulation of the final syllabic continuants (*в, с, ш, л, р, х*) the organs of speech, lips and the tongue, change their position, which creates the acoustic impression of the initial glide of the short reduced vowel which is to follow these consonants. Due to its rather vague quality this vowel is not represented in writing (we describe the articulation of the apocopated forms like *сар, дал, том* and not the full forms *сара, дала, томо).* Such an articulation of the final continuants which reflects the presence of the final vowels in the preceding periods of the historical development of the language alternates with an articulation which renders these final vowels in full (hence the non-apocopated forms like *сара, дала, томо,* etc.). At the same time when such final continuants are non-syllabic, the organs of speech freeze in the position of the initial glide of articulation and this position remains fixed during the final glide of articulation, cf. *элдэв* < *eldeb* 'different', *эрс* < *džes* 'copper', *гар* < *γar* 'hand', 'arm', *гал* < *γal* 'fire' (the consonants *ш* and *х* did not occur formerly in the final position in the word). When such consonants are non-syllabic, they appear to lose their final glide, since the organs of speech cease their activity at the climax, as it were, of the articulation without bringing it to completion.

During the final glide of the articulation of the final syllabic stops (*м, т, д, ц, ч, з, ж*) an explosion or release of the organs of speech takes place, which creates the impression that a very weak, reduced and undefined vowel follows the final consonant (here again we describe the articulation of the apocopated variant of words like *бат* or *хуц,* and not *бата* or *хуца*). This type of the final glide of the syllabic stops is similarly a reflection of

the presence of final vowels in earlier periods of the development of Mongolian. These vowels are pronounced even now in the non-apocopated forms like *бата* or *хуца*. If some of the stops appear as non-syllabic (only *м* and *д*; the consonants *т*, *ц*, *ч*, *з* and *ж* should always be regarded as syllabic in the historically prevocalic position), the organs of speech seem again to miss the final glide during the articulation; they retain the position they assumed for the initial glide and being at the apex of the articulation they do not come apart; thus no explosion occurs.[10]

To make this phenomenon clear, let us compare the articulatory work of the organs of speech during the production of, e.g., the final *м* in the words *эм* < *em* 'medicine' and *эм* < *eme* 'woman', which function as spelling homonyms although this hardly does justice to their phonetic nature. In the first case the lips are closed for the articulation of the consonant *м* and they freeze in this position with the resulting loss of explosion at the final glide, whereas in the second case the lips do open and an audible explosion is produced. The same could be said about the work of the tip of the tongue during the production of, e.g., the consonant *д* in the words *ард* < *arad* 'peasant', 'commoner' and *ард* < *aru-du* 'behind', which also appear as spelling homonyms. In this case, too, their phonetic nature differs: during the production of the first word the tip of the tongue remains in the position it assumed for the initial glide of the sound and does not break away from the teeth, the expected explosion does not materialise although it is generally assumed that the articulation of the plosives should end in an explosion (we do not dwell here on the fact that in this case the vocal cords vibrate very weakly, producing the so-called surd *д*). In the second case the tip of tongue breaks away from the teeth and the explosion is produced.

The following phonetic phenomenon which affects the number of syllables in Mongolian words is syncope, the elision of

10 Therefore this group of the Mongolian consonants should correctly be termed "stops" and not "plosives".

the vowel in the penultimate syllable. Here we mean not the diachronic syncopation like *эмгэн* < *emegen* 'old woman', *толгой* < *toluγai* 'head' or *зардал* < *džarudal* 'expenditure', but the morphological phenomenon caused by inflexion and derivation: *хэрэг* 'affair', 'business'—*хэргийн* (the genitive, instead of *хэрэгийн*), *арал* 'island'—*арлаар* (the instrumental, instead of *аралдаар*), *арга* 'basket'—*аргаас* (the ablative, instead of *арагаас*), *анхаарал* 'attention'—*анхаарлыг* (the accusative, instead of *анхааралыг*).

This results in three- and four-syllable words becoming, respectively, two- and three-syllable words, with the corresponding phonetic changes accompanying the process, e.g.:

хэ-рэ-гийн—хэр-гийн, а-ра-лаар—ар-лаар,

а-ра-гаас—ар-гаас, ан-хаа-ра-лыг—ан-хаар-лыг.

Finally, the character (but not the number) of syllables in the Mongolian word is influenced by metathesis, e.g.:

тэрэг = *тэ-рэг* < *тэргэ* = *тэр-гэ* 'cart';

хөсөг = *хо-сөг* < *хөсхө* = *хөс-хө* < *көске* 'pack load';

орлого = *ор-ло-го* < *ороло* = *о-рол-го* 'income';

зэрэг = *зэ-рэг* < *зэргэ* = *зэр-гэ* 'stage', 'degree'.

Thus it becomes difficult in some cases to establish exactly the character and the number of syllables in Mongolian words, especially when these are multisyllabic. This difficulty may be overcome as a result of a more exact experimental study of the modern Mongolian sounds.

VOCABULARY

The vocabulary of a language graphically and directly reveals its links with the history of the nation, as well as its historical links with other languages. A study of these problems helps to determine which words should be regarded as indigenous and which should be considered as borrowings from other languages; it also helps to establish how and when different lexical strata appeared. There is always the possibility that the indige-

nous lexical nucleus of a language might in fact include elements which, in their turn, had been borrowed from some other languages at the earliest stages of its development, hardly accessible to direct study. In the case of the Mongolian language there may have been some obscure, e.g. Paleo-Asiatic, borrowings.

Throughout their long history the Mongols entered into close economic, cultural and other contacts with different nations of Asia and Europe, directly or through intermediaries. Thus, there are borrowings from Greek, Arabic, Sanskrit, Iranian, Turkic, Tibetan, Chinese, Manchu, Russian and other languages in the Mongolian vocabulary. Greek, Arabic and Sanskrit words entered Mongolian via other languages, mainly Uigur and Tibetan, or through translations into Mongolian. Other foreign elements in the Mongolian vocabulary are the result of direct contacts between the Mongols and the corresponding peoples of Eurasia.

Greek, Arabic, Sanskrit, Iranian, Tibetan, Chinese, Manchu and Russian borrowings into Mongolian may be ascertained without great difficulty (although it is not always possible to give the exact date or circumstances of the borrowing). On the other hand, the identification of the Turkic elements in Mongolian is far from easy.

Greek lexical elements make up an insignificant portion of the vocabulary; they include, among others, the words *ном* 'book' (formerly 'sacred book', 'law of the Buddha') < Uig. *ном* < Sogd. *nōm* < Gr. *nómos; дэвтэр* < *debter* 'copy-book', 'book' < Tib. *deb-ther* < Pers. *daftār* < Gr. *diftera-*.

Arabic borrowings, the number of which is likewise small, include, apart from proper names, the following words: *арх* 'wine', 'liquor' < Arab. *'araq* 'perspiration', 'vapour'; *цуг* 'cape', 'cloak' < *цуба* < Tib. *chu-ba* ~ *čhu-pa//čho-pa* 'wide garment'< Pers. *ǰubba* < Arab. *ǰubba* 'cotton under-garment'; *шарь* (obs.) 'fast', 'observance of the fast'< Arab. *šarī'at* 'sacred law', etc. Some Arabic words found in various Mongolian chronicles and written monuments did not enter Mongolian and consequently are

not mentioned here, e.g. *султа́н* 'sultan', 'ruler' < Arab. *sulṭān* (same meaning).

As shown by the above examples, Greek and Arabic words came into Mongolian via Tibetan, Turkic and Iranian because the Mongols never entered into significant contacts of any duration with the Arabs except for those Mongols who came to Iran and other parts of the Middle East in the time of Genghiz Khan and later. Such contacts could not influence the vocabulary of Mongolian proper as spoken in Mongolia.

Modern Mongolian has many Sanskrit words which came via Uigur (< Sogdian) and Tibetan or, less frequently, through translations of Buddhist literary monuments and other texts mostly related to Buddhist culture and old Indian literary themes. These include, e.g., *эрдэнэ* 'precious stone', 'jewel', 'treasure' < Skr. *ratna; очир* 'staff' < Skr. *vajra*, which originally came into Mongolian through Sogdian and Uigur in the form *вачир* reflecting the Sogdian pronunciation (this word is widely used in Mongolia as a proper name, Ochir; alongside this name another name, Bazar, is widely used in Buriatia, which goes back to the same Sanskrit *vajra* but was adopted through the intermediary of Tibetan; thus, one and the same Sanskrit word acquired different phonetic forms in Mongolian depending on the corresponding changes it underwent in the languages which transmitted it into Mongolian); *чандмань* 'wish-granting jewel' < (via Sogdian-Uigur) Skr. *cintāmani* > (via Tibetan) *зэндэмэнэ*, having the same meaning.

There are many Tibetan words in Mongolian. These mostly pertain to Buddhist terminology as well as monastic life, e.g.: *дацан* 'temple', 'monastery' < Tib. *grwa-tsaṅ; лам* 'lama', 'monk' < Tib. *bla-ma; хорвоо* 'phenomenal world', 'the cycle of birth, death and rebirth' < Tib. *khor-ba; живаа* 'reincarnation' < Tib. *skye-ba; нярав* 'treasurer', 'steward' < Tib. *gñer-ba.*

The Iranian element is represented by a number of Sogdian and Persian words, also pertaining to Buddhist and other terminology, e.g. *мэрс* 'hostile', 'opponent', 'heretic' (originally a

heretic, i.e. a follower of non-Buddhist religious trends in India—a Brahmanist, a Hindu) < Per. *tarsa* 'Christian'; *анар* 'pomegranate' < Pers. *anar; барс//бар* 'tiger' < Pers. *pārs* 'panther'; *болд* 'steel' < Pers. *pūlād; дарь* 'gunpowder' < Pers. *dārū*.

The majority of Sogdian borrowings into Mongolian are Sanskrit in origin.

The time, place and circumstances of the penetration of the Greek, Arabic, Sanskrit, Tibetan and Iranian words into Mongolian may usually be satisfactorily established from the written Mongolian monuments because all these processes took place in the period which left sufficient written records (around the 12th-15th centuries). Later, in the 17th-19th centuries Manchu words came into Mongolian. These were mainly titles and military or administrative realia, e.g. *бэйл* 'beile' (prince of the third rank) < Manchu *beile; бэйс* 'beise' (prince of the fourth rank)< Manchu *beise; хуарав* 'barracks' < Manchu *quvaran*, etc.

The main feature of the Greek, Arabic, Sanskrit, Tibetan, Iranian and Manchu borrowings is that these languages no longer contribute to Mongolian vocabulary. In many cases such words have a historical character and now form a passive fund or periphery of the vocabulary. As to the Chinese and Russian words in Mongolian, these began to be adopted later than the above-mentioned foreign lexical elements, although a small number of Chinese words had been borrowed quite early.

The Chinese borrowings into the vocabulary of Mongolian date from the feudal period and belong mainly to the socio-political sphere and the sphere of economy, e.g. *тайж* 'nobleman'< Chin. *t'ai-tzu* 'prince'; *ноён* 'prince', 'lord' < Chin. *lao-ye* 'lord'; *ямн* 'office', 'ministry' < Chin. *ya-men; цонх* 'window' < Chin. *ch'uang-hu; наймаа* 'trade' < Chin. *mai-mai; дааваүү* 'cloth'< Chin. *ta-pu; байцай* 'cabbage' < Chin. *pai-ts'ai; бань* 'board', 'plank' < Chin. *pan-tzu*, etc. Especially many Chinese borrowings have penetrated the eastern Mongolian dialects (where the most intensive contacts between the Chinese and the Mongols took

place). These borrowings are from the sphere of truck gardening, industrial commodities, trades and handicrafts, building, etc.
A comparison of borrowings from Chinese with those from Iranian shows that the names of vegatables are mostly of Chinese origin, whereas the names of fruits are borrowings from Iranian, entering Mongolian during the Genghiz Khan period and immediately afterwards in the course of trade between the Mongols and the countries of Western Asia.

Russian words (and international words introduced through Russian) began to penetrate Mongolian much later than other foreign lexical elements, somewhere in the second half of the 19th century. It is only natural that Russian borrowings are especially actively assimilated by Mongolian now, when the People's Republic of Mongolia is building socialism. Russian borrowings into Mongolian belong to diverse spheres of politics, economy, culture, science and art, and reflect the fundamental changes in the life of the Mongolian people after the People's Revolution of 1921, e.g. *ленинизм* 'Leninism', *марксизм* 'Marxism', *пионер* 'Young Pioneer', *маршал* 'marshal', *машин* (Russ. *машина*) 'machine', *математик* (Russ. *математика*) 'mathematics' (cf. *математикч* 'mathematician'), *коммун* (Russ. *коммуна*) 'commune', *коммунизм* 'communism', *концерт* 'concert', *роман* 'novel', *роль* 'role', *радио* 'radio', *пролетари* (Russ. *пролетарий*) 'proletarian', *фабрик* (Russ. *фабрика*) 'factory', *завод* 'plant', *философи* (Russ. *философия*) 'philosophy', *феодал* 'feudal lord', *партизан* 'guerrilla fighter', *арми* (Russ. *армия*) 'army', etc.

Naturally, all the above-mentioned foreign words have undergone and are undegoing phonetic changes in Mongolian. True, in certain cases the spelling (of both the Ancient Written Mongolian and the modern literary language) attempts to render foreign words according to the phonetic and spelling norms of the source language. The old script included special letters and diacritics especially for the purpose of rendering words of Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese origin.

While it is relatively easy to trace the source of most foreign borrowings in Mongolian (Greek, Arabic, Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese, Russian and, in special terminological fields, Manchu), it is difficult to identify the borrowings from Turkic, since both Turkic and Mongolian belong to one Turko-Mongol supra-family within the Altaic group of languages, which hypothetically descended from a common proto-language. Consequently, Mongolian and Turkic necessarily have words common to both families and going back to the vocabulary of the Altaic proto-language, as well as words which came into one family from the other, i.e. Turkic elements in the Mongolian languages and Mongolian elements in the Turkic languages. However, phonetically both families are similar to such a degree that mutual borrowings cannot be identified by the usual procedure of establishing phonetic correspondences. Any Turkic word after entering Mongolian will practically correspond to the phonetic norms of Mongolian, which makes it almost impossible to determine which elements of the common Mongolian-Turkic lexical stock go back to the protolanguage and which should be regarded as borrowings.

Naturally, certain terminological borrowings may quite easily be identified as such (Turkic elements in Mongolian or Mongolian elements in Turkic) because there is the evidence of written and other sources. This is true, in particular, of the Uigur borrowings into Mongolian which relate to the Buddhist terminology. However, the majority of the Uigur lexical elements were foreign borrowings in Uigur itself—Greek, Sanskrit, Arabic or Iranian; the relevant examples have been cited above. The Uigur elements in Mongolian also include some purely Turkic roots, e.g. *буян* 'virtue', 'deed of charity' < Uig. *bujan* 'worthy', *зул* 'lamp' < Uig. *jula* with the same meaning, *алга тэхэмлэг* (read incorrectly according to a false etymology as *алга тахимлиг*) 'Buddhist monk', etc. The characteristic feature of these Turkic borrowings is that the time and place of their incorporation into Mongolian are easily identifiable (around the 18th century, from

Uigur). Also, they exist only in the Mongolian languages spoken where Buddhism was spread, which sets such borrowings apart from the Turkic elements pertaining to the general cultural sphere or the sphere of trade. Finally, all such words belong now to the passive lexical stock of Mongolian.

Quite different is the case of the Turkic borrowings which were assimilated by Mongolian as a result of the ancient and lasting contacts of the Mongolian peoples and the Turkic peoples. These words entered Mongolian languages in prehistoric times, they are common to all Mongolian dialects and belong to the nucleus of the vocabulary. At the present stage of Mongolian studies it is impossible to determine when and from what Turkic language[1] such words were borrowed into Mongolian; at any rate, they were there in the pre-literate period, i.e. long before the 18th century. It is difficult to identify such Turkic elements in the Mongolian vocabulary by phonetic analysis, and one has to resort to the morphological (and partly semantic) analysis as practised by D.Y. Vladimirtsov, whose findings will be summarised below.[2]

For example, the Turkic origin of the Mongolian word *хэсэг* 'part', 'piece', 'group' is identifiable because this word is indivisible in modern Mongolian, whereas in the Turkic languages the word *kesek*, having the same meanings, is easily broken down into the verbal stem *kes-* 'to cut' plus the nominalising suffix *-k* with the euphonic vowel *-e-*. Similarly, one can establish the Turkic origin of the following Mongolian words: *хөрөг* 'portrait', 'image' < Turk. *kör* 'to look', 'to see' plus the suffix *-k*; *бөлөг* 'section', 'chapter', 'division' < Turk. *böl-* 'to divide', 'to separate' plus the suffix *-k*; *билиг* 'talent', 'gift' < Turk. *bil-* 'to

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[1] In certain cases one may assume that some of the Turkic borrowings came from the *dž*-type Turkic dialects.

[2] B.Y. Vladimirtsov, "Turetskie elementy v mongolskom yazyke", in: *Zapiski vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo obshchestva*, vol. XX, St. Petersburg, 1911, pp. 1-32.

know'; *хана* 'to bleed' < Turk. *qan-* 'blood' plus the verbal suffix *-a; яр* < *jara* 'wound', 'sore' < Turk. *jar-* ~ *zar-* 'to chop' plus the suffix *-a; зарим* 'certain', 'some', 'half', 'part' < Turk. *jar-* ~ *žar-* 'to chop', 'to split' plus the suffix *m; зэрлэг* 'wild', 'uncultivated' < Turk. *žer* 'earth' plus the suffix *-лиг; золго* 'to meet' < Turk. *žol* 'road' plus the suffix *-k* > *-го*, etc. The examples show that the roots of many Mongolian words cannot be explained from Mongolian alone, yet they are productive and comprehensible in the Turkic languages.

Apart from the above-mentioned Turkic borrowings, Mongolian includes Turkic words where roots are identical with the roots of Mongolian words. Thus, both in the Turkic and the Mongolian languages there is the verbal stem *джаса //jasa-* 'to correct', 'to create', 'to put in order' and its derivative *джасаг//jasar //džasak= jasak* 'law', 'order', 'power', whose morphological composition (the nominal suffix *-k-//-r-*, which is productive in the Turkic languages but non-productive in Mongolian) points to its Turkic origin. The same should be said about such Mongolian words as *хоног* 'shelter for the night', 'day and night' and *хоно* 'to pass the night', cf. Turk. *qon-; сураг* 'message', 'rumour' and *суг-* 'to ask' (the verbal stem occurring not in all Mongolian languages), cf. Turk. *sura-; ам аг* 'love', 'beloved' and *амра-* 'to be quiet', 'to rest'; cf. Turk. *amra-* (cf. Uig. *amran-*, Mountain Altaic *amïra-*), etc.

The above examples show that in certain cases derivative words may be borrowed from one language into another, and the derivational stem will be identical in both languages. Therefore some Turkic borrowings in Mongolian are treated as purely Mongolian derivatives, and their foreign origin is no longer clearly perceived.

As has been said above, the Turkic and Mongolian languages include quite a number of words the exact origin of which—Turkic or Mongolian—is undeterminable. Such words should be regarded as common for both language groups. The words common for Turkic and Mongolian either belonged to proto-Turko-

Mongolian (or even proto-Altaic), or their origin cannot be definitely established by Altaic comparative linguistics at its present stage of development. Cf. Mong. *хар* < *кара* 'black' = Turk. *qara;* Mong. and Turk. *бол-* 'to be', 'to become'; Mong. *сахал*< *сахал* 'beard', 'whiskers' = Turk. *saqal;* Mong. *хох* < *köke* 'blue' = Turk. *kök;* Mong. *шар*< *сара* 'yellow' = Turk. *sarï*, etc.

The influx of the Turkic lexical elements stopped in the Middle Mongolian period (about the 13th-15th centuries)—with the exception of the local borrowings in the regions where separate Mongol and Turkic ethnic groups were in close contact, i.e. western Mongol tribes and the Turkic tribes of Southern Siberia, etc. Not all the speakers of Mongolian are familiar with such borrowings.

Naturally the principal part of the Mongolian vocabulary is formed by the numerically prevalent purely Mongolian lexical stratum which includes indigenous Mongolian words. This stratum certainly does not remain unchangeable as far as composition and semantics are concerned. In the course of its continuous evolution Mongolian underwent various changes as the Mongolian society developed. Accordingly, some words were forgotten, others were modified semantically, and still others were replaced by different words—derived from the Mongolian lexical stock or borrowed from foreign languages. Finally, new words were continually formed from the existing linguistic stock to meet the new demands created by the changing conditions of social life.

All these changes in the Mongolian vocabulary were especially pronounced and intensive in the 14th-17th centuries, when feudal relations and Buddhism became firmly established in the country, while the patriarchal tribal social patterns and shamanistic beliefs gradually receded. It was at this period that the Ancient Written Mongolian became wide spread; this process was connected with the spread of book printing, the emergence of numerous translations executed by learned scholars, etc.; the next period in the development of Ancient Written Mongolian begins at the threshold of the 17th century. Future studies in Mongolian historical lexicology will undoubtedly show that the 14th-

17th centuries were the first historical period when large-scale changes were attested in the Mongolian vocabulary. At present students of Mongolian languages lack data on lexical changes in Mongolian which must have taken place in the period of initial nomadisation—presumably around the beginning of our era, when the Huns were masters in Central Asia. As far as the historically attested period is concerned, the most important factor in the development of the Mongolian vocabulary was the assimilation of the foreign lexical elements summarised above.

No matter how great and historically important were the changes in the Mongolian vocabulary in the 14th-17th centuries they certainly fall short of those that occur in the vocabulary of Modern Mongolian today, caused by the deep-going social changes in the life of the Mongols after the People's Revolution of 1921 and in the course of the subsequent socialist construction.

These changes, first, concern certain words denoting obsolescent categories and phenomena, which irrespective of their origin, became purely historical terms, shifted to the periphery of the vocabulary, e.g. *бэйл* 'prince of the third rank'; *бэйс* 'prince of the fourth rank'; *лагшин* 'body', 'high-placed person'; *угсаатай* 'noble', 'high-born'; *цагаачин* 'outsiders' (cattle-breeders who lost their livestock and had to roam); *банз* 'flat stick used for punishment'; *банзлах* 'to beat with this flat stick' (in the general meaning of corporal punishment); *даа* 'great', 'big' (of persons, monasteries, towns), etc. The exact meaning of such words is no longer known among the younger generations of Mongols.

Second, many old words acquired new meanings, having completely or partially lost their old meanings, e.g. *яам* 'ministry', formerly 'office', 'chamber' (now means also 'embassy' in the combination *элчин сайдын яам*); *эвлэл* 'union', 'association', formerly 'accord', 'harmony'; *нам* '(political) party', formerly 'accord', 'similarity', 'equal'; *гавшгай* 'exemplary' (*гавшгай ходолмер* 'exemplary work', 'shock work'), formerly only 'quick', 'deft', 'agile', 'prompt'; *цахилгаан* 'electricity',

formerly only 'lightning'; *дугуй* 'bicycle', formerly only 'wheel', 'circle', etc.

Third, new words were derived through suffixation, e.g. *хамтрал* 'collective farm' *хамтра-* 'to unite' plus the suffix *-л*; *ухуулагч* 'agitator' *ухуул-* 'to explain' plus the suffix *-гч*; *ухуулга* 'agitation' (haplology—instead of *ухуулалга*) < *ухуул-* plus the suffix *-лга*; *сурвалжлагч* 'correspondent' < *сурвалжла-* 'to gather information', 'to look for' plus the suffix *-гч*, *суртал* 'ideologist', 'propagandist' < *сурта л* 'idea', 'propaganda' (formerly 'teaching', 'guidance', 'doctrine') plus the suffix *-ч*, etc.

Fourth, many neologisms were formed by subordinative or coordinative word composition (of two words mainly), e.g. coordinative combinations: *эв хамт* 'communism', 'communist' < *эв* 'friendship', 'accord' and *хамт* 'together'; *орлого зарлага* 'budget' < *орлого* 'income', 'returns', 'profits' and *зарлага* 'expenditure','expense'; *олон нийт* 'public', 'society' < *олон* 'many', 'mass' and *нийт* 'all', 'total', etc.; subordinative combinations, mostly attributive: *нийгэм журам* 'socialism' < *нийгэм* 'common', 'public' and *журам* 'order', 'system', 'establishment', i.e. 'common order'; *агаарын мэдээ нэвтрүүлэгч* 'broadcaster' < *агаарын* 'air', *мэдээ* 'news', 'message' and *нэвтрүүлэгч* 'disseminator', i.e. 'distributor of air news'; *их сургууль* 'university' < *их* 'big'and *сургууль* 'school', i.e. 'big school'; *дээд сургууль* 'institute' < *дээд* 'higher' and *сургууль* 'school', i.e. 'higher school', etc. It should be pointed out that terminological neologisms formed according to this pattern were not always satisfactory, therefore some were replaced by more convenient terms which rendered the meaning more exactly. Thus, in the 1920's and 1930's the notion of a motor-car was conveyed by such combinations as *уурын тэрэг* 'steam cart' and *мухар тэрэг* 'hornless cart', as well as by the Chinese *чийчаа*. All these words have been replaced by the international *машин* (pronounced *машан* or *машийн*). Some of these neologisms were recently used in Mongolian along with international words, e.g. *эв хамт* and *коммунизм*, *нийгэм журам* and *социализм*, etc.

Fifth, modern Mongolian vocabulary has been enriched by many foreign borrowings, mostly Russian and international, examples of which were given above.

These are the main characteristics of the Mongolian vocabulary in terms of its composition, origin, its genetic layers and strata.

From the structural point of view all Mongolian words, irrespective of their origin, are subdivided (as almost in any language) into root words (primary or non-derivative) and derivatives (secondary words) formed by means of suffixation, i.e. consisting of primary stems and derivative suffixes which are augmented to the derivational stems.

The greater part of the Mongolian vocabulary is made up of derivatives formed by means of the numerous word-building suffixes. These suffixes derive nouns as well as verbs from verbal and nominal stems. Other parts of speech (namely adverbs and postpositions) are also formed by means of suffixes.

Due to the agglutinative nature of Mongolian and the consequent monosemanticity of derivative suffixes, a simple one-syllable root may take many suffixes resulting in long multisyllabic words and complex groups of derivatives.

Let us give just one example: *ний* 'accord', 'unanimity', 'totality' > (1) *нийгөө-* 'to spread everywhere'; (2) *нийгчлэ-* 'to spread something', 'to generalise'; (3) *нийгэм* 'common', 'public', 'community'; (4) *нийгэмлэг* 'communion', 'union'; (5) *нийгэмчлэ-* 'to make common', 'to socialise'; (6) *нийгэн* 'overall', 'commonly spread'; (7) *нийөэм* 'totality', 'everything'; (8) *нийд-* 'to become friends', 'to make friends'; (9) *нийлбэр* 'mouth of a river', 'sum'; (10) *нийллэг* 'union', 'agreement', 'meeting'; (11) *нийлүүлэг* 'mating'; (12) *нийлүүлэгч* 'purveyor'; (13) *нийлүүл-* 'to unite', 'to supply', 'to mate'; (14) *нийлэг* 'synthesis'; (15) *нийлэлт* 'union', 'accord'; (16) *нийл-* 'to unite', 'to join', 'to be friends', 'to coincide', 'to correspond'; (17) *нийс* 'accord', 'agreement', 'unanimity'; (18) *нийслэл* 'capital'; (19) *нийт* 'total', 'all', 'totality'; (20) *нийтлэ-* 'to print', 'to publish', 'to make public';

(21) *нийц* 'agreement', 'sociability', 'urbaneness'; (22) *нийц-* 'to correspond'. We did not give here various verbal voice forms derived from verbal stems and the corresponding nominal derivatives.

While suffixal derivation is very productive in Modern Mongolian, other derivation techniques, productive at earlier stages of the development of the language, are no longer used, although certain forms may still be attested. We have in mind internal inflexion of the stem and metathesis, which were formerly quite commonly used for derivation.

The internal inflexion of the stem as a derivational technique no longer common at present may be illustrated by the following examples: *ах* 'elder brother', 'elder (in general)'—*эх* 'mother'; *хайрцаг* ' small box'—*хуурцаг* 'box', 'chest'; *цагаан* 'white'—*цэгээн* 'light', 'whitish'; *дуус* 'to end', 'to finish' < *daγus-* —*төгөс* 'to come to an end', 'to come to a completion' < *tegüs-*; *зогс* 'to stand on one's feet', 'to stop', 'to cease'—*тогт* 'to stop', 'to cease', 'to become established', 'to form', 'to emerge', 'to agree'; *задра-* 'to unfold', 'to unwrap', 'to come apart', 'to disentangle'—*ядра-* 'to be tired', 'to become exhausted', 'to suffer'; *зөв* 'correct', 'true', 'just', 'exact'—*төв* 'straight', 'honest', 'quiet' and *төв* 'centre'. The distinction of words according to the presence or absence of a certain initial sound (e.g. the consonant *т*) also belongs to this category: *УУс-* 'to begin', 'to emerge' < *egüs-* —*төгөс* < *tegüs* (see above); *энд* 'here'—*тэнд* 'there'; *ийм* 'such (as this)'—*тийм* 'such (as that)'.

The phenomena connected with the breaking of the vowel *i* which was accompanied by the transition *т* > *ч* at certain stages of the development of Mongolian also enter this category, e.g. *чагна-* 'to listen', 'to eavesdrop' < *čingna-* < *tingna-* < *tïngna-* > *tangna-* > *магна* 'to scout', 'to reconnoitre', 'to inquire'; *чин* 'unshakable', 'firm' < *čing* < *ting* < **tïng* > *tung* > *tung* ~ *//-tong* > *мун//мон* 'very', 'very much', 'absolute' (cf. Kirghiz *tïng* 'vigorous', 'firm', 'sound', *tïngša-* 'to listen', 'to eavesdrop', *čïn* 'truth', *čïng* 'firm', 'strong').

Even fewer cases of derivation through syllabic metathesis

have been preserved: *хаш-* 'to block', 'to stop', 'to enclose', 'to fence', 'not to let out', 'to keep forcibly inside', 'to oppress' < *qasi- –шах-* 'to press', 'to strain', 'to squeeze', 'to corner' < *sixa-; шYm-* 'to believe', 'to trust' < *sitü- –mYш-* 'to receive support from someone', 'to lean upon something', 'to trust someone' < *tüsi-; бах* 'joy', 'delight', 'pride' < *baχa–хав* 'adroitness', 'dexterity' < *χaba* (cf. Buriat *хабатай* 'mighty' and *бахатай* 'remarkable').

In some cases new terms are "created" by some kind of semantic modification of the old words which begin to be used in a figurative or transferred meaning, e.g. *мөлжих* 'to exploit', formerly only 'to gnaw'; *ногоо* 'vegetables', formerly 'grass', 'greenery'; *боловсрол* 'education', 'training', 'culture', formerly 'ripening', 'maturity', 'creation', 'formation', etc.

Apart from suffixal derivation and semantic modification of old words, Modern Mongolian makes wide use of derivation via word composition and word combination. The problem of neologism formation through subordinative and coordinative word combination was dealt with above when describing the derivation of new terms after the revolution in Mongolia. It only remains to be said that coordinative word combinations form what is known as double words. Semantically "double words" fall into two categories: in one case the words which make up the doublet preserve their meanings and do not create a new notion, e.g. *орлого зарлага* 'budget', lit. 'income and expenditure' (a mechanical juxtaposition of two words). In the other case the components of double words lose their original meanings and give rise to entirely new words, sometimes with quite unexpected meanings, e.g. *эв хамт* 'communism', 'communist'.

Thus, the vocabulary of Modern Mongolian includes indigenous Mongolian words, some of which are also common to the cognate Turkic languages. It also includes words borrowed from other languages, both cognate and unrelated, whose speakers in different historical periods had contacts with the Mongols. The

role of these languages as "purveyors" of vocabulary for Mongolian was and is changing in the course of the history of that language: some, e.g. early Turkic, contributed words in the prehistoric period which left no written monuments; others, e.g. Greek, Arabic, Iranian, Uigur, Tibetan and Sanskrit, contributed to the vocabulary of Mongolian in the middle period (13th-16th centuries); Manchu words penetrated Mongolian during the Manchu feudal rule (17th-19th centuries); Chinese borrowings became especially important in the feudal period (these were actually Manchu words assimilated into Mongolian via Chinese); at present an ever increasing role in enriching the Mongolian vocabulary is played by Russian which, in addition to Russian words, contributes international terminology to Mongolian (in the Russian phonetic and semantic form).

MORPHOLOGY

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

As far as its morphological characteristics are concerned Mongolian may be classified as agglutinative-suffixal. This means, first, that the root, the stem and the suffixes remain unchanged in the processes of word derivation and word formation (form-building), apart from certain positional phonetic modifications of the suffixes depending on the sound composition of the root of the stem. Thus, Mongolian does not possess "regular" and "irregular" verbs nor "week", "strong" and "mixed" declensions. Moreover, the character of case form-building is such that all declined parts of speech belong to one declension paradigm (substantives, objective and qualitative adjectives, pronouns, numerals, participles and some adverbs). As far as Mongolian is concerned it is pointless to talk of substantive or participle declension as something different from adjective or numeral declension. The phonetic form of any case suffix depends not on what part of speech the word belongs to but only on the phonetic composition of the word itself, namely, on the nature of its final phoneme.

Second, all Mongolian suffixes are monosemantic. Thus, if in the Russian word "написал" the suffix *-л* expresses the meaning of a past action performed by one person of the masculine gender, i.e. the suffix represents three morphological categories (tense, number and gender), in the corresponding Mongolian word *бичив* the suffix *-в* expresses only the category of the past tense. In other words, the Mongolian suffixes express only one grammatical or lexical category. This is one of the characteristic features of agglutination, which distinguishes the agglutinative languages from the inflected languages.

Third, since Mongolian does not possess the category of gender as well as the category of number in form-building morphemes, it is impossible to determine from the phonetic compositions of the lexical stem what part of speech the word belongs to, especially if it is non-derivative.

Word- and form-building in Mongolian is effected by means of suffixation. Form-building includes the formation of cases and, independently from this, the formation of the plural, as well as the verb conjugation. If suffixes expressing the category of the case are severed from the noun, there remains the stem of the noun which phonetically may not coincide with the nominative case and which participates in the formation of cases by augmenting the corresponding suffixes, e.g. *малын* (gen., suffix *-ын*) 'of the cattle', *малыг* (acc., suffix *-ыг*) 'the cattle', *малд* (dat.-loc., suffix *-д*) 'to the cattle', *малаас* (abl., suffix *-аас*) 'from the cattle', *малаар* (instr., suffix *-аар*) 'by the cattle', *малтай* (com., suffix *-тай*) 'with the cattle', 'having the cattle'. The stem of this word in this case is identical with the nominative form *мал* 'cattle'.

The plural-forming suffix of the nouns is added to the stem of the singular, e.g. *ширээнүүд* 'tables' from *ширээ* 'table', *эхэс* 'mothers' from *эх* 'mother'. In some cases the plural is formed by changing the final *н* (often "concealed"), *л* or *р* for *-д*, e.g. *гишүүд* 'members' from *гишүүн* 'member', *тугад* 'calves' from *тугал* 'calf', *морьд* 'horses' from *морь* (*морин*) 'horse', *нөхөд*

'comrades' from *нөхөр* 'comrade'. It is important to note that the plural form of the noun is unconnected with the category of case: the nominative plural serves as a stem for other case forms of the plural, e.g. *морь* 'horses' (nom.), *морьдын* 'of the horses' (gen.), *морьдыг* 'the horses' (acc.), *морьдод* 'to the horses' (dat.), *морьдоос* 'from the horses' (abl.), *морьоор* 'by the horses' (instr.) and *морьтой* 'with the horses', 'having the horses' (com.)[1] Thus, the nouns possess two stems, one for the singular and the other, derived from the former, for the plural, i.e. the form of the plural serves as the second nominal stem.[2] The examples also show that the plural nominal declension is identical with the singular because the phonemic form of the case suffixes varies only depending on the phonemic pattern of the noun.

If the suffixes of the mood, the participle and the verbal participle are severed from the verb, there remains the stem, which may also be used independently as the second person imperative, e.g. *гар*! (coincides with the stem *гар*-) 'come out!', *гарья!* 'let us come out!', *гарав* 'came out', *гараад* 'having come out', *гарсан* 'he who came out', etc.[3]

Thus, the stem of the Mongolian word is its shortest notional part (in the lexico-grammatical sense).

The stem may either be non-derived (the root) or derived from the root by means of adding the corresponding suffixes. Stems which in modern Mongolian are no longer reducible into the root and the derivative suffix should also be regarded as root stems.

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[1] Since we have thus presented the pattern of plural formation in the nouns, we shall not further dwell on this category. Let us note that there are many types of plural suffixes in Mongolian—a phenomenon lacking in the Turkic languages (B.Y. Vladimirtsov ascribed this to the mixed nature of Mongolian).

[2] For full and apocopated nominal stems, see section on declension.

[3] For secondary aspect stems, see section on the verb.

In this connection it is important to establish in each particular case whether new lexical stems and new words are built, or new grammatical forms of the same word are generated, i.e. whether we deal with derivation or form-building. In Mongolian every word may produce derivatives, in contrast to the grammatical forms of the words (the exceptions are those forms which function as stems: the nominal nominative, the cardinal numerals and the 2nd pers. sg. optative-imperative of the verb). Such forms as(1) the nominal plural which is the plural stem; (2) the ordinal, distributive and collective numerals and (3) any secondary aspect form of the verb (cf. section on the verb) are not considered to be derivatives because they cannot function as stems for building new notional words.

At the same time, various secondary voice stems of the verb should be regarded as new verbal stems, new lexical units because the hortative, passive, comitative or reciprocal stems, i.e. the verbs in the forms of the hortative, passive, comitative or reciprocal voice, may give, for example, nominal stems, e.g. (1) *сур-* 'to learn', 'to study something'—*сурга-* 'to teach somebody', 'to instruct' (the hortative)—*сургууль* 'studies', 'school'; (2) *ял-* 'to win'—*ялагд-* 'to be conquered' (the passive)—*ялагдал* 'defeat'; (3) *хэл* 'to speak'—*хэлэлц-* 'to talk', 'to discuss' (the comitative)—*хэлэлцээ* 'talks', 'agreement', (4) *бар* 'to hold'—*барилд-* 'to wrestle' (the reciprocal)—*барилдаан* 'wrestling'.

Thus, the form of the plural in the nouns, the ordinal, distributive and collective numerals, as well as the forms of the secondary verb aspects are grammatical forms of the words while being at the same time a special type of stems, because they serve as the base for building various declinable and conjugated forms of the same words. Such forms should be regarded as borderline phenomena between form- and word-building; they may sometimes combine separate features of both. Certain exceptions of the type *эх* 'mother' and *эхнэр* 'wife' (formally the plural from *эх*), *хYYхэн* 'young girl' and *хYYхэд* 'child', 'children', 'kids' (formally the plural from *хYYхэн*), *сайн* 'good' and *сайд* 'minister'

(formally the plural from *сайн*) do not change the overall picture.

The agglutinative nature of Mongolian is reflected in the fact that the phonemic composition (more exactly, phonemic variations) of the grammatical and derivative suffixes depends on the phonemic composition of the whole stem or on its final consonant, as far as vocalism and some consonantal elements of these suffixes are concerned. Therefore the phonemic composition of the Mongolian suffixes varies depending on the phonemic form of the stem, and the suffixes may either contain only variable sounds, or both variable and constant sounds. The variable sounds are mostly vowels whose positional variants depend, according to the rules of vowel harmony, on the vocalism of the underlying stem, while the constant sounds are mostly consonants. Only several of the consonants (*б-в, д-т, ж-ч, л-р*) may vary depending on the consonantism of the stem (mainly the final consonant). In other words, many Mongolian suffixes have no standard sound form, they are a complex of several variants, each being constant only within phonetically similar words.

We may thus say that certain groups of sounds behave as if they were positional variants of one phoneme when they are within certain suffixes, this not being the case when the same sounds occur within the underlying (especially root) stem of the word. In this, morphological, sense of the word the following sounds should be regarded as variants of the same phonemes: (1) *а-о-ө-э* and the corresponding long *аа-оо-өө-ээ*,(2) *уу-YY*, (3) *б-в*, (4) *д-т*, (5) *ж-ч*, (6) *л-р* e.g.: (1) in the suffix of the future participle—*явах* '(about) to go', *ирэх* '(about) to come', *орох* '(about) to enter', *өргөх* '(about) to lift' (here the variable part of the suffix is the vowel and the constant part is the consonant *-х*) and in the suffix of the distributive verbal participle—*явсад* 'having gone', *ирэжд* 'having come', *орөөд* 'having entered', *өргөөд* 'having lifted' (here the variable part of the suffix is the long vowel and the constant part is the consonant *-д*); (2) in the suffix of the hortative voice—*явуул-* 'to make go', *ирYYл-* 'to make come' (here the variable part of the

suffix is the long vowel-*уу-* or *-YY-*, and the constant part is the consonant *-л*); (3) in the suffix of the conditional verbal participle *-явбал* 'if coming', *олбол* 'if growing', *ирвэл* 'if arriving' (here the variable parts of the suffix are the consonant *-б-//-в-* and the short vowel while the constant part is the consonant *-л*); (4) in the dative-locative suffix—*мал∂* 'to the cattle' and *барт* 'to the tiger' (here the suffix consists of only one variable consonant *-∂//-т*, apart from a short, also variable, vowel not represented in spelling); (5) in the suffix of the conjunctive verbal participle—*болж* '(while) becoming' and *гарч* '(while) leaving' (here the suffix consists of one variable consonant *-ж//-ч*); (6) in the suffix of the verbal noun—*хавчуур* 'tongs', 'clips' and *бариул* 'pen', *өлгYYр* 'peg', *хэрYYл* (from the fossilised stem *хэр-* which gave the reciprocal form *хэрэлд-* 'to quarrel') 'quarrel', 'discord' (here the variable part is the entire sound composition of the suffix; vocalism follows the rules of vowel harmony, while consonants are subject to dissimilation).

Several remarks have to be made about the terms "suffix" and "inflexion" ("ending"). The postpositional agglutination in Mongolian determines the absence of prefixes or infixes with the resulting suffixal character of form- and word-building. Since the corresponding Mongolian morphemes have only one lexical, grammatical or lexico-grammatical meaning, these morphemes cannot be subdivided into suffixes and inflexions (endings). Thus, only suffixes should be regarded as relevant elements in the structure of Mongolian, while endings are not attested as elements distinct and different from suffixes. This is largely due to the fact that Mongolian possesses neither a grammatical category of gender nor, in the verbal system, that of number. (In the nominal system, as has been stated above, the plural formation is independent from case formation and precedes it, entering the border region between form- and word-building in terms of the word structure).

NOMINAL PARTS OF SPEECH

In terms of form-building the parts of speech in Mongolian are subdivided into i n f l e c t e d and u n i n f l e c t e d. Inflected

parts of speech are subdivided into declinable or nominal (substantives, object nouns, adjectives, qualitative nouns, pronouns and numerals) and conjugated (verbs). The uninflected parts of speech include adverbs, postpositions, particles, conjunctions and interjections (plus the so-called onomatopoeic words whose study began only recently; they are conventionally included into interjections but the trend now is to consider them separate parts of speech). Scholars have not yet come to an agreement as to which parts of speech, apart from numerals and pronouns, should be included into the category of nominal parts of speech, which words each part of speech comprises, etc. Some think that Mongolian has substantives and adjectives, as well as pronouns and numerals, whereas others postulate object nouns and qualitative nouns which do not correspond to the substantives and adjectives in other languages.

The main difficulty in attributing the nominal words to a specific part of speech arises when such words are non-derivative simple roots, and their morphemic analysis cannot provide reliable data for their lexico-grammatical analysis. The difficulty is further aggravated by the fact that in Mongolian nominal parts of speech are characterised by the same category of case and thus all belong to one type of declension.

To determine what part of speech the word belongs to it is thus necessary to consider its lexical (semantic) properties, as well as its syntactic characteristics; morphological analysis is least acceptable, if at all.

Accordingly, the lexico-semantic, morphological and syntactic characteristics may successfully be used to determine what part of speech the word belongs to only if they are applied in a discriminating way, depending on the type of the given word.

Lexico-semantic, morphological and syntactic features of certain word classes in Mongolian enable us to distinguish the six above-mentioned declinable or nominal parts of speech.

The substantives are words which denote objects or reified phenomena and processes, which cannot serve as material

for other objects. Substantives denote mostly abstract notions, reified processes, social and biological units, etc. Morphemically the substantives are subdivided into root and derivative, while syntactically these words cannot function as attributes of other words when they are in their stem form[4]. The attributive function is assumed by the genitive and comitative forms of these nouns. Thus, the substantives are words like *мал* 'cattle', *тахиа* 'hen', *шавь* 'pupil', *улс* 'state', 'country', *нам* 'party' (association), *ном* 'book', *нуур* 'lake', *ялалт* 'victory', *явдал* 'motion', 'move', *уралдаан* 'emulation', *эмгэн* 'old woman', *хоног* 'day', *Америк* 'America', *Лондон* 'London', *Цэрэн* 'Tseren' (proper name), *буриад* 'Buriat', *мажар* 'a Hungarian', etc.

A large part of the substantives are derivatives (the suffixes *-бар//-вар, -л, -лт, -лга -лага, -мж, -уул,* etc.), they are easily identified as substantives, e.g. *тасалбар* 'receipt', *таавар* 'riddle', *эвлэл* 'union', *тасралт* 'interval', *хаалга* 'gate', *байгууллага* 'organisation', *туслалж* 'help', *харуул* 'guard', etc.

The object nouns are words denoting objects which may serve as material for other objects; morphologically they are primary roots, while syntactically they may function as attributes of other nouns when used in their stem form—full (unapocopated) in case of nouns with a final *-н*, e.g. *төмөр* 'iron', *алтан* 'gold', *болд* 'steel', *модон* 'wood', *зэс* 'copper', etc. Consequently, object nouns form a small group of underived words which denote concrete materials and are sometimes referred to in special literature as "substantives-adjectives", because in their non-

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[4] The exceptions are the so-called nominative attributes like *Монгол гутал* 'Mongol boots', *орос хэл* 'Russian language' or *хонин жил* 'Sheep Year' ('the Year of the Sheep'), analogical attributes like *морин хуур* (a musical instrument decorated with a horse-head image: *морин* 'horse') and the appositions, e.g. *хятад багш* 'Chinese teacher' or *нөхөр Дамдин* 'Comrade Damdin', where the substantives in their stem form *Монгол* 'Mongol', *орос* 'Russian', *хонин* 'sheep', *морин* 'horse', *хятад* 'Chinese', *нөхөр* 'comrade' function as attributes to other nouns.

attributive use they correspond to the substantives in other languages (*болдоор хийв* 'made of steel'), and in the attributive use they correspond to the adjectives (*болд сэлэм* 'steel sword').

In linguistic works, the substantives and the object nouns are commonly treated as belonging to the same lexico-grammatical class and are referred to as "the substantives", because their differentiation is difficult, especially in the school programmes. In spite of all their respective peculiarities which differentiate these two parts of speech, the substantives and the object nouns have much in common: both possess the category of number (the category of case characterises all nominal parts of speech and participles) lacking in the adjectives, qualitative nouns and numerals (we do not speak of the pronouns which in their entirety possess the categories of all the parts of speech related to the different pronominal classes).

At the same time, there occurs in linguistic works a confusion of morphological criteria with syntactic; the substantives and (especially) the object nouns are treated as adjectives when used in the attributive function, because in this case these parts of speech are translated into some languages by adjectives: *зэс зоос* 'copper (adj.) coin' (*зэс* 'copper') and *монгол хэл* 'Mongolian language' (*монгол* 'Mongol'). It seems that we are dealing with homonyms: *зэс* 'copper' (subst.) and *зэс* 'copper' (adj.), *монгол* 'Mongol', and *монгол* 'Mongolian'. However, these words are not used predicatively in Mongolian with the meaning of an adjective [the qualified noun has to be inserted, e.g. *энэ хэл монгол хэл* 'this language is Mongolian' (lit. 'this language—Mongolian language'), *энэ зоос зэс зоос* 'this coin is copper' (lit. 'this coin—copper coin'), etc.].

The adjectives are words which in most cases are derivatives with the exception of words denoting colour and "geometric" words, e.g. *зузаан* 'thick', *нимгэн* 'thin' (about flat objects), *бүдүүн* 'thick', *нарийн* 'thin' (about non-flat objects), etc. Their morphological peculiarity is the absence of number. Their lexico-semantic characteristic is that while denoting

quality or feature the meaning of the Mongolian adjective is more narrow as compared with the corresponding word classes in other languages. Thus, while the Russian relative adjective *конный* 'horse', 'equine' has various meanings, the corresponding Mongolian *морьт* means only 'having a horse' /e.g. *морьт арми* 'mounted army' (lit. 'with a horse army'), but *морины завод* 'stud farm' (lit. 'of the horse farm'), *морин тармуур* 'horse rake'.

The qualitative nouns are words which denote the qualities and features of both an object and an action, and may thus function as nominal attributes and adverbial modifiers, which cannot be said of the adjectives. It is a word class which corresponds to qualitative adjectives and adverbs of manner in other languages as far as the meaning and usage are concerned. Morphologically the qualitative nouns are largely underived and have no number, in which they are somewhat similar to the adjectives. These nouns denote the quality of an object when they function as attributes of substantives, object nouns and pronouns, e.g. *сайн ном* 'good book', *муу мод* 'bad wood', *сайхан юм* 'something beautiful' (lit. 'beautiful something'), etc. However, the same nouns denote the quality of an action when they appear before verbs, i.e. as adverbial modifiers: *сайн сууна* 'lives well', *муу бичнэ* 'writes badly', *хурдан унишна* 'reads quickly', etc.

The qualitative nouns are sometimes treated in linguistic literature as qualitative adjectives (in combination with nouns, e.g. *хурдан морь* 'quick horse') or adverbs of manner (in combination with verbs: *хурдан явна* 'goes quickly'). Sometimes qualitative nouns and adjectives are treated as one nominal category of "adjectives". This is accounted for by the fact that both qualitative nouns and adjectives may be combined with intensifying words like *их, маш* or *тун* 'very', 'quite', 'extremely' (*маш давсархаг* 'quite salty', *их муу* 'very bad', *маш сайн* 'very good', etc.); both word classes have an analytic form of the superlative degree in combination with the words *хамгийн, адгийн* or *туйлын* 'the most' (*хамгийн хурдан* 'the quickest', *туйлын их* 'the biggest', 'extremely big', *хамгийн баярхаг*

'extremely boastful of one's wealth'); both may be part of the comparative construction with the ablative case (*галаас халуун* 'hotter than fire', *цаснаас цагаан* 'whiter than snow', *мориноос хурдан* 'quicker than a horse'). Some adjectives (mainly those denoting colour) have forms which express degrees of quality, e.g. weak degree of quality (with the formant *-втар : шар* 'yellow'—*шаравтар* 'yellowish', *ногоон* 'green'—*ногоовтор* 'greenish', *хар* 'black'—*харавтар* 'blackish') or intensity (formally expressed by reduplication—the repetition of the first syllable with an increment of the consonant *-в*: *шав-шар* 'extremely yellow', *цав-цагаан* 'extremely white', *ув-улаан* 'extremely red', *хов-хол* 'extremely remote', etc.).

A few comments should be made about the substantivation of the adjectives and qualitative nouns. This should not be confused with their substantival usage. The real substantivation of these nouns, i.e. their transition into another part of speech, the substantive, occurs only when they denote not the feature of an object, but the object itself by its characteristic or accidental feature. The substantivised nouns lose their grammatical properties and acquire new ones, e.g. the category of number. Consequently, it is not the syntactic function of a given word which determines what part of speech it belongs to, but its lexico-semantic nature. The grammatical features of the word only reveal its intrinsic, lexico-semantic nature. "Part of speech" is a lexico-semantic category, because the lexico-semantic aspect of the word is its essence or contents, whereas the grammatical aspect is its external manifestation.

Thus, the word *шар* 'yellow', which is a qualitative adjective, becomes a substantive with the meaning of 'yolk' because in this case, when it denotes an object rather than its quality, it cannot have the forms of the degrees of quality, cannot combine with intensive words, build analytic forms of the superlative degree or be used in the comparative construction with the ablative. The same should be said about the qualitative nouns and adjectives of the type *бат* 'firm', *цагаан* 'white',

хурдан 'quick', etc., if they are used, e.g., as proper nouns: *Бат* 'Bata', or names of objects like *цагаан* 'the white (of the eye)', etc.

But the same adjectives and qualitative nouns do not become substantives when they denote what is known as reified features (cf. the corresponding English substantives of the type "strength", "whiteness", "quickness", etc.), because in this case they do not lose their grammatical properties described above, e.g., *энэ морины тэр мориноос хурднаныг мэдэв* 'found out that this horse was faster than that horse' (lit. 'found out about a greater fastness of this horse as compared with that horse'), *шөнийн хав харанхуйд* 'in the deepest darkness of the night', *хонийг хамгийн тарганд нь* 'the sheep (acc.) when it is the fattest' (lit. 'the sheep in its greatest fatness'), etc. One must add to this that adjectives and qualitative nouns do not become substantivised when denoting objects singled out from other homogeneous objects by a given quality: *эрийн сайн* 'the best of husbands' (lit. 'of the husband the good'—here we deal with a genitive construction, but *энэ эрийн сайн нь* 'a good quality of this husband' or lit. 'of this husband the goodness').

It is possible to find cases of complete substantivisation among the adjectives and qualitative nouns, but the substantives and object nouns only seldom become adjectives or qualitative nouns. One example will suffice: the substantive *ногоо* or *ногоон* 'grass', 'vegetation', meaning 'green', became an adjective at an early stage of the development of Mongolian. This gave several quasi-homonyms: *ногоо* 'grass', 'vegetation' and *ногоон* 'green', the latter word having all the properties of "colour" adjectives, i.e. forms of the degree of quality (*ногоовтор* 'greenish' and *нов ногоон* 'very green'), the ability to be part of the comparative construction (*энэ будаг тэр будгаас ногоон* 'this dye is greener than that dye'), etc.

The adjectives and qualitative nouns which have no category of gender become substantives if used in the plural, because in this case they are no longer able to denote qualities but denote

objects possessing this quality, e.g. *цагаантан* 'the whites' (meaning 'White Guards'), *ихэс* 'dignitaries', 'notables' (from *цагаан* 'white' and *их* 'big').[5]

The numerals in Mongolian possess the category of case like all nominal parts of speech in this language, but they have no category of number; in this they resemble adjectives and qualitative nouns.[6] Apart from their lexico-semantic properties (the expression in numbers of the quantity of objects), the numerals differ morphologically from all other nominal parts of speech in that they have secondary stems from ordinal, distributive and collective numerals, the primary stems being cardinal numerals. Correspondingly, four classes of numerals are known in Mongolian.

Cardinal numerals—*нэгэн* 'one', *хоёр* 'two', *гурван* 'three', *дөрвөн* 'four', *таван* 'five', *зургаан* 'six', *долоон* 'seven', *найман* 'eight', *есөн* 'nine', *арван* 'ten', *хорин* 'twenty', *гучин* 'thirty', *дочин* 'forty', *тавин* 'fifty', *жаран* 'sixty', *далан* 'seventy', *наян* 'eighty', *ерэн* 'ninety', *зуун* 'hundred', *мянган* 'thousand', *түмэн* 'ten thousand', *бум* 'hundred thousand', *сая* 'million', *живаа* 'ten million', *дүнчүүр* 'hundred million' (the numerals with the final *-н* are given with a full stem); complex numerals are formed by combinations in which tens precede unities, hundreds precede tens, etc., e.g., *долоон мянган найман зуун арван гурав*

[5] In modern Mongolian the qualitative nouns and adjectives, when used attributively, do not agree with the qualified word in number and never take the plural form, in contradistinction to certain Buriat dialects (and to the early period in the development of Ancient Written Mongolian), where one finds such examples as *багануud байшангууд* 'little houses' /'little (pl.) houses' instead of *бага байшангууд* 'little (sg.) houses' or *багануud байшан* with the same meaning—lit. 'little (pl.) house'—because the qualified word may be in the singular if the plurality is expressed in the attribute/.

[6] Numerals in the plural are found in clan-and-tribal designations: *дорвод* 'Derbet', *мянгад* 'Mingat', *түмэд* 'Tumet'; Buriat *долоонгууд* 'Dolongut' and *наймангууд* 'Naimangut'—from *дөрөв* 'four', *мянган* 'thousand', *түмэн* 'ten thousand', *долоон* 'seven' and *найман* 'eight' respectively.

'seven thousand eight hundred and thirteen' (as is seen, the hundreds, thousands, etc. are made up of unities plus *зуун, мянган*, etc.).

Ordinal numerals are built with the formant *-дүгээр// -дүгээр–нэгдүгээр* 'first', *гуравдугаар* 'third', *тавьдугаар* 'fiftieth', *зуудугаар* 'hundredth', *мянгадугаар* 'thousandth', etc.

Distributive numerals are built with the formant *-аад–нэжээд* 'by one', *хоёроод* 'by two', *арваад* 'by ten', *зуугаад* 'by hundred', etc. Distributive numerals over ten also denote proximity, e.g. *арваад* 'by ten' and 'about ten', *хорьод* 'by twenty' and 'about twenty', etc. (the exact meaning depends on the context).

Collective numerals are built with the formant *-уул// -үүл–хоёул* 'the two of...', *гурвуул* 'the three of...', *есүүл* 'the nine of...', etc.

The secondary numeral stems, i.e. ordinal, distributive and collective numerals, are forms of numerals rather than new words, because like secondary aspectual verb stems they cannot build new words (unlike the stems of the cardinal numerals).

Mongolian has no indefinite quantitative numerals, because the corresponding words like *олон* 'many', *хэдэн* (in combination with *нэг: нэг хэдэн*) 'some', etc., do not build secondary stems of the ordinal, distributive and collective numerals; these words are classed with other parts of speech.

Fractions are expressed in Mongolian by combinations: the denominator is in the genitive and the numerator is the qualified word, e.g. *долооны гурав* 'three-sevenths', etc. Thus, Mongolian has no fractional numerals either. The word *хагас* 'half' is a substantive.

Pronouns in Mongolian possess in their entirety all the categories which characterise all other parts of speech (if all the classes of pronouns are taken into account). They are grouped into a special part of speech because of their specific lexico-semantic features. The pronouns are subdivided into the following categories which are still a subject of debate in Mongolian studies:

(1) personal: *би* 'I', *чи* 'thou', *бид* 'we', *та* 'you';

(2) demonstrative: *энэ* 'this', *тэр* 'that', *эд* 'these', *тэд* 'those', *ийм* 'such (as this)', *тийм* 'such (as that)', *тус* 'given', *өнөөх* 'selfsame', *мөн* 'given', 'selfsame'; the demonstrative pronouns *энэ* and *тэр* function instead of the 3rd pers. sg. personal pronoun 'he' absent in Mongolian, while *эд* and *тэд* replace the plural 'they';

(3) reflexive: *өөрөө* (the stem *өөр-*) 'self' and *өөрсдөө* (the stem *өөрсөд-*) 'selves';

(4) interrogative: *хэн* 'who', *хэдий* 'how much (many)', *юу* 'what', *ямар* 'what (which)', *аль* 'which (what)', 'who (of them)', *хэдэн* 'how many (much)';

(5) verbal: *ий-* 'to do (like this)', *тий-* 'to do (like that)', *яа-* 'how to do', 'how to be'; in this connection it is significant that the pronouns are called *төлөөний үг*, i.e. "pro-verbs", in Mongolian.

The 1st pers. pl. pronoun *бид* 'we' was historically inclusive, but is now used indiscriminately both in the inclusive and exclusive meanings (in the nominative case; in other cases it has only the inclusive meaning 'we and you'). The exclusive pronoun *ба* 'we without you' of the same person and number, which was formerly used in Mongolian, is now lost, only its stem *ма-* being preserved for oblique cases (cf. below about nominal declension).

Personal pronouns are correlated with the substantives and, accordingly, possess the category of number. This is not so with the demonstrative pronouns which correlate with the adjectives and qualitative nouns. Verbal pronouns have all the categories of the verb. This warrants the statement that the Mongolian pronouns in their entirety possess the categories of all other parts of speech.

NOMINAL DECLENSION

As has been said, the category of case in Mongolian is common for all nominal parts of speech (and participles) not only in the sense that all these parts of speech have case declension, but also in a more restricted sense of sharing the actual

case formants. The choice of a phonetic variant of a given case suffix is not governed by the word's declension type, but by its phonetic pattern.

From the point of view of Mongolian nominal declension, a sharp distinction should be made between the stem and the nominative case. The nominative is the form assumed by a word when it is the subject of a sentence, while the stem is the part of a word from which all the oblique cases are formed by adding the corresponding suffixes. The stem and the nominative are not always identical in Mongolian, because the forms of the stem and the nominative are different for some pronouns and nouns in final *-н*.

For nominal parts of speech, the full and apocopated stems have to be distinguished. The apocopated stem coincides with the nominative case form, which is especially evident in nouns ending in *-н*.

The full nominal stem is the basis for the formation of the genitive, dative-locative and ablative, and the apocopated form is the basis for other cases: the accusative, instrumental and comitative. The full stem of a noun is also used when the noun functions as an attribute of another noun, i.e. *модон байшин* 'wooden house' (here the object noun *модон* is in the form of its full stem), cf. *энд мод байна* 'there is a tree here' (in this case the same noun occurs in the nominative which coincides with the apocopated stem *мод-*). Thus, the full nominal stem which does not coincide with the nominative form not only has a morphological function in building several case forms, but performs an independent syntactic role of a nominal attribute. The apocopated nominal stem also performs an independent syntactic role along with a morphological function—it is used as a direct object: *морь барив* 'caught the horse' (here the noun *морь* is in the form of an apocopated stem which is sometimes incorrectly referred to as the "uninflected accusative").

The personal pronouns *би* 'I', *чи* 'thou', *бид* 'we' and *та* 'you', as well as the demonstrative *энэ* 'this', *тэр* 'that', *эд* 'these' and *тэд* 'those' have different stems. These pronominal

stems are not identical with the nominative form and are used independently only in combination with postpositions, e.g. *чам шиг* 'like thee', or *нам дээр* 'on me'; they never occur in the attributive function. These stems are shown in Table 7.

Table 7

Nominative		Stem	Cases built with the stem
би	'I'	*мин-*	genitive
		нам-	accusative
		над-	all cases except genitive and accusative
чи	'thou'	*чин-*	genitive
		чам-	all cases except genitive
бидэ	'we'	*бидэн*	all cases
**ба*	'we'	*ман-*	genitive
		маньг-	all cases except genitive
та	'you'	*тан-*	all cases
энэ	'this'	*YYн-*	all cases except instrumental
		YY-	instrumental
тэр	'that'	*тYYн-*	all cases except instrumental
		тYY-	instrumental
эдэ	'these'	*эдэн-*	all cases
тэдэ	'those'	*тэдэн-*	all cases

NOTE. The exclusive pronoun *ба* does not at present occur in the form of the nominative case.

Энэ has parallel stems *эн-* (for the accusative), *энYY-* (for the instrumental), *энэн-* (for other cases).

Тэр also has parallel stems *тэрYYн-* (for the instrumental) and *тэрэн-* (for other cases).

Since different nominal stems exist in Mongolian, the principle of agglutination is never violated in declension. The existence of several stems for the same pronouns does not show any features of inflexion and is in keeping with agglutination.

The following systems of declension are found in the Mongolian nominal declension: (1) simple, with only one case suffix joined to the stem of the declinable word; (2) double, with two different case suffixes joined to one stem; (3) possessive,

with case suffixes accompanied by possessive particles—personal, impersonal or reflexive.

The nominative case has no special formant and coincides with the apocopated stem (with the exception of pronouns). This case is the form of both the subject and the predicate, e.g. *нар гарав* 'the sun has risen'; *энэ бол миний багш* 'this is my teacher'; *энэ би* 'this is I'; *энэ бол миний нутаг* 'this is my encampment'.

The genitive case answering the questions "whose?", "which?" "of whom?", "of what?" is formed by the suffixes: (1) *-ий*, after the stems with the final *-н* in words with feminine vowels, e.g. *хэн* 'who'—*хэний* 'whose', *мэргэн* 'sharp-shooting'—*мэргэний* 'of the sharp-shooting', *хүн* 'man'—*хүний* 'of the man'; (2) *-ы-*, after the stems with the final *-н* in words with masculine vowels, e.g. *дайн* 'war'—*дайны* 'of the war', *дуун* 'song'—*дууны* 'of the song', *уралдаан* 'emulation'—*уралдааны* 'of the emulation'; (3) *-ийн*, in words with feminine vowels after stems with final consonants, except *-н*, and short vowels; and in words with masculine vowels after stems with final palatalised and "mellow" consonants or the surd *-г*, e.g. *гэр* 'nomad's tent'—*гэрийн* 'of the tent', *шинэ* 'new'—*шинийн* 'of the new', *хань* 'friend', 'companion'—*ханийн* 'of the friend', 'of the companion', *багш* 'teacher'—*багшийн* 'of the teacher', *цоож* 'lock'—*цоожийн* 'of the lock', *цооног* 'key-hole'—*цооногийн* 'of the key-hole'; (4) *-ын*, only in words with masculine vowels after stems with final consonants, except *-н*, *-г*, the "mellow" and palatalised consonants, as well as short vowels, e.g. *ах* 'elder'—*ахын* 'of the elder', *улс* 'state'—*улсын* 'of the state', *хана* 'wall'—*ханын* 'of the wall'; (5) *-н*, after stems with final diphthongs and the long *-ий*,[7] e.g. *нохой* 'dog'—*нохойн* 'of the dog', *хий* 'air'—*хийн* 'of the air', *зай* 'interval'—*зайн* 'of the interval'; (6) *-гийн*, after stems with a final long vowel, e.g. *жодоо* 'Siberian fir -tree'—*жодоогийн* 'of the fir-tree', *буу* 'gun'—*буугийн* 'of the gun', *жороо* 'ambler'—*жороогийн* 'of the ambler'.

[7] The long vowel *ий* is a reflex of the diphtong *ei*.

The dative-locative case answering the questions "whom?", "to what?", "where?", "when?", "in what?", "in whom?" is formed by means of the suffixes: (1) *-д*, after stems with any final vowels and with final consonants, except *-г* and *-р* with furtive vowels not marked in writing, e.g. *ханa* 'wall'—*ханад* 'in the wall', *манан* 'fog'—*мананд* 'in the fog', *сурагч* 'pupil'—*сурагчид* 'to the pupil', *ар* 'north'—*ард* 'in the north', *буу* 'gun'—*буудa* 'to the gun', *эцэс* 'end'—*эцсэд* 'in the end', *зэс* 'copper'—*зэсэд* 'in the copper', *хад* 'rock'—*хадад* 'in the rock', *хуц* 'ram'—*хуцад* 'to the ram'; (2) *-т*, after stems with the final *-г* and *-р* without furtive vowels, e.g. *хэрэг* 'affair', 'business'—*хэрэгт* 'in the affair', *бичиг* 'letter'—*бичигт* 'in the letter', *гэр* 'tent'—*гэрт* 'in the tent'.

The accusative case answering the questions "whom?", "what?" is formed by means of the suffixes: (1) *-ийг*, in words with feminine vowels after stems with any final consonant or short vowel; in words with masculine vowels after stems in final palatalised and "mellow" consonants, as well as in *-г*, e.g. *гэр* 'tent'—*гэрийг* 'the tent' (acc.), *хэвтэр* 'lair'—*хэвтрийг* 'the lair' (acc.), *хэдгэнэ* 'drone'—*хэдгэнийг* 'the drone' (acc.), *шөнө* 'night'—*шөнийг* 'the night' (acc.), *багш* 'teacher'—*багшийг* 'the teacher' (acc.), *харь* 'strange'—*харийг* 'strange' (acc.), *олбог* 'litter'—*олбогийг* 'the litter' (acc.); (2) *-ыг*, only in words with masculine vowels after stems with any final consonant except *-г*, the palatalised and "mellow" consonants, and with a short vowel except *-и*, e.g. *мал* 'cattle'—*малыг* 'the cattle' (acc.), *сонин* 'newspaper'—*сонинын* 'the newspaper' (acc.), *арга* 'manner', 'measure'—*аргыг* 'the manner' (acc.), 'the measure' (acc.), *чоно* 'wolf'—*чоныг* 'the wolf' (acc.); (3) *-г*, after any stems with final long vowels or diphthongs, e.g. *тоо* 'quantity'—*тоог* 'the quantity' (acc.), *жороо* 'ambler'—*жороог* 'the ambler' (acc.), *гахай* 'pig'—*гахайг* 'the pig' (acc.) , *зай* 'space'—*зайг* 'the space' (acc.).

The ablative case answering the questions "from whom?", "from what?", "whither?", "whence?" is formed by means of the suffixes: (1) *-аас//-оос//-өөс//-ээс*, after stems

with any final consonant except the velar *-н* with a furtive *-г* and palatalised consonants, as well as a short vowel except *-и*, e.g. *нөхөр* 'comrade'—*нөхрөөс* 'from the comrade', *жолооч* 'driver'—*жолоочоос* 'from the driver', *хана* 'wall'—*ханаас* 'from the wall', *хэдгэнэ* 'drone'—*хэдгэнээс* 'from the drone'; (2) *-гаас//-гоос//-гөөс//-гээс*, after stems with final long vowels and diphthongs, e.g. *далай* 'sea'—*далайгаас* 'from the sea', *хий* 'air'—*хийгээс* 'from the air', *толгой* 'head'—*толгойгоос* 'from the head', *буу* 'gun'—*буугаас* 'from the gun', *жороо* 'ambler'—*жорооголоос* 'from the ambler' (recently *-наас* came to be used instead of *-гаас* after stems with final long vowels, e.g. *буунаас, жорооноос*, etc.); (3) *-иас//-иос* only in words with masculine vowels after stems with final palatalised consonants or *-и*, e.g. *хань* 'friend'—*ханиас* 'from the friend', *боть* 'volume'—*ботиос* 'from the volume', *анги* 'class'—*ангиас* 'from the class'.

The instrumental case answering the questions "by whom?", "by what?" is formed by means of the suffixes *-аар//-оор//-өөр//-ээр, -гаар//-гоор//-гөөр//-гээр* or *-иар//-иор*, i.e. under the same conditions as the ablative (only instead of the ablative's final *-с, -р* is used in the instrumental suffix), e.g. *нөхрөөр* 'by the comrade', *жолоочоор* 'by the driver', *ханаар* 'by the wall', *хэдгэнээр* 'by the drone', *далайгаар* 'by sea', *хийгээр* 'by air', *толгойгоор* 'with the head', *буугаар* 'with the gun', *жорооголоор* 'on the ambler', *ханиар* 'by the friend', *ботиор* 'with the volume', *ангиар* 'by the class' (cf. the above examples on the ablative).

The comitative case answering the questions "with whom?", "with what?" is formed by means of the suffix *-тай//-той//-тэй* after all stems, e.g. *сурагч* 'pupil',—*сурагчтай* 'with the pupil', *мал* 'cattle'—*малтай* 'with the cattle', *морь* 'horse'—*морьтой* 'with the horse', *эх* 'mother'—*эхтэй* 'with the mother', *өвс* 'hay'—*өвстэй* 'with the hay'.

NOTES. Certain changes in the vocalism of the declinable stems (e.g. *баатар* 'hero'—*баатраас* 'from the hero', *хана* 'wall'—*ханын* 'of the wall', etc., i.e. the elision of the vowel in the final syllable) are

determined by phonetic and spelling rules; see section on phonetics.

The genitive, accusative, ablative and instrumental forms of stems with the final velar *-н*, which goes back to the combination *-нг*, take the suffixes *-гийн* (after any stems irrespective of the synharmonism), *-нгаас//-гөөс//-гоос//-гээс* and *-гаар//-гоор//-гөөр//-гээр*, e.g., *ан* < *анг* 'animal'—*ангийн* 'for the animal', *анг* 'the animal' (acc.), *ангаас* 'from the animal', *ангаар* 'by the animal'; *зовлон* < *жобалангг* 'suffering'—*зовлонгийн* 'of the suffering', *зовлонг* 'the suffering' (acc.), *зовлонгоос* 'from the suffering', *зовлонгоор* 'by the suffering'; *дэн* < *дэнг* 'lamp', *дэнгийн* 'of the lamp', *дэнг* 'the lamp' (acc.), *дэнгээс* 'from the lamp', *дэнгээр* 'by the lamp'. In other cases these words are declined like nouns with the final *-н*, e.g. *дэнд* 'in the lamp', *дэнтэй* 'with the lamp', etc.

As has been said, the double declension occurs when suffixes of two different cases are joined to the stem of the same noun. This amounts to the genitive or comitative suffix taking the suffix of another (but not any) case, thus producing what is known as double cases:

1. The genitive-dative-locative, e.g. *ахын* + *-д* = *ахынд* 'at the elder brother's', *багшийн* + *-д* = *багшийнд* 'at the teacher's', *танай* + *-д* = *танайд* 'at yours'. This double, genitive-dative-locative case indicates the place (house, home) of an object denoted by the stem, therefore in this case "at yours" means "at your home" or "to your home", "at the brother's" means "in the brother's home", etc. Consequently, this double case form may be obtained only from a limited category of nouns denoting people, i.e. personal pronouns, proper names, names of professions, kinship terms, etc.

2. The genitive-comitative, e.g. *Самбуугийн* + *-тай* = *Самбуугийнтай* 'with (someone from the family) of Sambu', *багшийн* + *-тай* = *багшийнтай* 'with (someone from the family) of the teacher', i.e. this double case, also limited to nouns denoting persons, signifies that a person belongs to another person expressed by the stem.

3. The comitative-instrumental, e.g. *амжилттай* 'with success', 'having success' + *-гаар* = *амжилттайгаар* 'with success', 'successfully', *тустай* 'with use', 'having use' + *-гаар* =

тустайгаар 'useful', 'beneficial'. The examples show that while the comitative case denotes joint action or possession of an object and is used both attributively and as an object, the comitative-instrumental case denotes the quality of an action and is used as an adverbial modifier of manner.

4. The comitative-accusative indicates that a thing (expressed by a special object) has become an object of action together with another thing (expressed by the given stem), or that an object of action possesses something, e.g. *настай* 'elderly', 'having age' + *-г* = *настайг* 'the elderly' (acc.), *цустай* 'having blood' + *-г* = *цустайг* 'with blood', *багштай* 'with the teacher', 'having a teacher' + *-г* = *багштайг* 'together with the teacher' (*сурагчдыг багштайг нь урив* 'the pupils were invited together with their teacher').

5. The comitative-dative-locative denotes that at the moment something possesses something, e.g. *цастай* 'having snow', 'with snow' + *-д* = *цастайд* 'when there is snow', 'when it snows'; *бороотой* 'having rain' + *-д* = *бороотойд* 'in rainy weather', 'when it rains', *зоостой* 'with a coin', 'having a coin' + *-д* = *зоостойд* 'when /he/ had a coin'.

The possessive nominal declension consists in special personal possessive particles being joined to the suffix of the corresponding case (*минь*—1st pers. sg., *маань*—1st pers. pl., *чинь*—2nd pers. sg., *тань*—2nd pers. pl., *нь*—3rd pers. of both numbers); these particles are spelled separately from the word; the particles may be impersonal—possessive or reflexive-possessive, in which case they are spelled together with the suffix of the corresponding case (*-хаа//-хоо//-хөө//-хээ* for the genitive, *-гаа//-гөө//-гээ* for the comitative, *-аа//-оо//-өө//-ээ* for other cases).

The personal-possessive particles indicate the fact that an object expressed by the stem of the declinable word belongs to a certain person, e.g. *гэр минь* 'my tent', *гэрт маань* 'in our tent', *гэрийн чинь* 'of thy tent' (*гэрийн чинь дэргэд* 'near thy tent'), etc. As is known, the fact that an object belongs to a definite person is also expressed by the genitive case forms of the per-

sonal pronouns used attributively, e.g. *миний гэр* 'my tent', *манай гэрт* 'in our tent', *чиний гэрийн* 'of thy tent', etc. Therefore, the personal-possessive nominal declension seems to coincide with the attributive use of the personal pronouns, the apocopated forms of which appear in the personal-possessive particles. However, in the first place the logical accent is on the qualified noun, and in the second it is on the possessive attribute, e.g., *гэрт минь* 'in my tent', *миний гэрт* 'in my tent'.

The reflexive-possessive particles denote that an object belongs to somebody else expressed by the subject, i.e. they express the notion "one's own" and are not augmented to the nominative case, e.g. *морио барив* 'caught one's own horse', *сургуулиасаа ирэв* 'came from one's own school', *номоо уншихад нь* 'when he read his own book', *дээлээрээ дарав* 'covered with his own furcoat', etc. The declension formants are given in Table 8.

Table 8

Declension Formants

Cases	Case suffixes	Reflexive-possessive suffixes
Nominative	no suffix	—
Genitive	*-ий, -ы, -ийн, -ын, -н*	*-хаа, -хоо, -хөө, -хээ*
Dative-locative	*-д, -т*	*-аа, -оо, -өө, -ээ*
Accusative	*-ийг, -ыг, -г*	" " "
Ablative	*-аас, -оос, -өөс, -ээс*	" " "
	-гаас, -гоос, -гөөс, -гээс	—
	-иас, -иос	—
Instrumental	*-аар -оор, -өөр, -ээр*	—
	-гаар, -гоор, -гөөр, -гээр	—
	-иар, -иор	—
Comitative	*-тай, -той, -тэй*	*-гаа, -гоо, -гөө, -гээ*

THE VERB

Verb Stems

In modern Mongolian, the verbs express action or state and possess the categories of voice, aspect, tense, mood and person. The categories of tense and mood overlap morphologically, while

the category of person is partially represented in certain forms of the imperative-optative mood.

The stem of the Mongolian verb in its morphologically expanded form coincides with the second person imperative. The stem may be lexical, voice and aspectual. The lexical verb stem is at the same time the form of the direct (basic) voice and may be primary and secondary, e.g. *хаа-* 'to close' and *хаар-* 'to close', 'to be closed', *хар-* 'to look' and *харгалз-* 'to pay attention', *инээ-* 'to laugh' and *инээбхэл-* 'to chuckle'. Thus, secondary verb stems are derived from primary stems by means of different suffixes (*-р, -галз, -бхэл,* etc.) and are characterised by certain modal and other additional meanings, e.g. transitive-intransitive, active-passive; sometimes they become completely independent of the primary stems (cf. *хар-* and *харгалз-*). The primary lexical verb stem, which is the basic morpheme of this part of speech, may either be a root morpheme (*яв-* 'to go', *ир-* 'to come', *ор-* 'to enter', *гар-* 'to leave', etc.), or may be derived from other parts of speech by means of derivative suffixes (*-л-, -д-, -ж-, -р-, -жир-, -рх-, -шаа-, -на,* etc.; *эвлэ-* 'to be on good terms with' from *эв* 'agreement', *буудэ-* 'to fire', 'to shoot' from *буу* 'gun', *баяж-* 'to become rich' from *баян* 'rich', *илэр-* 'to clear' from *ил* 'clear', *сайжир-* 'to improve' from *сайн* 'good', *баярх-* 'to boast' from *баян* 'rich', *сайшаа-* 'to approve' from *сайн* 'good', *эмчэ-* 'to heal', 'to cure' from *эм* 'medicine', etc.).

In some cases the primary verb stems in Mongolian languages are derived from fossilised stems by means of fossilised suffixes, e.g. *арзай-* 'to bare one's teeth', from a fossilised stem *арз-*, *булталана-* 'to lean out' from a fossilised stem *булт-* (here we find the suffixes *-ай-* and *-гана-*, while the fossilised stems *арз-* and *булт-* are found in other words: *арзгар* 'with bare teeth', 'uneven', *арзгай* 'with bare teeth', 'uneven', 'sticking out', *бултай-* 'to lean out').

The lexical verb stem is the basis for the formation of other verb stems—those of voice and aspect, irrespective of whether it is primary or secondary. The voice suffixes precede the

aspect suffixes if the corresponding verbal stem is secondary voice (the primary voice stem is a form of the basic voice which coincides with the lexical stem of the word). Thus, the aspectual verb stem is the most complex stem of this part of speech. E.g., the verb *харгалзуулчих* 'to draw attention forcefully' has the following composition: (1) the primary lexical stem *хар-* 'to look', (2) the suffix of the secondary lexical stem *-галз- (харгалз-* 'to pay attention'); (3) the causative suffix *-уул-(харгалзуул-* 'to draw attention') and (4) the suffix of the intensive aspect from the transitive verb stems *-чих-*.

As the formants of tense and mood which are identical, are the last to be joined to the verb stem, the morphemic structure of the verb is as follows: (1) primary lexical stem, (2) suffix of secondary lexical stem; (3) suffix of secondary voice stem, (4) suffix of aspectual stem and (5) suffix of mood and tense. This should be the order in which various categories of the Mongolian verb are examined. Naturally, morphemes 2, 3 and 4 may be absent, wholly or in part, if a given verb in a given meaning is used only in its primary lexical stem, because all its stems have independent lexical meanings of their own.

The category of voice in Mongolian involves such a modification of the verbal stem which shows the subject's relation to the action, and not the action's relation to the subject or object. The subject is understood here as any referent of the grammatical subject, rather than a logical category in the sense of a real person who is acting. Thus, the category of voice in Mongolian differs from the corresponding category in many other languages. The following voices are distinguished in Mongolian: basic (direct), hortative (causative), passive, reciprocal and comitative.

The direct voice denotes the relation of the subject to the action as that of its only, immediate and real performant. The direct voice corresponds to the active and medium voices in other languages. As has already been said, this voice has no special formants, therefore this is the zero form which is identical with the lexical stem of the verb, e.g. *нар гарав* 'the sun has risen' or *ах морь барив* 'brother caught a horse'.

The hortative voice (the suffixes *-уул-*, *-га-*, *-лга-*, *-аа-*, *-гаа-*, e.g. *яв* 'to go'—*явуул* 'to send', 'to make go', *гар-* 'to leave'—*гарга*— 'to lead out', *буу-* 'to descend'—*буулга-* 'to drop', *хат-* 'to dry oneself'—*хатаа-* 'to dry something', *уна-* 'to fall'—*унагаа-* 'to fell') shows that the referent is not the real and immediate performant or carrier of the action but that it only causes another doer to act.[8] In the hortative construction the real agent is the second component of the construction expressed by the accusative, dative-locative or instrumental.[9] The first component of such a construction, the subject, is the one who causes the action, e.g. *багш надад бичиг уншуулав* 'the teacher let me read the letter', *эцэг нь эалуучуудаар малдаа хэвтэр малтуулав* 'his father asked the youth to dig up a lying place for his cattle'. Sometimes the hortative may have a passive meaning, e.g. *Цэрэн бороонд цохиулав* 'Tseren was beaten by the rain' (lit. 'Tseren let the rain beat him').

The passive voice (the suffixes *-гд-*, *-д-* and *-т-*; *ал-* 'to kill'—*алагд-* 'to be killed', *ол-* 'to find'—*олд-* 'to be found', 'to turn up', *ав-* 'to take'—*авт-* 'to be taken') shows that the subject experiences an action expressed by the underlying verb stem and performed by the second component of the passive construction which is in the dative-locative: *хонь чоной баригдав* 'the sheep was seized by the wolf' (lit. 'the sheep was seized to the wolf'). It should be pointed out that the passive occurs rather seldom in Mongolian; in those cases when a referent may only be a grammatical object in respect to the action, the passive is not used at all (e.g. the verb *уу-* 'to drink' does not form the passive); when it is used, it is impossible to have the second component

[8] Hortative verbs are translated (into English) in two ways, depending on the meaning of the underlying stem or the context (either by an infinitive plus verbs like "ask", "let", "make" or by other verbs with similar meanings, e.g. *гарга* 'to make leave', 'to allow to leave', 'to ask someone to leave' or 'to lead out', *явуул* 'to make, to allow, to ask to go' or 'to send').

[9] The question of which of these cases is used in each specific case is still a subject of discussion among the students of Mongolian.

denoting the real doer of the action (e.g. it is possible to say *малгай олдов* 'the cap is found', but it is impossible to specify by whom it was found). It is worth mentioning that the passive may sometimes be used with the hortative meaning in sentences like *ард бол чоной малаа идэгдэхгүй байх* 'the arats will not let the wolves eat their cattle' (lit. 'the arats to the wolves their cattle eaten will not be' or 'the arats to the wolves their cattle to eat will not let' because in Mongolian the passive broke away from the hortative, which has not yet occurred in Manchu, where these two voices are formally identical).

The reciprocal voice (the suffix *-лд-*: *барь-* 'to hold'—*барилд-* 'to wrestle, holding each other', *бай-* 'to stand', 'to be'—*байлд-* 'to fight', 'to confront one another') shows that the subject is one of two opposite sides or one of the real doers of the action; the second doer is usually expressed by a noun in the comitative, e.g. *бид дайсантай буудалдав* 'we were exchanging fire with the enemy'.

The comitative voice (the suffix *-лц-*: *барь-* 'to hold'—*барилц-* 'to hold together', *яв-* 'to go'—*явалц-* 'to go with somebody', *суу-* 'to sit'—*суулц-* 'to sit with someone', 'to be present at a meeting', *ор-* 'to enter'—*оролц-* 'to enter with someone', 'to take part in something with someone') shows that the subject is a co-participant in an action, whose main doer or initiator is another person expressed by a noun in the comitative case, e.g. *Цэрэн бол Дамдинтай ажил хийлцэв* 'Tseren worked with Damdin' (i.e. Damdin worked and Tseren joined him). Apart from this the comitative voice often means that: (1) an action is concomitant, i.e. performed while performing another action, e.g. *гол тийш явахдаа миний морь харалцаарай* 'when thou goest to the river, look whether my horse is there' or (2) an object is concomitant, e.g. *тэр гутлаа овалцав* 'took those boots as well' (meaning—along with other things which were the main object of the "taking"). In many cases the reciprocal and the comitative voices are used interchangeably or to denote many subjects.

While the passive and the reciprocal voices are formed

mostly from the stems of transitive verbs, the hortative and the comitative may be formed from the stems of all verbs. In some cases underlying verb stems are no longer actively used in the language, therefore secondary voice stems now appear to be primary or derived directly from nominal stems—which is not possible in general. Thus, the verbs *худалд-* 'to trade', 'to sell' and *андалд-* 'to exchange', which are formally reciprocal, seem to be formed from the nominal stems *худ* 'son (daughter)-in-law's parent' and *анд* 'sworn brother', 'friend' (formerly marriage and formal friendship were accompanied by an exchange of gifts), because the primary voice stems *худал-* and *андал-* are not attested either in the monuments of Mongolian writing or the living Mongolian speech of today.

The formation of complex voice forms is quite common, cf. hortative-passive (*явуулагд-* 'to be sent' from *яв-* 'to go'), passive-hortative (*алагдуул-* 'to let oneself be killed', 'to be killed by an accident' from *ал-* 'to kill'), comitative-hortative (*явалцуул-* 'to allow to go with someone'), hortative-comitative (*оруулалц-* 'to lead someone in together with someone else'), etc.; in all these cases the meaning of each voice is preserved.

As is known, the category of the verbal aspect describes the action in terms of its rate, intensity, rhythm, completeness, etc. In Mongolian, lexical verb stems are neutral from the point of view of aspect. However, there are secondary verb stems which are not new verbs but verb forms. Thus, aspectual verb stems occupy an intermediate position: like any verb stem they give all conjugated forms of the verb, i.e. they are grammatically active; at the same time like conjugated verb forms, aspectual stems cannot build new words. In terms of their meanings, the aspectual stems in Mongolian may be said to represent the intensive, frequentative, rhythmical and weakened aspects. The formants of these aspects add special aspectual meanings to the basic lexical verb stem, which itself is devoid of any aspectual meaning. In fact it would be more correct to speak of intensive, frequentative,

rhythmical and weakened forms of the verb rather than aspects.

The intensive verbs are formed by means of the suffix *-ч-* (from intransitive verb stems) or *-чих-* (from transitive verb stems). The latter suffix seems to supersede the former and denotes an action which takes place at an intensive or accelerated rate, often with an additional meaning of suddenness or surprise, e.g. *явч-* or more often *явчих-* 'to set out' from *яв-* 'to go', *орч-* or more often *орчих-* 'to burst into' from *ор-* 'to enter', *хийчих-* 'to accomplish' from *хий-* 'to make', etc.

The frequentative verbs are formed by means of the suffix *-цгаа-//-цгоо-//-цгөө-//-цгээ-* and denote an action which takes place over a long period of time and is interrupted or repetitive. Sometimes there are additional meanings of a weakened degree of action, pretence or participation of many doers, e.g. *бичцгээ-* 'to write occasionally', 'to write' (of many people) from *бич-* 'to write', *буудцгаа-* 'to fire occasionally', 'to fire' (of many people) from *буудэ-* 'to fire', *уншцгаа-* 'to read from time to time', 'to read' (of many people) from *унш-* 'to read', etc.

The rhythmical verbs are formed from the stems of very few verbs and denote a rhythmical action, e.g. *цохил-* 'to beat' (of the heart, etc.), 'to palpitate' from *цохъ-* 'to beat someone', *цахил-* 'to shine', 'to sparkle' from *цахъ-* 'to give a sparkle', *мушгил-* 'to twist' (rhythmically and repeatedly, as of a stomach colic, etc.) from *мушги-* 'to twist'. The verbs in *-лз-* or *-галз-* are close in meaning to these rhythmical verbs (*найгалз-* 'to sway from time to time' from *найга-* 'to sway', *харгалз-* 'to pay attention' from *хар-* 'to look'); however, these are not included here, because other words may be derived from them, i.e. they are independent lexical verb stems (e.g. *найгалзуур* 'a swaying one' or, figuratively, 'someone with affected manners', *харгалзлага* 'surveillance', 'supervision').

The weakened verbs are an analytic form built by means of the suffix *-д-* with the verb of speech *гэ-* 'to say', 'to utter', which itself has no lexical meaning here. This analytic form of

weakened verbs denotes an incomplete, weakened action, sometimes with a meaning of repetition or interruption which depends on the lexical meaning of the verbal stem, e.g. *явэд ир-* 'to walk, stopping from time to time' from *яв-* 'to go', *доголэд ир-* 'to limp slightly' from *догол-* 'to limp', *дуулэд ир-* 'to hum' from *дуул-* 'to sing'.

Verb Conjugation and Usage

While lexical and voice verb stems are categories of a word-building order, the aspects, as well as the coincident categories of tense and mood, are form-building categories of the verb. In terms of their syntactic and modal properties the verb forms are divided into terminative (the imperative-optative and the indicative) and non-terminative (the verbal participles and participles). The terminative verb forms are used only in the function of the final or terminative predicate; verbal particles are used only as adverbial modifiers and non-final predicates in sentences with many predicates; participles are used in any syntactic function—that of the subject, object, adverbial modifier, attribute or any predicate. If these verb forms are considered from the point of view of the category of mood, the participles and verbal participles appear neutral, i.e. devoid of any modal meanings. Thus, Mongolian knows only the forms of the optative-imperative and the indicative mood. True, participles in their predicative function are close to the indicative forms, and the adverbial verbal participles (conditional, concessive, purposive, etc.; cf. below) are sometimes regarded as forms of the corresponding moods (conditional, concessive, purposive, etc.), which is only a terminological tautology. As far as Mongolian is concerned, the category of mood should be sought only in the verb forms used exclusively in the predicative function, since other verb forms are used in non-modal meanings as well.

The imperative-optative mood includes the following forms, the majority of which have the category of person in Mongolian: (1) the second person imperative form, (2) the second person hortatory (prescriptive) form, (3) the second person precative form,

(4) the second person polite (benedictive), form, (5) the first person hortatory (voluntative) form, (6) the first person optative (propositive) form, (7) the third person optative form, (8) the third person imperative (concessive) form, (9) the second and third person cautionary (dubitative) form. The formation and meaning of these forms are given in Table 9.

Table 9

Formation and Meaning of Forms of the Imperative-Optative Mood

Forms	Suffixes	Examples
2nd pers. imperative	stem	*яв!* 'go!', *бич!* 'write!', *ор!* 'come in!': the action should be carried out immediately.
2nd pers. hortatory	*-аарай* *-оорой* *-өөрэй* *-ээрэй*	*яваарай!* 'go!', *бичээрэй!* 'write!', *ороорой!* 'come in!', *оргөөрэй!* 'lift!': the action should be carried out in the future.
2nd pers. precative	*-аа, -оо* *-өө, -ээ* + *-ч*(sg.) or *-т*(pl.)	*яваач!* 'go, please!', *яваат!* 'go, please!' (pl.), *бичээч!* 'write, please!', *орооч!* 'come in, please!' (pl.), *оргөөч!* 'lift, please!', *оргөөт!* 'lift, please!' (pl.).
2nd pers. polite	*-итүн* *-итүн*	*явитүн!* 'go, won't you?', *бичитүн* 'write, won't you?', *оротүн!* 'come in, won't you?': used in addressing the 2nd pers. sg. and pl.
1st pers. hortatory	*-я, -е, -е*	*явъя!* 'let me go!', 'let us go!', *бичье!* 'let me write! 'let us write!', *орье!* 'let me come in!', 'let us come in!'.
1st pers. optative	*-сүгай* *-сүгэй*	*явсүгай!* 'oh that I could go!', 'oh that we could go!', *бичсүгэй!* 'oh that I could write!', 'oh that we could write!', *орсүгай* 'oh that I could come in!', 'oh that we could come in!'.

Forms	Suffixes	Examples
3rd pers. optative	*-аасай*	*явааса́й!* 'oh that he (they) could go!'
	-оосой	*бичээсэ́й!* 'oh that he (they) should write!'
	-өөсэ́й	*ороосо́й!* 'oh that he (they) should enter!'
	-ээсэ́й	
3rd pers. imperative	*-ı*	*яваı!* 'let him go!', 'let them go!', *бичиı!* 'let him write!', 'let them write!', *оролı!* 'let him come in!', 'let them come in!'.
	-муıай	*мандмуıай!* 'long live!', *сонотмУıэ́й!* 'let him perish!', 'let them perish!', 'down with...!': a bookish form used in various appeals, newspapers, slogans, etc.
	-мУıэу	
2nd and 3rd pers. cautionary		*явуузай!* 'lest he (thou) should go', 'lest they (you) should go', *иррУэ́й!* 'lest he (thou) should arrive', 'lest they (you) should arrive'.

All imperative-optative forms except cautionary may be accompanied by the prepositive negative particle *битıий* or *бУУ* 'not', e.g. *битıий бичээрэ́й!* 'do not write (sg. and pl.) /afterwards/!', *бУУяв!* 'do not go (sg. and pl.)!' *битıий гаръя!* 'let me not go out!', 'let us not go out!', *битıий бичээсэ́й!* 'oh that he (they) should not write!', etc. The cautionary form takes the prepositive negative particle *эс* 'not': *эс явуузай!* 'lest he (thou) should not go!', 'lest they (you) should not go!' (meaning: 'I am afraid that he (thou, etc.) should stay'), *эс бичУУэ́й!* 'lest he (thou) should not write!', 'lest they (you) should not write!'.

No imperative-optative form can be accompanied by interrogative particles and be used in interrogative sentences.

There are four forms of the indicative mood in Modern Mongolian; the first past tense form with the suffix *-в*, e.g. *явав* 'set out', *бичив* 'wrote', *оров* 'entered'; the second past tense form with the suffix *-жээ//-чээ*, e.g. *явжээ* 'set out', *гарчээ* 'went out'; the third past tense form with the suffix *-лаа//-лоо//-лөө//-лээ*, e.g. *явлаа* 'set out', *орлоо* 'entered',

өргөлөө 'lifted', *ирлээ* 'came'. The differences between these three forms, which are almost imperceptible, are still debated by students of Mongolian; the three past tense forms are used interchangeably. The present-future tense denotes an action in the present or future, the exact time being determined by the context. This form is built with the suffix *-на//-но//-нө//-нэ*, e.g. *явна* 'goes', 'go', *орно* 'enters', 'enter', *бичнэ* 'writes', 'write' (*гадаа ав сууна* 'the father sits in the garden', *гадаа багачууд сууна* 'the children sit in the garden').

The indicative forms may take the prepositive negative particle *эс* or *үл* 'not' (e.g. *үл явна* 'does not go', *эс очив* 'did not go', *үл үзэв* 'did not see'). They may be accompanied by the postpositive interrogative particle *уу//үү* [e.g. *явав уу?* 'did he (they) go?, *ирэв үү?* 'did he (they) arrive?'] and be used only in the function of the final predicate (cf. section on syntax).

The verbal participles in Mongolian are divided into concurrent (conjunctive, fused and disjunctive) and adverbial (continuous, purposive, consecutive, anticipatory, conditional, concessive, limitative, concomitant, substitutive). Their forms and meanings are shown in Table 10.

Table 10

Formation and Meaning of Verbal Participles

Verbal participle	Suffixes	Examples
Conjunctive	*-ж, -ч*	*явж* 'and going', *гарч* 'and leaving'.
Fused	*-н*	*яван* 'going', *гаран* 'leaving'.
Disjunctive	*-аад, -оод, -өөд, -ээд*	*яваад* 'after going', *оroод* 'having entered', *өргөөд* 'having lifted', *ирээд* 'having come'.
Continuous	*-саар, -соор, -сөөр, -сээр*	*явсаар* 'since going', *орсоор* 'since entering', *ирсээр* 'since coming'.
Purposive	*-хаа, -хоо, -хөө, -хээ*	*явахаа* 'for going', *орохоо* 'for entering', *өргөхөө* 'for lifting', *ирэхээ* 'for coming'.
Consecutive	*-хлаар, -хлоор, -хлөөр, -хлээр*	*явахлаар* 'upon going', *орохлоор* 'upon entering', *өргөхлөөр* 'upon lifting', *ирэхлээр* 'upon arriving'.

Verbal participle	Suffixes	Examples
Anticipatory	*-магц, -могц, -мөгц, -мэгц*	*явмагц* 'right upon going', *ормогц* 'right upon entering', *өргөмөгц* 'right upon lifting', *ирмэгц* 'right upon arriving'.
Conditional	*-бал, -бол, -бөл, -бэл -вал, -вол, -вөл, -вэл*	*явбал* 'if going', *орвол* 'if entering', *өргөвөл* 'if lifting', *ирвэл* 'if coming'.
Concessive	*-вч*	*явавч* 'though going', *оровч* 'though entering', *өргөвч* 'though lifting' *ирэвч* 'though coming'.
Limitative	*-тал, -тол, -төл, -тэл*	*явтал* 'until going', *ортол* 'until entering', *өргөтол* 'until lifting', *иртэл* 'until coming'.
Concomitant	*-нгууд, -нгүүд*	*явангууд* 'while going', *ирэнгүүд* 'while coming'.
Substitutive	*-нгаа, -нгоо, -нгөө, -нгээ*	*явангаа* 'instead of going', *оронгоо* 'instead of entering', *өргөнгөө* 'instead of lifting', *ирэнгээ* 'instead of coming'.

NOTES. Fused and conjunctive verbal participles are sometimes known as present verbal participles, while the disjunctive verbal participle is referred to as the past verbal participle.

The difference between the consecutive and the anticipatory verbal participles is in the timing of action. The action of the consecutive verbal participle begins simultaneously with that of the subordinating verb (*нар гарахлаар дулаан болов* 'the sun rising, it became warm'), whereas the action of the anticipatory verbal participle immediately precedes the action of the subordinating verb (*нар гармагц дулаан болов* 'the sun having just risen, it became warm'). It is clear that this difference is practically eliminated in actual speech.

The concomitant and substitutive verbal participles are seldom used, their meanings are diverse, they sometimes overlap. These verbal participles exist not in all Mongolian dialects. In some dialects the substitutive verbal participle is formed by means of the suffix *-нхаар//-нхоор//-нхөөр//-нхээр* (or *-хаар*, etc.), e.g. *яванхаар* 'rather than going...', *оронхоор* 'rather than entering...', etc.

The conditional verbal participle is sometimes formed with the bookish suffix *-хул//-хУл*, which is also attested in eastern Mongolian dialects, e.g. *явахул* 'if going', *ирэхУл* 'if coming'.

Most verbal participles are not used in negative constructions. The fused verbal participle may take the postpositive negation *-гУй* 'not'. In this case the suffix *-н-* is replaced by *-л-*, and the fused participle represents the conjunctive participle in negative constructions (*гарч* 'going out' and *гаран-//гарал-гУй* 'not going out'). The conditional verbal participle takes the prepositive negation *эс* 'not', e.g. *эс гарвал* 'if not going'; more often the auxiliary verb *бол-* 'to be' is used in the form of this verbal participle (*болбол*, or haplologically, *бол*), while the verb is in one of the participle forms with the negation *-гУй*; *явах гУй бол* 'if not going', *явсан гУй бол* 'if not having gone', *явагУй бол* 'if not going', etc.

The concurrent verbal participles are neutral in terms of modality. They are used in the following functions: (a) adverbial modifier of manner: *найгаж явна* 'goes, swaying', *уншилгУй сууна* 'sits without reading'; (b) non-final predicate in polypredicative and complex sentences: *морио услаад малдаа одов* 'watered the horse and went for the cattle' or 'went for the cattle, having watered the horse', *нар гарч, дулаан болов* 'the sun rising, it became warm'; (c) verbal object: *бичиж сурав* 'learned writing' ('learned to write').

Adverbial verbal participles have the corresponding modal meaning which sometimes gives cause for regarding them as forms of mood (conditional, concessive, purposive, etc.). The meanings of these verbal participles (cf. Table 10) warrants the use of adverbial constructions as subordinative participle constructions.

While imperative-optative, indicative and verbal participle forms are properly and exclusively verbal, the participles (participle verb forms) combine the features of the verb (tense, voice, aspect) and the noun (declension and number—in cases of substantivisation). The participles, used in any syntactic function, have neutral modality, although when used predicatively they denote action and are close to the indicative. When used as substantives the participles denote: (1) action (*ирэхэд* 'upon arriving', 'when arrives'), (2) the object of action */саасан нь тэр*

байна 'the milked (milk) is there'/ and (3) the subject of action (*хотоос ирсэн нүтэнд сууна* 'he who came from the town is sitting there').

The following participles are known in Modern Mongolian: (1) future, with the suffix *-х*, e.g. *явах* 'due to come', 'having to come', *орох* 'due to enter', 'having to enter', *өргөх* 'due to lift', 'having to lift'; (2) unfinished past (incomplete past), sometimes also known as the present participle, with the suffix *-аа//-оо//-өө//-ээ*, e.g. *явaa* 'going', *ирээ* 'arriving', *орoo* 'entering', *өргөө* 'lifting'; (3) finished past (complete past) or past participle, with the suffix *-сан//-сон//-сөн//-сэн*, e.g. *ирсэн* 'who came', *орсон* 'who entered', *өргөсөн* 'who lifted'; (4) iterative, with the suffix *-даг//-дог//-дөг//-дэг*, e.g. *ирдэг* 'usually coming', *ордог* 'habitually entering', *өргөдөг* 'habitually lifting'; (5) momentary (a traditional but inaccurate designation), with the suffix *-гч*, e.g. *явагч* 'going', *ирэгч* 'coming', *орогч* 'entering', *өргөгч* 'lifting'. The meaning of this participle is close to that of the iterative participle; it is commonly used to form verbal nouns with the meaning of doer (*сурагч* 'pupil', *эрхлэгч* 'director').

When placed before a noun, the participle functions as its attribute or, with the dependent words, as an attributive participle construction (extended attribute): *явсан багш* 'a teacher who went' (lit. 'gone-out teacher'), *эндээс надтай сургуульд явсан багш* 'the teacher who went from here to school together with me' (lit. 'from here with me to school gone-out teacher').

In the oblique cases or with postpositions the participle is an object or adverbial modifier. Together with dependent words it forms a participle object construction or an adverbial modifier participle construction (extended object or adverbial modifier): *ирснийг* 'arrival', 'about the arrival' = 'about the fact that someone arrived'; *багшийн сургуулиас сая ирснийг мэдэв* 'learned about the teacher's recent arrival from school' (lit. 'the teacher's from the school recent arrival learned of'); *та нарын сургуулиас цагтаа ирсэнд би их баярлаж байна* 'I am very glad

of your timely coming from school' (lit. 'you from school timely coming I am very glad of'); *чамайг амхалтаас ирэхээс өмнө би энэ ажлаа дуусгана* 'I will finish this work of mine by the time thou returnest from vacation' (lit. 'thou from vacation before returning I will this work of mine finish').

The participle in the nominative case, often with personal possessive particles, is a subject. Together with dependent words, it forms a participle subject construction (extended subject): *чиний амхалтаас цагтаа ирсэн чинь сайн* 'thy timely return from vacation is good' (lit. 'thou from vacation in time coming good'); *бид хавар сургуулийнхаа ногооны газар томс тарьсан нь гойд сайн ургажээ* 'the potatoes that we planted in spring at our school plot have grown very well' (lit. 'we in spring at our school plot potatoes planted—very well have grown'; here we find a metathesis instead of *тарьсан томс* 'planted potatoes', which is quite common in modern Mongolian).

Thus, participle constructions are widely used in the Mongolian sentence in various functions corresponding to subordinate clauses and verbal-nominal constructions (attributive and subordinate) in other languages. It is clear from the above examples (cf. literal translations) that the subject of the participle (as well as adverbial verbal participle) construction is in the accusative or the genitive when the subject of such a construction does not coincide with that of the "main" part of the sentence.

The description of adverbial verbal participle constructions as well as constructions with participles in Mongolian takes account of a significant aspect of the sentence syntax in this language.

INVARIABLE PARTS OF SPEECH

The invariable (uninflected) parts of speech in Mongolian have been very poorly studied so far. It is possible, however, to give a rough sketch of their composition and properties. They include adverbs, postpositions, particles, conjunctions and interjections. The common feature of these parts of speech is the

absence of inflected forms. It is sometimes asserted that certain adverbs and postpositions are declined, although in reality these are nouns fossilised in the form of a definite case and thus transformed into syntactic words, i.e. adverbs and postpositions.

The adverbs are subdivided into attributive (denoting quality, manner, mode or measure of action or its quantitative aspects) and circumstantial (denoting the temporal and spatial circumstances of action).

In Mongolian, qualitative properties of action are expressed by qualitative nouns (cf. section on nouns), concurrent verbal participles (*яаран* 'hurrying', 'in a hurry', *нарийвчлан* 'clarifying', 'attentively', 'closely', 'in detail', etc.), substantives in the corresponding cases (*амжилттайгаар* 'with success', 'successfully', *инээдтэйгээр* 'ridiculously', lit. 'with laughter', *шуугиантайгаар* 'with noise', 'noisily'), etc. Therefore, there are only few attributive adverbs; they are used only with a limited number of verbs and their translation into other languages presents considerable difficulty (in most cases the semantic pecularities of these adverbs may be rendered into English by means of verb + adverb combinations with "off", "over", "out", etc.): (1) *хагa* 'in two' (*хагa цавч* 'to cut (into pieces)' with *цавч* 'to cut', *хагa цохь* 'to break into two' with *цохь* 'to break); (2) *бут* 'into pieces' (mostly of objects which can be broken into small pieces: *бут цохь* 'to break into pieces', *бут уна-* 'to break after falling down' with *уна-* 'to fall', *бут нирэ* 'to rout' with *нирэ-* 'to thunder'); (3) *дэлбэ* 'into pieces' mostly of objects which burst or break with a certain noise: *дэлбэ тат* 'to break up', 'to break over' with *тат* 'to drag', 'to draw', *дэлбэ дайр-* 'to make one's way through', 'to put asunder' (as of a crowd, heap of things, etc.) with *дайр* 'to touch', 'to push', 'to attack', *дэлбэ үсэргэ* 'to tear up', 'to burst' with *үсэргэ-* 'to sprinkle'; (4) *зад* 'open' mainly of things which while opening up or falling down disclose something: *зад тат-* 'to break open' (as of a fence or door), *зад цохь* 'to strike, damaging or uncovering' (as of a wall or a chain of enemy troops); (5) *хэмх* 'into small pieces'

mostly of things which may be scattered or strewn into small particles like sand, etc.: *хэмх цохъ-* 'to break', 'to disintegrate into small particles', *хэмх уна* 'to fall down (scattering into small particles)'; (6) *суга-* cannot be translated by itself (of a sharp movement: *суга мат-* 'to pull out', 'to draw out', 'to snatch out' with *мат-* 'to draw', *суга цохъ-* 'to knock out', with *цохъ* 'to beat'); (7) *хуга* 'breaking down'—cannot be translated by itself (mostly of things breaking under pressure: *хуга дар-* 'to break down under pressure' with *дар-* 'to press', *хуга цохъ* 'to break down under impact', *хуга мат-* 'to break down while snatching'; (8) *цоо* 'piercing through' (of sharp objects and firearms: *цоо буудъ* 'to shoot through' with *буудъ* 'to shoot', *цоо хатга-* 'to pierce through' with *хатга* 'to prick'); (9) *нэвт* 'through' (of things which penetrate the entire surface of other things, or the entire environment, e.g. *ой нэвт гар-* 'to go through the entire forest', *нэвт нор-* 'to be soaked through' with *нор* 'to be wet', *нэвт мэд-* 'to know everything thoroughly', sometimes similar in meaning to *цоо: нэвт харва-* 'to shoot someone or something through with a bow'); (10) *шувт-* —this adverb is close to *нэвт*, but denotes such a degree of penetration of some things by others when they pass further (*шувт нор* 'to be so thoroughly soaked that the water streams down' whereas *нэвт нор-* means that 'the water does not stream down'); (11) *мулт-* cannot be translated by itself and is used of objects which are snatched away or torn out (*мулт мат* 'to snatch away', 'to tear out', *мулт цохъ* 'to knock out').[10]

[10] The meaning of these attributive adverbs may be determined from the verbs derived from them, which are listed in the same order: (1) *хагал-* 'to split', 'to tear', 'to plough'; (2) *бутла-* 'to break', 'to smash', 'to crumble'; (3) *дэлбэл-* 'to burst', 'to break through'; (4) *заола-* 'to open', 'to unfasten', 'to lay open', 'to lay bare', 'to analyse', 'to untwine', 'to unseal'; (5) *хэмхэл-* 'to break', 'to fracture'; (6) *сугал-* 'to snatch', 'to pull out'; (7) *хугал-* 'to break up'; (8) *цоол-* 'to puncture', 'to pierce', 'to punch'; (9) *нэвтэр-* 'to soak in', 'to permeate', 'to penetrate'; (10) *шувтар-* 'to pass through', 'to finish', 'to squeeze', 'to squeeze out' and (11) *хултал-* 'to pull out', 'to take out'.

The attributive adverbs of manner are close to the so-called descriptive words like *сэр /сэр салхилна* 'the wind blows in a very mild, light manner' with *салхил-* 'to blow' (of wind)/, whose nature still remains little studied and which are often confused with interjections and onomatopoeic words.

The quantitative aspects of action or quality are expressed by attributive quantitative adverbs: (1) *маш* 'very', 'quite', *нэн* 'especially', 'too', 'extraordinarily' and *тун* 'quite', which are combined with adjectives, qualitative nouns and verbs derived from the latter, e.g. *маш сайн* 'very good', 'very well', *маш олон* 'very much', *маш муудав* 'deteriorated considerably', *нэн хэрцгий* 'extremely cruel', *нэн түргэсэв* 'hurried too much', *тун хурдан* 'quite quick', *тун ихдев* 'increased too much'; (2) *огт* 'completely', 'absolutely' used only with the negation *үгүй//-гүй* 'no', 'not', 'without', e.g. *огт үгүй* 'not at all', *огт мэдэхгүй* 'does not know at all', *огт хэрэггүй* 'absolutely useless'; (3) *бас* 'more', 'again' and *арай* 'hardly', 'nearly', 'almost', 'somehow', which are combined with nouns and verbs, e.g. *бас ирэв* 'again came', *бас нэг* 'one more', *бас сайн* 'also good', 'also well', *арай болоогүй* 'almost not sufficient', 'has not yet come' (of time), *арай дээр* 'slightly better', *арай голтой* 'still alive', *арай гэж бичив* 'wrote somehow', *арай сайжирчээ* 'almost improved'.

The circumstantial spatial or temporal adverbs include the following words: *энд* 'here', *эндээс* 'hence', *тэнд* 'there', *тэндээс* 'from there', *ийш* 'hither', *тийш* 'thither', *үүгээр* 'here', 'on this side', *тэрүүгээр* 'there', 'on that side', *дээр* 'above', *дээрээс* 'from above', *доор* 'below', *дорооос* 'from below', *хойно* 'behind', *хойгуур* 'behind', 'past', *гадаа* 'outside', *сүүлд* 'at the end', 'after', 'afterwards', *хожим* 'later', 'afterwards', etc. For example: *энд юм байна* 'there is something here', *эндээс явав* 'from here went', *тэнд морь явна* 'there goes a horse', *тэндээс гарав* 'went out from there', *ийш ирэв* 'came here', *тийш одов* 'set out there', *үүгээр гарав* 'went along

this side', 'went out here', *тэрүүгээр мал явна* 'there, on that side, the cattle is going', *дээр сууна* 'sits above', *доор хэвтэнэ* 'lies below', *дорооос гарав* 'went out from below', *хойно явна* 'goes behind', *хойгуур ус бий* 'behind there is water', *гадаа юу байна?* 'what is there outside (in the yard, outside the tent)?', *сүүлд ирээрэй!* 'come later!', *хожим ирэхгүй* 'will not come later'. Many of these adverbs are, in fact, nouns which have become "fossilised" in the form of the dative-locative (*энд* and *тэнд* from unproductive stems *эн-* and *тэн-*, the meanings of which are lost, *сүүлд* from *сүүл* 'tail'), the ablative (*эндээс* and *тэндээс* from *энд* and *тэнд*) or the instrumental (*үүгээр* and *тэрүүгээр* from *энэ* 'this' and *тэр* 'that').[11] Since qualitative nouns or substantives like *эрт* 'early', *өглөө* 'morning', *үдэш* 'evening', *орой* 'late', *хавар* 'spring', etc. are often used in their stem form with an adverbial function (meaning correspondingly 'early', 'in the morning', 'in the evening', 'late', 'in spring', etc.), they are sometimes incorrectly referred to as circumstantial adverbs homonymous with the corresponding parts of speech.

Apart from declension, syntactic relations between words are expressed in Mongolian by means of numerous postpositions. However, postpositions proper are rather few: (1) *тул* 'for' (governs the genitive—*багшийн тул* 'for the teacher') and 'as' (with the nominative—*багш тул* 'as (someone) is a teacher'; (2) *тухай* 'about', 'of' (used with the genitive or the nominative-*явахын* or *явах тухай* 'about going'); (3) *тухайд* 'on the occasion of' (*ирсэн тухайд* 'on the occasion of coming'); (4) *бүр* 'every' (with the nominative—*жилбүр* 'every year', 'yearly'); (5) *бүхэн* 'every', 'all' (with the nominative—*орон бүхэн* 'every country', 'all countries'); (6) *мэт* 'like', 'similar to' (with the genitive or the nominative—*энэ мэт* 'like this', 'similar to this' *миний мэт* 'like me') and a few others. The postpositions are

[11] This was the basis for the incorrect conclusion that the Mongolian adverbs may be declined.

characterised by their ability to take case forms, except *тул* and *тухай* (the variants *тулд* and *тухайг* do not convey any new meanings), e.g. *багш бүрээс* 'from every teacher', *багш бүрийг* 'of every teacher', *чиний мэтийг* 'of such like you', *сурагч бүхэнд* 'to every pupil', 'to gll pu;ils', etc.; at the same time these words are postpositions of a special kind which may be used like substantives but with dependent words. Apart from these pure postpositions, there are many nouns and adverbs in Mongolian which lose their independent lexical meanings when used occasionally in syntactic functions, thus becoming postpositions. These are largely circumstantial adverbs examined above (*дээр ширээ байна* 'above there is a table', but *ширээн дээр* 'on the table', *гадаа гэр байна* 'outside there is a tent', but *гэрийн гадаа* 'outside the tent', *өмнө нь багш* 'in front there is a teacher', but *багшийн өмнө* 'in front of the teacher'), substantives (*дотор* 'interior' meaning: 'inside', e.g. *гэр дотор* 'inside the tent'; *ар* 'bottom', 'behind' in the dative-locative, *ард* with the meaning 'behind', 'from behind', etc.) and some others.[12]

Particles, i.e. words devoid of lexical meaning of their own, as well as of syntactical functions, are subdivided in Mongolian into: (1) affirmative: *шүү//шҮҮ* 'indeed', 'really' */явна шүү* 'indeed (he) goes', *ирсэн шҮҮ* 'indeed (he) arrived', *сайн шүү* 'is really good', *тэр шҮҮ* 'is really that'; *даа//доо//дөө//дээ* 'precisely', 'exactly' */явна даа* '(he) does go', *олон доо* 'exactly much', *өргөө дөө* '(he) did lift',

[12] In Modern Mongolian the adverb *дээр* 'above' in the meaning of the postposition 'on' tends to follow the rules of vowel harmony (*наадам даар* 'at the Olympics', *орон доор* 'on the bed', *дөрвөн дөөр* 'on the stirrup'). The same is true of some other adverbial postpositions. For a full list of postpositions, see: C.D. Sanzheyev, *Sravnitelnaya grammatika mongolskikh yazykov*, vol. 1, Moscow, 1954, pp. 204-238.

ирнэ дээ '(he) does arrive'/; (2) interrogative: *уу//үү* (if other interrogative words are absent in the sentence: *явна уу?* 'coming?' *цэцэн үү?* 'clever?'), *вэ/бэ* (if there are other interrogative words in the sentence: *энэ хэн бэ?* 'who is that?' *та хэзээ ирэв бэ?* 'when did you arrive?', *багш хаа явав бэ?* 'where does the teacher go?'; (3) emphatic, or particles of logical accent: *л* meaning: 'precisely' (*би ном л авлаа* 'I took precisely a book', 'it was a book I took', *ном би л авлаа* 'it was I who took the book'), *ч* 'too', 'also': */тэр ч надад хэрэгтэй* 'also that (one) I need', *тэр надад ч хэрэгтэй* 'I, too, need that (one)', *энд ч тэнд ч явна* 'goes both here and there'/; (4) negative and prohibitive: *үл, эс, битгий* and *бүү* used with verbal forms (cf. section on verb conjugation and usage). Sometimes modal words like *за* 'all right', 'fine', or *биз* 'may be' are classed as particles.

Conjunctions are absent in Modern Mongolian, except such bookish words as *ба, богоод, болоод, болон* meaning: 'and' (*хонь ба ямааны ноос* 'wool of sheep and goats', *дарга бөгөөд багш* 'principal and teacher' (which would in most cases refer to the same person), *хүн хийгээд адуус* 'people and animals', *тариа болоод ногоо* 'corn and grass', *Цэрэн болон Бат* 'Tseren and Bata'. With homogeneous objects, especially animated, cardinal numerals are normally used in the function of coordinative conjuctions: *Цэрэн Бат хоёр* 'Tseren and Bata', *чоно туулай хоёр* 'wolf and hare', *морь, тэмээ, хонь гурав* 'horse, camel and sheep' (lit. 'Tseren Bata two', 'wolf hare two', 'horse, camel, sheep three'). These conjuctions, like postpositions, are linked in speech with the first component of the combination: *Цэрэн-ба Бат.*

Interjections in Mongolian are accompanied in the narrative by the speech verb *гэ-* 'to speak': *Багачууд духай гэж хашгарав* 'Children shouted, "Bravo!"' *Тэд тий тий гэж дуу гарсаар явна* 'They go exclaiming (because of the cold), "Ugh!"' In this respect descriptive and onomatopoeic words

have much in common with interjections. Their true nature, however, remains largely unexplored.[13]

SYNTAX

FORMS OF GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

In Modern Mongolian the grammatical relations between words in lexical and syntactic word combinations are effected through coordination and subordination.

In coordination a characteristic feature is that it is the last of the homogeneous components of the combination that takes the grammatical formant, while the other components remain in the stem form, taking no formants (the only exception are pronouns), e.g.: *Дамдин, Галдан, Алтан гуравны ном* 'books of Damdin, Galdan and Altan', lit. 'Damdin, Galdan, Altan, of the three books', *хавар намрын ажил* 'spring and autumn tasks', lit. 'spring, of autumn tasks'; *хонь ямааны ноос* 'wool of sheep and goats', lit. 'sheep, of goats wool'; *Зочид машин, морь, морин тэрэг, моторт дугуйгаар ирэв* 'Guests arrived in cars, on horseback, in horse-driven carts and on motorcycles', lit. '...car, horse, horse-cart, by motorcycles'. The logical accent, however (especially with double words, the comitative case, etc.), may lead to separate grammatical marking of each of the homogeneous components (homogeneous parts of the sentence, etc.), e.g.: *Зочид машинаар, мориор, морин тэргээр, моторт дугуйаар ирэв* 'Guests arrived (some) in cars, (some) on horseback, (some) in horse-driven carts, (some) on motorcycles'; *Адуу малаар, хонь ямаагаар, ноҳой гахайгаар баян* 'Rich in herds and flocks, sheep

[13] The only works available are by Ts.B. Tsydendambaev ("Izobrazitelniye slova v buryatskom yazyke",—in: *Filologiya i istoriya mongolskikh narodov*, Moscow, 1959, pp. 136-151) and L.Sh. Shagdarov (*Izobrazitelniye slova v sovremennom buryatskom yazyke*, Ulan-Ude, 1962).

and goats, dogs and pigs', lit. '... herd, of flocks, sheep, of goats, dog, of pigs' (in double words only the second component takes the formant); *Цэрэн зуугаад хоньтой, тавиад сарлагтай, гучаад морьтой, хориод тэмээстэй* 'Tseren has about a hundred sheep, about fifty yak cows, about thirty horses and about twenty camels'. In verbal sentences with many predicates and compound sentences central predicates are usually accompanied by verbal participles: *Бат морио бариад хонио услав* 'Bata caught the horse and watered the sheep', or 'Bata, having caught the horse, watered the sheep'; *Нар гарч дулаан болов* 'The sun rose and it became warm', or 'The sun rising, it became warm'. When logically emphasised, central predicates may be not in the form of verbal participles: *Бат морио барив, хонио услав* 'Bata caught the horse, and watered the sheep', *Нар гарав, дулаан болов* 'The sun rose, and it became warm'.

Other types of coordinate combinations are double words (see section on vocabulary), as well as stem reduplication used for emphasising qualitative nouns, verbs and nouns in general: *бага багаар* 'little by little', *яв явсаар* 'going on and on' (the only case when the verbal stem does not correspond semantically to the imperative form of the 2nd person), *гэр гэртээ* 'home, home!', etc.

Subordination in Mongolian is achieved by means of word order, parataxis, intonation, agreement and government.

Word order serves to differentiate the attribute from the qualified word, the subject from the predicate: the attribute and the subject always precede the qualified word and the predicate (occasional cases of inversion in poetry and casual speech do not change the overall picture): *нэг морь* 'one horse', *хурдан морь* 'fast horse', *малын хашаа* 'cattle yard', *багшийн ном* 'teacher's book', *тэндээс ирсэн сурагч* 'the pupil who arrived from there' (lit. 'from there arrived pupil'), *Ээж ирэв* 'The mother arrived', *Багш дээд сургуулийн оюутан болов* 'The teacher became a student of high school', *Дээд сургуулийн оюутан багш болов* 'The student of high school became a tea-

cher'. Thus, adjectives and qualitative nouns, as well as participles may either be attributes in pre-position before nouns, or predicates: *хурдан морь* 'fast horse', *цалаан цас* 'white snow', *явсан багш* 'teacher who went', vs. *морь хурдан* 'the horse is fast', *цас цагаан* 'the snow is white', *багш явсан* 'the teacher is gone'.

In an extended sentence, objects and adverbial modifiers precede the predicate, just as the subject does. The closest to the predicate is that part of the sentence which carries the logical accent or which is subordinated to the predicate through parataxis: *бид маргааш явна* 'we shall go tomorrow'—*маргаш бид явна* 'it's we who will go tomorrow', *чамайг бид тэнд харав* 'it was there we saw thee', *бид тэнд чамайг харав* 'it was thee we saw there'. Logical emphasis is also achieved by the use of the particle *л* (see section on invariable parts of speech).

Parataxis in Mongolian obtains with all nouns in the attributive function, adverbs and verbal participles (for examples see corresponding section on morphology). When nouns are joined by parataxis to nouns, the subordination is effected by means of word order: *төмөр тулгуур* 'iron support'—*тулгуур төмөр* 'iron for support' ('support iron'), *ном сайн* 'book is good'—*сайн ном* 'good book'.

Intonation or intonational division of the sentence, i.e. pausation, is important where other means of expressing subordination are absent. The pause is necessary since Mongolian lacks agreement between the attribute and the qualified word and between the predicate and the subject. E.g. *гэрт суусан — Алтангийн эх* 'Altan's mother, sitting in the tent', *гэрт суусан Алтангийн эх* 'mother of Altan, (who is) sitting in the tent' (the dash in the examples stands for a pause and its absence denotes the pronunciation without a pause); *гурван—морьтой ард* 'three arats on horseback', *гурван морьтой ард* 'an arat with three horses'; *энэ — морь* 'this is a horse', *энэ морь* 'this horse'; *Балдан — багш* 'Baldan is a teacher', *Балдан*

багш 'teacher Baldan' (see Appendix); *Жамбал – Доржийнд очив* 'Djambal went to Dordj', *Жамбалдоржийнд очив* '(somebody) went to Djambaldordj', etc.

One can speak of agreement in Mongolian only in connection with sentences containing imperative-optative verbal forms, where the predicate agrees with the subject in person: *та яв!* 'you go!', *тэр явагч!* 'let that one go!', *бид явъя!* 'we shall go', etc. Generally, the attribute and the predicate do not agree with the qualified word and the subject: *сайн моринд* 'of good horse', *сайн морьдоор* 'by good horses', *морь явна* 'horse goes', *морьд явна* 'horses go' /lit. 'good (nom.) horse (gen.)'; 'good (nom.) horses (instr.)'; 'horse (sg.) goes', ' horses (pl.) goes'/.

Government is confined to the use of a word in a definite case form or with postpositions (see examples in sections on cases and postpositions). The case and postpositional government in Mongolian is characterised by the following features: (1) nouns may govern only the genitive and the comitative, except qualitative nouns, which can govern also the instrumental and the ablative, e.g. *малаар баян* 'rich in cattle', *модоор ховор* 'poor in forests', *надаас их* 'more than I', *цаснаас цагаан* 'whiter than snow', *тэнд эндхээс олон* 'there is more of that there than here', etc.; (2) the postpositions cannot be used in attributive nominal phrases (when their use cannot be avoided, local postpositions are turned into local adjectives by means of the suffix *-хи//-хъ//-х: хорооны дэрэгдэх сургууль* 'school under the committee', i.e. 'school being under the committee'). This calls for inserting the logically necessary verbs or using the genitive or the comitative when translating the prepositional attributive phrases into Mongolian, e.g. 'the guest from Ulan-Bator' is *Улаанбатараас ирсэн зочин* (lit. 'from Ulan-Bator who has arrived guest'), 'a table of wart birch' is *жирэл хусаар хийсэн ширээ* (lit. 'with wart birch made table'). Phrases consisting of the preposition "for" plus a verbal noun are translated into Mon-

golian by means of participle attributes: 'book for reading' is *унших ном*, lit. 'to read book'.

TYPES OF SENTENCE

Various types of sentence, as narrative, interrogative, hortatory, affirmative, negative, exclamatory, do not differ in Mongolian in their word order (in the order of the parts of the sentence; for word order in a sentence, see above).

Narrative and hortatory sentences differ from each other in only one feature: the predicate of the latter is expressed by imperative-optative verb forms (cf. section on verb) or "command" words like *урагшаа!* 'forward!', *хойшоо!* 'back!', *наашъ!* '(come) here!', pronounced with emphasis, whereas the predicate of the narrative sentence employs other verb forms and words, without extra emphasis. Interrogative sentences are formed either with the help of interrogative words (the predicate may be accompanied by the particle *бэ//вэ: Тэр хэн бэ?* 'Who is there?', *Та гадаадын ямар хэл мэдэх вэ?* 'What foreign language do you know?', *Багш хаа байна?* 'Where is the teacher?', *Хэн ирэв?* 'Who arrived ?') or by means of the interrogative particle *уу//үү*, which accompanies the predicate when there are no other interrogative words in the sentence; if the logical accent is not on the predicate, the accentuated part of the sentence is pronounced with emphasis and directly precedes the predicate (*Та маргаашъ номын сан∂ очих уу?* 'Will it be tomorrow that you are going to the library?'; *Маргаашъ номын сан∂ та очих уу?* .'Is it you who will go to the library tomorrow?'; *Багш захидал бичнэ үү?* 'Will it be the teacher who will write a letter?').

A negative sentence does not differ from an affirmative one from the point of view of word order, but its predicate is accompanied either by the postpositional particle *-гүй* 'not', when it is a nominal or participle predicate (*Би танайд очихгүй* 'I will not come to you') or by the prepositional negative particles (*эс* or *үл* 'not') or by the prohibitive particles (*бүү*

or *битгий* 'not') if the predicate is verbal (including the participle predicate). These particles have already been mentioned in the section on the verb.

A partial negative sentence is formed by means of the relative negation *биш* 'not... but...', which always follows the predicate; thus the negated part of the sentence always appears in the second, repeated half of the sentence, e.g.: *Багш сонин уншсан биш, ном уншсан* 'The teacher read not the newspaper, but the book'; *Багш сонин уншсан биш, сурагч уншсан* 'The newspaper was read not by the teacher, but by the pupil' (lit. 'The teacher the newspaper read not, the book read', 'The teacher the newspaper read not, the pupil read'); *Багш сонин уншсан биш гэртээ орхисон* (lit. 'The teacher the newspaper read not, but left at home'). Consequently, the predicate is repeated, unless it itself is negated.[1] However, in answers to questions the repetition is not obligatory (as the negated part is clear from the interrogative sentence); *биш* occurs twice—at the beginning and at the end of the sentence: *Энэ таны харандаа юу? Биш, миний биш* ''Is that your pencil?" "No, it is not" '.

Exclamatory sentences are characterised by the fact that they are pronounced in an emphatic tone and often with an emphatic lengthening of the vowel in the final syllable, and also by the use of interrogative words in contexts devoid of interrogative meaning: *Эно могой гарваа!* (instead of *гарав*) 'A snake crept here!', *Ямасан сайхан байшин бэ!* 'What a beautiful house!'.

As for classification of sentences according to their composition and structure, one must take into account the absence in Mongolian of agreement between the predicate and the subject in number and person (leaving apart gender, which is altogether lacking in all Mongolian languages). This restricts considerably the occurrence of mononuclear sentences in Mon-

[1] In Modern Mongolian combinations of the type *нам бус* 'not belonging to the Party', 'non-Party' or *хөрөнгө бус* 'non-capitalist' are literary innovations.

golian. At any rate, sentences without a subject occur in this language more often than those without a predicate, the subject being, as a rule, clear from the context.

In Mongolian, mononuclear sentences without a subject can only conventionally (from the point of view of formal grammar) be subdivided into incomplete and impersonal.[2] Incomplete sentences without a subject, as well as those without a predicate, are only possible within a certain context, in dialogue, etc., always in connection with the question *хэн?* 'who?' or *юу?* 'what?' (*Багш юу хийв? Ном унш* 'What did the teacher do?', 'Read the book'). Impersonal sentences do not depend on the context, they do not require the questions *хэн?* or *юу?: Тариа хавар тарина* 'Corn is sown in spring'; *Самбарт шохойгоор бичнэ* 'One writes on the blackboard with chalk'; *Хэзээнээс энд зундаа болов?* 'Since when is the summer spent here?' However, Mongolian impersonal sentences could easily be turned into bipartite sentences by just adding a subject (*Бид тариа хавар тарина* 'We sow corn in spring', *Тэд ан намар агнадаг* 'They hunt the game in autumn', *Сурагчид самбарт шохойгоор бичнэ* 'Pupils write on the blackboard with chalk', *Гадаа цаг оулаан болов* 'Outdoors the weather grew warm', *Малчид хэзээнээс энд зунтаадаг болов?* 'Since when do cattle-breeders spend the summer here?'). There is no difference between incomplete and impersonal sentences without a subject in Mongolian in precisely this sense. Nevertheless, purely impersonal sentences are possible in Mongolian when the predicate is expressed by certain adverbs and nouns: *Тэр замаар явбал дээр* 'It is better to take that road', *Эрт босвол олзтой, орой босвол гарзтай* 'To get up early is profitable, to get up late is wasteful'.

Mononuclear sentences without a predicate are possible mainly in dialogue or in certain other types of speech (stylised

[2] Impersonal sentences in Mongolian have not yet been covered by specialised linguistic research.

narrative in fiction, etc.). From the formal point of view they are never impersonal, but only incomplete: *Сургуулиас хэн ирэв? – Багш.* ' "Who came from school?" "The teacher" '; *Намар. Хөндий дүүрэн айлнууд. Энд тэндгүй хурга, тугал, хонь, ямаа, адуу, тэмээ.* Lit. 'Autumn. Pastures over the whole valley. Here and there lambs, calves, sheep, goats, horses, camels'.

Since bipartite sentences in Mongolian do not present any problem, we are not going to discuss them here.

PARTS OF THE SENTENCE

The subject and the predicate, the attribute and the qualified word are differentiated in Mongolian without any difficulty. This is not so with objects and adverbial modifiers, whose determination often presents a problem and is based on semantics rather than grammar.[3]

The subject is expressed by the following parts of speech in the nominative: substantives, object nouns and pronouns (*Багш ирэв* 'The teacher came', *Энд алт элбэг* 'Here there is gold in abundance', *Та явав* 'You went away'); adjectives and qualitative nouns, and also participles; the latter denote either substantivised features (as quality or action) of objects, or occasional objects possessing these features; accordingly, a sentence having such a subject will be translated into another language differently in different contexts (*Цагаан нь хараас дээр* 'White is better than black', 'Whiteness is better than blackness', 'The white one is better than the black one'; *Сайн нь мэдэгдэв* 'The good (thing) became known', 'That one of them who is good became known', 'His goodness became known'; *Мэдсэн нь сайн* ('The fact that something has been learned is good'; *Чаддаг нь ирэв* 'The able one came', 'That one of them who is able came'; numerals, denoting either abstract quantities

[3] The order of the parts of the sentence within a sentence has been discussed above, in the section on the forms of grammatical relations.

(mathematical quantities) or the number of real objects in this quantity, whose names are omitted (*Найман нь долооноос их* 'Eight is more than seven'; *Гурав нь иржээ* 'The three arrived').

In Mongolian, subject indicators are quite often used, which follow the subject and are merged with it in pronunciation: *болбол* or, haplologically, *бол* (a form of conditional verbal participle from *бол-* 'to be', 'to become') or personal-possessive particles, e.g. *Цэрэн бол* (or *Цэрэн нь*) *Доржийнд очив* 'Tseren went to Dorj's'; *Чиний явсан чинь сайн* 'It is good that you went away'; *Хар нь Доржид хэрэгтэй болжээ* 'The black was of use to Dorj'; *Гарсан нь орсноос амархан* 'To go out is easier than to come in'. In oral speech the subject is indicated by a pause, which is expressed in writing by a comma: *Цэрэн, Доржийнд очив* 'Tseren went to Dorj's'. As seen from the above examples, the necessity for a subject indicator in Mongolian arises from the fact that, first, this language lacks any agreement between predicate and subject and, second, the nominative—the form of the subject—formally coincides with the stem, and the stem is the form in which other nominal parts of the sentence often appear (besides, with homogeneous parts of the sentence only the last one gets the formant, the rest remaining in the stem form). Therefore the subject without an indicator may be mistaken for another part of the sentence, e.g. if one takes the sentences: *Хонь бол ямаанас тарган* 'A sheep is fatter than a goat', *Хавар нь намраас дулаан* 'In spring it is warmer than in autumn', *Цэрэн бол Доржийнд очив* 'Tseren went to Dorj's', *Тэмээ, адуунаас их* (the comma stands here for a pause) 'A camel is bigger than a horse' and omits all subject indicators, one will get, respectively: '(Something is) fatter than a sheep and a goat', 'Warmer than in spring and autumn', '(Somebody) went to Tserendorj's'' (compound names are widely used in Mongolian) and '(Something) bigger than a camel and a horse'.

Subject indicators are particularly necessary where the function of the subject is performed by objectives and participles

because otherwise the latter could be mistaken for attributes, e.g.: *Хар нь Доржид хэрэгтэй болжээ* 'The black was of use to Dorj', *Явсан нь Дамдины эцэг* 'The one who went is Damdin's father', *Муу нь Дамдиныхъ* 'The bad (thing) belongs to Damdin', *Тав нь зургаанаас* 'Five or six'—these sentences without the subject indicators will be interpreted as: '(Something) was of use for Khardorj'—the word *хар* (khar) 'black' is often used as a proper name, 'The father of Damdin who is gone', '(Something) belongs to bad Damdin', 'Out of five-six'. Equally, qualitative nouns before verbs, if used without subject indicators, can be understood as adverbial modifiers of manner: *Сайн нь ирэв* 'The best of them arrived', *Сайн ирэв* 'Arrived well', *Хамгийн муу нь бичив* 'The worst one wrote', *Хамгийн муу бичив* 'Wrote worst of all'.

Naturally, in cases where the subject cannot be mistaken for any other part of the sentence because of the lexical contents of all other nouns in the sentence, the subject indicator is optional, e.g. *Ав малаа услав* 'Father watered his cattle'; *Эх гутал авав* 'Mother took the boots', *Мал гол тийш явав* 'The cattle went to the river', *Мэргэд хэлэв* 'The wise ones said' (but *Мэргэн нь хэлэв* 'Said the wise one' and *Мэргэн хэлэв* 'Said wisely'; if *Мэргэн* 'Mergen' is used as a proper name and the audience is aware of this, the subject indicator may be omitted: *Мэргэн хэлэв* 'Said Mergen').[4]

The predicate is expressed by all nouns and verbs except verbal participles (if the predicate is a final one), and also by local and temporal adverbs. Verbal predicates in Mongolian do not present any specific problem. Nominal and adverbial predicates may be accompanied by all sorts of copulae; the copula in the present tense, however, is very often omitted, e.g.: *Энэ бол багш* 'This is a teacher'; *Галдан бол магш байсан (байна)* 'Galdan was a teacher'; *Тэр байшин том (байна)* 'That house

[4] Adjectives, qualitative nouns, numerals and participles in the nominative plural cannot be the attributes of other words.

is big'; *Би дунд сургуульд суралцаг (байна)* 'I am a pupil of a secondary school'; *Энэ харандаа муу (байна)* 'This pencil is bad'; *Энэ ном миний* 'This book is mine'; *Батын адуу зуу* 'Bata's horses are a hundred'; *Тэр цагт чи залуу билээ* 'At that time thou wert young'; *Манай гэр эндээс доор* 'Our tent is downward from here'; *Мал гадаа (байна)* 'The cattle is in the yard'; *Чиний багш явсан хүн бол би* '(It is) I who was thy teacher'; *Энд дулаан, тэнд халуун* 'Here it is warm, there it is hot'. As seen from the examples, nouns in the function of the predicate are in the nominative form.

Objects are expressed by nouns in the dative-locative, accusative, ablative, instrumental or comitative, as well as by the genitive stems with certain postpositions, e.g.: *Ном чамд явуулав* 'The book was sent to thee'; *Багшаас дэвтэр авав* 'From the teacher got (pl.) the copy-book'; *Морио ташуураар цохив* 'The horse was hit with the whip'; *Бид малаараа баян* 'We are rich in cattle'; *Чи мориор ирэв* 'Thou came on horseback'; *Аав багштай ярилцав* 'Father talked with the teacher'; *Чиний тухай юу гэнэ?* 'What do they say about thee?'; *Би сонин уншив* 'I read the newspaper'. The stem is used as a direct object mainly in cases when the word cannot be interpreted as the agent of an action because of its lexical content, e.g. *Мал ус уув* 'The cattle drank water'; *Би гутал авав* 'I took the boots', etc. Such nouns in the function of a direct object take the accusative suffix mostly when they are logically emphasised: *Мал усыг уув* 'It was water that the cattle drank'; *Би гутлыг авав* 'It was boots that I took', etc. As the presence of some pronominal and other attributes sometimes presupposes logical emphasis, the direct object in such cases is often expressed by the accusative: *Мал тэр усыг уув* 'The cattle drank that water'; *Би чиний гутлыг авав* 'I took (precisely) thy boots'.

The adverbial modifier is expressed by: (1) adverbs, qualitative nouns, numerals and, sometimes, participles without any formant, i.e. pure stems, e.g.: *Адуу дээрээс буув* 'The

herd came from above'; *Чи орой явав* 'Thou set out late'; *Эх аягаа бут унагаав* 'Mother broke her cup to pieces'; *Энэ морь чинь хурдан явна* 'This horse of thine runs quickly'; *Би энэ кино гурав үзэв* 'I saw this film three times'; *Багш номоо барьсан оров* 'The teacher holding his book entered'; (2) all nouns and participles in the dative-locative, ablative, instrumental and comitative, as well as in the stem form and in the genitive with postpositions, e.g.: *Би далайн эргэд очив* 'I went to the seashore'; *Багш хотоос иргээ* 'The teacher came from town'; *Мал тэр замаар явна* 'The cattle goes along that road'; *Бид ажлаа амжилттай явуулав* 'We performed out work with success'; *Та ачаатай ирэв* 'You arrived with the load'; *Аав хот оров* 'Father went to town'; *Эх орны толоо тэмцэнэ* '(They) fight for (their) motherland'; *Чамайг явснаас хойш манай сурлага онц сайжирсан* 'After thy departure our studies improved greatly'; *Нар гарахад бид босно* 'We shall get up with the sunrise' ('...when the sun rises'); *Бид чиний ирснэр ирлээ* 'We arrived simultaneously with thy arrival'; *Бид их бороо орж байсан тул ажлаа хийсэнгүй* 'As it was raining heavily, we did not work'; *Бид кино үзэхээр ирлээ* 'We came to see the film'; (3) circumstantial, as well as, depending on the context, concurrent verbal participles: *Энд ирсээр долоон жил болов* 'Since came (pl.) here, seven years passed' or 'After arriving here, seven years passed'; *Хот явахаа байна* 'Intends to go to town'; *Нар гарахлаар бид явна* 'We shall go as soon as the sun rises'; *Бороо орвол нойтон болно* 'If it rains, it will become wet'; *Намар боловч халуун байна* 'Although autumn came, it is hot'; *Ажлаа дуусмагц танайд бид очно* 'We shall go to see you as soon as we finish our work'; *Чамайг тэндээс иртэл би энд сууна* 'I shall sit here until thou comest back from there'; *Би ажилтай болоод кинод явсангүй* 'I, being busy with work, did not go to the cinema'; *Тэр намайг магтан сууна* 'He sits praising me'.

The position of the attribute in the sentence and the absence of agreement between the attribute and the qualified

word have already been discussed above, in the section on forms of grammatical relations. It should only be added here that the attribute in Mongolian is a noun or participle in the nominative, genitive or comitative form, e.g.: *сайн ном* 'good book', *морьтой айл* 'with horses' (i.e. 'possessing horses'), *эвлэгийн хороо* 'committee of the union', *ирсэн бараа* 'the goods that arrived', *явсны тэмдэг* 'registration of departure', etc. In apposition proper names or names of species precede common and generic nouns, e.g.: *Туул гол* 'the Tula river', *хусан мод* 'birch tree', *хятад багш* 'Chinese teacher', *Улаанбаатар* 'the city of Ulan-Bator', *Цэрэн багш* 'teacher Tseren'. Recently, however, the opposite is observed (mainly in transliterations from Russian): *генерал Бат* 'general Bata', *багш Цэрэн* 'teacher Tseren', *нөхөр Дамдин* 'Comrade Damdin', etc.

THE COMPOSITE SENTENCE

The composite sentence in modern Mongolian is most often a coordinative combination of several simple sentences, i.e. a compound sentence. As for complex sentences, they are not widely used in Mongolian, since various participle and verbal-participle phrases take on the functions of nearly all types of subordinate clauses.

Characteristic of the Mongolian compound sentence is the peculiar way the predicates are expressed in separate simple clauses which together form the compound sentence. The simplest non-specific type of compound sentence is one in which all predicates of the simple clauses are expressed by the indicative and imperative-optative verb forms, e.g.: *Маргааш би хонио хяргана, эцэг минь тариагаа тарина* 'Tomorrow I shall shear sheep, and my father will sow corn'; *Нар гарат, бороо арилат!* 'Let the sun appear, and let the rain stop!'. This form of expression of the predicate is normally used in fiction, in descriptions, especially in proverbs and sayings, when it is necessary to emphasise each predicate separately: *Хамаг мал явав, харагчин цагаачин хоёр хоцров* 'All cattle

went away, only a black and a white cow stayed' (a riddle about the crow and the magpie, which stay after all other birds fly away.); *Би хичээлээ давтлаа, чи зураг зурлаа* 'I repeated the lessons, and thou drew pictures'.

If the predicates of a compound sentence are expressed by nouns and participles, they are most often (with very few exceptions) linked by one common copula (the copula in the present tense is nearly always omitted unless it contains a modal meaning), e.g. *Нодник жил манай зуун тавин хонътой, ахынх зуун хорин хонътой байсан* 'Last year my people had a hundred and fifty sheep, the older brother's family, a hundred and twenty sheep' (lit. 'Last year my people with a hundred and fifty sheep and the elder brother's family with a hundred and twenty sheep were'); *Би багадаа хонио хариулдаг, эгч минь хургаа хариулдаг байсан билээ* 'As for me, I tended sheep in my childhood, and as for my elder sister, she tended lambs'; *Одоо эцэг чинь жолооч, эх чинь багш биз* 'Now, it seems, thy father is a driver, thy mother a teacher'; *Багш нь энд, сурагч тэнд биш үү?* 'Isn't the teacher here, and the pupil there?'; *Миний бодвол, тэр тэнд ус ногоонь элбэг, адуу мал нь тарган байсан* 'To my mind, over there water and grass were abundant, herds and flocks fat'.

As is seen from the above examples, not only copulas are common for all the parts of a compound sentence, but also modal and adverbial words ("last year", "in my childhood", "now", "to my mind", "over there").

The second and most specific feature of the Mongolian compound sentence is the fact that verbal predicates in the clauses can also be expressed by concurrent verbal participles, e.g.: *Тэнгэр дуугарч, цахилгаан цахив* 'Thunder thundered, lightning flashed' (lit. 'Thunder thundering, lighting flashed'); *Цахилгаан цахин, аянга буув* 'Lightning flashed, a thunderbolt came' (lit. 'Lightning flashing, a thunderbolt came down'); *Бороо ороод, ногоо ургав* 'Rain began, the grass grew' (lit. 'Rain beginning, the grass grew').

Mongolian lacks any specific copulative, adversative or disjunctive conjuctions to be used in a compound sentence; the corresponding meanings are determined only from the context, e.g.: *Эх нь тийш яваад, эцэг нь ийш ирэв* 'Mother went there, while father set out here' (cf. the above examples).

In some cases, when in the English language compound sentences with the adversative conjunctions "however", "but" occur, Mongolian has constructions with a concessive verbal participle, e.g.: *Бороо их орсон боловч, зам хэтэрхий нойтон болсон биш* 'Although it rained heavily, the road did not become too muddy' (lit. 'It rained heavily, however the road did not become too muddy').

In literary Mongolian there are conjunctions like *бөгөөд, хийгээд, ба, болон* meaning 'and', 'but'; however, they do not occur in common usage and have not been studied in the literature on Mongolian.

As has been said, complex sentences are not common in Mongolian. Attributive phrases alone may be regarded as complex sentences, but they occur quite seldom. In these constructions, the interrogative words *хэн* 'who', *хаа* 'where', *хэзээ* 'when', etc. lose their interrogative meaning and are used as subordinative conjunctions or relative words, when there are demonstrative words in the main clause. Subordinate clauses with such relative words are, in fact, extended attributes of the demonstrative words in the main clause, e.g. *Хэн нь урьд ирнэ, тэр нь авна* 'Whoever of them arrives earlier, will receive (something)'; *Хаа бууна, тэндээ хононо* 'Where (he) stays, there (he) will spend the night'; *Хэзээ шинэ байртай болно, тэгэхдээ шинэ ширээ сандал авна* 'When (he) has a new apartment, then he will buy new furniture'; *Хэдий мөнгө авсан, тэдий мөнгө өгсөн* 'As much money (he) took, so much money (he) returned'.

In general, instead of subordinate clauses common, e.g., in the Indo-European languages, Mongolian has participle and verbal participle phrases.

PARTICIPLE AND VERBAL PARTICIPLE PHRASES

Participles and verbal participles in Mongolian form participle and verbal participle phrases together with the dependent words. Some students call both types of phrases participle phrases. Such a definition of these phrases is not generally recognised because in this case it is difficult to draw a clear-cut line between the participle and verbal participle parts of the sentence, on the one hand, and what is known as subordinate clauses, on the other. Participles and circumstantial verbal participles may be widely used without the dependent words in Mongolian, e.g. *Ирсэн мал энд бэлчинэ* 'The cattle that arrived is grazing here', lit. 'The arrived cattle is grazing here'; *Багш ирснийгээ мартав* 'The teacher forgot about his arrival' = 'The teacher forgot that he arrived'; *Чи ирвэл манайд ороорой!* 'If arriving visit us' = If thou arrivest, visit us'. In such cases participles and verbal participles are not considered as subordinate clauses by students of Mongolian. However, when participles and verbal participles are surrounded with dependent nouns, some scholars believe that they do form subordinate clauses: *Орой тэндээс ирсэн мал энд бэлчинэ* 'The cattle that arrived late from there is grazing here'; *Багш орой тэндээс ирснийгээ мартав* 'The teacher forgot about his late arrival from there (= about the fact that he arrived from there late); *Чи орой тэндээс ирвэл манайд ороорой!* 'If arriving late from there (= if thou arrivest late from there) call upon us'.

True, some students of Mongolian think that the participle and verbal participle phrases should be considered subordinate clauses only if these phrases have, or may in principle have, an independent subject which is not related to the predicate of the main clause. Since this is not the case in the three examples given above, the participle and verbal participle phrases used are not subordinate clauses according to this point of view. The status of subordinate clause is assigned to the participle and verbal participle phrases like *Малын тэндээс ирсэн цагт бид*

энэ байв 'During the cattle's arriving from there (= 'When the cattle arrived from there') we were here'; *Багш чамайг орой тэндээс ирснийг мартав* 'The teacher forgot about thy late arrival from there' (= 'that thou arrived late from there'); *Чи намайг орой тэндээс ирвэл манайд ороорой!* 'Thou call on us if I come late from there' (= 'in case of me arriving late from there'). The adherents of this point of view regard as the "subordinate" subjects the words *малын* 'cattle', *чамайг* 'thou' and *намайг* 'I' (lit. 'of the cattle'—gen., 'thee' and 'me'—acc.). while the words *бид* 'we', *багш* 'teacher' and *чи* 'thou' are regarded as the "main" subjects. Moreover, according to this point of view, subordinate clauses may consist of a single participle or verbal participle only if the verbal form in this combination may potentially build a separate clause. Thus, the combination *суусан байшин* may mean only 'the house where (someone) lived' (thus, a subordinate attributive clause consists of a single participle *суусан*), whereas *ирсэн морь* may mean either 'the horse that arrived' (in this case the participle *ирсэн* does not form an attributive clause) or 'the horse of the one who arrived' (here the attributive clause consists of a single participle). In the combination *би явбал авна* 'if I go, I shall take (something)' the conditional verbal participle *явбал* does not form a subordinate attributive clause because it does not possess a separate subject, while in the combination *би явбал нь авна* 'if he goes, I shall take (something)' this participle does form a conditional subordinate clause (the particle *нь* shows that the action is performed by a third party, therefore such a verbal participle may be extended: *багшийг тэнд явбал* 'if the teacher goes there').

Thus, it seems more appropriate to regard participles and circumstantial verbal participles with the dependent words as participle and verbal participle phrases rather than subordinate clauses. As is seen from the examples, these phrases in terms of their content correspond to nominal phrases (*чиний ирэхэд* 'at thy arrival', *чамайг иртэл* 'before thy arrival') and subor-

dinate clauses in English /'when thou arrived' ('arrivest'), 'until thou arrivest'/. Attributive participle phrases correspond to both participle phrases (*одоо явсан багш* 'the teacher now gone') and attributive clauses ('the teacher who went now').

Participle and verbal participle phrases may be given a generalised name of extended parts of the sentence. Extended parts of the sentence have the following pattern: (1) the word order is the same as in the sentence; (2) participles and verbal participles have two aspects: on the one hand, they depend on the following verb or, in case of participles, on the qualified noun; on the other hand, these participles and verbal participles subordinate the dependent words and function as predicates within the phrases; (3) the subject, when found in such a phrase, is a noun in the nominative (seldom), genitive or (most commonly) accusative;[5] (4) if the phrase does not or cannot have a separate subject, the corresponding participle (in the non-attributive function) or verbal participle (except conditional and concessive ones(is accompanied by the reflexive possessive particle, e.g. *Багш энд ирэхдээ чамтай уулзана* 'When the teacher arrives here, he will meet thee'; *Чи тийш явтлаа энээ суу!* 'Before thy departure sit here!'; (5) participles and verbal participles within phrases cannot be accompanied by various modal participles and copulae, which is an inherent property of the nominal and participle predicative clause in general.

In terms of their syntactic functions, participle and verbal participle phrases are classified into subject, attributive, predicative, object and adverbial phrases (temporal, purposive, conditional, causal, concessive, etc.), depending on what form the participle takes or what adverbial verbal participle is used. Below we give some examples and explanations.

1. Subject phrases—a participle with a personal possessive particle: *Багачууд цэцэрлэгт тоглож байгаа нь*

[5] Which of these cases is used in the funtion of the substantive in participle and verbal participle phrases, requires special consideration.

эндээс харагдана 'Children playing in the garden are seen from here'; *Хэн хэнийгээ ялах нь одоо илэрхий болов* 'It now became clear who will win over whom'; *Хаашявсан чинь тодорхой биш билээ* 'It was not clear where thou went'; in very few cases the personal possessive particle is not used; this is true of oral speech, in which intonation plays a very important part as a subject indicator: *Гэнтэд баяссан гэнэнтэй, гэдрэг унасан өвчтэй* 'Feeling happy all of a sudden may bring bad luck: falling backwards is painful'.

2. Attributive phrases—when a participle precedes a noun: *Номын сангаас таны авчирсан номыг уншлаа* '(We) read the book brought by you from the library' = 'which you brought from the library'; *Чиний суусан байшин тэр* 'Here is the house in which thou lived' = '...where thou lived'; *Бидний сургуульд орсон жил* 'The year when we went to school'.

3. Predicative clauses—a participle with dependent words placed after the subject which is one of the pronouns *энэ* 'this', *тэр* 'that' or any noun qualified by these pronouns; *Энэ бол таны надад хэлдэг* 'This is what you tell me'; *Энэ зураг бол Батын зурсан нь* 'This picture was painted by Bata' (lit. 'This picture is what Bata painted').

4. Object clauses—a participle in the accusative or with the postposition *тухай: Чамайг морио авчирсныг бид мэдсэн* 'We learned that thou brought thy horse'; *Чамайг хаашявихыг би харна* 'I shall see where thou wilt go'; *Байгалийн судлалын булан байгуулах тухай тэд хэлэлцэв* 'They debated how to organise a nature study group'.

5. Adverbial phrases of place—a participle in the dative-locative, instrumental or ablative, mostly without a qualified word, also with some locative postpositions: *Би чиний буусано* (instead of *чиний буусан газарт*) *буусан* 'I stopped where thou stopped' (instead of '...at the place where...'); *Бид чиний ирснээр ирлээ* 'We arrived like thou did (at the same place, by the same road)'; *Бид өчигдрийн та нарын туучснээс*

жимс түүлээ 'We picked the berries at the same place where you picked them yesterday'; *Би маргааш хонио өчигдрийн чиний бэлчээсэн өөд бэлчээнэ* 'Tomorrow I shall drive my sheep in the same direction as thou drove yesterday'.

6. Adverbial phrases of time—(a) a participle in the dative-locative or instrumental: *Бид чиний цагаа ирэхэд эндээс явна* 'We shall leave this place when thou arrivest in time'; *Хүрлаа тарахаар сурагчид харина* 'The pupils will leave for home as soon as their meeting ends'; (b) a participle with the corresponding postpositions: *Би чамайг очихоос өмнө очно* 'I shall leave before thou leavest'; *Бороо орсноос хойш ногоо сайжирсан* 'After it had rained the grass became better'; (c) a consecutive, anticipatory, continuous or limitative verbal participle: *Би маргааш нар гармагц явна* 'I shall go as soon as the sun rises tomorrow'; *Чиний эндээс гэртээ явахлаар зочид ирсэн* 'As soon as thou went home from here, the guests arrived'; *Бид энд ирсээр найман сар болов* 'Eight months passed since we came here', *Би багшийг сургуулиасаа иртэл нь тийш очоод ирнэ* 'I shall go there before the teacher comes back from school'.

7. Adverbial phrases of purpose—(a) a verbal participle of purpose: *Бат адуунаас морио барихаа явсан* 'Bata went in order to catch his horse in the herd'; (b) a future participle in the genitive with the postposition *төлөө* or *тул (тулд)* 'for': *Бид та багачуудыг эрдэм сурахын төлөө энэ сургууль байгуулжээ* 'We organised this school for you, children, to study sciences'; *Энэх ардууд ногоо тарихын тулд нэг хэсэг газар бэлтгэв* 'Local arats prepared a plot for planting vegetables'; (c) a future participle in the instrumental: *Бид маргааш майн баярт зориулсан үдэшлэг зохиохоор бэлтгэж байна* 'We are preparing to organise tomorrow a party devoted to May Day'; (d) a future participle with the speech verb *гэж* (lit. 'saying'): *Эч сарлагаа саах гэж гарсан* 'The sister went out to milk (the yak cows)'.

8. Adverbial phrases of cause—(a) a participle in the ablative: *Зун өвс сайн хадсанаас малай багийн ардууд*

малаа өнө тарган оруулав 'The arats of our *bag* (a small administrative unit) kept their cattle fat until new grass appeared, as they had made much hay in summer'; (b) a participle with the postposition *тул* or *учир (учраас)* 'as', 'because': *Их бороо орж байсан тул зам одоо болтол шавартай* 'As it was raining heavily, the road is still muddy'; (c) a participle with the speech verb *гэж*: *Бид морио ама болчих бий гэж сандарлаа* 'We began to worry thinking that our horse might suddenly disappear'; (d) a disjunctive verbal participle (in parataxis—consequently, contextual): *Нар гараад дулаан болов* 'The sun rising, it became warm'.

9. Adverbial phrases of condition—a conditional verbal participle: *Маргааш тэнгэр цэлмэг байвал бид хонио хяргана* 'If the weather is fine tomorrow, we shall shear sheep'.

The above description is certainly not a comprehensive study of all circumstantial participle and verbal participle phrases, or of all forms of expressing these. Thus, one might add that in corresponding lexical-grammatical combinations the continuous and the limitative verbal participle, like the concurrent verbal participle, form adverbial phrases of manner: *Аав адууган туусаар ирлээ* 'Father arrived, driving his herd'; *Та мориныхоо гэдсийг тасартал оломложээ* 'You tightened the saddle-girth so much that a groove formed on your horse's belly'.

Besides, it should be mentioned that sometimes a future participle in the instrumental expresses cause rather than purpose (*Би чамайг элэхээр мэдлээ* 'I learned (it) from the way thou spoke'), in the dative-locative it expresses destination or purpose rather than time (*Би энэ номуудыг та нарыш уншихад бэлтгэв* 'I prepared these books for you to read them'). In isolated cases, qualitative nouns can also form phrases, e.g.: *Чамайг зураг сайныг бид мэднэ* 'We know thee to be skilful in drawing'.

The speech verb *гэ-* 'to speak', whose different forms can, in the opinion of many students of Mongolian, function as various subordinative conjuctions, is a subject for separate study.

APPENDIX

MONGOLIAN TEXT

Сувт Эрдэнэ хоёр

Сувд зуны амралтаар аавынхаа нутагт очиж амрав. Эрдэнэ бас харив. Удалгүй намар болж хотод эргэж ирэв. Эрдэнэ Сувдыг ирсэн өдөр мөн ирсэн байжээ. Тэгээд хоёр найз сургууль дээр тохиолдож их баярлан зуны амралтад юу юу хийснээ одоо хүүрнэн ярьж байгаа юм байжээ. Эрдэнэ нутагтаа хариад хэрхэн амарсан, юу хийснээ ярив. Түүний бие амрахын сацуу ээждээ туслалцан мал ахуйдаа явж байснаа ярив. Нэг өдөр мал эрж яваад эрт галавын амьтны үлдэгдэл элсэн дотор байхыг олж харснаа эрдэм шинжилгээний газар мэдэгдэхийг хүсч байгаа гэв.

VOCABULARY TO THE TEXT

аавынхаа	(genitive with a reflexive possessive particle) 'of one's own father'.
амар-	'to rest', 'to relax'; *амарсан* past participle; *амрав* first form of the past indicative tense; *амрахын* future participle in the genitive.
амралт	'holiday', 'rest'; *амралтаар* instrumental; *амралтад* dative-locative.
амьтны	genitive of *амьтан* 'animal'.
ахуйдаа	in this context: 'in tending (the cattle)'.
байгаа юм	copula of the present tense.
байжээ	copula of the past tense.
бас	'also', 'too'.
баярлан	fused verbal participle from *барла-* 'to be glad', 'to be happy'.
болж	conjunctive participle from *бол-* 'to arrive'.
гэв	'said', past of *гэх-* 'to say'.
дотор	'in', 'inside'.

дээр 'at', 'in', 'above'.

зуны genitive of *зун* 'summer'.

ир- 'to arrive', 'to come'; *ирсэн* past participle; *ирэв* first form of the past indicative.

их 'very', 'much'.

мал 'cattle'.

мөн 'the same', 'precisely'.

мэдэгдэхийг accusative of *мэдэгдэх* 'to inform'.

найз 'friend'.

намар 'autumn'.

нутаг 'nomad grounds', 'encampment'; *нутагт* dative-locative; *нутагтаа* same with the reflexive possessive particle.

нэг 'one'.

одоо 'now'.

олж conjunctive verbal participle from *ол-* 'to find'.

очиж conjunctive verbal participle from *оч-* 'to go', 'to set out for'.

өдөр 'day'.

сацуу in this context: 'on a level with', 'along with', 'not only but also'.

Сувд 'Suvad' (proper name).

сургууль 'school'.

тохиолдож conjunctive verbal participle from *тохиоло-* 'to meet (by chance)'.

туслалцан fused verbal participle from *туслалц-* 'to help'.

түүний 'his', *бие* 'body', 'person'; *түүний бие* 'he'.

тэгээд 'then'.

удалгүй 'soon', 'before long'.

үлдэгэл 'remains', 'the rest of'.

хариад disjunctive verbal participle from *харь-* 'to come home', 'to return to one's native place'; *харив* first form of the past indicative.

хар 'to see'; *харснаа* past participle with the reflexive possessive particle.

хий- 'to do', 'to make'; *хийснээ* past participle with the reflexive possessive particle.

хоёр 'two', 'both'.

хотод the dative-locative of *хот* 'town', 'city'.

хҮс- 'to want'; *хҮсч* conjunctive verbal participle.

хҮҮрнэн 'loudly', 'noisily'.

хэрхэн 'how'.

элсэн 'sand'.

эрдэм шинжилгээний газар 'research institution'.

эргэж conjunctive verbal participle from *эргэ-* 'to come back', 'to return'.

Эрдэнэ 'Erdne' (proper name).

эрж conjunctive verbal participle from *эр-* 'to look for'.

эрт галавын here: 'prehistoric'.

ээждээ dative-locative with the reflexive possessive particle from *ээж-* 'mother'.

юу 'what'; *юу юу* 'who... what'.

явж conjunctive verbal participle of *яв-* 'to go', 'to walk'.

ярь- 'to talk', 'to converse'; *ярив* first form of the past indicative; *ярьж* conjunctive verbal participle.

TRANSLATION

Sovad and Erdne

For summer holidays Sovad went to rest in the encampment of her father. Erdne also went home. Soon autumn came, and they returned to town. On the same day Sovad came to town, Erdne also arrived. Then the two friends met at school, and being very glad, began to talk noisily about what they had been doing during the summer holidays. Erdne described how he had rested and what he had done on returning to his native place, he said that he did not only rest but also helped his mother in tending the cattle. "I want," said Erdne, "to inform a research institute about how I, looking for the cattle, found in the sand the remains of a prehistoric animal".

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The scientific study of Mongolian was first undertaken in Russia in the first half of the 19th century, mainly by scholars of Kazan University—O.M. Kovalevsky, A. Bobrovnikov and others. In the second half of the 19th century the centre of Mongolian studies in Russia shifted to St. Petersburg, where this branch of Russian Oriental studies was developed until the 1930's by K.F. Golstunsky, A.M. Pozdneyev, A.D. Rudnev, V.L. Kotwicz, B.Y. Vladimirtsov and other scholars. Outside Russia, Mongolian studies were in that period conducted mainly in Finland (M. Castrén and G. Ramstedt) and France (P. Pelliot).

In the 1920's numerous centres of Mongolian studies emerged in this country (in Moscow, Leningrad, Ulan-Ude, Elista, etc.) and also in the Mongolian People's Republic, in Poland, Hungary, Germany, Britain, Japan, France, Finland and the U.S.A. After 1949 Mongolian studies were for a time started in the People's Republic of China (Peking, Koke-Khoto).

The list of the relevant literature on Mongolian, essential for a general acquaintance with its problems, is given below.

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