The Mongolic Languages

Edited by
Juha Janhunen

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Juha Janhunen

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This volume offers a survey of Mongolic, one of the major language families of Central and Northeast Asia. The Mongolic languages are spoken over a wide span of the Eurasian continent, extending from the Caspian region in the west to southern and central Manchuria in the east. In the south, the Mongolic territory extends to northern Afghanistan as well as to the Gansu-Qinghai region (Amdo) in northern Tibet, while in the north it comprises the Baikal region and part of the Amur basin. The political and historical centre of gravity of this territory is located on the Mongolian Plateau, a region dominated by steppes and mountains in the heart of Asia. An important feature adjoining the Mongolian Plateau in the south is the Gobi Desert, traditionally considered to mark the physical border between Mongolia and China. The Great Wall of China is a permanent man-made symbol of the Sino-Mongol ethnic boundary.

Historically, the Mongols are known as the creators of the largest land empire that has ever existed on earth. The Mongol empire, founded by Chinggis Khan (*c.*1160–1227), disintegrated almost as rapidly as it had been formed, but during its brief existence it contributed to the history of all regions and civilizations between the Mediterranean and the Yellow Sea. Once only thought to have brought misfortune and destruction to the conquered populations, the historical Mongols have subsequently come to be recognized as unsurpassed strategists, superb organizers, and effective administrators. Their greatest political achievement was perhaps the Yuan dynasty of China (1279–1368), during which Greater China reached its largest territorial extension ever. Of a similar significance was the Ilkhanid dynasty of Persia (1256–1335). It is true, though, that the Mongol rule in the western end of Asia, including Russia, was largely effectuated by the local Turkic populations mobilized by the Mongols.

Originally, *Mongol* was the name of a limited social unit, or a tribe, but since this happened to be the unit from which Chinggis Khan descended, the term was ultimately extended to comprise the entire population which spoke, or came to speak, the same language. With the historical diversification of this language, the entire family of related languages and dialects collectively termed *Mongolic* arose. Some populations today still keep the common ethnonym, or its variants, and continue to be referred to by names such as Mongol (Mongolian), Mongghul, Mangguer, or Moghol. Most of the Mongolic populations, however, bear different ethnonyms, mainly based on other ancient ethnic or tribal names. Irrespective of their ethnonyms, all speakers of the Modern Mongolic languages may be regarded as more or less direct descendants of the historical Mongols. It has to be emphasized, however, that it is a question of linguistic descent only, while biologically and culturally the modern Mongols have absorbed a multitude of other influences.

The mutual relationship of the Mongolic languages is relatively close and, hence, fairly transparent even for the non-specialist. This circumstance leads to a number of problems in the definition of what is a language in the Mongolic context. Basically, we may work with the criterion of mutual intelligibility and define any two mutually

unintelligible Mongolic idioms as two separate languages, but this criterion has to be combined with various historical, political, and geographical considerations. Depending on how we balance these considerations against each other, we can arrive at different lists of Mongolic languages. One such list has served as the basis for the arrangement of the present volume. It goes without saying that any approach to this issue can be disputed. Mongolic idioms whose status as separate languages is particularly controversial include Khamnigan Mongol, Ordos, Kalmuck, as well as Mongghul and Mangghuer.

Another difficult issue concerns the genetic taxonomy of the Mongolic languages. Because of their relatively close mutual relationship, many features of the Mongolic languages are more easily described in terms of the *wave* model of linguistic geography than the *family tree* model of conventional diachronic linguistics. Another approach is offered by what might be called the *onion model*, according to which the Mongolic languages form several concentric layers. The absolute core of the family is formed by a single language, which is best called simply Mongol, or Mongol *proper*. Around this core there is a group of areally coherent languages: Ordos in the south, Oirat in the west, Buryat in the north, and Khamnigan Mongol in the northeast. Further away from the core there are still other languages: Moghol in the west, Dagur in the northeast, and the Gansu-Qinghai complex or the 'Monguor' group, comprising Shira Yughur, Mongghul, Mangghuer, Bonan, and Santa, in the south.

If we think of the relative importance of the different Mongolic languages in the comparative context, it is the outermost layer that has the greatest value. Not only have the peripheral Mongolic languages preserved many rare features that have been lost in the more uniform core area, but also they have more closely interacted with neighbouring non-Mongolic languages: Turkic and Iranian in the west, Tibetan and Chinese in the south, and Tungusic in the north and northeast. This interaction has occasionally resulted in language mixing that even confused early comparativists concerning the correct classification of some Mongolic languages, notably Dagur (once thought to be Tungusic). Typically, in the history of Mongolic studies, the peripheral languages have been much neglected, and many of them remain incompletely documented up to the present day. This is all the more regrettable as some of these languages are rapidly disappearing, while even the more viable ones are under the constant threat of more powerful national and regional languages.

From the political point of view, there is no question that the most important Mongolic language is Mongol proper. Spoken in the core territory of the historical Mongols, Mongol remains the principal language of the Mongolian Plateau. Its Khalkha dialect serves today as the official state language of the Republic of Mongolia, the former Chinese region of Outer Mongolia, and closely similar dialectal forms are used by the Mongols living in the Chinese region of Inner Mongolia. In Inner Mongolia, Mongol retains its official status as the second language of the region. Both in Outer and Inner Mongolia, Mongol traditionally also functions as the regional language for both Mongolic and non-Mongolic minorities. In the Republic of Mongolia, Mongol (Khalkha) is a written language, while in Inner Mongolia it exists in symbiosis with Written Mongol.

Mongolia and Inner Mongolia are not the only political entities with a dominant or titular Mongolic population. Two other important Mongolic regions are the Republics of Buryatia at Lake Baikal, Eastern Siberia, and Kalmykia at the Caspian Sea, Southeastern Europe, both ruled as parts of the Russian Federation. On the Chinese side, in the provinces of Heilongjiang, Jilin, Liaoning, and Qinghai, as well as in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region (East Turkestan), there are several lower-level titular units

assigned to local Mongolic speakers. Many of the Mongolic populations in China, though not all, are recognized as official minority nationalities. Apart from the Mongols proper these include the Dagur, 'Monguor' (*Tu*, comprising both Mongghul and Mangghuer speakers), Bonan (*Baoan*), Santa (*Dongxiang*), and Yughur (*Yugu*). It has to be stressed, however, that the official ethnic taxonomy is not always consistent with the actual linguistic and cultural distinctions.

Altogether, the number of Mongolic speakers today may be estimated at 6–7 million, which is surprisingly little in view of the historical impact and modern geographical dispersion of the Mongols. Moreover, this number is heavily biased towards the Mongol language, which alone counts for 80–90 per cent of the total, in absolute terms perhaps 5 million individuals. The remaining 1 million or fewer Mongolic speakers are divided between some twelve other languages, with the corresponding populations ranging from a few individuals, as for Moghol, to some hundreds of thousands, as for Santa and Buryat. The total population of the ethnic groups concerned is somewhat larger, for, especially in China, official ethnic identity can also be inherited without native language maintenance. Thus, there are about 5 million ethnic Mongols proper in China, but probably no more than 3 million speakers of the Mongol language. Even so, there are more Mongol speakers in China than in the Republic of Mongolia.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

There exists a voluminous literature on the role of the Mongols in Eurasian history, especially as viewed from the European and Chinese angles. Two useful introductions to the western conquests of the historical Mongols are the volumes by Bertold Spuler (1960) and David Morgan (1986). The most up-to-date and easily accessible general treatment of the Yuan dynasty of China, with ample bibliographical notes, is contained in the relevant volume of *The Cambridge History of China*, edited by Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett (1994). An even more generalizing approach to the position of the Mongols in the system of Chinese and Central Asian history has been developed by Thomas Barfield (1989).

In the field of ethnic and cultural studies, the Mongols are likewise covered by a multitude of general and specialized works. A very useful and up-to-date basic reference tool on the present-day Mongolic populations and their distribution has been compiled by Michael and Stefan Müller (1992). A variety of themes pertaining to the Mongol traditional culture is dealt with in the collective volume edited by Michael Weiers (1986). Of a more specialized scope are the works by Walther Heissig (1980) on the religions, by L. L. Viktorova (1980) on the ethnic history, as well as by Erika and Manfred Taube (1983) on the spiritual culture of the Mongols. Recently, the Mongol material culture has been presented in a number of important international exhibitions. Two of the best exhibition catalogues, with excellent illustrations and expert commentaries, are those edited by Walther Heissig and Claudius G. Müller (1989), as well as by Patricia Berger and Terese Tse Bartholomew (1996).

Somewhat surprisingly, although many of the individual Mongolic languages are well described and documented in linguistic and philological works, generalizing literature on the Mongolic languages is comparatively scarce. The only international volume devoted entirely to the presentation of the synchronic and diachronic diversity of the Mongolic languages is the Mongolic section of the *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, which contains contributions by Nicholas Poppe and others (1964). A serious problem of this volume is that it was published with no consistent editorial policy. The chapters describing the

individual languages are poorly coordinated, and some languages are clearly underrepresented in the material. Also, the approach of the volume is mainly philological, and many contributions show an obvious lack of linguistic competence.

Another general survey of the Mongolic languages, though intended mainly for the Russian reader, is contained in the volume edited by I. V. Kormushin and G. C. Pyurbeev (1997) for the series *Yazyki Mira* ('Languages of the World') of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Since the volume also contains sections on the Tungusic languages, as well as on Korean and Japanese, the presentation of the material is not particularly deep. Also, the preparation of the volume took an exceptionally long time, rendering some of the data obsolete already at the time of publication. Nevertheless, the approach has the advantage of being clearly linguistic, and much of the material is drawn from the personal field work of Russian scholars. Another merit is that the descriptions of the individual Mongolic languages follow uniform editorial principles.

Mention should also be made of a somewhat similar volume prepared much earlier by a single Russian Mongolist, B. X. Todaeva (1960), who in the early years of the People's Republic coordinated a joint programme of linguistic field work among the Mongolic populations of China. Since China, even without the territory of Mongolia, is the home for at least part of the speakers of every single Mongolic language with the exception of Kalmuck and Moghol, Todaeva's work amounts to being a synchronic survey of the entire Mongolic family. It is true that, because of its limited size, it inevitably remains superficial in its approach, especially as far as the diachronic level of explanation is concerned. To complement the general volume Todaeva has, however, also authored separate monographic descriptions of several major Mongolic languages.

Another series of separate descriptive monographs has been published (1983–98) by Inner Mongolia University on the basis of field research carried out by Inner Mongolian and Chinese scholars. The series, bearing the Written Mongol title *Muvgqhul Tuirul uv Gala vAyalqhuv u Sudulul uv Cuburil* ('Studies of Mongolic Languages and Dialects'), covers, in this order: (New) Bargut, Dagur, Santa (*Dongxiang*), Bonan (*Baoan*), (Huzhu) Mongghul, Shira Yughur, and Oirat. Each of these seven entities is dealt with in three volumes, containing a comparative analysis, a vocabulary, and a collection of sample texts, respectively. However, no comparative generalization of the whole material is offered.

On the lexicological side, the comparative and diachronic research of the Mongolic languages lags behind the level attained in the study of most other Eurasian language families of comparable importance. Although there are several large dictionaries of a few individual Mongolic languages, notably Written Mongol, Khalkha, Ordos, and Oirat, no etymological dictionary of the Mongolic language family has ever been prepared. The closest approximation to a comparative dictionary is the volume published in China under the editorship of Sun Zhu (1990). This work contains *c.*3,000 semantic entities (Chinese and English glosses) translated into sixteen Mongolic languages and dialects spoken in China, plus the Written Mongol and Khalkha Cyrillic literary norms.

In view of the lack of such basic tools as an etymological dictionary and comprehensive historical grammars for most of the individual idioms, the diachronic and comparative analysis of the Mongolic languages is surprisingly well advanced. This is largely due to the Altaistic tradition of language comparisons, which regards Mongolic, together with Turkic and Tungusic, as a member of the so-called Altaic language family. In the east, Korean and Japanese are also often classified as Altaic, while in the west Altaic is traditionally linked with Uralic, forming the Ural-Altaic 'phylum'. While all of these languages are characterized by an undeniable structural similarity, the connection of Mongolic with Turkic and Tungusic can also be substantiated by a multitude of shared

material features. Nevertheless, it is today increasingly commonly recognized that at least most of the similarities concerned are not genetic in origin, but due to complex and multiple areal contacts in the past.

In the present volume, which focuses on the individual Mongolic languages, Altaic comparisons play a significant role only in the chapters on Para-Mongolic and the Turko-Mongolic relations, though occasional references to Turkic and Tungusic are also made in a few other chapters. The fact is that the internal analysis of the Mongolic languages should go before any external comparisons. Also, the Altaic languages are only one of several possible contexts in which Mongolic can be placed. Of equal, if not greater, interest are the contacts which Mongolic has had with its non-Altaic neighbours. Recent development in the theory of contact linguistics makes it easier than before to understand the background of the typological interaction that has deeply influenced the evolution of several Mongolic languages, notably Moghol, Mongghul, Mangghuer, Bonan, and Santa. Mongolic has also participated in the development of several Chinese-based 'creoles' in the Gansu-Qinghai region. Generally, the typological relationships of Mongolic with its neighbours remain an unexplored but promising field for future research.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The main stimulus for the preparation of the present volume has been the very absence of a modern comprehensive language-by-language survey of the Mongolic family. Similar surveys have recently appeared on many other Eurasian language families, including, notably, Uralic, as edited by Daniel Abondolo (1997), and Turkic, as edited by Lars Johanson and Éva Ágnes Csató (1998). The editorial solutions of these works have been adopted in the present volume as far as possible and applicable. Thus, for instance, the ordering of the chapters follows a simple chronological and geographical sequence, without direct reference to the genetic hierarchy. Because of the shallowness of the Mongolic family, most chapters are devoted to the individual modern idioms in an approximate areal succession from north to west to south. Preceding this synchronic part, there are three chapters on reconstructed and historical forms of Mongolic, while the last three chapters deal with areal and taxonomic issues.

As in the case of most other recent volumes on language families, the driving forces behind this project have been Bernard Comrie and Jonathan Price. Especially the latter, in his role of commissioner and supervising senior editor, has greatly contributed to the general structure and form of presentation in this volume. My first proposal to Jonathan Price in April 1994 concerning the editing of a volume on Mongolic was followed by several years of additional planning, until the final project was ready to be presented to the publisher, and to the contributors, during the first half of 1998. Finding competent authors for the chapters on some of the more exotic Mongolic languages was no easy task. In this task, important coordinating help was given by Kevin Stuart (Xining).

As editor of this volume, I also have to acknowledge my debt to my immediate academic environment at the Institute for Asian and African Studies, University of Helsinki. Although Mongolic Studies has never been an independent academic field in Finland, this country has produced some great Mongolists who today, with good reason, are regarded as founders of modern comparative Mongolic and Altaic studies. Without the linguistic field work tradition initiated on a wide Eurasian scale by Matthias Alexander Castrén (1813–52), and continued with a more narrow focus on Mongolic by Gustaf John Ramstedt (1873–1950), this volume would not be what it is now. On the philological

side, Ramstedt's heritage was until recently carried on by Pentti Aalto (1917–98), who was the teacher of the present-day generation of Finnish Mongolists. Among the latter, Harry Halén has with constant philological and bibliographical advice greatly facilitated the progress of my work.

My editorial thanks are also due to the contributors, all of whom are prominent (and in some cases unique) specialists on the languages and topics they describe. Three contributors with whom I have had an especially fruitful exchange of ideas and information are Stefan Georg, Volker Rybatzki, and Keith Slater. Of other connections, the colleagues at Inner Mongolia University and the Inner Mongolian Academy of Social Sciences should be mentioned. During the preparation of this volume, contacts with Inner Mongolia have been intermediated by Borjigin Buhchulu, Borjigin Sechenbaatar, and Huhe Harnud. I am also grateful to Michael Balk (Berlin) for a fruitful project on the Romanization of the Mongol script. In the present volume, a few modifications have been made to the original joint framework (see the Chart of Romanization).

TECHNICAL NOTES

There is a great diversity in the ways in which Mongolic language material is quoted in various sources. Since Ramstedt's times, much of the Mongolic data collected in the field by Western scholars has been noted down and published using the Finno-Ugrian Transcription (FUT), as standardized and propagated by Eemil Nestor Setälä (1901). This is a graphically extremely complicated system, which mainly relies on diacritics for the notation of segmental specifics. Reflecting the empirical approach of the Neogrammarian school of linguistics, the FUT has the advantage of being so accurate that, when used with sufficient auditive sophistication, it hardly excludes any phonologically relevant information. On the other hand, it has the obvious disadvantage of concealing the phonemic structure behind a curtain of phonetic details.

In parallel with the FUT, a Cyrillic-based phonetic notation with a varying degree of exactitude has been in use in the Russian scholarship on Mongolic up to the present day. A very broad system of Cyrillic transcription for Mongolic is also offered by the official orthographies of Khalkha, Buryat, and Kalmuck. At the international level, however, the FUT has only recently been challenged by the increasing use of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). In particular, most publications on Mongolic in China today use the latter system which, in spite of its typographic problems, offers a basic set of special symbols for the broad allophonic transcription of any language. In Mongolic studies, an unfortunate disadvantage of the International Phonetic Alphabet is that its use has created a serious gap of communication with regard to the earlier (FUT) tradition of research.

In the present volume, neither the FUT nor the IPA will be used except for occasional phonetic reference. Instead, all data will be quoted in a phonemic transcription based on the resources of the standard Roman (English) keyboard – the set of graphic symbols favoured also in modern text processing and electronic communication. The fact is that the phonemic resources of most languages can be adequately expressed by the basic Roman letters, complemented by selected digraphs. However, as far as the transcription of the Mongolic languages is concerned, it is reasonable to follow the diacritic tradition for certain details, especially for the notation of the segmental oppositions connected with vowel harmony.

The principal Roman letters and digraphs as used in this volume are, for the consonants: *b d g* (basic weak stops), *p t k* (basic strong stops), *c j* (palatal stops or affricates),

ts dz (dental affricates), *f s sh x* (strong fricatives or spirants), *w z zh gh* (weak fricatives or spirants), *q* (post-velar stop), *m n ny ng* (nasals), *r l lh* (liquids), and *h y* (glides or semivowels); and, for the primary vowels: *a e* (non-high unrounded), *o ö* (non-high rounded), *u ü* (high rounded), and *i ï* (high unrounded). Certain secondary vowel qualities are indicated by the letters *ä* (low unrounded front), *å* (low rounded back), *é* (mid-high unrounded front), *ó* (rotationally modified **ö*) and *ů* (rotationally modified **u*). For a qualitatively neutralized reduced vowel in non-initial syllables, the letter *e* is used. Secondary articulation of consonants is indicated by the letters *y* (palatalization) and *w* (labialization). Capital letters, such as *A U D G K N*, stand for generalized morphophonemes and/or not fully specified archiphonemes.

For indicating the different types of bond between elements within a word, a slightly revised variant of the system used by Abondolo (1998) for Uralic is applied. A consistent graphic distinction is made between compounding (+), reduplication (&), inflection (-), derivation (.), and cliticization (=). Additionally, a special symbol (/) is used to separate unstable morpheme-boundary segments from the basic stem. All of these symbols are only used when judged to be relevant for the discussion, which is more often the case with reconstructed forms than with synchronic material. Technical abbreviations for the names of grammatical categories are avoided in regular text, but they are used in tables and descriptive formulas (cf. the list of abbreviations).

Material from languages with a written tradition is presented, as far as necessary, both in transcription (*italics*) and according to the orthographical norm (**boldface**). Reconstructed (undocumented) linguistic forms (also in *italics*) are marked by an asterisk (*), while unclear (documented but not verified) data of dead languages (Middle Mongol and Para-Mongolic) are marked by a cross (†). Orthographical shapes based on the Roman alphabet are reproduced as such, as is the case with some of the Mongolic languages spoken in the Gansu-Qinghai region, which have a modern Pinyin-based literary norm. If, however, the written language uses a non-Roman alphabet, as is the case with, for instance, Written Mongol and the Cyrillic-based literary language of Khalkha, a system of transliteration is used. The principles of transliteration are elaborated in the relevant chapters. The issue of transliteration is particularly important for Written Mongol, a language which in conventional scholarship has been presented in (a kind of) transcription, rather than transliteration.

As far as grammatical terminology is concerned, the main principle has been to give preference to *form before function*. Thus, diachronically identical forms in two or more Mongolic languages are called by the same name irrespective of whether their synchronic functions are identical or not. As a general guideline for the naming of the individual forms, Poppe (1955) has been relied upon, though some revision of his terminology has been unavoidable. The synchronic description of the actual functions of each form reflects the various approaches of the individual authors. The chapters illustrate the differences in the interests of the authors, ranging from ethnolinguistics and dialectology to phonology and morphology to syntax and semantics. As the focus of each author also reflects the essential properties of the language described, the editor has not considered it necessary to unify the approaches.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1p.	1P	first person
2p.	2P	second person
3p.	3P	third person
abl.	ABL	ablative (case)
abs.		absolutive (case)
abtemp.		abtemporal (converb)
acc.	ACC	accusative (case)
ag.		agentive (participle)
appr.		approximative (numeral)
ben.		benedictive (mood)
caus.	CAUS	causative (voice)
	CL	numeral classifier
coll.		collective (numeral/derivative)
com.	COM	comitative (case)
comp.		comparative (derivative/converb)
compl.		completive (converb)
conc.		concessive (mood/converb)
cond.	COND	conditional (converb/copula)
conf.	CONF	confirmative (temporal-aspectual form)
conn.	CONN	connective (case)
contemp.		contemporal (converb)
conv.	CV	converb (form)
coop.		cooperative (voice)
cop.	COP	copula/r (word/structure)
corr.		corrogative (particle)
dat.	DAT	dative (case)
ded.		deductive (temporal-aspectual form)
del.		delimitative (numeral)
deont.		deontic (converb)
der.		derivative (form)
des.		desiderative (mood)
dir.		directive (case)
distr.		distributive (numeral)
dub.		dubitative (mood)
dur.	DUR	durative (temporal-aspectual form)
emph.	EMPH	emphatic (particle/construction)
ess.		essive (derivative)
excl.		exclusive (form of 1p. pl.)
exp.		expanded (suffix variant)

fem.		feminine (form)
fin.	FIN	final (converb)
fut.	FUT	futuritive (form/participle)
gen.	GEN	genitive (case)
hab.		habitive (participle)
imp.		imperative (mood)
imperf.	IMPERF	imperfective (form/participle/converb)
incl.		inclusive (form of 1p. pl.)
ind.		indicative (mood)
indef.	INDEF	indefinite (form/case/mood)
indir.		indirect (mood)
instr.	INSTR	instrumental (case)
interr.	INTERR	interrogative (mood/particle/construction)
loc.		locative (case)
masc.		masculine (form)
mod.		modal (converb)
moder.		moderative (derivative)
multipl.		multiplicative (numeral)
narr.		narrative (temporal-aspectual form)
neg.	NEG	negative (particle/form)
nom.		nominative (case)
	NOMLZ	nominalizer
obj.	OBJ	objective (perspective)
obl.		oblique (case/s)
	ONOM	onomatopoetic (word/expression)
opt.		optative (mood)
part.	P	participle (form)
pass.		passive (voice)
	PCLE	particle
pauc.		paucal (number)
perf.	PERF	perfective (form/participle/converb)
perm.		permissive (mood)
pl.	PL	plural (number)
plurit.		pluritative (voice)
poss.	POSS	possessive (derivative/case/pronoun)
pot.		potential (mood)
prec.		precative (mood)
preced.		precedentive (converb)
pred.		predicative (function)
prep.		preparative (converb)
prescr.		prescriptive (mood)
priv.		privative (construction/case)
progr.	PROGR	progressive (construction/form)
pros.		prosecutive (derivative/case)
px	PX	possessive suffix
qual.		qualificational (participle)
recipr.		reciprocative (voice)
refl.	REFL	reflexive (declension)
res.		resultative (participle/temporal-aspectual form)

rx		reflexive suffix
seq.	SEQ	sequential (converb)
sg.	SG	singular (number)
soc.		sociative (case)
subj.	SUBJ	subjective (perspective)
succ.		successive (converb)
term.	TERM	terminative (converb/temporal-aspectual form)
top.		topicalized (constituent)
transl.		translative (derivative)
var.		variant (suffix)
vol.	VOL	voluntative (mood)
vx		predicative personal ending

CHART OF ROMANIZATION

In this volume, the letters of the Mongol alphabet are Romanized according to the following chart. The chart also includes a selection of linear and non-linear (ligatural) combinations of letters. The letters are presented in a horizontalized (right-to-left) orientation. The actual direction of writing in running text is vertical. The software used to produce the Mongol letters in the chart was designed by Philip Barton Payne (1998).

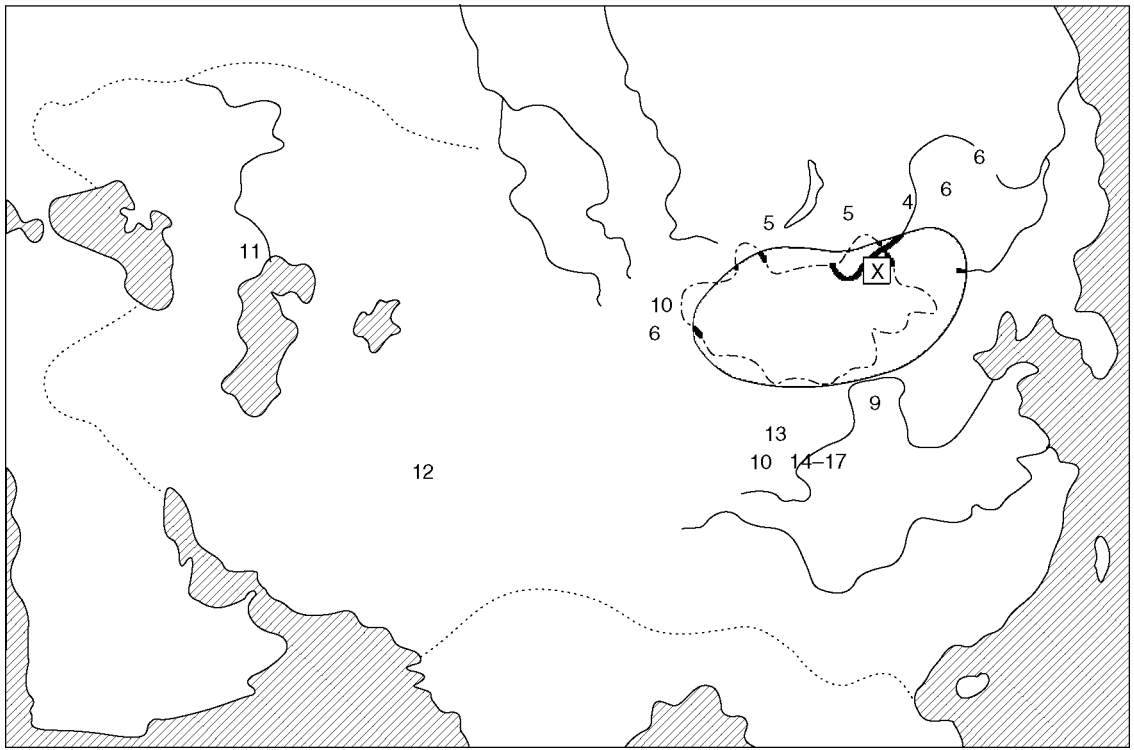
	Initial	Medial	Final
ae			ᠠ
b	ᠪ	ᠪ	ᠪᠠ
be			ᠪᠡ
bl		ᠪᠯ	
bu	ᠪᠤ	ᠪᠤ	ᠪᠤ
c	ᠴ	ᠴ	= **cx**
cz		ᠴ	= **czx**
d	ᠳ	ᠳ	= **dx**
dz	ᠵ	ᠵ	= **dzx**
e			ᠡ
f	ᠹ	ᠹ	
fe			ᠹᠡ
fl		ᠹᠯ	
fu	ᠹᠤ	ᠹᠤ	ᠹᠤ
g	ᠭ	ᠭ	ᠭᠠ
ge			ᠭᠡ
gl		ᠭᠯ	
gu	ᠭᠤ	ᠭᠤ	ᠭᠤ
h	ᠬ	ᠬ	= **hx**
i/j	ᠵ	ᠵ	ᠢ
k	ᠺ	ᠺ	
ke			ᠺᠡ
kl		ᠺᠯ	
ku	ᠺᠤ	ᠺᠤ	ᠺᠤ
l	ᠯ	ᠯ	ᠯ
m	ᠮ	ᠮ	ᠮ
ml		ᠮᠯ	

n	ᠨ	ᠨ	ᠩ
o			ᠣ
p	ᠪ	ᠪ	
pe			ᠹ
pl		ᠫᠯ	
pu	ᠫ	ᠫ	ᠫ
q	ᠺ	ᠼ	ᠽ
qh	ᠻ	ᠻ	ᠾ
r	ᠷ	ᠷ	ᠸ
s	ᠰ	ᠰ	ᠱ
sh	ᠱ	ᠱ	ᠲ
t	ᠲ	ᠳ	ᠴ
't		ᠲ	= **'tx**
tz	ᠵ	ᠵ	= **tzx**
u	ᠤ	ᠤ	ᠥ
v / a	ᠠ	ᠠ	ᠡ
w / e	ᠸ	ᠸ	= **wx**
x		ᠬ	ᠭ
y	ᠶ	ᠶ	= **yx**
z			ᠽ
zh	ᠵ	ᠵ	= **zhx**

The chart includes the commonly used Galig letters **dz f h k p tz zh**. Practical presentations (and typefaces) of the Mongol alphabet often contain a number of additional sequences of letters (digraphs and trigraphs), notably **vh** (initial **h**, when used for the velar fricative *x*), **vg** (for the velar nasal ***ng***), **lh** (for the marginally occurring voiceless lateral phoneme *lh*), **ui** for the rounded front vowels **ö *ü*), **ux** (for final ***ü** in monosyllables), **va ve vi vo vu vui vux** (for initial vowels, when written with the *aleph*).

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4 Khamnigan Mongol
5 Buryat
6 Dagur
9 Ordos
10 Oirat
11 Kalmuck
12 Moghol
13 Shira Yughur
14 Mongghul
15 Mangghuer
16 Bonan
17 Santa

LANGUAGE MAP

…… the maximum limits of the Mongol empire (12th to 14th cc.) (the northeastern limit is unspecified)
–·–· the current state border of the Republic of Mongolia
X the approximate location of the Mongolic 'homeland'

The shaded area shows the modern distribution of Mongol proper, including Khalkha (Chapter 7) and other dialects (Chapter 8). The other Mongolic languages are indicated by numbers (with reference to the chapters in this volume):

CHAPTER ONE

PROTO-MONGOLIC

Juha Janhunen

Proto-Mongolic is the technical term for the common ancestor of all the living and historically attested Mongolic languages. By definition, Proto-Mongolic was spoken at a time when the differentiation of the present-day Mongolic languages had not yet begun. Like all protolanguages, Proto-Mongolic is an abstraction that can only be approached by the comparative and diachronic analysis of the synchronically known Mongolic languages. For the very reason that Proto-Mongolic is not actually attested our understanding of it will always remain imperfect. However, compared with many other Eurasian protolanguages, Proto-Mongolic is nevertheless relatively easily accessible due to the fact that the genetic relations between the Mongolic languages are even synchronically fairly transparent and, consequently, chronologically shallow.

The absolute dating of Proto-Mongolic depends on when, exactly, the linguistic unity of its speakers ended. For historical reasons it is commonly assumed that this happened only after the geographical dispersal of the ancient Mongols under Chinggis Khan and his heirs, in any case not earlier than the thirteenth century. This means that the present-day differences between the Mongolic languages are likely to be the result of less than 800 years of divergent evolution. If this is so, the Mongolic languages offer a laboratory example on how far linguistic evolution and diversification can take a language during such a limited time span. Perhaps even more interesting is the fact that the Mongolic languages have clearly not evolved at a uniform pace, for some of them, like Khamnigan Mongol, are conspicuously conservative and still relatively close to Proto-Mongolic, while others, like the languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex, have undergone much more rapid and, as it seems, fundamental changes.

Philological evidence for the shallow dating of Proto-Mongolic is provided by the written documents surviving from the times of the historical Mongols and representing the Middle Mongol and Written Mongol languages. It is important to note that neither Written Mongol nor Middle Mongol is identical with Proto-Mongolic. Especially in the case of Written Mongol, including Preclassical Written Mongol, the inherent anachronism of the language makes a direct comparison with any particular diachronic stage of Mongolic impossible, or at least controversial. Nevertheless, it may confidently be said that the central properties of Written Mongol, like also the preserved sources on Middle Mongol, reflect a spoken language that was very close to the reconstructed idiom that emerges from the comparative analysis of the living Mongolic languages.

The chronological shallowness of Proto-Mongolic has two important consequences for linguistic conclusions. On the one hand, its grammatical structure and lexical resources can be reconstructed in great detail and with considerable accuracy, allowing it to be examined for synchronic purposes almost like a living language. On the other hand, Proto-Mongolic does not take us very far back in time, which makes its further diachronic analysis problematic, especially in view of external comparisons. The time gap of up to several thousands of years that separates Proto-Mongolic from some of the more ancient protolanguages of Eurasia can only imperfectly be filled by the methods of

diachronic linguistics, such as internal reconstruction. Therefore, any external comparisons using Proto-Mongolic material should be carried out with the necessary caution, and with a proper understanding of the chronological discrepancy.

One aspect that can never be reconstructed by the comparative method is the internal diversity within Proto-Mongolic. Like all real languages, and like all protolanguages, Proto-Mongolic was certainly no uniform linguistic entity. It must have had some areal and social variation, part of which may survive in the synchronic material of the Modern Mongolic languages. Also, due to the distorting effect of the comparative method, it may well have had more grammatical and lexical idiosyncrasies and irregularities than can be reconstructed on the basis of the synchronic material. However, for methodological reasons we have no alternative to defining Proto-Mongolic as a maximally uniform and regular idiom, from which the actual synchronic diversity within Mongolic can be derived.

PERIODIZATION

Since Proto-Mongolic is the reconstructed ancestor of the Modern Mongolic languages, it can only contain features that can be induced from the extant language material. The application of internal reconstruction and external comparisons to the Proto-Mongolic corpus do, however, yield limited information also on the stages preceding Proto-Mongolic. These stages may be termed *Pre-Proto-Mongolic*. Correspondingly, any phenomena chronologically younger than Proto-Mongolic may be identified as *Post-Proto-Mongolic*. Unlike Proto-Mongolic, which represents a single point on the time scale, both Pre-Proto-Mongolic and Post-Proto-Mongolic are open continuums. Pre-Proto-Mongolic, in particular, extends indefinitely far back in time as long as diachronic conclusions are possible.

In practice, the conclusions that can be made by the method of internal reconstruction concerning the structural and material properties of Pre-Proto-Mongolic involve mainly the linguistic stage immediately preceding Proto-Mongolic. This stage may also be called *Late Pre-Proto-Mongolic*, and in terms of absolute chronology it may be dated to the last centuries preceding the rise of the historical Mongols. Some of the earlier stages of Pre-Proto-Mongolic can be approached through the analysis of the traces of areal contacts with neighbouring language families, notably Turkic and Tungusic. Also, there is the tantalizing possibility that future research will further increase the time depth of reconstruction by giving us more insights into the *Para-Mongolic* linguistic diversity that is likely to have coexisted with Late Pre-Proto-Mongolic.

Among the extant Mongolic languages, the only one that may give us some direct information on the linguistic characteristics of Late Pre-Proto-Mongolic is Written Mongol, whose orthographical and morphological anachronisms include a few peculiarities that appear to reflect diachronic stages extending beyond Proto-Mongolic. Written Mongol is also likely to preserve traces of the dialectal diversity that actually existed in both Proto-Mongolic and Pre-Proto-Mongolic times. This diversity was extinguished at the level of the spoken language by the ethnic and political (re)unification of the Mongols under Chinggis Khan.

We might also say that the period of the Mongol empire functioned as a kind of linguistic bottleneck. Prior to the time of Chinggis Khan, the speech of the ancient Mongols may be assumed to have been a conglomeration of geographically dispersed tribal idioms, including those of the Naiman, the Kereit, the Mongols proper, and others. These tribal idioms seem to have been mutually intelligible, and they may therefore be classified as dialects of Late Pre-Proto-Mongolic. However, in the absence of factual information we

will never know what the actual degree of diversity was. In any case, with the victory of Chinggis Khan, intensive linguistic unification took place, and, as a result, the primary dialects were lost in favour of a more homogeneous Proto-Mongolic language. The latter, in turn, yielded a number of Post-Proto-Mongolic secondary dialects, to which the Modern Mongolic languages can be traced.

For some purposes, it is useful to make a distinction between the concepts of Proto-Mongolic and *Common Mongolic*. While Proto-Mongolic implies any reconstructed feature that actually derives from the Proto-Mongolic period, Common Mongolic can also comprise Post-Proto-Mongolic features shared by the Mongolic languages on an areal basis. Due to the geographical closeness and genetic compactness of the core group of the Modern Mongolic languages, it is often impossible to draw an unambiguous line between primary genetic retentions and secondary areal innovations. In many cases, even very late elements, especially in the lexicon, can exhibit the same type of correspondences as the inherited component of the modern languages. In case of ambiguity it is always safer to speak of Common Mongolic, rather than Proto-Mongolic. This is true of both lexical elements and structural properties.

Technically speaking, there are two types of criterion that can be used in order to establish the Proto-Mongolic origin of any given feature. The first type may be identified as *distributional*, and it is based on the linguistic fact that Proto-Mongolic features tend to have a wide distribution in the modern languages. In particular, any feature that is attested in, or perhaps restricted to, two or more peripheral Mongolic branches, such as Moghol, Dagur, or the Gansu-Qinghai complex, is likely to represent common Proto-Mongolic heritage. However, it should be kept in mind that the absence of a feature from the peripheral languages does by no means rule out the possibility of its Proto-Mongolic origin.

The second type of criterion may be identified as *documentary*, and it is based on the philological circumstance that written documents dating from either Middle Mongol or early Preclassical Written Mongol are more or less contemporaneous with Proto-Mongolic. If a linguistic feature is attested in such documents, we can infer that it was present in the Proto-Mongolic language. Again, it should be noted that the presence of such documentation is no prerequisite for linguistic reconstruction. Proto-Mongolic is and remains a product of the comparative method, and the fact that idioms close to it happen to be recorded in written documents is only of secondary interest from the reconstructive point of view. In this respect, Proto-Mongolic is comparable with any other relatively recent protolanguage which once coexisted with a close-lying literary standard (cf. e.g. the case of Latin vs. Proto-Romance).

DATA AND SOURCES

The application of the comparative method to the diachronic analysis of Mongolic became possible only when the synchronic investigation of the living Mongolic languages was initiated by scholars such as M. A. Castrén, G. J. Ramstedt, Władysław Kotwicz, Andrei Rudnev, and others. Much of the early comparative work was focused on listing the differences between Written Mongol and the various Modern Mongolic languages and dialects, notably Khalkha. Middle Mongol provided another concrete point of comparison. Unfortunately, the easy availability of a diachronic perspective through Written Mongol and Middle Mongol has always tended to remain an obstacle, rather than a stimulation, to the strictly linguistic understanding of Proto-Mongolic.

The actual comparative work on Mongolic has become increasingly challenging with the introduction of fresh synchronic data on the previously little-known peripheral

languages of the family. Even so, there are still several Mongolic languages, including, in particular, those of the Gansu-Qinghai complex, that remain not fully integrated into the comparative framework. While it is generally assumed that these languages derive from a protolanguage identical with the reconstructable ancestor of the more centrally located Mongolic idioms, many diachronic details remain unclear, making any definitive conclusions concerning the genetic and areal developments impossible for the time being.

As in all diachronic linguistics, phonology has always played a central role in Mongolic comparative studies. Two constantly recurrent issues include the role of the 'laryngeals' and the phenomenon of vowel breaking, as discussed, among others, by G. J. Ramstedt (1912), Paul Pelliot (1925), Nicholas Poppe (1956), and Juha Janhunen (1990, 1999). A more temporary controversy was involved in the dispute over the so-called 'primary long vowels', as discussed by Masayoshi Nomura (1959), Nicholas Poppe (1962), Shirô Hattori (1970), and Gerhard Doerfer (1969–74). Among the multitude of other contributions to Mongolic diachronic phonology, the brief but innovative paper by Eugene Helimski (1984) on Gansu-Qinghai Mongolic deserves to be singled out.

While much of the comparative work on Mongolic in the past has been a side-product of general Altaic studies, as developed by Ramstedt (1952–66) and Poppe (1960, 1965, 1975), the important handbooks by Poppe (1955) and G. D. Sanzheev (1953–64) focus specifically on the Mongolic languages. Poppe's work, in particular, remains by far the most explicit and internationally accessible synthesis of Mongolic comparative phonology and morphology. With the exception of the brief synopsis by Doerfer (1964), later general works, such as those by P. A. Darvaev (1988) and A. A. Darbeeva (1996), offer no substantially new insights. Tömörtogoo (1992) is nevertheless useful as a bibliographical tool, while G. C. Pyurbeev (1993) introduces some aspects of comparative syntax.

Outside the general Altaic framework, relatively little has been written on the dialectological and chronological aspects of Proto-Mongolic. An attempt to approach Late Pre-Proto-Mongolic, or 'Ancient Mongolian', largely by the method of internal reconstruction, was nevertheless made by Poppe (1976). Another important contribution is that by Michael Weiers (1970) on the periodization of Proto-Mongolic in relationship to Written Mongol and Middle Mongol.

SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

The Proto-Mongolic vowel system comprised seven qualities, divided into three harmonic pairs and one neutral vowel. The harmonic pairs are conventionally written as **u *ü* for the high rounded vowels, **o *ö* for the non-high rounded vowels, and **a *e* for the unrounded vowels (Table 1.1). The distinction within each harmonic pair was based on the palato-velar correlation, opposing the back vowels **a *o *u* to the front vowels **e *ö *ü*. In this context it remains irrelevant whether the unrounded front vowel **e* was phonetically a low [ä] or a mid-high [e].

TABLE 1.1 PROTO-MONGOLIC VOWELS

**u*	**i*	**ü*
**o*		**ö*
**a*		**e*

The isolated position of the neutral vowel **i* immediately suggests that in Pre-Proto-Mongolic there must have been a harmonic opposition between a front **i* and a back **ï*. This is confirmed by the presence in both Middle Mongol and the language underlying Preclassical Written Mongol of an opposition between *ki* < **ki* and *qi* < **kï*, still synchronically preserved in Moghol (and, as it seems, Santa), as in Moghol *ceqin* 'ear' < **ciqi/n* < **cïkï/n*. Obviously, the paradigmatic merger of the vowels **ï *i* and the accompanying restructuring of the vowel system took place only in Late Pre-Proto-Mongolic. Technically, an original Pre-Proto-Mongolic **ï* can be reconstructed for all words involving Proto-Mongolic **i* in a back-vocalic context, or in the presence of a documented back velar consonant. Under other conditions, however, the distinction remains beyond the reach of internal evidence.

The reconstruction of **i* of the initial syllable is to some extent complicated by the phenomenon known as *palatal breaking*, in which **i* was 'broken' into two segments under the influence of the vowel of the second syllable (**a *o *u *ö *ü)*, as in **mingga/n* 'thousand' > Khalkha *myanggh*. Palatal breaking was basically an areally restricted Post-Proto-Mongolic innovation, most abundantly attested in Mongol proper, as well as in Buryat and Dagur. However, the phenomenon was anticipated and accompanied by the similar process of *prebreaking*, which involved the assimilation of the original back **ï* before its merger with the front **i*, as in **mïka/n* 'meat' > **maka/n* > Khalkha *max*. Prebreaking seems to have started already in Late Pre-Proto-Mongolic, and in some lexical items it was completed before the dissolving of Proto-Mongolic, leaving only Written Mongol more or less free of its impact.

While palatal breaking is a mechanism in which **i* is influenced by the vowel of the following syllable, some Mongolic languages also show the process of *palatal umlaut*, in which **i* influences the vowel of a preceding syllable, as in **mori/n* 'horse' > Kalmuck *mör/n*. Like palatal breaking, palatal umlaut seems to have been a Post-Proto-Mongolic innovation, but its parallel presence in both Oirat and the dialects of Mongol proper gives it, at least, a Common Mongolic dimension. It goes without saying that both breaking and umlaut have had a considerable impact on the subsequent evolution of the Modern Mongolic vowel paradigms.

In spite of claims made to the contrary, it has been impossible to establish any quantitative correlation for the Proto-Mongolic vowels. While virtually all the Modern Mongolic idioms have distinctive long (double) vowels, these are of a secondary contractive origin. Occasional instances of irregular lengthening are observed in most of the modern languages, and in a small number of cases there would seem to be a correspondence between two peripheral languages, notably Dagur and (Huzhu) Mongghul, as in Dagur *mood* 'tree, wood' = Mongghul *moodi* id. < **modu/n*. In spite of the seemingly perfect match, such cases are too few and involve too many counterexamples to justify any diachronic conclusion other than that of accidental irregular convergence.

The Proto-Mongolic consonant system is best to be reconstructed as having had fifteen basic phonemes, representing four places of articulation: labial, dental, palatal, and velar. The four places were, however, distinguished only for the weak stops **b *d *j *g*. The strong stops **t *c *k* had a gap in the labial column, while the nasal system **m *n *ng* had no palatal member. The palatal stops **c *j* were apparently realized as affricates. The continuant obstruents comprised the dental sibilant **s* and the velar spirant **x*, but no labial or palatal segment. Additionally, there were the two liquids **l *r* and the palatal glide **y* (Table 1.2).

The gaps in the system suggest that there may have been additional consonants still in Late Pre-Proto-Mongolic. The strong labial stop **p* can actually be reconstructed on

TABLE 1.2 PROTO-MONGOLIC CONSONANTS

	**t*	**c*	**k*
**b*	**d*	**j*	**g*
	**s*		**x*
**m*	**n*		**ng*
	**l*		
	**r*		
		**y*	

internal evidence for some morphemes showing an irregular alternation between **b* or **m* and **x*, as in **depel* 'garment' > **debel* > Oirat *dewl* vs. Common Mongolic **dexel* > **deel*, **küpün* 'man' > **kümün* > Oirat *kümn* vs. Common Mongolic **küxün* > **küün*. For some suffixal morphemes, including the markers of the instrumental case (**-pAr*) and the reflexive declension (**-pA/n*), **p* can be reconstructed on the basis of Written Mongol, which shows the alternation **b** : **g qh**. Even so, it would be incorrect to reconstruct **p* as a separate phoneme for the Proto-Mongolic stage. The occasional claims that **x* was still pronounced as a labial spirant [ɸ] in Proto-Mongolic are apparently also incorrect.

The gaps in the system also reveal points at which Proto-Mongolic had a potential of introducing new consonant phonemes. The first segment to be added was the palatal sibilant **sh*, which may be characterized as Common Mongolic; it was introduced immediately after the Proto-Mongolic stage in loanwords such as **shasin* 'religion' (from Sanskrit), **shabi* 'disciple' (through Chinese). Other segments, including a new strong labial stop (*p*) as well as two labial continuants (*f w*), have been added later to the individual systems of several Modern Mongolic languages and dialects, where they still tend to retain a status of marginal phonemes. Generally, all the Modern Mongolic languages retain the Proto-Mongolic consonant system as the skeleton of their own synchronic systems.

Due to the merger of the unrounded high vowels **ï *i* in Late Pre-Proto-Mongolic, there briefly existed a distinction between the velars **k *g *x* and a corresponding series of back velars or uvulars, of which the strong stop **q* is the one most reliably attested. Although, technically speaking, the opposition **ki* vs. **qi* was present at exactly the Proto-Mongolic stage, its low functional load allows it to be ignored for most reconstructive purposes. It is true, the natural tendency to develop positional variants for the velar consonants depending on the vocalic environment is observable in several (though not all) Modern Mongolic languages, in which only the back vowels **a *o *u* have conditioned the spirantization of the velars, as in Oirat *ax* 'elder brother' vs. *ek* 'mother' < **aka* vs. **eke*.

It has to be noted that the opposition between the dental and palatal stops in Proto-Mongolic was absent before the vowel **i*. In this position, only the palatal stops **c *j* were permitted, while before all other vowels the segments **c* vs. **t* and **j* vs. **d* could freely contrast. Words containing the sequences **ti *di* are therefore invariably Post-Proto-Mongolic, though some of them have a Common Mongolic distribution, e.g. **tib* 'continent' (from Sanskrit). This suggests that there had been a neutralizing process in Pre-Proto-Mongolic, changing **t *d* into **c *j* before the vowel **i*. There is, indeed, occasional evidence of this process in the comparative material, cf. e.g. Khalkha *ghada(a)* 'outside' < **gadaxa* < **gadïxa* vs. Buryat *gazaa* id. < **gajaxa* < **gajixa* <

**gadïxa.* Unfortunately, when no such evidence is available it is impossible to determine the exact Pre-Proto-Mongolic source of the segments **c *d* before the vowel **i.*

It would be tempting to assume that the developments **ti* > **ci* and **di* > **ji* were due to palatal assimilation, conditioned by the palatal quality of **i.* Since, however, this assimilation was not confined to words with a palatal vocalism, it must have taken place only after the merger of the vowels **i* and **ï* > **i.* A possible order of all the processes involved would, then, be: (1) **kï* > **qï*, (2) **ï* > **i*, (3) **ti *di* > **ci *ji*, (4) **qi* > **ki.* The first three of these processes may be dated as Late Pre-Proto-Mongolic, while the last, involving the loss of the opposition between the velar and postvelar sets of consonants, was still going on in Proto-Mongolic.

The Proto-Mongolic velar spirant **x*, which also represented original Pre-Proto-Mongolic **p*, was probably pronounced as a laryngeal [h], which was gradually being lost. The loss of medial intervocalic **x* may, indeed, be regarded as Common Mongolic, for the segment is only attested in Written Mongol **(g qh)** as well as, occasionally, in Middle Mongol, as in **kaxan* 'emperor' > Written Mongol **qaqhav**, Middle Mongol *kaxan* (*qahan*) or *ka'an* vs. Common Mongolic **kaan.* Initial **x* was, however, regularly preserved in Middle Mongol, and direct reflexes of it are still synchronically present in two peripheries of the Mongolic family: Dagur in the northeast and the Gansu-Qinghai complex in the south, as in **xulaxan* 'red' > Middle Mongol *xula'an* (*hula'an*), Dagur *xulaang*, Mongghul *fulaan* vs. Common Mongolic **ulaan.* Rather unexpectedly, initial **x* is not reflected by the Written Mongol orthography.

The loss of the intervocalic 'laryngeal' **x* is, consequently, the main source of the long (double) vowels in the Mongolic languages. In the case of two identical vowels, the contraction automatically produced a long monophthong, but two different vowels yielded initially a diphthongoid. Diphthongoids ending in the vowels **u *ü* are preserved as such only in Dagur, while elsewhere they have undergone monophthongization, as in **naxur* 'lake' > Dagur *naur* vs. Khalkha *nuur.* Diphthongoids ending in the vowel **i* (< **ï* & **i*) have, however, diphthongoid reflexes in most languages, though monophthongization also occurs. In these sequences, the presumably original intervocalic **x* seems to have been palatalized into **y* already in Late Pre-Proto-Mongolic, as in (**saxïn* >) Proto-Mongolic **sayin* 'good' > Khalkha *saing* vs. Oirat *sään.*

In accordance with their contractive origin, the diphthongoids of the modern languages are normally reflected in Written Mongol as bisyllabic sequences (with intervocalic **g qh j**). In a few items, however, Written Mongol has simple vowel sequences ending in **u**. In the modern languages, such sequences are indistinguishable from the corresponding contractive diphthongoids, but the question is whether there was a diachronic difference. There are several possibilities: Proto-Mongolic may actually have had such vowel sequences, or the sequences may have contained an intervocalic consonant not indicated in the Written Mongol orthography, or the vowel may represent the vocalized reflex of an original syllable-final consonant (possibly **w*). The evidence remains inconclusive, but it is perhaps safest to make a distinction between **x* and Ø (zero) when reconstructing the sources of the diphthongoids, e.g. Written Mongol **vgulav** 'cloud' for **exüle/n* vs. **taugae** 'history' for **te*(Ø)*üke.*

A related question concerns the origin of the diphthongoids ending in **i.* In final position, such diphthongoids are rendered as simple vowel sequences in Written Mongol. Since this is a regular convention, the sequences may be reconstructed as contractive diphthongoids of the normal type, e.g. Written Mongol **bui** for **buyi* ~ **büyi* [copula], **talai** 'sea' for **dalayi* > Common Mongolic *dalai.* It cannot, however, be ruled out that the language originally had a distinction between **x* and Ø also before the vowel

i* (< **ï* and **ï*). A possible candidate for a medial diphthongoid without an original intervocalic consonant is Written Mongol **naimav 'eight', for **na(y)ima/n* > Common Mongolic **naima/n*.

WORD STRUCTURE

The most important phonotactic restriction in Proto-Mongolic was formed by vowel harmony, which allowed only either back or front vowels to occur within a phonological word. Palatal harmony was originally the only phenomenon that conditioned the occurrence of the vowels **a *u* (back) vs. **e *ü* (front) in non-initial syllables, as in **kara* 'black' vs. **nere* 'name', **olan* 'many' vs. **mören* 'river', **kura* 'rain' vs. **üre* 'seed', **casu/n* 'snow' vs. **temür* 'iron', **xodu/n* 'star' vs. **xödü/n* 'feather', **ulus* 'people' vs. **xüsü/n* 'hair'. There seem to have been no exceptions to the palatal harmony in Proto-Mongolic, which means that the phenomenon might also be described by postulating a markedness hierarchy, or, alternatively, a set of neutralized archiphonemes (**A *U*).

An important phenomenon that has affected the manifestations of vowel harmony in many Modern Mongolic languages, including Mongol proper and all of its northern and eastern neighbours (Khamnigan Mongol, Buryat, Dagur), is *vowel rotation*, in which the palato-velar pairs have become rotated so that the palatal members (**ü *ö *e*) have received a raised tongue position in comparison with their velar counterparts (**u *o *a*). At the same time, the palatal members have undergone velarization, resulting in the replacement of the original palatal harmony (back vs. front) by an apertural harmony (low vs. high). During an intermediate stage in the process (as in modern Khalkha), the original back vowels seem also to have been accompanied by a varying degree of pharyngealization. Since vowel rotation has not necessarily removed any oppositions, it is difficult to establish whether it may already have been present as in incipient tendency in Proto-Mongolic. In the modern languages it has, however, often resulted in various paradigmatic neutralizations.

Apart from palatal harmony there was a partial labial harmony (labial attraction), because of which the non-high rounded vowels **o *ö* of non-initial syllables were not allowed to be combined with any of the vowels **a *e *u *ü* of the initial syllable. This restriction was, already in Proto-Mongolic, being complemented by another rule which assimilated the vowels **a *e* of non-initial syllables into **o *ö* after an initial syllable also containing **o *ö*, as in **kola* 'distant' > **kolo*, **köke* 'blue' > **kökö*. Owing to these phenomena, it is difficult to distinguish in the comparative material the combinations **o-a* vs. **o-o* and **ö-e* vs. **ö-ö*. It is generally assumed that the original state is best preserved in (Preclassical) Written Mongol, but it remains unclear whether Written Mongol is really chronologically representative of Proto-Mongolic for this detail.

A similar problem is connected with the combination **e-ü*, which is generally preserved in the language underlying Written Mongol, as in **tamur** 'iron' for **temür*. It seems that Written Mongol in such cases represents a stage that is best identified as Late Pre-Proto-Mongolic, while Proto-Mongolic was characterized by the regressive assimilation of **e-ü* into **ö-ü*, e.g. **temür* > **tömür*. In the modern languages, owing to the reduction and neutralization of most single vowels in non-initial syllables, the reflexes of **e-ü* > **ö-ü* have generally merged with those of **ö-e* > **ö-ö*. None of these phenomena have exact back-vocalic analogies, but in sequences containing an intervocalic **x* the combinations **ö-e* (front) and **o-a* (back) are indistinguishable from **ü-e* and **u-a*, respectively, as in **tuxa* (or **toxa*) 'number', **büxe* (or **böxe*) 'shaman'.

Importantly, the vowels **a *o *u* vs. **e *ö *ü* were all distinguished in non-initial syllables following **i* (< **i* & **ï*) of the initial syllable, as in **sira* (< **sïra*) 'yellow' vs. **sine* 'new', **cino* (< **cïno*) 'wolf' vs. **silö* 'soup', **cisu/n* (< **cïsu/n*) 'blood' vs. **sidü/n* 'tooth'. Similarly, any vowel quality of the initial syllable could be combined with **i* (< **i* & **ï*) of the second syllable, as in **ami/n* (< **amï/n*) 'life' vs. **xeki/n* 'head, beginning', **mori/n* (< **morï/n*) 'horse' vs. **ökin* 'daughter', **gulir* (< **gulïr*) 'flour' vs. **küril* 'bronze', **bicig* 'script'. Because of a variety of neutralizing developments, all Modern Mongolic languages have either lost or restructured most of the vowel combinations concerned.

Most of the vocalic phenomena reconstructable for the various stages of Mongolic, including palatal harmony, breaking, and umlaut, point to a systematic tendency of accumulating information into the initial syllable of the word. This tendency was probably prosodically manifested in Proto-Mongolic as the presence of an initial expiratory stress, which was lexically non-distinctive. Some Post-Proto-Mongolic developments, such as the widespread tendency of reduction and loss of all vowels in non-initial syllables, also point to initial stress, though there are counterexamples suggesting the loss of initial vowels or entire initial syllables, as in Middle Mongol *umarta-* vs. Common Mongolic **marta-* 'to forget'. Altogether, prosodic features in Mongolic have always tended to be determined by positional factors, rather than vice versa.

The Proto-Mongolic syllable structure allowed only single consonants in the beginning (CV) and end (VC) of syllables, yielding medial clusters of maximally two segments (CC). Moreover, only the nasals **m *n *ng*, the liquids **r *l*, the sibilant **s*, and one set of non-palatal (non-affricate) stop obstruents were possible syllable-finally. Morphophonemic relationships, such as **bulag* 'spring [of water]': gen. **bulag/u-n*, allow the syllable-final stops to be identified with the weak series **b *d *g*, which, consequently, may be viewed as unmarked with regard to the strong series. In clusters beginning with a nasal, only the labial nasal could be followed by another labial consonant (**mb*), while both the labial and the velar nasal could be followed by a velar consonant (the types **mg *ngg*). All nasals could be followed by a dental or a palatal consonant.

While most original consonant clusters can be easily verified, there are several examples of clusters beginning with the liquids **r *l* that are only preserved in a few peripheral languages, as in **yersü/n* 'nine' > Bonan *yersung* vs. Common Mongolic **yesü/n*, **caxarsu/n* 'paper' > Khamnigan Mongol *caarhu/n* vs. Common Mongolic **caasu/n*. In some cases, a vowel seems to have been inserted into such a cluster, as in **mölsü/n* 'ice' > **mölisü/n* > Khamnigan Mongol *mulihu/n* vs. Common Mongolic **mösü/n*. In other cases the cluster can be reconstructed on the basis of Written Mongol, while the spoken languages show an irregular correspondence of single consonants, as in Written Mongol **talbi-** for **talbi-* 'to place' > Dagur (*)*tali-* vs. Common Mongolic **tabi-*.

The final segment of a stem determined the stem type, on which a number of suffix-initial morphophonological alternations depended. The basic division was into *vowel stems* and *consonant stems*. Before suffixes beginning with a vowel, normally **i*, vowel stems required a connective consonant, normally **y*, as in **aka* 'elder brother' : acc. **aka/y-i*. On the other hand, before suffixes beginning with a consonant, consonant stems required the connective vowels **U* (**u *ü*) or **i* (< **ï* & **i*), as in **ab-* 'to take' : conv. mod. **ab/u-n*, **gar* 'hand' : instr. **gar/i-xar*. The basic function of the connective segments was to block non-permitted phonotactic structures, such as vowel sequences and clusters of two (word-finally) or three (medially) consonants. Certain occurrences of the connective segments were, however, morphologically conditioned.

Consonant stems were subdivided into *obstruent stems*, ending in the stops **b *d *g* or the sibilant **s*, and *sonorant stems*, ending in the nasals **m *n *ng* or the liquid **l*. This division correlates with the alternation of weak and strong obstruents in certain suffixes, as in **ol-* 'to find' : pass. **ol.da-* vs. **ab-* 'to take' : pass. **ab.ta-*. Rather unexpectedly, the functional obstruent stems also comprised the stems ending in the liquid **r*, as in **ger* 'dwelling' : dat. **ger-tü/r* vs. **gal* 'fire' : dat. **gal-du/r*. This peculiarity, preserved in most Modern Mongolic languages, suggests that **r*, at least word-finally, may originally (in Pre-Proto-Mongolic) have been a true obstruent. It is true, **r* seems also to have had a functional affinity with the other liquid **l*, for neither of the two liquids was originally permitted in word-initial position. The only other consonant with this restriction was **ng*. There are, however, several Common Mongolic words beginning with **l*, e.g. **luu* 'dragon' (from Chinese, through Uighur).

WORD FORMATION

Apart from vowel harmony and the insertion of connective segments at the border of stem and suffix, Proto-Mongolic morphology was based on a rather mechanical agglutination of derivative and inflectional suffixes to essentially invariable stems. There were two major parts of speech which may be identified as nouns (nominals) and verbs (verbals), combined with two separate sets of suffixes, respectively. Morphological and syntactic details allow nouns to be further divided into substantives, pronouns, and numerals. Some nominal (including pronominal) stems, often with a defective or exceptional paradigm, functioned as adverbs and postpositions. Adjectival words were also basically nominal, though their derivatives could function as verbs, cf. e.g. **ca.ga.xan* 'white' : ess. **ca.yi-* 'to be white', **köke* 'blue' : transl. **köke.re-* 'to become blue'.

Nominal and verbal stems had a basically identical structure, and some stems (nomina-verba) can actually be reconstructed as having had both a nominal and a verbal function, e.g. **emkü-* 'to put into mouth': **emkü* 'bite'. Such cases could perhaps be analysed as examples of zero derivation, but synchronically it is impossible to determine which of the two functions (nominal or verbal) should be viewed as derivationally primary. Both nominal and verbal stems could end in a vowel, the liquids **l *r*, or any of the obstruents **b *d *s *g*. Importantly, however, there were no verbal stems ending in a nasal, while all the three nasals **m *n *ng* are well attested as the final segments of nominal stems.

The nominal stems ending in the nasal **n* may be viewed as a separate stem type, perhaps best identified as the *nasal stems* (proper). There were two kinds of nasal stem: those ending in a morphophonologically stable **n* and those ending in an unstable or 'fleeting' **/n*. The unstable **/n* was in a regular paradigmatic alternation with zero (Ø), as in **mori/n* 'horse' : gen. **morin-u* : acc. **mori/y-i*. The fact that the unstable **/n* was not permanently present in the stem suggests that it may originally have been a suffix. Its original function remains, however, unclear; it may have been a derivative suffix, perhaps denoting a specific class of nouns, but it may also have been connected with the categories of number and case. It is probably relevant to note that the stems ending in the unstable **/n* were much more numerous than those ending in the stable **n*, a situation that is still valid for many (though not all) Modern Mongolic languages.

In accordance with the two basic parts of speech in the language, the derivative suffixes that can be reconstructed for Proto-Mongolic may be divided into four types, depending on whether they produced (1) denominal nouns, (2) denominal verbs, (3) deverbal nouns, or (4) deverbal verbs. Each type of derivative had a specific set of

suffixes, many of which are still productive in the Modern Mongolic languages. From the structural point of view, the denominal derivative suffixes are relatively uninteresting, though some of them seem to have been extremely productive, such as **.tU* or **.tA.(y)i* [possessive adjectival nouns], **.lA-* [denominal verbs with a variety of functions]. Among the more restricted and less commonplace categories of derivation was gender (female sex), indicated by the denominal suffixes **.jin* [female beings, from tribal names and age expressions] and **.gcin* [female animals, from colour terms].

A higher degree of grammaticalization was present in the deverbal verbs, most of which may be understood as expressions of the category of *voice*, comprising the subclasses of passive, causative, reciprocative, cooperative, and pluritative verbs. Passives were marked by the suffix variants **.dA-* (after sonorant stems), **.tA-* (after obstruent stems), and **.g.dA-* (after vowel stems); causatives by **.gA-* (after sonorant stems and stems in **r*), **.kA-* (after obstruent stems), and **.xA-*, **.l.gA-* or **.xUl-* (after vowel stems); reciprocals by **/U.ldU-*; cooperatives by **/U.lcA-*; and pluritatives by **.cAgA-*. The details of the actual formation of these derivatives were already in Proto-Mongolic to some extent lexicalized. Some stems had, for instance, two alternative causatives, as in **bayi-* 'to be' : caus. **bayi.xul-* or **bayi.lga-*. There were also double causatives, as in **gar-* 'to exit' : **gar.ga.xul-* 'to cause to take out'.

Deverbal nouns were likewise inherently liable to be grammaticalized, and it is in some cases difficult to draw a distinction between derivational deverbal nouns and the inflectional category of participles (verbal nouns). The basic criteria are the degree of productivity and verbality of the derived nominal stems. Participles may be defined as fully productive deverbal nouns, which still function as verbal headwords in the sentence. In Proto-Mongolic there were, however, many cases of lexicalized participles which had apparently lost their verbal characteristics (or never developed them), like **ide-* 'to eat' : **ide.xe/n* 'food' vs. part. imperf. **ide-xe*. On the other hand, some Proto-Mongolic and/or Common Mongolic deverbal nouns, like those in **.l* (general action) and **.mAr* (potential action), function very much like participles, but are, nevertheless, in Mongolic studies normally counted as derivational deverbal nouns.

One of the most difficult borderline cases involves the actor nouns or agentive participles in **-g.ci* or **-xA.ci*. Normally listed as participles, these forms seem, indeed, to have had a number of verbal functions in Proto-Mongolic. Many actual examples of actor nouns are, however, better analysed as lexicalized regular nouns, like **jiru.g.ci* or **jiru.xA.ci* 'artist', from **jiru-* 'to draw, to paint'. In most Modern Mongolic languages, the verbal features of the actor nouns are absent or very marginal. It may also be noted that of the two alternative suffix variants, the variant **-xA.ci* is based on the imperfective participle suffix **-xA*, as in part. imperf. **jiru-xA* '(the act of) drawing', while the variant **-g.ci* is a secondary derivative of the non-productive deverbal noun in **.g*, as in **jiru.g* 'picture'.

Most of the Proto-Mongolic suffixes for deverbal nouns yielded clearly nominal formations with restricted productivity and a tendency of lexicalization. The derivatives concerned may be characterized as various types of general action nouns, such as those in **.dAl*, **.lAng*, **.lgA*, **.ltA*, **.li*, **.m*, **.mji*, **.mtA*, **.r*. Some were, however, more specialized and yielded nouns denoting, for instance, place of action: **.ri*, **.xUri* or **.xUli*; result or object of action: **.jA*, **.mAg*, **.ng*, **.si*; state or quality resulting from action: **.xU* or **.xUn*, **.gAyi* or **.gAr*, **.mAl*; performer of action: **.xUl*; or instrument of action: **.xUr*. It is easy to see that many of these suffixes contain certain recurrent initial elements, e.g. **.l*, **.m*, **.xU*, which may be identified as their original primary components, to which additional elements were added secondarily.

In deviation from the general dominance of suffixal derivation, there is a single aberrant phenomenon, in which prefixation also plays a role. This is the Common Mongolic pattern of forming emphatic (intensive) derivatives from adjectival nouns, especially colour terms, by prepositing to the stem its partially reduplicated initial syllable followed by the consonant *.b* according to the formula (C)V.*b*&(C)V-, e.g. **xulaxan* 'red' : **xu.b&xulaxan* 'reddish, quite red'. The reduplicated syllables may in such cases be analysed as independent emphatic particles, but in some modern languages they have yielded fully lexicalized structures, as in Bonan *shera* 'yellow' (< **sira*) : *shew.rexang* 'quite yellow' (< **si.b+sira.kan*).

A different type of reduplication is involved in the formation of the generic plural ('and other things like that'). Already in Proto-Mongolic, the generic plural seems to have been formed by pairing the nominal stem with an echo word, which was either a rhyme beginning with **m* or an alternate containing **a* in the initial syllable, e.g. **noka(y)i & moka(y)i* 'dogs and the like', **mori & mari* 'horses and the like'. In spite of its marginal function the generic plural, with some variations in the actual patterns, is surprisingly widely attested throughout the Mongolic family.

NOMINAL NUMBER

The morphological categories characteristic of the nominal declension in Proto-Mongolic were number, case, and reflexive possession. Unlike case and reflexive possession, however, number was not a regular inflexional category, but rather a derivational feature involving a considerable degree of facultativeness and irregular lexicalized variation. This need not always have been so, for there are indications that number marking had undergone a secondary diversification in Pre-Proto-Mongolic. This diversification has continued in some Modern Mongolic languages, while in others a strictly limited set of inflexional number suffixes has been established. The marked number in Mongolic has always been the plural (collective), but in some stem types the plural markers replace elements that may originally have functioned as singular (singulative) suffixes.

The plural in Proto-Mongolic was marked by two basic suffixes, **.s* and **.d*, which were in complementary distribution. The suffix **.s* was added to vowel stems, e.g. **ere* 'man' : pl. **ere.s*, while the suffix **.d*, preceded by the connective vowel **U* (> **UU*), was added to consonant stems, e.g. **nom* 'book' : pl. **nom/u.d*. However, most stems ending in the consonants **n *l *r* lost the final segment before the suffix **.d*, with no connective vowel involved, e.g. **kan* 'prince' : pl. **ka.d*, suggesting that these final consonants may originally have been suffixes. This analysis is particularly likely in the case of the stems ending in the unstable **/n*, which regularly formed their plural by the suffix **.d*, e.g. **mori/n* 'horse' : pl. **mori.d*. The same is true of polysyllabic stems ending in the derivative complex **.sU/n*, e.g. **nugu.su/n* 'duck' : pl. **nugu.d*.

A third plural suffix, with a more restricted distribution, was **.n*, which regularly replaced the stem-final derivative element **.(y)i* (possibly < **.xi*) in several complex suffixes, e.g. poss. **.tA.(y)i* : pl. **.tA.n*, part. fut. **-kU.(y)i* : pl. **-kU.n*. This suffix was also used with the actor noun marker part. ag. **-g.ci* : pl. **-g.ci.n*. Occasional traces of **.n* are still preserved in the Modern Mongolic languages, but generally it has lost its productivity in favour of the other plural suffixes. In Common Mongolic, regular nouns ending in **.(y)i* > **.i* form their plural by the suffix **.s*, e.g. **noka.i* 'dog' : pl. **noka.s*, but evidence from Middle Mongol and Preclassical Written Mongol shows that the original pattern is likely to have involved the use of **.n*, i.e. **noka.i* : pl. **noka.n*.

Already in Proto-Mongolic, the basic plural suffixes were being complemented by a set of secondary suffixes. Some of the latter were simply semantically redundant reduplications or combinations of the basic suffixes (double plurals), e.g. **.d/U.d* (> **.dUUd*), **.s/U.d* (> **.sUUd*). Others may be analysed as combinations of original stem-final segments or syllables with the plural formative **/U.d*, e.g. Common Mongolic **.nUUd*, **.ciUd* (> **.ciUl*). A different type of innovation was involved in the element **.nAr*, also **.nA.d* or **.nar/U.d* (> **.nar.UUd*), which was added to nouns denoting humans or deities, e.g. **aka* 'elder brother' : pl. **aka.nar*, **tenggeri* 'god' : pl. **tenggeri.ner.* Owing to the diversification of the plural suffixes, the original rules of complementarity were lost, often allowing several different plurals to be formed of a single nominal stem.

Patterns of the type **mori/n* (**mori.n*) : **mori.d* and **noka.(y)i* : **noka.n* suggest that plural formation may originally have been part of a more general system of nominal classes, in which both the singular and the plural were marked by distinct class suffixes. What the semantic basis of this possible Pre-Proto-Mongolic class system may have been, remains to be clarified, but in any case it is obvious that the distribution of the plural suffixes was not only phonologically conditioned. It is unclear what the exact function of the plural originally was. As in the Modern Mongolic languages, the basic (singular) form of nouns in Proto-Mongolic was able to function as an unmarked (unspecified) plural. The use of the actual plural suffixes seems to have been limited to cases in which plurality was not otherwise obvious from the context.

An interesting perspective into the prehistory of class marking in Mongolic is offered by the bisyllabic stems ending in **sU/n* and **dU/n*. The former typically denote liquids or liquifiable masses: **usu/n* 'water', **üsü/n* 'milk', **casu/n* 'snow', **cisu/n* 'blood', **nisu/n* 'mucus', **tosu/n* 'oil', while the latter denote countable sets of identical objects: **modu/n* 'tree/s', **nidü/n* 'eye/s', **sidü/n* 'tooth/teeth', **sodu/n* 'quill feather/s', **xodu/n* 'star/s', **xödü/n* 'feather/s'. Simple internal reconstruction suggests that all of these stems were originally composed of a monosyllabic root (CV), to which a class suffix (**.d* or **.s*) was added, followed by the connective vowel **U* and the suffixally used unstable **/n*. This system of classes was obscured already in Pre-Proto-Mongolic, but it is perhaps relevant to note that the two class markers are identical with the two basic plural suffixes (**.d* and **.s*) still used in Proto-Mongolic.

NOMINAL CASE

The category of case in Proto-Mongolic is normally considered to have comprised six suffixally marked cases: genitive, accusative, dative, ablative, instrumental, and comitative. At the Common Mongolic level there are also other case-like forms. The unmarked basic stem may be regarded as a nominative. The case endings were identical for all nouns except for slight phonologically conditioned variation depending on the stem type. If we take vowel stems (V) as the basis, some case endings, though not all, had separate variants used with consonant stems (C) or, more specifically, with nasal stems (N) or obstruent stems (O). The case endings were also affected by vowel harmony (Table 1.3).

Just how the actual shapes of the case endings are to be reconstructed depends on what level of reconstruction is intended. For some details, both Written Mongol and Middle Mongol yield information that is not readily recoverable from the synchronic data of the Modern Mongolic languages. Case endings are, in fact, a good example of a morphological set that should be viewed at three different levels of reconstruction: Common Mongolic, Proto-Mongolic, and Pre-Proto-Mongolic. At the Pre-Proto-Mongolic

TABLE 1.3 PROTO-MONGOLIC CASE MARKERS

	V	C	N	O
gen.	**/y-i-n*	**/U-n*	**-U*	
acc.	**/y-i*	**-i*		
dat.	**-dU/r*			**-tU/r*
abl.	**-A-cA*			
instr.	**-xAr*	**/i-xAr*		
com.	**-lUx-A*			

level, the synchronic allomorphy of the Proto-Mongolic case endings can be shown to derive from original invariance, while at the Common Mongolic level several new complications had appeared.

A very simple type of allomorphy is involved in the accusative case ending, which clearly derives from Pre-Proto-Mongolic **-i* with the only complication that vowel stems required the presence of the connective consonant **y*. The genitive ending, on the other hand, may be reconstructed as **-n*, which after consonant stems required the connective vowel **U*. After nasal stems, the actual case ending was dropped, leaving only the connective vowel to signal its former presence: **/U-n* > **-U*. Vowel stems probably originally took the primary genitive ending **-n*, but this was secondarily expanded into **/y-i-n* on the analogy of the consonant stems, and under the influence of the accusative ending **/y-i*.

As far as their functions are concerned, the genitive and the accusative may be identified as the basic grammatical cases in Mongolic, with the genitive marking the adnominal (attributive) and the accusative the adverbal (objective) type of dependence. It has to be noted that these two cases, although clearly distinct for all stem types in both Proto-Mongolic and Pre-Proto-Mongolic, show a secondary tendency to merge in several Modern Mongolic languages, notably Dagur and the languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex. From the point of synchronic description, it seems that the formally syncretized genitive-accusative, combining the functions of its two ancestors, cannot be treated as two separate cases. Rather, it is a single new case, which is perhaps best termed the *connective*.

The history of the dative ending is connected with several unsolved problems. The full ending **-dUr* (**-DUr*) is only attested in Written Mongol and Middle Mongol, while all the Modern Mongolic languages point to the shape **-dU* (**-DU*). This apparently means that the ending was irregularly shortened already in Proto-Mongolic. However, there are indications that the original ending may have been simply **-d*, as still attested in a number of adverbial and postpositional words, such as **uri-d* 'before'. If this is so, the complex ending **-dUr* is best explained as a combination of the elements **d* and **r*, joined with the intermediation of the connective vowel **U*. The role of the final element **r* remains unclear, though it has been compared with the adverbial suffix **.xUr* > **g/-UUr*, which functions as a prosecutive ending ('via') in a number of Modern Mongolic languages. The prosecutive might, however, also be connected with the directive in **-rUU* ~ **-UUr*, which derives from the independent postposition **uruxu* > **uruu* 'down/wards; towards' (cf. also **uru-gsi* 'forward').

In addition to the dative in **-d/U-r* > **-dU/r*, Proto-Mongolic still had traces of another case in **-A*, often also identified as a dative but perhaps better termed the *locative*.

The locative ending is well attested in both Written Mongol and Middle Mongol, but unlike the dative ending it had the restriction of being added only to consonant stems, e.g. **gajar* 'place' : loc. **gajar-a*. In Common Mongolic it is mainly preserved in adverbial and postpositional items, in which it is often preceded by the elements **.r* or **.n*, as in **dexe.r-e* 'on top of', **emü.n-e* 'in front of'. Even more importantly, the locative ending occurred in combination with the dative element **-d-*, yielding **-d-A* (**-D-A*), which is attested as an alternative dative ending in Middle Mongol, and in a few Common Mongolic fixed phrases, e.g. **nasu/n* 'age' : **nasu-d-a* 'always'. All of this suggests that the element **-d-* of the dative may originally have been a coaffix, to which other elements were added, yielding the complex dative endings **-d-A* and **-d/U-r* > **-dU*. Due to the effect of vowel reduction, the endings **-d-A* and **-d-U* are largely indistinguishable in the Modern Mongolic languages.

At the Proto-Mongolic level, the functions of the locative in **-A* seem to have been identical with those of the dative in **-d/U-r*, which explains the ultimate marginalization of the locative. Both cases are attested in a wide range of locative and dative (dative-locative) functions, expressing not only spatiality ('where', 'whither') and temporality ('when'), but also the recipient ('for whom') and possessor ('in whose possession'). Analogous functions were filled by the ablative with the difference that it indicated the source of action ('from where', 'from whom'). The original ablative ending seems to have been **-cA*, still preserved in relicts in Written Mongol, as in **vguvca** for **exün-ce* 'from this'. Already in Proto-Mongolic, however, the ablative was mainly expressed by the complex suffix **-A-cA*, which incorporates the locative ending **-A-*.

The dative and the ablative, together with the remains of the locative, may be identified as the local cases of Proto-Mongolic. The instrumental and the comitative, correspondingly, were the modal cases, expressing, roughly, the means of action ('by what') and the social context of action ('with whom'), respectively. The instrumental ending may be derived from the basic shape **-xAr* < **-pAr*, expanded into **/i-xAr* after consonant stems. The comitative ending **-lUx-A* incorporates the locative in **-A*, revealing that the comitative was a secondary case formed relatively late in Pre-Proto-Mongolic on the basis of a denominal derivative suffix for possessive adjectival nouns. This development has later recurred, in that the original comitative in the Modern Mongolic languages has largely been replaced by what may be termed the *possessive* case, based on the Common Mongolic possessive adjectival suffix **.tA.(y)i*.

In the Post-Proto-Mongolic period, none of the original case endings has developed along completely regular phonological lines. One particularly conspicuous tendency, which may be regarded as Common Mongolic, is the secondary lengthening of the suffix-initial (morpheme-boundary) vowel elements for all stem types. As a result, the modern genitive and accusative endings typically incorporate the long vowel elements **-Ai-* or **-ii-*, while the ablative and instrumental have **-AA-*. The vowel element has in some cases become morphologically distinctive, cf. e.g. **xaan* 'emperor' : gen. **xaan-ai* vs. acc. **xaan-ii*. Another irregular feature is the development **-cA* > **-sA* in the ablative ending **-A-cA*, yielding Common Mongolic **-AA-sA*. The declensional patterns of the stems ending in the unstable */n* vary considerably in the modern languages.

As the history of the ablative ending **-A-cA* shows, Proto-Mongolic had a tendency to accumulate certain case suffixes to sequences in a pattern that has been termed *double declension*. Apart from the occasional combination of two local case endings (normally dative + ablative), it is particularly common in several Modern Mongolic languages to form a secondary case paradigm on the basis of the genitive (especially genitive + dative or ablative). Although the actual forms cannot necessarily be derived from

Proto-Mongolic, the tendency of double declension itself may well be characterized as at least Common Mongolic.

There is, incidentally, one type of double declension that is definitely both Common Mongolic and Proto-Mongolic. This involves the use of the suffix **-ki* (or **-ki/n*) after the locative, dative and genitive endings to form new nominatives, which can, in principle, be further inflected in different case forms. The dative ending used in this connection is always **-dA-*(**-DA-*), e.g. **ger* 'house' : **ger-te-ki* '(the one) located in the house' : dat. **ger-te-ki-dü/r.* The suffix **-ki* is traditionally treated as a derivational feature, but it differs from all other derivative suffixes in that it is normally added to an inflected form. Unlike most actual derivative suffixes, it is also fully productive, and must have been so in Proto-Mongolic already. It is therefore probably best analysed as a special kind of nominative case ending, used in double declension to nominativize other case forms. The underlying structural motivation is obvious: the nominative is unmarked in its normal use, but when built upon other case forms, it is a marked feature and requires an ending, which is **-ki.*

Additional information on the history of the case system is offered by the reflexive (reflexive-possessive) declension, in which the case endings are followed by the reflexive marker **-xA/n* < **-pA/n*, after consonants **/i-xA/n.* The adding of the reflexive marker seems originally to have been fairly mechanical, though secondary irregularities are observed in some modern languages especially in the genitive and accusative. Perhaps most importantly, the dative ending used in the reflexive declension has always been **-dA* (**-DA*), yielding the complex **-dA-xA/n* (**-DA-xA/n*). The reflexive marker could also follow the bare stem, yielding an unmarked form functionally equivalent to the accusative.

NUMERALS

In view of its relatively shallow dating, it is not surprising that Proto-Mongolic had a fully developed set of native numerals, corresponding to a decimal system of counting. It is, indeed, perhaps more surprising that some of the peripheral Mongolic languages, notably (Minhe) Mangghuer and Moghol, have replaced the original numeral set, or large sections of it, by recent borrowings and other innovations. Although this is mainly indicative of the exceptionally strong areal reorientation of the languages concerned, the possibility of similar replacements in Pre-Proto-Mongolic should not be overlooked. As it is, the Mongolic numerals are a promising object for internal reconstruction.

The Proto-Mongolic numerals of the first decade may be reconstructed as: 1 **nike/n* > **nige/n* (> Common Mongolic **nege/n*), 2 **koxar* ~ **koyar*, 3 **gurba/n*, 4 **dörbe/n*, 5 **tabu/n*, 6 **jirguxa/n*, 7 **doluxa/n*, 8 **na(y)ima/n*, 9 **yersü/n* (> Common Mongolic **yesü/n*), 10 **xarba/n.* The other decades were expressed by separate correlative derivatives: 20 **kori/n*, 30 **guci/n*, 40 **döci/n*, 50 **tabi/n*, 60 **jira/n*, 70 **dala/n*, 80 **naya/n*, 90 **yere/n.* There were also words for the lower powers of ten: 100 **jaxu/n*, 1,000 **mingga/n*, 10,000 **tüme/n* (generically also 'myriad').

An examination of the numeral material immediately reveals some diachronically relevant regularities and irregularities. Most importantly, it may be observed that all numerals, with a single exception, belong to the same stem type, ending in the unstable */n.* The exception is 2 **koxar* ~ **koyar*, which, because of its aberrant shape, is likely to be a secondary innovation. In fact, it is commonly assumed that the original numeral for 'two' was **jiri/n*, still used in Middle Mongol for counting female beings. The primary

status of this stem is confirmed by the fact that the numeral 6 **jirguxa/n* is transparently a compound word, analysable as **jir+guxa/n* '2 x 3', with 3 **gu(r)ba/n* as the latter component. This, on the other hand, suggests that the Proto-Mongolic numeral for 'six' was also an innovation replacing a more original stem.

Another detail revealed by internal reconstruction is that several basic numerals contain a derivative suffix which can be reconstructed as Pre-Proto-Mongolic **.pA/n*, yielding Proto-Mongolic **.bA/n* : **.mA/n* : **.xA/n*. The variant **.bA/n* occurs in three numerals after the consonant **r*, which itself is also likely to be a derivative suffix: 3 **gu.r.ba/n*, 4 **dö.r.be/n*, and 10 **xa.r.ba/n*. It may be noted that **r* also appears in 2 **ji.r.i/n*, though the segmentation of this numeral is problematic. The variant **.xA/n* occurs after a vowel in 6 **ji.r+gu.xa/n* and 7 **dolu.xa/n*, while the variant **.mA/n* was obviously conditioned by the initial nasal in 8 **na(y)i.ma/n*. Altogether, **.pA/n* was clearly a suffix making fully formed numerals of the first decade out of a set of abstract (primary) numeral roots. The absence of **.pA/n* in 1 **nike/n* > **nige/n*, 5 **tabu/n*, and 9 **yersü/n* suggests that these numerals were somehow special and perhaps secondary.

Further conclusions can be made from the comparison of the basic numerals with the corresponding set for the decades. The numerals for the decades are clearly divided into two groups, the first ending in **.i/n*, as seen in the items for 20 to 50, and the second ending in **.A/n*, as seen in in the items for 60 to 90. The conclusion lies close at hand that these suffixes represent the meaning 'ten', though an immediate comparison with Proto-Mongolic 10 **xa.r.ba/n* appears phonologically impossible. In any case, the elements preceding **.i/n* and **.A/n* may be identified as the original roots for the basic numerals of the first decade, which may then be reconstructed as: 3 **gu(-)*, 4 **dö(-)*, 5 **tab*, 7 **dal*, 8 **nay*, 9 **yer*. The root in 60 **jir.a/n* represents, of course, 2 **ji.r*.

There still remain many unanswered questions about the Mongolic numerals. There is, for instance, not sufficient internal evidence to explain the alternation **r* : **c* in 3 **gu.r.ba/n* : 30 **gu.c.i/n* and 4 **dö.r.be/n* : 40 **dö.c.i/n*. In 7 **dol/u.xa/n* : 70 **dal.a/n* the correspondence **o* : **a* is easily explained by assuming a sporadic assimilation in **dol/u.xa/n* < **dal/u.xa/n*, but it is not clear why the suffix **.xA/n* < **.pA/n* is here preceded by what appears to be the connective vowel **U*. The root in 8 **na(y)i.ma/n* : 80 **nay.a/n* is potentially important for the reconstruction of Proto-Mongolic diphthongoids, but it is also possible that 8 **na(y)i.ma/n* should be segmented as **nay/i.ma/n*, with **i* functioning as a connective vowel. In the latter case, the numeral root **nay* could ultimately derive from Pre-Proto-Mongolic **nax* (or even **nap*).

A few of the original numeral roots are also attested in a limited set of archaic ordinals, comprising: **ji.tüxer* 'second (wife)', **gu.taxar* 'third', **dö.tüxer* 'fourth', **tab.taxar* 'fifth'. The ordinal suffix in question shows irregular variation both in the vocalism (**U* : **A*) and in the consonantism (**x* : **g*), but it seems to be based on the more primary ordinal suffix **.tU* or **.tA*, expanded by the instrumental case ending **-xAr*. In Common Mongolic, **.tA* forms multiplicatives, while the ordinal suffix appears in the generalized shape **.dUgAr* > **.dUgAAr*, normally added to the full stems of the basic numerals, with only the unstable **/n* omitted, e.g. **nige.düger* 'first', **gurba.dugar* 'third'. Occasional irregular truncation of the stem is, however, observed in **koya(r).dugar* 'second', **jirgu(xa).dugar* 'sixth', **dolu(xa).dugar* 'seventh'.

Two other widespread categories of numeral derivative that can unambiguously be dated back to Proto-Mongolic are the collectives in **.xUlA/n*, e.g. **koya.xula/n* 'two together', and the distributives (later also approximatives) in **.xAd*, e.g. **gurba.xad* 'three each'. The distributive **kosiya.xad* 'two each' contains an exceptional root variant, revealing a derivative connection with **kos* 'pair' (which is probably etymologically

separate from the numeral **koxar* ~ **koyar* 'two'). The distributive **niji.xed* 'one each' is also exceptional. Moreover, **niji.xed* is alternatively attested as **niji.xel*, suggesting that the distributive suffix **.xAd* was originally a plural (**.xA.d*) from the primary suffix **.xAl*.

PRONOUNS

A major formal difference between pronouns and substantival nouns in Proto-Mongolic was that the former almost invariably involved maximally simple monosyllabic roots (CV, in the modern languages often lengthened into CVV). In actual use, however, most pronominal roots were expanded by derivative and inflectional elements, many of which were unknown in regular nominal morphology. From the point of view of function, the three principal categories of pronoun were: personal, demonstrative, and interrogative pronouns.

The personal pronouns (Table 1.4) formed an almost perfect grid, in which person was marked by the initial consonant (1p. **b* : **m*, 2p. **c* : **t*, 3p. **Ø*), and number by the stem vowel (sg. **i* : pl. **a*). In the inflected forms, the singular pronouns had two expansions, one for the genitive (**.n-*) and the other for the rest of the oblique cases (**.mA-*), while the plural pronouns had only one expansion for the whole paradigm (**.n-*). The system that can be reconstructed for Pre-Proto-Mongolic was even more regular, in that the alternations of the initial consonants in the first and second person stems can be derived from original invariance (1p. **m* < **b* by nasalization, 2p. **c* < **t* by palatalization). The same is true of the seemingly irregular first person singular oblique stem (**na.ma-* < **nï.ma-* < **mï.ma-* < **bï.ma-* by nasalization, dissimilation, and prebreaking).

One detail that is not immediately clear from the comparative material concerns the harmonic status of the singular pronouns 1p. **bi*, 2p. **ci*, 3p. **i*. The fact that the oblique stems, 1p. **na.ma-*, 2p. **ci.ma-*, 3p. **i.ma-*, are clearly back-vocalic suggests that the pronominal roots originally contained the velar vowel **ï*. However, the velar vocalism of the oblique stems can also be due to the regressive influence of the element **.mA*, which is etymologically obscure, but which may originally have been back-vocalic itself. It happens that the corresponding genitive forms are harmonically ambivalent, and have been variously reconstructed either as back-vocalic, 1p. **mi.n-u*, 2p. **ci.n-u*, 3p. **i.n-u*, or as front-vocalic, 1p. **mi.n-ü*, 2p. **ci.n-ü*, 3p. **i.n-ü*. Strictly speaking, the genitives were restructured into 1p. **mi.n-i-*, 2p. **ci.n-i-*, 3p. **i.n-i-* already in Proto-Mongolic, as suggested by all the Modern Mongolic languages.

TABLE 1.4 PROTO-MONGOLIC PERSONAL PRONOUNS

		1p.		2p.	3p.
sg.	nom.	**bi*		**ci*	**i*
	gen.	**mi.n-U*		**ci.n-U*	**i.n-U*
	obl.	**na.ma-*		**ci.ma-*	**i.ma-*
		excl.	incl.		
pl.	nom.	**ba*	**bida*	**ta*	**a*
	gen.	**ma.n-u*	**bida.n-u*	**ta.n-u*	**a.n-u*
	obl.	**ma.n-*	**bida.n-*	**ta.n-*	**a.n-*

The reconstruction of the genitives of the personal pronouns is further complicated by the presence of a set of possessive pronouns, formed from the basic genitives by the suffix **-xA(y)i*. This suffix is functionally close to the general nominativizing element (double declension nominative ending) **-ki*, which is, in fact, also used to form possessive pronouns in several Modern Mongolic languages. The suffix **-xA(y)i* seems to survive in the modern languages in, at least, the genitives of the plural personal pronouns 1p. **man-u-xa(y)i > *man-ai*, 2p. **tan-u-xa(y)i > *tan-ai*. The latter are, however, not confined to the possessive (predicative) function, but are also used as regular (attributive) genitives. It is unclear whether a similar merger of the two forms has taken place in the singular.

In the Post-Proto-Mongolic period, the system of personal pronouns has been affected by three major structural innovations. The first innovation, which was apparently initiated already in Late Pre-Proto-Mongolic, was the appearance of a secondary inclusive pronoun for the first person plural. The new pronoun was of a compound origin, consisting of sg. 1p. **bi* and pl. 2p. **ta*, i.e. **bi+ta* 'I and you' > **bida* (also > **bide*). With this innovation, the original pronoun **ba* : **man-* was restricted to the exclusive function and was gradually marginalized. Although the distinction between the inclusive and exclusive forms is preserved in several Modern Mongolic languages in the oblique paradigm, there has been a tendency to merge the categories in the nominative by replacing **ba* by **bida*. The only modern language preserving the original set is Dagur.

The second innovation concerned the third person pronouns sg. **i* : pl. **a*, which already in Proto-Mongolic were becoming obsolete, and which in Common Mongolic have been completely replaced by the demonstratives. The original pronouns are still attested in Middle Mongol and Preclassical Written Mongol, but the only modern languages preserving them, or traces of them, are Dagur and Moghol.

The third innovation was the honorific use of the plural second person pronoun **ta* in reference to a single person: 'you [single, honoured one]'. In order to make the plural reference unambiguous, several Modern Mongolic languages have introduced suffixally marked plurals, such as **ta.nar* (> Common Mongolic **taa.nar*) 'you [many]'. Similar plurals are also formed of the first person pronoun: **bida.nar* (>**bide.ner*). While these innovations serve obvious communicative functions, they have seriously altered the formal structure of the pronominal system.

Apart from their normal independent use, the personal pronouns in Proto-Mongolic were apparently used enclitically, which in several Modern Mongolic languages has resulted in grammaticalized systems of possessive suffixes and predicative personal endings. The possessive suffixes are based on the genitives: 1p. sg. **-mini* : pl. excl. **-mani* : incl. **-bidAni*, 2p. sg. **-cini* : pl. **-tani*, 3p. sg. **-ini* : pl. **-ani*. The predicative personal endings, on the other hand, are based on the nominatives: 1p. sg. **-bi* : pl. excl. **-ba* : incl. **-bidA*, 2p. sg. **-ci* : pl. **-ta*. Generally, except in Dagur, the third person singular and plural possessive suffixes have converged into the Common Mongolic shape **-ni*. Also, except in Dagur, the first person plural exclusive and inclusive forms have been neutralized in favour of the exclusive form in the possessive paradigm, and in favour of the inclusive form in the system of the predicative personal endings.

The demonstrative system in Proto-Mongolic was based on the two roots **e* 'this' and **te* 'that'. These were probably never used alone, though the independent use of **te* is superficially suggested by synchronic data from Moghol and the languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex. In any case, the demonstrative roots were normally combined with additional elements, both derivational and inflectional, yielding two sets of correlative forms and derivatives. These, in turn, were closely parallelled by interrogative words based on the root **ke* 'who, what' (Table 1.5).

TABLE 1.5 PROTO-MONGOLIC PRONOMINAL CORRELATIONS

		*e 'this'	*te 'that'	*ke 'who, what'
sg.	nom.	*e.n.e	*te.r.e	*ke/n
	obl.	*e.xü/n-	*te.xü/n-	*ke/n-
pl.	nom.	*e.d.e(-xer)	*te.d.e(-xer)	*ke.d
	obl.	*e.d.e/n-	*te.d.e/n-	*ke.d-
der.	emph.	*e.li	*te.li	*ke.li
	'where'	*e.n-d-e	*te.n-d-e	
	'when'	*e.n.ü.x-e		
	'how'			*ke.r
	'to do what'	*e.yi-	*te.yi-	
	'what kind of'	*e.yi.m.ü	*te.yi.m.ü	
	'how many'	*e.d.ü.n	*te.d.ü.n	*ke.d.ü.n
	'how much'	*e.d.ü.(y)i	*te.d.ü.(y)i	*ke.d.ü.(y)i
	'when'	*e.d.ü.x-e		*ke.j.i.x-e

Many of the pronominal derivatives concerned are actually obscured inflectional forms based on the expanded stems *e.n- vs. *te.n- vs. *ke.n- : pl. *e.d- vs. *te.d- vs. *ke.d-. The quantitative expressions *e.d.ü.n vs. *te.d.ü.n vs. *ke.d.ü.n, for instance, are possibly simply the genitives of pl. *e.d- vs. *te.d- vs. *ke.d, while *e.d.ü.(y)i vs. *te.d.ü.(y)i vs. *ke.d.ü.(y)i might be obscured accusatives. The locative ending is transparently present in *e.n.ü.x-e (> *önüxe) and *e.d.ü.x-e (> *oduxa) 'now', as well as in *ke.j.i.x-e (< *ke.d.i.x-e) 'when', while *e.n-d-e 'here' and *te.n-d-e 'there' are formally datives (dative-locatives). The participially used narrative marker is present in *e.yi.m.ü vs. *te.yi.m.ü, based on the verbal derivatives *e.yi- vs. *te.yi-, cf. also conv. mod. *e.yi-n vs. *te.yi-n 'like this/that'. In some cases, the formal correlation is not matched by the semantic functions. For instance, the demonstratives *e.li (or *e.le) vs. *te.li seem to have been emphatic pronouns ('this/that very/same thing'), while their interrogative counterpart *ke.li has a temporal function ('when').

Proto-Mongolic also had several other pronominal roots with more restricted derivational patterns. As the pronoun *ke/n : pl. *ke.d became confined to the meaning of 'who', the meaning of 'what' was expressed by the root *ya, as in *ya.xu/n (> *yexü/n) 'what' : *ya.xu.ma (> *yexüme) 'what thing' : *ya.m.bar (> *yamar) 'what kind of' : *ya.xa+ki- (> *yaxa-) 'to do what'. Other interrogative words were *ali/n 'which' and *ka.mix-a (> *kaxa/n-a) 'where', while demonstratives included *nögüxe 'that one; the other one' and *mö.n 'the very/same': pl. *mö.d : der. *mö.n.ü.x-e 'now'. The interrogatives also functioned as indefinite pronouns. The most notable Post-Proto-Mongolic development in some languages (including Mongol proper) has been the grammaticalization of the pronouns *mön and *yaxuma into copulas (sentence-final predicative particles).

The Proto-Mongolic reflexive pronoun may be reconstructed as *öxe.n : pl. *öxe.d (< *öpe.n : pl. *öpe.d), which transparently lies behind the reflexive marker *-xA/n (< *-pA/n). The basic form *öxe.n is, however, today preserved only in Dagur, while the other Mongolic languages point to the shapes *öxe.r or *öxe.r.sü/n : pl. *öxe.r.sü.d (> *öxe.sü.d). The reflexive pronoun was apparently already in Proto-Mongolic normally followed by the reflexive marker, except in the genitive *öxer-ü-n 'one's own'. The absolutive (possibly originally accusative) form *öxer/i-xe/n seems to have had both objective ('oneself') and adverbial ('by oneself') uses.

PARTICIPLES

The verbal forms in all Mongolic languages, including Proto-Mongolic, can formally and functionally be divided into four categories: imperatives, finite indicative forms, participles, and converbs. In the sentence, imperatives and finite indicative forms are used as finite predicates, while converbs and participles appear as infinite predicates. The difference between imperatives and finite indicative forms is one of communicative function, while the difference between converbs and participles is one of syntactic behaviour. Converbs behave syntactically as adverbs, while participles can occur in the role of any nominal part of the sentence. Morphologically, imperatives, finite indicative forms, and converbs are basically invariant verbal forms, while participles are nominal words, which can be inflected in all categories of the regular nominal declension.

In the diachronic framework, participles (verbal nouns) may be regarded as the basic category of verbal forms. Participles have recurrently been incorporated into the imperative and finite indicative paradigms, and, especially in their inflected forms, they have also been an important source of converbs. By contrast, imperatives, indicative finite forms, and converbs are not known to have developed into participles. This suggests that the nominalization of the verb was a process of fundamental importance in the history of the Mongolic conjugation. The tools for the nominalization process were derived from the participle markers.

The Proto-Mongolic system of participles is normally regarded as having comprised five forms, which may be termed the futuritive, imperfective, perfective, habitive, and agentive participle, each marked by a distinct suffix (Table 1.6). All participles could function as verbal headwords, but, at the same time, they (or their case forms) could function as nouns modifying verbs (as objects, adverbials) or other nouns (as attributes). There were differences, however, in how the verbal and nominal properties were balanced for each participle. The agentive participle, in particular, has in many Modern Mongolic languages tended to develop into a fully nominal actor noun (*nomen actoris*) with no verbal features. In principle, any participial form had already in Proto-Mongolic the potential of becoming lexicalized into a regular noun.

Apart from the contextually determined appearance of the connective vowel **U* after consonant stems (C), there was also variation in some participle markers. The two agentive participle markers **-g.ci* vs. **-xA.ci* may simply have been conditioned by dialectal factors, but in the case of the futuritive participle there are indications of a functional difference, in that the longer marker **-kU.(y)i* seems mainly to have been confined to substantival uses, while the shorter marker **-kU* was used adjectivally. It has also been assumed that there was a gender distinction involved between **-kU* (masculine) and **-kU.(y)i* (feminine), as is vaguely suggested by the relevant Middle Mongol data. Similar distinctions may have been valid for the markers **-xA* vs. **-xA.(y)i* of the imperfective

TABLE 1.6 PROTO-MONGOLIC PARTICIPLE MARKERS

	C	marker	variant
part. fut.		**-kU*	**-kU.(y)i*
imperf.	**/U-*	**-xA*	**-xA.(y)i*
perf.	**/U-*	**-g.sA/n*	
hab.	**/U-*	**-dAg*	
ag.	**/U-*	**-g.ci*	**-xA.ci*

participle, but the documentation is too scanty to allow any conclusions. In any case, already in Proto-Mongolic *-*kU* and *-*xA* were the dominant markers, on which most of the modern reflexes are based.

Formally, the elements *-*g* and *-*xA* in the two agentive markers are probably ultimately related, representing variants of a single Pre-Proto-Mongolic suffix deriving deverbal nouns. The element *-*xA* also occurs as the imperfective participle marker, while the element *-*g* is contained in the perfective participle marker *-*g.sA/n*. Apart from Written Mongol, the shape *-*g.sA/n* is today preserved only marginally, while most of the modern languages show the irregularly simplified Common Mongolic shape *-*sAn*. Moghol also has the plural form *-*g.sA.d*. Otherwise, separate plural forms are registered in Written Mongol and Middle Mongol for part. fut. *-*kU.(y)i* : pl. *-*kU.n* and part. ag. *-*g.ci* : pl. *-*g.ci.n*.

Semantically, the participles involve a complex mixture of temporal, aspectual, and modal distinctions. A particularly wide spectrum of semantic dimensions in Proto-Mongolic was characteristic of the futuritive participle (*nomen futuri*), which could refer to the future tense, but which also had temporally unspecified (aorist) applications. Judging by some of its modern reflexes, the futuritive participle may also have had a modal (necessitative) connotation. Most importantly, this form was used as a general action noun (infinitive), which in Mongolic studies is traditionally regarded as the basic (dictionary) form of the verb. The opposition between the imperfective and perfective participles (*nomen imperfecti* and *nomen perfecti*) was probably originally based on an aspectual difference (uncompleted vs. completed action), but it is difficult to rule out an interconnection with the category of tense. The same is true of the habitive participle (*nomen usus*), which, in addition to its basic aspectual content (frequent or habitual action), may have had a temporal reference (present tense).

IMPERATIVES

From the formal point of view, imperatives (also termed vocatives) may be regarded as the simplest type of predicate in Mongolic. This is reflected by the fact that the unmarked verbal stem itself functions as the basic imperative form (imperative proper), indicating a command directed at the second person (with no differentiation between singular and plural). The imperative use of the bare verbal stem has been inherited by all the Modern Mongolic languages, and, with few exceptions, the bare verbal stem is not attested in any other morphological function. All other forms of the imperative paradigm are, however, suffixally marked, and some of these are originally nominal forms of the verb.

In the Mongolic system of conjugation, the imperatives constitute a separate sphere, in which the distinctions are based on a variety of modal shades (command, request, wish, willingness, intention). Apparently on the basis of the differences between these shades, most imperative forms had already in Proto-Mongolic developed a fixed connection with a certain subject person (first, second, or third), and in some cases also with a certain subject number (singular or plural). The imperatives should, however, not be understood as having formed a full personal paradigm in Proto-Mongolic, though such an interpretation seems to be possible for some Modern Mongolic languages, notably Moghol.

The suffixally marked imperatives that have either a Proto-Mongolic or a Common Mongolic background may be identified as the voluntative, optative, benedictive, prescriptive, concessive, permissive, dubitative, and potential (Table 1.7). In the comparative material, the voluntative and optative are typically attested as first person forms, the benedictive and prescriptive as second person forms, and the concessive and permissive

TABLE 1.7 PROTO-MONGOLIC IMPERATIVE MARKERS

	person	C	marker	variant
vol.	1p. pl.	*/U-*	**-yA*	**-yA-n*
opt.	1p. sg		**-sU*	**-sU-xA.(y)i*
ben.	2p.	*/U-*	**-d-kU.(y)i*	**-d-kU.n*
prescr.	2p.	*/U-*	**-xA-rA.(y)i*	
conc.	3p.		**-tU-kA.(y)i*	**-tU-gA.(y)i*
perm.	3p.	*/U-*	**-g*	**-gV*
dub.	1–3p.	*/U-*	**-xU- jA.(y)i*	**-xU-ji/n*
pot.	1–3p.	*/U-*	**-m-jA*	

as third person forms. Moreover, the voluntative normally refers to the plural ('let us'), while the optative refers to the singular ('let me'). The two second person forms may have functionally differed by the degree of politeness, the prescriptive being more casual and the benedictive more polite. Some languages have a third form, the so-called *precative*, which is marked by a long vowel element (*-AA* or *-ii-*), to which personal endings can (or must) be added. No functional difference can be reconstructed for the concessive and permissive. The dubitative and potential express a negative resp. positive wish or doubt ('let it not happen that' vs. 'I wonder if').

Formally, the imperative paradigm involves several diachronically non-transparent suffixes and suffix complexes. Nevertheless, the **-y-* of the voluntative and the **-g(-)* of the permissive can be identified with the similarly shaped deverbal nominal suffixes **.(y)i* and **.g*. The two variants of the benedictive marker may be analysed as the functionally obscured singular and plural forms of the futuritive participle in **-kU.(y)i* : pl. **-kU.n*, based on a secondary deverbal (possibly passive) stem in **.d-*. In the modern languages, the benedictive marker has largely been restructured into **-gtUi* : **-gtUn*. Also, in some modern languages, the optative has been replaced by the more complex form in **-xA-sU-xA.(y)i* > **-AAsAi*, which is known as the *desiderative*. The element **-xA-* in this form (and in the prescriptive) is apparently identical with the imperfective participle marker.

FINITE INDICATIVE FORMS

The semantic dimensions of the system of participles are closely paralleled by the finite indicative forms, which in the Modern Mongolic languages are a mixture of original finite forms and predicatively used participles. Since it is impossible to identify any given finite indicative form as either temporal or aspectual, it is reasonable to speak of temporal-aspectual forms, in general. On the other hand, it has to be assumed that each actual tense-aspect marker originally had a function different from those of the other markers. Although we do not necessarily know the original functions of all markers, each temporal-aspectual form can most conveniently be identified by using a separate label. The labels adopted here for the original Proto-Mongolic finite temporal-aspectual forms are: narrative, durative, deductive, terminative, confirmative, and resultative (Table 1.8).

In more traditional terminology (Poppe), the narrative, durative, and deductive forms have been identified as representing the present tense and the imperfective aspect

TABLE 1.8 PROTO-MONGOLIC FINITE TENSE-ASPECT MARKERS

	B	C	marker	variant
narr.		*/U-*	**-m/U*	**-m/U.(y)i*
dur.		*/U-*	**-n.A.m*	**-n.A.(y)i*
ded.		*/U-*	**-(y)i*	**-y.U*
term.	*/U-*		**-bA*	**-bA.(y)i*
conf.		*/U-*	**-lUxA*	**-lUxA.(y)i*
res.			**-JU*	**-JU.xU.(y)i*

(*prasens imperfecti*), while other temporal-aspectual profiles have been postulated for the terminative (*praeteritum perfecti*), confirmative (*praesens perfecti*), and resultative (*praeteritum imperfecti*) forms. In view of the diversity of the comparative picture, it is difficult to defend any such specifications. It should therefore be emphasized that, whatever labels are adopted for these forms, their actual content can only be understood in the light of the comparative material.

In the modern languages the Proto-Mongolic system of temporal-aspectual forms has generally undergone simplifications, which, with some reservations, allow certain forms to be identified as temporal, rather than aspectual. Thus, the durative has widely served as the basis for what may be regarded as the Common Mongolic present tense form, while the confirmative and resultative have yielded past tense forms. The modern reflexes of the terminative also mainly refer to the past tense, but in Dagur this form has yielded the future tense, a circumstance that can only be explained by assuming a primary aspectual meaning.

A diachronic analysis of the finite tense-aspect markers reveals that the durative, narrative, and deductive forms are based on three obscured deverbal nouns (or participles), ending in **.m*, **.n*, and **.(y)i*. The three suffixes are fragmentarily preserved in lexicalized items, such as **bari-* 'to grasp' : **bari.m* 'grip', **singge-* 'to be absorbed' : **singge.n* 'fluid', **gar-* 'to exit; to exceed' : **garu.(y)i* 'exceeding'. It has been assumed that the terminative, confirmative, and resultative forms might also be based on deverbal nouns, but the evidence is less binding. When added to consonant stems (C), most of the tense-aspect markers required the connective vowel **U*, though before the terminative marker the connective vowel seems to have been required only by a restricted class of consonant stems ending in the segments **b* or **r* (B). In the modern languages, the distribution of the connective vowel has undergone considerable restructuring, which makes definitive reconstruction problematic.

Synchronically, the simple narrative in **-m* is still attested as a finite form in Moghol, Mongghul, Bonan (and possibly Dagur), as well as in Middle Mongol. Middle Mongol also had the deductive in **-(y)i*, while the deductive in **-y.U* is well known from both Middle Mongol and Written Mongol, indicating actions that can be deduced or concluded from the circumstances. Otherwise, both the narrative and the deductive have been replaced by the durative, which in Modern Mongolic most commonly appears with the expanded marker **-nAm* (> **-nA*). The latter involves the periphrastic construction **-n+a-m*, comprising the primary marker **-n* and the narrative **a-m* of the auxiliary stem **a-* 'to be'.

The narrative and durative markers are also attested in the shapes **-m/U.(y)i* resp. **-n.A.(y)i*, containing the final element **.(y)i*. The narrative in **-m/U.(y)i* is a typically Written Mongol form, while the durative in **-n.A.(y)i* is most reliably documented

from Shira Yughur. Similar expanded shapes in *.(*y*)*i* are attested for the terminative in *-*bA* : *-*bA*.(*y*)*i*, the confirmative in *-*lUxA* (> *-*lAxA* > *-*lAA*) : *-*lUxA*.(*y*)*i* (> *-*lAxAi* > *-*lAi*), and the resultative in *-*JU* (> *-*Ji*) : *-*JU.x/U*.(*y*)*i* (> *-*JixAi* > *-*JiAi*). In all these cases, the origin of the element *-(*y*)*i* is unclear, though the complex *-*A*-(*y*)*i* might simply represent the deductive of the auxiliary stem **a*- 'to be', in analogy to the narrative **a-m*. On the other hand, a comparison with the element *-(*y*)*i* in the participle markers part. fut. *-*kU*.(*y*)*i* and part. imperf. *-*xA*.(*y*)*i* appears also tempting. Evidence from Middle Mongol suggests that the finite forms in *.(*y*)*i* may have specifically functioned as marked feminines (vs. unmarked masculines), though the possibility of other functions cannot be ruled out.

CONVERBS

Converbs (also termed gerunds) are infinite verbal forms that express the circumstantial (modal, causal, conditional, or temporal-aspectual) relationship of an action to another action. Although certain converbs occasionally appear to play a 'coordinative' role, the syntactic link between a converb and its verbal headword is always one of subordination. The Proto-Mongolic or Common Mongolic system of converbs is normally considered to have comprised at least seven suffixally marked forms, conventionally known as the modal, imperfective, perfective, conditional, terminative, final, and preparative converb (Table 1.9).

The original core of the converb system seems to have been formed by the modal converb ('by way of'), the imperfective converb ('at the same time as'), and the perfective converb ('after'). The modal converb marker *-*n* is formally identical with the deverbal noun suffix *.*n*, which also occurs as the basis of the durative form in *-*n*+*A*-*m*. The imperfective converb marker *-*JU* (> *-*Ji*), on the other hand, is identical with the resultative marker of the finite indicative paradigm. This suggests that the perfective converb marker *-*xAd* may also be secondary in its converbial function; it might be, for instance, an obscured dative in *-*d* from the imperfective participle marker *-*xA*.

The element *-*xA* is also contained in the marker *-*xA*-*sU* (> *-*xA*-*sA*) of the conditional converb ('if, when'). The similarity between the element -*sU* of this marker and the optative marker of the imperative paradigm is perhaps not accidental, especially in view of the related complex suffix *-*xA*-*sU*-*xA*(*y*)*i*, which occurs both as a variant of the conditional converb marker and as the desiderative marker of the imperative paradigm. In Modern Mongolic, the suffix *-*xA*-*sU* (or its variants) is attested only peripherally in the northeast (Khamnigan Mongol, Buryat, Dagur), the south (the Gansu-Qinghai

TABLE 1.9 PROTO-MONGOLIC CONVERB MARKERS

	C	marker	variant
conv. mod.	*/U-	*-*n*	
imperf.		*-*JU*	
perf.	*/U-	*-*xAd*	
cond.	*/U-	*-*xA*-*sU*	*-*xA*-*sU*-*xA*(*y*)*i*
term.		*-*tAl*-*A*	*-*tAr*-*A*
fin.	*/U-	*-*r*-*A*	
prep.	*/U-	*-*r/U*-*n*	

complex), and the far west (Moghol). In the more centrally located languages, the function of the conditional converb has been taken over by the terminative form of the finite paradigm in combination with the particles **a-xasu* 'if' (originally the conditional converb of **a-* 'to be') and **ele* (emphatic pronoun), yielding the constructions **-bA+*a-xasu* (> **-bAAsU*) and **-bA+*ele* (> **-bAlA*). In the same way, the construction **-bA+*cu* (> **-bAci*), containing the particle **cu*, functions as a secondary concessive converb ('although').

The final converb in **-r-A* ('in order to') and the preparative converb in **-r/U-n* ('in the following way') may be analysed as the locative resp. the genitive case forms of an obscured deverbal noun in **.r*. Both are mainly confined to Written Mongol and Middle Mongol. The preparative converb is typically attested in the introductory phrase of the quotative construction ('saying thus'), though there are indications that it originally had a more general causal ('because of') or temporal ('when') function. The locative case ending is also present in the terminative converb marker **-tAl-A* ('until'). The element **-tAl-* in the latter has been compared with the deverbal nominal suffix **.dAl* (general action noun), though the phonological difference (**t* vs. **d*) remains unexplained.

The very fact that most converbs are based on nominalized verbs makes it difficult to delimit the category of converb in the synchronic morphology of any given Mongolic language. In addition to the established converbs, most Mongolic languages have a number of other forms with very similar functions. The latter are typically adverbial case forms of the regular participles, such as, for instance, part. fut. dat. **-kU-dU/r* ('when'), part. perf. abl. **-gsAn-AcA* ('after'). Although such forms have a potential of developing into actual converbs, their morphological transparency suggests that they should be treated as a separate category, which may be termed *quasiconverbs*. Some quasiconverbs have a wide distribution among the Modern Mongolic languages and may, indeed, be regarded as having entered the system of actual converbs. Examples are the so-called *successive* converb in (part. fut. com.) **-kU-lUxA* or (+ instr.) **-kU-lUxA-xAr* 'as soon as', *abtemporal* converb in (part. perf. instr.) **-gsA-xAr* 'after', and *contemporal* converb in **-msA-xAr* 'at the same time as'.

SYNTAX

Although syntax is generally the most difficult area of linguistic structure to approach by the comparative method, the Mongolic languages share a large number of syntactic features, suggesting that these derive from the common protolanguage. There is no doubt that the unmarked word order in Proto-Mongolic was subject-object-verb (SOV), while in the attributive phrase the genitive and nominal modifier preceded the head noun (GAN). Even in regular speech, many sentences are likely to have consisted of hierarchically ordered chains of converbially linked clauses. The syntactic relationships were indicated by the case endings, which marked, for instance, the direct definite (or specific) object (accusative) and the indirect object (dative). In passive and causative constructions there also seems to have been a grammaticalized way of marking the agent (dative or instrumental with passives, instrumental with causatives).

Many Modern Mongolic languages allow sentences with a nominal predicate to be formed without a copula. On the other hand, secondary copulas have developed from pronominal words like **yaxuma* 'something' and **mön* 'the very same'. The exact situation in Proto-Mongolic is difficult to reconstruct, but it seems that verbal copulas were widely used. There were two copular stems, **a-* and **bü-* (> **bi-*), both of which

are preserved only peripherally or fragmentarily in the modern languages. Both copular stems also seem to have functioned as existentials ('to be at'). In the modern languages, the role of existentials is mainly filled by regular verbs, such as **bayi-* 'to stay, to be at' and **saxu-* 'to sit, to dwell'.

Two important features which were expressed by syntactic means in Proto-Mongolic are negation and interrogation. For the expression of *negation*, a number of particles were used, placed before the finite or infinite verb to be negated. The choice of negative particle was determined by the morphological category of the head verb. For the imperative paradigm, two prohibitive particles can be reconstructed, which themselves appear to be imperative forms of the copula **bü-*, imp. **bU* (> **bUU*) and conc. **bü-tüge(y)i* (> **bitegei*). In the non-imperative paradigms, the particles **ese* and **ülü* (or **üli*) were used, with no easily reconstructable rules of distribution. There are indications that **ese* may originally have been a fully-conjugated verb; at least it has conjugated forms in the modern languages in interrogative constructions of the type term. **kele-be ese-be* 'did [he] say [it] or not?', cf. **ese kele-be* '[he] did not say [it]'.

Proto-Mongolic also had two nominal words that were used to negate nominal phrases. The identity of a noun was negated by the postpositionally used 'negative pronoun' **busu* (> **bisi*) 'other' > 'other than', while the existence of a noun was negated by the likewise postpositionally used 'negative noun' **üge(y)i* (> **ügüi*) 'absence, absent'. In the Modern Mongolic languages, the latter has also suffixal reflexes (> **-güi*), which function more or less like a case ending (the privative or caritive case). Even more importantly, predicatively used participles, which in many Modern Mongolic languages function as regular finite predicates, are normally negated by **üge(y)i*. This usage has also spread to converbs and original finite forms. Altogether, the expansion of **üge(y)i* has largely rendered the particles **ese* and **ülü* superfluous and obsolete.

When no interrogative pronoun or pronominal verb was present in the sentence, *interrogation* in Proto-Mongolic was expressed by a sentence-final interrogative particle, which may be reconstructed as either **gü* (> **=gU*), as in Buryat and Khamnigan Mongol, or **xU* (> **=UU*), as in most other Mongolic languages. In questions containing an interrogative word, no particle was originally needed, but in Common Mongolic the copular form **bü-(y)i* > **büi* 'being, present' was grammaticalized in such sentences into what may be termed a *corrogative* particle.

LEXICON

Due to their genetic closeness, the Mongolic languages share a large corpus of common vocabulary inherited from Proto-Mongolic. Most of the lexical items attested in Middle Mongol and Preclassical Written Mongol may also be regarded as Proto-Mongolic. In practice, it is, however, often difficult to distinguish between Proto-Mongolic and Common Mongolic lexical heritage, for many items introduced only in the Post-Proto-Mongolic period show basically the same phonological correspondences as the inherited vocabulary, cf. e.g. Common Mongolic **tamaki/n* 'tobacco'. This is, in particular, true of lexical innovations shared by the core group of the Mongolic languages, comprising Mongol proper, Ordos, Oirat, Buryat, and Khamnigan Mongol.

On the other hand, the number of lexical items actually shared by *all* the Modern Mongolic languages is considerably smaller than the known Proto-Mongolic lexical corpus. Lexical divergence has been especially rapid and massive in some of the peripheral languages, notably Mangghuer, Bonan, Santa, and Moghol. The main reason underlying

the divergence has been external borrowing, but innovative semantic developments have also frequently obscured the etymological relationships even for items of basic vocabulary. For instance, the concept of 'head' is in the Modern Mongolic languages expressed variously by the reflexes of Proto-Mongolic **xeki/n* (in Dagur, elsewhere 'beginning'), **terixün* (in Santa and Bonan, elsewhere 'first, former'), **taraki/n* (in Khamnigan Mongol, elsewhere 'brain'), or **tologa(y)i* (in the other languages).

It goes without saying that the Proto-Mongolic lexicon also contained several Pre-Proto-Mongolic layers of loanwords, which, from the point of view of Mongolic comparative studies, are indistinguishable from original native items. The greatest number of etymologically detectable loanwords derives from Turkic (both Common Turkic and Bulghar Turkic), but there are also some dozens of words borrowed from Tungusic. More distant items, from languages such as Chinese, Tibetan, and Sogdian, were normally transmitted to Pre-Proto-Mongolic via various forms of Turkic, notably Ancient Uighur. Direct contacts with Chinese and Tibetan seem to date mainly from the Post-Proto-Mongolic period.

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CHAPTER TWO

WRITTEN MONGOL

Juha Janhunen

Mongolic languages have historically been noted down in a number of writing systems, including, in particular, the Chinese, Arabic, Tibetan, vPhags.pa, Roman, and Cyrillic scripts. As a technical term, however, Written Mongol, or Literary Mongol (**Muvgqhul Bicig uv Gala**), refers to the tradition of writing Mongolic in the language-specific *Mongol script*, today also known as the 'Old Script' (**Qaqhuciv Bicig**), which itself is an adaptation of the Semitic script used by the Ancient Uighur. With a history of at least 800 years, and with its practical relevance continuing up to the present day, Written Mongol is by far the most important written form of Mongolic. Unfortunately, the concept of Written Mongol is inherently ambiguous, in that it is often used in reference to the Mongol script itself, or to its specific orthographical characteristics. In the strict sense, however, Written Mongol is best understood as a Mongolic language in its own right, used as the principal literary vehicle by the speakers of several historical and modern spoken languages.

The basic property of Written Mongol is its conservatism. During the entire duration of its use, Written Mongol has undergone only slight changes, so slight that a text written hundreds of years ago is still accessible to the modern user of the language. At the same time, the spoken language has undergone intensive evolution and diversification, leading from the Middle Mongol stage to the various Modern Mongolic languages and dialects. Written Mongol has always kept a distance from the spoken vernaculars, though, at the same time, it has been influenced by them. This symbiosis of Written Mongol with the spoken forms of Mongolic is a source of confusion even for the Mongols themselves, who often regard Written Mongol simply as the way to write their language. In reality, the use of Written Mongol involves a special type of diglossia, in which the speaker of an oral form of Mongolic employs a related, but clearly distinct, idiom in order to create a written message.

It is particularly important to note that, although its recorded history dates back to the Middle Mongol period, Written Mongol was never identical with Middle Mongol. The differences between Written Mongol and Middle Mongol are often explained as reflecting the primary dialectal diversity of the historical Mongols. According to the most commonly accepted scenario, the tradition of writing Mongol in the Uighur script was first formed among those tribal or geographical groups of the early Mongols who lived in the closest interaction with the Uighur centres of civilization further south. The ancient Naiman tribe, in particular, is often mentioned as a possible candidate to have acted as the cultural bridge, and, therefore, some peculiarities of Written Mongol may well reflect the specific features of the Naiman dialect, later extinguished by the unification of the Mongols under Chinggis Khan. Whatever the historical circumstances may have been, Written Mongol had already started to crystallize as a normalized written medium at the time of Chinggis Khan. The original dialectal basis of Written Mongol is therefore likely to have included idioms representing the Late Pre-Proto-Mongolic stage.

It may be assumed that Written Mongol once formed part of the ethnic and cultural heritage of all the historical Mongols, though literacy was, of course, never widespread in the nomadic society. Chinggis Khan himself is likely to have been illiterate, though he did understand the importance of a native literary language for the building of an empire. In practice, Written Mongol has always flourished close to the centres of Mongol administration and education, while it has never gained a comparably strong foothold in the periphery of the Mongol ethnic and political sphere. Among the Modern Mongolic populations, Written Mongol is most typically used by speakers of Mongol proper as well as Ordos. Additionally, however, speakers of Oirat, Buryat, Khamnigan Mongol, and Dagur have also to a varying degree been affected by the use of Written Mongol. Modern Mongolic populations remaining completely outside of the Written Mongol tradition include only the Moghol as well as the Gansu-Qinghai complex (Shira Yughur, Mongghul, Mangghuer, Bonan, and Santa).

The basis of the modern status of Written Mongol was formed during the Qing dynasty of China (1644–1911), when the Mongols were counted as one of the 'Five Nations' (*Wuzu* or **Tabuv vUqsaqhe**) of the Manchu empire. In this context, Written Mongol functioned, together with Classical Chinese, Written Manchu, Classical Tibetan, and Late Chaghatai, as one of the five official literary languages of the state. Of course, the use of Written Mongol was mainly restricted to the regions in the northern and western parts of the empire, where Mongolic languages were actually spoken. The most important region was Mongolia itself, including both Outer and Inner Mongolia. In Outer Mongolia Written Mongol retained its status as the official literary language even after the separation from China (1911). At the same time, Written Mongol continued to be used by the Eastern Buryat, living on the Russian side of the border.

The greatest value of Written Mongol for its users lies in the fact that it is, especially as far as its orthography is concerned, independent of the spoken languages. Abstract and archaic as it is, it serves as an elevated and neutral medium of written communication even for speakers of highly aberrant idioms, who would be unable to understand each other orally. As a culturally and linguistically unifying factor Written Mongol can be compared with other old written languages of Asia, including Classical Chinese, Classical Tibetan, and Classical Arabic. From this point of view, any efforts to alter the status of Written Mongol, or to change its extant norms, are bound to have a destructive effect. Such efforts have, however, had some success in the past, and, as a result, the sphere of Written Mongol has become narrower than it used to be.

Apart from the vPhags.pa script of the Yuan dynasty, the first serious intervention into the status of Written Mongol took place with the invention (1648) of the Oirat 'Clear Script' (**Tudu Bicig**), which not only involved a revision of the writing system but also changed the basis of the written language in the direction of the Oirat vernacular. This development did not, however, affect the speakers of Mongol proper, who continued to use Written Mongol as their principal literary vehicle. Of a more fundamental impact was the Westernization wave, which started with the creation of the Romanized Buryat literary language (1931) and continued with the introduction of the Khalkha Cyrillic orthography (1941–50), also known as the 'New Script' (**Sine Bicig**). After this, Written Mongol remained in use only among the Mongols of Inner Mongolia, whose literary activities were, however, severely hampered by the political developments in China. Only after the end of the Cultural Revolution (1976) has Written Mongol once again emerged as a vigorous medium.

Today Written Mongol is used as the basic literary language by all populations officially classified as 'Mongol' in China. In addition to speakers of the various dialects of

Mongol proper and Ordos, this definition includes the Buryat in northern Inner Mongolia and the Oirat in various parts of China (Sinkiang, Qinghai, Inner Mongolia, and Heilongjiang). In the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region Written Mongol serves, together with Chinese, as an official language, and it is extensively used in native education at all levels from primary school to university. Due to widespread bilingualism in Mongol among the non-Mongol minorities of Inner Mongolia, Written Mongol is also used as the language of written education by several groups of Dagur and Ewenki, who at the oral level continue to speak their own ethnic languages. A special group of Written Mongol users is formed by the Khamnigan, who, though officially classified as 'Ewenki', are bilingual in a Mongolic language of their own.

The most recent development affecting the status of Written Mongol is the drive to reintroduce it as the official literary language of the Republic of Mongolia. Such efforts, reflecting the rising Mongol nationalism after the end of the Soviet occupation of the country (1991), meet resistance from representatives of the middle generation, who have grown up with the Cyrillic norm of Khalkha and who, unlike the young generation, are unable to master the relatively complex orthography and stylistics of Written Mongol. As a compromise, a transitory period of digraphia, involving the parallel use of Written Mongol and Cyrillic Khalkha, has been envisioned. If, in the end of this period, Written Mongol regains its former position as the official state language of Mongolia, the number of regular Written Mongol users may rapidly double from the current figure of perhaps 3 million, all of whom are still concentrated on the Chinese side.

PERIODIZATION

The history of Written Mongol is normally divided into the Preclassical, Classical, and Postclassical periods. The *Classical* period covers roughly the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries and is marked by the xylographic publication of several large Buddhist translations, including the 334 volumes of the Mongol Kanjur (**bGaee gGiur**) and Tanjur (**bsDav gGiur**), printed under the auspices of the Manchu emperors Kangxi and Qianlong in 1717–20 and 1742–9, respectively. The language of the Classical period, also known as Classical Mongol, is often considered the prototypical form of Written Mongol. Most texts of the Classical period are characterized by a rather bookish complexity of sentence structure, as well as a relatively high degree of lexical and orthographical standardization. For those looking for a normative model of Written Mongol usage, the Classical period offers a framework to which language developers can always return for a safe and neutral point of reference.

In contrast to the ideal of standardization of the Classical period, the *Preclassical* language was characterized by a greater degree of regional and individual variation, conditioned by the fact that most texts were transmitted in manuscript form only. Some of the later orthographical conventions, including a number of graphemic distinctions, had not yet been formed, or were in a state of vacillation. In particular, the use of diacritics as an essential feature of the Written Mongol orthography was still infrequent and inconsistent. The shapes of many letters also show a graphic evolution leading from the early 'Uighur-Mongol' ductus (**vUjiqhurcziv Muvgqhul vUisug**) towards the later printed types. The 'Uighur-Mongol' letters were essentially identical in shape with their original models, as used to record the Ancient Uighur language, while the subsequent 'Mongol' letters (**Muvgqhul vUisug**) in the proper sense may be regarded as a specific characteristic of Written Mongol.

While most of the earliest sources of Written Mongol language material are manuscripts, there are also a few epigraphic documents. Among the latter, a special place is occupied by the so-called 'Stone of Chinggis Khan' or, more correctly, the 'Stele of Yisüngge' (**Yisuvggae jiv Cilaqhuv u Bicig**), arguably the most ancient preserved Written Mongol document. Discovered in 1818 by Russians in the Argun valley, this stele is variously dated to the years between 1225 and 1270. Together with other early texts, such as the impression of the Seal of Güyüg Khan (**Guiyug Qaqhav u Tamqhav u Bicig**), it conveys the important linguistic message that Written Mongol was already in the thirteenth century a well-developed literary language that was in some respects distinct from the contemporary forms of the Middle Mongol spoken language.

In the recent end of the Classical period, the Written Mongol tradition expanded to comprise, in addition to the previously dominant Buddhist and historical compilations, original products of worldly literature as well as scholarly works and textbooks in various fields. This development gradually led to the emergence of the *Postclassical* language, which is characterized by a diversification of the earlier lexical and stylistic resources. With the incorporation of modern technological and international vocabulary, and with the development of new types of media, such as newspapers, Written Mongol became a tool for science, politics, and mass communication. This period culminated in the status of Written Mongol as the official state language of the Republic of Mongolia during the first three decades of its existence (1921–49), until the introduction of the Cyrillic norm of Khalkha discontinued the flourishing tradition.

After the separation of the literary languages of Outer and Inner Mongolia, Written Mongol, as still used on the Chinese side, has continued to develop towards a new level of standardization, which may also be termed *Modern* Written Mongol. In addition to an ever-increasing number of new vocabulary items, Modern Written Mongol incorporates several minor orthographical and morphological simplifications. Even the generally used typeface of printed texts has acquired a slightly modernized appearance that is immediately recognizable as 'Inner Mongolian', in difference from the old letters, which are now often identified as 'Outer Mongolian'. There are also small differences in the handwritten styles of the two regions. Nevertheless, there is no question that Written Mongol continues to be a single and remarkably uniform language which opens up the entire depth and breadth of both modern and classical culture to its users.

DATA AND SOURCES

Due to its established official and normative status, Written Mongol was the first Mongolic language to be described by Western scholars. In fact, the importance of the written norm was so enormous that Written Mongol was long considered to be *the* Mongol language *par excellence*, while the spoken languages and dialects were dismissed as deteriorated vernaculars unworthy of careful study. In this respect, the history of Mongolic language studies is reminiscent of many other fields operating with old literary languages such as, for instance, Chinese and Tibetan.

The relative stability of the Written Mongol norm also has the practical consequence that even the earliest descriptions of the language have not lost their value as sources of factual information. The classic grammar and dictionary of Jacob (Yakov) Schmidt (1831, 1835), the grammar, chrestomathy, and dictionary of Józef (Osip) Kowalewski (1835, 1836–7, 1844–9), and the dictionary of K. F. Golstunskii (1893–5) therefore remain useful tools even for the modern user. It was no coincidence that all of these early works arose from the Russian tradition of Oriental philology, which was nourished by the

economic, political, and territorial interests of Russia in Mongolia and China. At the same time, continuous but futile efforts were made by both Russians and Western Europeans to spread the Christian religion among the predominantly Buddhist Mongols. The translation of the New Testament by Schmidt was published in 1827, followed by sections of the Old Testament prepared by British missionaries, as decribed in detail by C. R. Bawden (1985).

The Russian tradition of scholarship was continued by Nicholas (Nikolai) Poppe, who prepared a new descriptive grammar of Written Mongol (1937), the revised English version of which (1954) has become a standard work of reference on the language. A similar status in the field of lexicography has been attained by the dictionary prepared under the general editorship of Ferdinand D. Lessing (1960). Other useful tools on Written Mongol, illustrating a variety of descriptive solutions, include the grammars and grammatical sketches by Louis Hambis (1945), Chingeltei (1952), Gerhard Doerfer (1964), G. D. Sanzheev (1964), and M. N. Orlovskaya (1997), as well as the introductory textbook by Kaare Grønbech and John R. Krueger (1955). For the preclassical language, the basic reference is Michael Weiers (1969).

Since Written Mongol was long considered a prerequisite for the understanding of the oral varieties of Mongolic, there exists an entire genre of works dealing specifically with the relationship of these two kinds of language. Initiated by the early Western grammarians of Written Mongol, this line of research was most consistently cultivated by G. J. Ramstedt (1902) and B. Ya. Vladimircov (1929, indexed in Krueger 1960), who summarized the rules linking the Written Mongol orthography with the contemporary Khalkha pronunciation. A more recent work of the same type, less ambitious from the scholarly point of view, but covering the whole grammar and working in parallel with Modern Written Mongol and Cyrillic Khalkha, is Rita Kullmann and D. Tserenpil (1996).

Two of the most useful general references on Mongol writing are the survey of György Kara (1972) on script and book-making and the handbook by Walther Heissig (1972) on literary history. The earliest Written Mongol documents, written in the 'Uighur-Mongol' ductus, are collected and analysed in Dobo (1983), while important specific issues of the early period are taken up by Igor de Rachewiltz (1976) and David C. Wright (1999). The question concerning the segmental analysis of the Mongol script is discussed in Michael Balk and Juha Janhunen (1999). The solutions proposed in the latter paper have served as the principal basis for the presentation of the Mongol script below.

THE MONGOL SCRIPT

Since Written Mongol is basically a non-spoken language transmitted with the help of an abstract graphic code, it has strictly speaking no 'phonology' or 'pronunciation', though many Written Mongol grammars misleadingly include sections on such topics. The question as to how native Mongolic speakers actually interpret the graphic code in terms of the phonological systems of their own oral idioms is irrelevant to an autonomous description of Written Mongol. From the abstractness of the code it also follows that Written Mongol messages cannot be transferred to other systems of writing by the method of transcription. The only way to handle the Mongol script is by means of transliteration, proceeding letter by letter in the same linear order as the original units are arranged.

It cannot, however, be denied that Written Mongol is based on the spoken language, more exactly, on the succession of spoken languages that extends from Late Pre-Proto-Mongolic to the various Modern Mongolic idioms. This relationship allows the Mongol letters to be assigned transliterational values that can be arranged in terms of a phonological

chart, a procedure facilitated by the fact that the Mongol script is basically a fully alphabetic system of writing, which has separate signs for both consonants and vowels, and which arranges these signs in linear sequences to form entities corresponding to linguistic words. The alphabetic resources of Written Mongol can preliminarily be divided into 6 vowel letters and 24 consonant letters, each of which can be Romanized in a fixed and unambiguous way (Tables 2.1 and 2.2). Note that the Mongol and Roman alphabets are not fully compatible, for which reason some Mongol letters have to be rendered by digraphs in Romanization. This should not lead to any misunderstanding concerning their status as independent units of the Mongol alphabet.

Historically, the Written Mongol graphemic paradigm comprises several layers. At the bottom, there are the 14 basic letters **b c d e g i l m q r s t u v**, which represent the minimum for the writing of native Mongol words. An additional letter is **w**, which, however, was from the beginning only used in loanwords (as from Uighur and Chinese). The diacritically marked letters **n qh sh** (dotted **v** and double-dotted **q s**, respectively) were also present already in the earliest 'Uighur-Mongol' alphabet, though their definitive status in the orthography was only established in the Classical language. The same is true of the letter **cz**, which originally represents a graphic variant of **c**, but which since the Classical period exists as a separate grapheme. An opposite development is exhibited by **z**, which originally is a distinct letter, but which in the Mongol script came to be used mainly as a positional variant of **s**. As a result, **z** has tended to be replaced by **s** and is no longer used in Modern Written Mongol.

In 1587, a set of special letters known as the Galig Alphabet (**Qhaliq vUisug**) was created for the transliteration of foreign Buddhist (Sanskrit and Tibetan) vocabulary. Many of the Galig letters are today obsolete and unknown to the modern users of Written Mongol, but the letters **dz f h k p tz zh** survive and are actively used to render items of recent international (Chinese and Russian) vocabulary, part of which has become

TABLE 2.1 WRITTEN MONGOL VOWEL LETTERS

u				**i**
o		**e**		
		v		
		x		

TABLE 2.2 WRITTEN MONGOL CONSONANT LETTERS

p	**t**	**c**	**k**	**q**
	tz			
b	**d**	**cz**	**g**	**qh**
	dz			
f	**s**	**sh**	**h**	
	z	**zh**		
m	**n**			
	l			
	r			
w		**y**		

nativized in the spoken language. With the exception of the letters **h zh**, borrowed from the Tibetan alphabet, all these new letters were created through graphic modification from previously existing units of the basic alphabet: **dz tz** from **c**; **f p** from **b**; and **k** from **g**.

The most recent additions to the Written Mongol graphemic paradigm include the letters **o x y**, which owe their status to the impact of the Oirat and Manchu scripts, both of which are based on revised versions of the Mongol alphabet. The use of **y** in regular texts became normative in the late Postclassical period, while the development of **o** and **x** into distinct units has only been completed in Modern Written Mongol. The letter **o** occurs only in recent loanwords (Russian and international), while the letters **x y** are also used in native vocabulary. Historically, **o** is a variant of **u**, while **y** is a modification of **i**. The background of **x** is more complex, but in final position it is basically a variant of **i** (in the sequence **ux**), though it also occurs as a technical segment that allows a number of medial letters to be used in final position. In medial position **x** represents (in the interpretation adopted here) an 'empty' vowel letter that has acquired a distinctive role in certain contexts in Modern Written Mongol.

An important external property of the Mongol script is that it is written vertically from up to down, with the lines ordered from left to right. This combination, almost unique among the writing systems of the world today, is historically connected with the verticalization of the script, a process in which the original Semitic script of the Ancient Uighur was rotated by 90 degrees to conform to the vertical direction of the Chinese script. Experiments with verticalization were already made by the Uighur themselves, but for the Mongols the vertical direction became the only choice. It may be presumed that many of the graphic differences in the shapes of individual letters that can be observed between the Uighur and Mongol scripts reflect the effect of verticalization. However, for the purposes of graphemic segmentation and transliteration, the direction of writing is entirely irrelevant.

Another property of the Mongol script, also inherited from its Uighur ancestor, is that the graphic sequences corresponding to linguistic words are bound together with the help of a basic line (vertical axis). The actual letters are realized as modulations of this basic line, and their graphic shapes are conventionally identified by various descriptive names such as 'tooth', 'horn', 'loop', and 'tail'. A consequence of the linear connectedness of the segments is that some letters, notably **b g i l m n q qh s sh t u v**, have variable shapes depending on whether they appear in initial, medial, or final position with regard to the basic line. The actual positional differences in the shapes of the variable letters are, however, generally small, and since the variation is contextually determined it need not be indicated at the level of transliteration. The same applies to the sequences **bu fu gu ku pu**, **bl fl gl kl pl**, and **be fe ge ke pe**, which are realized as ligatures in partial violation of the linear principle. Another ligature is **ml**, which, however, is replaced by the sequence **mxl** in Modern Written Mongol.

Proceeding deeper in the analysis of the Mongol script, we may note that the shapes of certain letters or their variants are actually identical with the shapes of other letters or their variants. For instance, the final shape of the letter **u** is identical with the initial and medial shape of **b**, while the final shape of the letter **i** is (normally) identical with the initial and medial shape of **g**. Moreover, certain letters or their variants are composed of sequences of other letters. The medial and final variant of the letter **t**, for instance, turns out to be identical with the sequence **uv**, while the final variants of the letters **b** and **g** may be analysed as **ue** and **ie**, respectively. Similarly, the medial and final variants of the letter **q** can be analysed as **vv** and **vz**, respectively. One of the peculiarities of the Mongol script is that it can function in spite of such seemingly serious structural overlappings.

The reason is that it operates with a systematic consideration of the syntagmatic properties of the underlying language.

It may be concluded that there are two levels at which the Mongol script can be segmented: a surface level, which may be called *alphabetic*, and a deep level, which may be called *glyphic*. The written message is primarily coded at the alphabetic level, which operates with a paradigm of positionally variable alphabetic units or letters. The alphabetic units, in turn, are coded in terms of basic graphic segments, or glyphs. Although many letters are identical with glyphs, the correspondence between the two levels is not one-to-one, but involves a more complex network of interrelations. It is the task of glyphic analysis to reveal the underlying economy of the Mongol script. While the glyphic level is generally too abstract for the purposes of practical transliteration, it provides a useful basis for understanding the occasional ambiguities encountered when reading (or, more properly: decoding) Written Mongol.

ORTHOGRAPHY

There are several letter-specific features that govern the use of the Mongol alphabetic resources. Most importantly, in the regular orthography, not all letters can occur in all positions within the graphic word. From this point of view, the Mongol letters can be divided into five groups: (1) **o z**, which can only occur finally, (2) **cz**, which can only occur medially, (3) **c d dz f h k p tz w y zh**, which occur initially and medially, (4) **b g l m q r s t v**, which occur initially, medially, and finally, and (5) **n qh sh**, which in the Classical language occur initially and medially, but which can also occur finally in Modern Written Mongol. A special case is formed by (6) **x**, which (in the interpretation adopted here) occurs medially and finally. There are also three letters which can stand alone (in absolute position), without any adjoining segment; these are: (7) **e**, which occurs both finally and alone, and (8) **i u**, which occur initially, medially, finally, and alone. Thus, there are altogether eight different distributional classes of Mongol letters.

A further complication is connected with the letter **t**, which in Classical Written Mongol occurs with three positional variants, used for the initial, medial, and final positions, respectively, e.g. **tara** 'that', **batme** 'lotus', **varat** 'commoner/s'. In Modern Written Mongol, however, the initial variant of **t** (glyphic **t**) can also occur medially in recent loanwords and transliterations of foreign names, a convention deriving from the Galig Alphabet. Since the graphic sequence in such cases implies a break in the linear structure of the word, the medial use of initial **t** may perhaps most conveniently be transliterated as **'t**, e.g. **ma'teriyal** 'material', **me'trupuli** 'metropolis'. For lexical and phonotactic reasons, actual cases of contrast between medial **t** (glyphic **uv**) and **'t** are extremely rare. It remains a technical question whether medial **'t** should be regarded as an additional letter of the Mongol alphabet (like final **o**).

The distribution of the consonant and vowel letters follows basically a simple pattern of alternate succession (CVCV), though clusters of up to two consonants (CC) occur frequently in medial position. Foreign words and exceptional spellings can contain initial clusters, as in **prukurur** 'public prosecutor', **spur'tx** 'sport', though in the process of nativization they are often simplified, as in **bsiru** > **siru** 'coral', **ggir** > **gir** 'dirt'. There are also sequences of two consecutive vowel letters (VV), as in **qhuul** 'river', **giib** > **gib** 'silk', **vugiu** > **vuyuu** 'turquoise'.

One of the most interesting features of the Mongol script is that the categories of consonant and vowel letter overlap in the case of three letters, **i v w**, which can occur in both functions. This ambivalence, though not manifest in the Mongol script, has significant

consequences for the syllabic interpretation of the Written Mongol graphic sequences. To make the actual syllabification more transparent it is therefore convenient to operate with two different Romanizations, marking the consonantal values of the three letters as **j v w** and the vocalic values as **i a e**. The distribution of the two sets of values is a rather complicated issue and potentially open to different interpretations, but the basic rule is that a segment standing between two vowel letters may be marked as consonantal (VCV), while a segment standing between two consonant letters is vocalic (CVC). Additionally, in order to achieve a maximally legible result, specific criteria for each of the three letters concerned have to be considered.

The letter **v** shows a fairly symmetrical pattern of ambivalence. It has a consonantal value when following a vowel letter, as in **sivczi** 'appearance', **suniv** 'interesting', and a vocalic value when following a consonant letter, as in (abl.) **nadaca (nvdvcv)** 'from me'. In initial position, however, it has for historical reasons always a consonantal value irrespective of whether the following letter is vocalic or consonantal, cf. e.g. **vudu** 'star', **vgula (vgulv)** 'cloud'. These rules also allow the sequence **vv** in most cases to be correctly analysed as either **va** or **av**, as in **vamur (vvmur)** 'peace', **tavda (tvvdv)** 'there', **bayav (bvyvv)** 'rich'. Unfortunately, there remain a few ambiguous cases, such as **vvda (vvdv)**, which can stand for both **vada** 'demon' (or 'castrated camel') and **vvda** 'here'. Modern Written Mongol has eliminated this ambiguity by adding in printed text the 'empty' vowel letter **x** (graphically a lengthened section of the basic line) in all cases where initial **v** is not followed by any other vowel letter, e.g. (Modern Written Mongol) **vxgula (vxgulv)** 'cloud', **vxvda (vxvdv)** 'here'.

The letter **i** is somewhat less symmetric in its behaviour, for it is best identified as vocalic even when following a vowel letter, as in **builug** 'group', **talai (tvlvi)** 'sea'. Between two vowels, on the other hand, it is unambiguously consonantal, though in texts written after the introduction of the letter **y** these cases are confined to rare examples of the type **gujur** 'bridge' as well as, more importantly, the so-called 'diphthongs', which orthographically end in the sequence **ii**, as in **mujil (muiil)** 'cherry', **vjimu (viimu)** 'like this'. It is true, the postvocalic sequence **ii** in medial position is in Modern Written Mongol (Inner Mongolian) handwriting normally replaced by **vi**, as in (printed) **sajiv (sviiv)** = (handwritten) **saviv (svviv)** 'good'. A unique exceptional spelling is preserved in **naimav (nvimvv)** 'eight'. An initial **i** is also consonantal when preceding a vowel letter, as in **jil (iil)** 'year', **jiv (iiv)** (variant of genitive case suffix), **jujil (iuiil)** 'sort', except when the latter is itself a consonantal **i** followed by a vocalic **v**, as in **ijav (iivv)** (variant of reflexive suffix).

The letter **w**, which only occurs in foreign words, has a more limited distribution than **v** and **i**. In the modern standard orthography it typically occurs in a consonantal function when surrounded by vowel letters, as in **quwaraq (quwvrvq)** 'clergy', and in a vocalic function when surrounded by consonant letters, as in **telefuv (twlwfuv)** 'telephone'. However, it is also consonantal when following a consonant letter but preceding a vowel letter, as in **nirwav** 'nirvana'. A consonantal **w** is rarely followed by a vowel other than **a (v)** or **e (w)**, though occasional examples occur in the transcription of foreign names, as in **Winis** [Venice]. The sequence **we (ww)** is particularly common in the Mongol rendering of Chinese syllables, as in **wev (wwv)** [Chinese syllable *wen*].

It has to be noted that the Romanization of the vocalic value of **w** as **e** does not interfere with the status of the letter and glyph **e**, for the two units are in a complementary distribution, in that glyphic **e** can only occur in final position, while glyphic **w** occurs only initially and medially. A peculiarity of glyphic **e** is that it is normally separated by a blank space from the preceding letter even when no word boundary is present. In these

cases the preceding letter is one of the final forms of the set **i l m q r u v**, in Modern Written Mongol also **n qh**. For most practical purposes it is possible to ignore the space in the Romanization, e.g. **quriie (qurii e)** 'enclosure', **tale (tvl e)** 'steppe', **suime (suim e)** 'temple', (Classical) **tuqe (tuq e)** = (Modern) **tuqhe (tuqh e)** 'number', **qare (qvr e)** 'black', **cinue (cinu e)** 'wolf', (Classical) **sive (siv e)** = (Modern) **sine (sin e)** 'new'. It is true, the medial forms of the same letters can also (rarely) be followed by final **e** without a space in the Galig representations of Sanskrit words.

Since so many letters have a restricted distribution, there exist specific means by which the distributional patterns can be diversified. Any letter that otherwise does not occur in final position, can be placed finally when extended by an additional segment, which is **e** (joined ligaturally without a space) after the letters **f k p**, or **x** after the letters **c cz d dz h** [']**t tz w y zh**. A need to apply this procedure mainly arises in the transmission of foreign names, such as **vIrkuske** [Irkutsk], **Tzuirihx** [Zurich]. The final sequence **dx** is also attested in **tadx** 'following', **vdx** 'property', and **vuidx vuigai** 'in vain', the last two in distinction from **vuv** 'year' and **vujuv** = (Modern) **vuyuv** 'intellect'. The sequence [']**tx** occurs in several recent loanwords, as in **fuiv'tx** 'pound'. Moreover, in Modern Written Mongol the final letter **b** (glyphic **ue**) is normally replaced by the (ligatural) sequence **be**, as in (Classical) **tuib** = (Modern) **tuibe** 'center'. A similar replacement takes occasionally place in the final sequence **vg** = **vge**.

There are also a few sequences of consonant and vowel (CV) which, for idiosyncratic historical and aesthetic reasons do normally not occur in final position without one of the additional segments **e x**. Thus, the simple sequences **ba fa ga ka pa (bv fv gv kv pv)** are systematically replaced by **bae fae gae kae pae (bve fve gve kve pve)** in final position, as in **varbae (vvrbve)** 'ten', **yagae (yvgve)** 'big'. Similarly, the sequences **bi fi gi ki pi** are replaced by **bix fix gix kix pix**, as in **qubix** 'share', **vugix** 'top', though the simple sequences can be used in handwriting and typescript. Other occurrences of **x** after a vowel letter include the sequences **ux** and **ex (wx)**, which mainly occur in the transcription of Chinese syllables, as in **gux** [Chinese syllable *gu*], **lex (lwx)** [Chinese syllable *le*]. In Modern Written Mongol the sequence **ux** is also used in the native word **sux** 'milk', written in the Classical language as **su** or **suiv**.

The letter **h** is used initially only in the sequence **hi**, which functions (in Modern Written Mongol) as a transcription for the Chinese syllable *zhi*. Otherwise, the segment **v** is added before an initial **h**, as in **vHimalaie (vhimvlvi e)** [Himalaya], **vHelsivgix (vhwlsivgix)** [Helsinki]. In these cases **v** functions as a supporting consonantal initial. A similar consonantal **v** (*aleph*) occurs regularly before the vowel letters **e o u** and the vocalic values of the ambivalent letters **i v w**, as in **vUrus (vurus)** [Russia], **vAdziie (vvdzii e)** [Asia], **vI'tali (vitvli)** [Italy], **vEuirupae (vwuirupve)** [Europe]. The initial sequences **va vi vu**, in particular, are so common that they are conventionally regarded as the 'initial forms' of **a i u**. This is, however, an inexact interpretation, for the letters **i u** do occur in initial position without a preceding **v**, and they can also contrast with the sequences **vi vu** in this position, as in **vuv** 'year' vs. **uv** [variant of genitive case marker]. The initial sequence **va (vv)**, on the other hand, contrasts with the plain **v** = **vx**, as in **val (vvl)** 'scarlet' vs. **vl** = (Modern) **vxl** 'accord'.

LETTERS AND SOUNDS

Taking the syllabified interpretation of the alphabetic representation as the basis for the normative Romanization, we can transmit all the information contained in the Mongol script in a legible and unambiguous way in terms of the basic Roman letters. One of the

advantages of this approach is that the Romanized sequences are readily reconvertible into the original Mongol script. A transliteration like this stands, however, still very far from the ways in which the native users of Written Mongol would pronounce, or would ever have pronounced, the oral messages corresponding to the written image. This is because of the inherent properties of the Mongol script, which has a graphemic structure not directly compatible with the phonemic structure of any modern or historical form of Mongolic.

Since, however, the historical foundations of Written Mongol date back to times corresponding to the Proto-Mongolic stage of linguistic evolution, it is not unreasonable for comparative purposes to survey the Mongol letters in relationship to the Proto-Mongolic sound system. This is, in fact, the approach taken by most grammarians and lexicographers of the language, who have typically attempted to transcribe (rather than transliterate) Written Mongol in terms of a phonemic system close to, though not exactly identical with, Proto-Mongolic. The actual transcriptions used by the various scholars differ in the details and invariably contain a number of inconsistencies, but they all reflect the basically correct assumption that the phonemic patterns underlying Written Mongol can be restored by using descriptive and comparative information from the other Mongolic languages, both modern and historical.

To take a more systematic look at the complex interrelationships between graphemes and phonemes, the Mongol letters may be divided into the following categories: (1) the univalued letters **b c cz l m n r s sh y**, (2) the multivalued letters **i v w**, (3) the underdifferentiated letters **d g t u v**, (4) the overdifferentiated letters **e q qh**, and (5) the marginal letters **dz f h k o p tz zh**. Additionally, there are (6) the digraphs **ui ux vg**. Of the least interest for comparative studies are the marginal letters, all of which are historically secondary. Used almost solely in loanwords, such as **dzavdav** 'sandal tree', **fabrig** 'factory', **vheli** 'helium', **kino** 'cinema', **piyuu** 'ticket', **Tziqhav** 'Gypsy', **zhurnal** 'journal', these letters are transcriptional devices for recent marginal phonemes or phonotactic patterns, many of which are not yet nativized in oral usage. The only Post-Proto-Mongolic phonemes which have a relatively wide distribution in the spoken idioms are *k* and *p*, expressed by the letters **k** and **p**, respectively.

The *univalued* letters **b c cz l m n r s y** correspond invariably to the Proto-Mongolic phonemes **b *c *j *l *m *n *r *s *y*, respectively. The relationship is not always unilateral, however, for the phonemes **j* and **n* can also be written, depending on their position in the word, as **j** (**i**) resp. **v**. The letter **sh** also corresponds to the single phoneme **sh* (palatal sibilant), which, however, is a secondary innovation occurring mainly in loanwords, such as **shasiv** or **shacziv** 'religion' (from Sanskrit through Uighur). In the modern languages with the phenomenon of breaking, the phoneme *sh* has greatly expanded its distribution in native vocabulary. Written Mongol, however, normally retains the original shape containing the unbroken sequence **si*, as in **sibaqhuv** 'bird' for **sibaxu/n*. Unfortunately, many transcription systems for Written Mongol render the sequence **si** mistakenly as the equivalent of **shi**, though the Mongol script makes an unambiguous distinction between the letters **s** and **sh**.

The *multivalued* letters **i v w** correspond to two or more phonemic values according to the rules of syllabification. In the case of **i** (**j**) the positional representations are phonetically closely related, being **i* (unrounded palatal high vowel) and **j* (weak palatal affricate), as in **jimis** (**iimis**) for **jimis* 'fruit'. The consonantal value **j* occurs only in initial position, since the same phoneme is medially written as **cz**. Originally, **i** also represented **y* (palatal glide), but after the introduction of the letter **y** a trace of this value survives only in the orthography of the 'diphthongs', as in **tajiv** (**tviiv**) for **dayin*

'war' or **teyin* 'thus'. In the case of **w (e)** the vocalic and consonantal representations are in no obvious phonetic relationship to each other, being (*)*w* (labial glide) and (*)*e* (unrounded mid-high vowel), as in **wegsal (wwgsvl)** 'draft note'. The same is true of **v (a)**, which has two entirely unrelated consonantal values, zero (vocalic Anlaut) in initial position and **n* (dental nasal) elsewhere, as in **vuivdusuv** for **ündüsü/n* 'root'. Historically, the use of **v** for initial zero (*aleph*) is a feature connected with the Semitic origin of the Mongol script.

The letter **v** also belongs to the *underdifferentiated* category, in that it has two distinct vocalic values, **a* and **e* (the two unrounded non-high vowels). These values cannot be predicted from the graphic sequences, which, consequently, are phonemically ambiguous, as in **naradai** for both **naratai* 'sunny' and **neretei* 'famous'. An analogous ambiguity is exhibited by **u**, which can stand for both **o* and **u* (the two rounded back vowels), as in **qula** for both **kola* 'distant' and **kula* 'bay colour'. In non-initial syllables, **u** can also represent the corresponding front vowels **ö* **ü*, as in **cidur** for **cidör* 'hobble', **tamur** for **temür* 'iron'. Among the consonant letters, the segments **d t g** are ambiguous, in that they stand indifferently for both **t* **k* (strong stops) and **d* **g* (weak stops), as in **tudu** for **todo* 'clear', **tudur** for **dotor* 'inside', **gar** for both **ker* 'how' and **ger* 'dwelling'. In medial position, **g** can additionally represent **x* (velar continuant), as in **gagare** for **kexere* 'steppe'. It may be noted that although the Mongol script has two different graphemes for the phonemes **t* **d*, they are normally used in a complementary distribution, with **t** as the initial and **d** as the medial variant. The syllable-final occurrences of **d* are expressed by the medial and final forms of **t** (glyphic **uv**).

Underdifferentiation is an obvious and serious problem for the users of the Mongol script, and it is the principal reason why Written Mongol cannot be pronounced without a knowledge of the oral language. Not surprisingly, attempts have been made to reduce the impact of underdifferentiation. Most importantly, the creation of the new letters **cz y** for the phonemes **j* **y* removed the original ambiguity of the letters **c i (j)**. The new letter **k** would offer a similar device for the differentiation of the phoneme **k* with regard to **g* (though not **x*), but it has not been able to affect the established historical orthography of native vocabulary. The same is true of the late convention which correlates the letters **d ['t** with the phonemic values *d t* without consideration of distributional rules, as in **duk'tur** 'doctor', more conventionally also spelled **tuqdur**.

As a curious contrast to the underdifferentiated letters, the Mongol script has the *overdifferentiated* letters **e q qh**, which, although superfluous from the phonemic point of view, function as distinct graphic units. Of these, **q** and **qh** are anchored in the phonetic substance, in that they stand for the back allophones of the velar consonants **k* vs. **g* **x*, as in **qaqhav** for **kaxan* 'emperor', **qhaqai** for **gakai* 'swine'. Importantly, the separation of the front and back allophones of the velars in the script often allows the otherwise underdifferentiated opposition of front vs. back vowels to be implied in the script, as in **garam** for **kerem* 'wall' vs. **qaram** for **karam* 'jealous'. The letter **e**, which is conventionally viewed as a positional variant of final **a (v)**, can contrast with the latter in a synchronically unpredictable way, as in **tare** for **dere* 'pillow' vs. **tara** for **tere* 'that', **yale** for **yala* 'guilt' vs. **gala** for **kele/n* 'tongue'.

The *digraphs* **ui ux vg** differ from the other Mongol letters in that they correspond to single phonemes in spite of their composite graphic structure. The digraph **vg** is consonantal and expresses the phoneme **ng* (velar nasal), as in **vavg** for **ang* 'game (for hunting)', **vavgqe** for **angka/n* 'beginning'. The digraph **ui**, on the other hand, is vocalic and functions as the main device for expressing the vowels **ö* **ü* in the initial syllable, as in **guiligae** for both **gölige* 'pup' and **külixe* 'fetters'. This convention cannot, however,

be retained in the sequence **uji** (**uii**), which medially stands for any of the four 'diphthongs' **oyi *öyi *uyi *üyi*, as in **vujire** for **oyira* 'close', **vujila** for **üyile* 'deed'. In final position, the sequences **oyi *uyi* are written as **ui**, e.g. **vui** for **oyi* 'mind' or 'forest', in distinction from the sequences **öyi *üyi*, which are written as **uji**, as in **juji** for **jüyi* 'reason'. For the expression of the distinction between final **u* (**uu*) and **ü* (**üü*) in monosyllables, the sequence **ux** is used in Modern Written Mongol for (*)*üü*, as in **sux** for (*)*süü* 'milk'.

DIACHRONIC POSITION

In addition to the cases of systematic orthographical underdifferentiation and overdifferentiation, Written Mongol shows a number of idiosyncratic discrepancies with regard to the sounds and words of the spoken language, both ancient and modern. Some of these discrepancies are connected with tendencies and restrictions in the graphic substance, as is apparently the case with orthographical shapes like **jaqav** for **jaxakan* 'little', **caqhav** for **cagaxan* 'white', **gagav** for **gegexen* 'bright', in which recurrent sequences of the syllables **qa** (**qha**) **ga** are simplified, leaving one syllable unwritten. In other cases exceptional means are applied to render phonemic distinctions normally not indicated in the Mongol script, as in **qutduq** for **kudug* 'well [of water]' vs. **quduq** for **kutug* 'sanctity', **quure** for **kora* 'poison' vs. **qure** for **kura* 'rain'.

Idiosyncratic aberrations are also present in a few cases in which Written Mongol has inherited, together with the corresponding lexical borrowings, Uighur orthographical shapes involving non-vocalized sections. Such examples are more common in the Preclassical language and have later mainly been replaced by the vocalized counterparts, as in (Preclassical) **jrlq** ~ **jrliq** > (Classical and Modern) **jarliq** (**jvrliq**) for **jarlig* 'decree', (Preclassical and Classical) **wcir** > (Modern) **wacir** (**wvcir**) ~ **vucir** for **ocir* 'thunderbolt'. The one word that remains regularly unvocalized up to the present day is **tvgri** 'god, sky, weather' (technically syllabifiable as **tagri**), which historically stands for the Uighur phonological shape *tengri* (or *tängri*) rather than for Mongolic **tenggeri* id.

Of greater interest for comparative purposes are the cases in which the Written Mongol shape points to an archaic or dialectally marginal type of representation. For instance, the modern traces of **vuirlugae** for **örlüxe* 'morning' are in virtually all Mongol dialects, as well as in Buryat and Khamnigan Mongol, represented as **öglüxe*. Similarly, direct traces of **qaqca** for **gagca* 'alone' and **tabal** for **debel* 'garment' are attested only in part of the Oirat dialects, while the other modern idioms point to shapes which may be reconstructed as **ganca* and **dexel*. In spite of such differences between the written and spoken representations, the orthography preserves in these and other similar cases the original graphic shapes down to the Modern Written Mongol standard.

There are, however, occasional examples of chronological variation, manifested in the presence of two or more different orthographical shapes for the successive diachronic stages of a single word. In the case of **vdugae** for **edüxe* 'now', for instance, a possible trace of the phonemic shape underlying the Classical norm is only preserved in Dagur, while all the other modern languages point to **oduxa*, which, again, is reflected by the Modern Written Mongol shapes **vuduue** ~ **vudu**. A somewhat more complicated case is present in Classical **guibaguv** for **köbexü/n* 'son', which involves a lexical and phonological archaism today surviving in Oirat, Buryat, and Khamnigan Mongol. In Modern Written Mongol the corresponding word is normally written as **guju**, which, in turn, reflects a 'colloquial' shape influenced by the modern cognates of **gau** 'son'.

The most interesting taxonomic feature of the language originally underlying Written Mongol involves the representation of **x*. Unlike Middle Mongol, which preserves **x* in initial position but loses it intervocalically, Written Mongol shows no trace of initial **x*, while medial **x* is regularly indicated by the letters **q qh** (in words with a velar vocalism) or **g** (in words with a palatal vocalism), as in **vulaqhav** for **xulaxan* 'red', **vuinagav** for **xünege/n* 'fox', **tamagav** for **temexe/n* 'camel'. The preservation of medial **x* singles out Written Mongol as a uniquely archaic form of Mongolic, while, at the same time, the apparent loss of initial **x* looks like an unexpected innovation in comparison with Middle Mongol. A possible explanation is that the creators of the Written Mongol orthography simply ignored initial **x*, merging it with initial zero, as indicated by the letter **v** (*aleph*). This would be only one of the many cases of systematic underdifferentiation so characteristic of Written Mongol.

Another feature for which Written Mongol is more archaic than either Middle Mongol or Proto-Mongolic is the representation of certain vowel combinations, notably **e-ü* and **ö-e* (both > Proto-Mongolic **ö-ö*), as in **vdur** for **edür* > Proto-Mongolic **ödör* 'day', **guigae** for **köke* > Proto-Mongolic **kökö* 'blue'. The combination **o-a* (> Common Mongolic **o-o*) is also preserved intact, as in **qula** for **kola* > Common Mongolic **kolo* 'grey'. In such cases Written Mongol represents essentially the Late Pre-Proto-Mongolic stage of diachronic development, though later interference from Proto-Mongolic and Common Mongolic has led to occasional orthographical vacillation, as in **quda** for Pre-Proto-Mongolic **kota/n* ~ **qudu** for Common Mongolic **koto/n* 'town'.

As far as the phenomena of breaking and prebreaking are concerned, Written Mongol represents more or less the same stage as Middle Mongol, which means that it is in some cases more archaic than Proto-Mongolic, as in **jiqhasuv** for Pre-Proto-Mongolic **jigasu/n* > Proto-Mongolic **jagasu/n* 'fish'. For items that in Mongol proper are affected by palatal breaking, Written Mongol shows invariably the unbroken shape, as in **mivgqhe** for **mingga/n* 'thousand'. In cases of prebreaking Written Mongol also normally retains the original representation, as in **miqe** for Proto-Mongolic **mika/n* > Common Mongolic **maka/n* 'meat'. For some less commonly used words, however, secondary orthographical variants with prebreaking exist, as in **viduqhav** ~ **vuduqhav** for Proto-Mongolic **idugan* > Common Mongolic **udugan* 'shamaness'. For other items, the secondary shape has become the orthographical norm, as in **nuduq** 'native place' for Common Mongolic **nudug* < Proto-Mongolic **nidug*.

SEGMENTAL ALTERNATIONS

The Written Mongol graphic word includes grammatical and derivative elements, such as, for instance, suffixes for the verbal categories of participle and converb. For reasons of orthographical tradition, however, a number of suffixes representing nominal categories, notably the markers for number and case, are normally written as separate words or 'particles'. The orthography of many of these elements involves a particularly high degree of conventionalization, because of which the graphic shapes concerned are very far from the actual pronunciation, especially from the modern user's point of view. In spite of this discrepancy, even Modern Written Mongol preserves these orthographical conventions almost intact.

Corresponding to the morphophonological phenomena of the spoken language, Written Mongol shows several segmental alternations which take place at the border of stems and suffixes. Most of these alternations are connected with the difference between the two basic stem types: vowel stems and consonant stems. This difference is manifested,

for instance, by the distribution of many of the case 'particles' of nominal declension, like the instrumental marker **bar** (for vowel stems) vs. **ijar** (for consonant stems). Certain suffixes also have special variant shapes after obstruent stems or nasal stems, as is the case with the dative marker **tur** (for obstruent stems) vs. **dur** (for other consonant stems and vowel stems) and the genitive marker **u** (for nasal stems) vs. **uv** (for other consonant stems) vs. **jiv** (for vowel stems). In the Written Mongol orthography, the obstruent stems end in any of the letters **b g q r s t** (for the stem-final morphophonological obstruents **b *g *r *s *d*), while the nasal stems end in the consonantally used **v** (for **n*, both stable and unstable).

Before a suffix-initial consonant, consonant stems may or may not incorporate the connective vowel **u** according to rules conditioned by the corresponding morphophonological alternation in Proto-Mongolic, as in **vab-** for **ab-* 'to take' : part. fut. **vabqu** for **ab-ku* : conv. perf. **vabuqhat** for **ab/u-xad*. In the stem **vuig-** for **ög-* 'to give' the final **g** is additionally geminated before the connective vowel, as in conv. perf. **vuiggugat** for **ög/ü-xed*, apparently in order to make a clear distinction with regard to the corresponding forms of the verb **vuigu-** for **ükü-* 'to die'. A similar gemination of stem-final **t** into **td** is also attested occasionally in polysyllabic stems, as in **vudurit-** for **udurid-* 'to lead' : part. ag. **vuduritduqci** or **vuduriduqci** for **udurid/u-gci* 'leader'.

Owing to the underdifferentiation of the system of vowel orthography, Written Mongol shows no direct trace of vowel harmony. Indirectly, however, vowel harmony is manifested in many suffixes by the consonantal distinction between **q qh** (in back-vocalic words) vs. **g** (in front-vocalic words), as in part. fut. **talaqu** for **tala-ku* 'to take away' vs. **talagu** for **tele-kü* 'to stretch'. Suffixes written as separate 'particles' can also have two harmonic variants, as in the synthetic dative reflexive marker **taqhav daqhav** vs. **tagav dagav**, the complex plural marker **nuqhut** vs. **nugut**, and the derivative element **siq** vs. **sig** 'similar to'. It is interesting to note that graphic words of the types **siq** (containing **q** in a palatal context) and **nugut** (containing **g** in a velar context) are orthographically exceptional and contrast with regular words like **sig** for **sig* 'squad of soldiers' and **nuigut** for pl. **nökü.d* 'friends'.

The unstable **/n* of nominal stems is written together with the preceding graphic word causing a stem-final alternation of **v** with zero, as in **vusu** : **vusuv** for **usu/n* 'water'. If, however, the letter preceding the final vowel in these cases is one of the series **i l m n q qh r u v**, the vowel can, depending on the case, also be written as **e**, causing an additional alternation between **e** and **a**, as in **baraqhe** : **baraqhav** for **baraxa/n* 'thing/s'. Other alternations are conditioned by the rules governing the orthography of final vowels in the sequences **bae gae bix gix**, as in **siragae** : **siragav** for **sirexe/n* 'table', **tabix** : **tabiv** for **tabi/n* 'fifty'. Since these phenomena are connected with the contextual properties of the graphic substance, they have no direct counterpart in the spoken language.

In a curious contrast to the treatment of many suffixes as separate 'particles', complex proper names are normally written as single compound words. This convention often results in conspicuously long graphic words, such as **Saravgpuvgsuq** [given name], **vUlaqhavbaqhadur** [Ulan Bator]. Moreover, the fact that the components of such compounds retain most of their individual orthographical peculiarities can yield exceptional graphic sequences, as in **Guigaquda** [Huhehaote] (with **gu** and **qu** in a single word), **Tamdivsuiruvg** [given name] (with the sequence **ui** in a non-initial syllable), **Nasuvvurdu** [given name] (with the sequence **vv** not indicating an intervocalic **q**). Some segmental changes nevertheless take place at the juncture, including the replacement of initial **t** with medial **d**, as in **vXrdaniduqdaqu** [given name] from **v[x]rdani+tuqdaqu**.

NUMBER AND CASE

The basic morphological system of Written Mongol is remarkably close to Proto-Mongolic. In the nominal sphere, relevant categories are number and case as well as reflexive possession, all of which can also occur in mutual combinations, as exemplified by the forms of the plural reflexive case declension. All of these categories are mainly marked by elements which graphically appear as separate 'particles'. The close relation between these 'particles' and the preceding stem is, however, indicated by the segmental alternations which take place at the morpheme boundary, and which affect both the stem and the 'particles' themselves.

As far as plural formation is concerned, Written Mongol makes a distinction between the primary (simple) formatives **.t** for **.d* and **.s** for **.s*, which are always written contiguously with the stem, and the secondary (complex) formatives **ut** for **/U.d* > **.UUd*, **nuqhut nugut** for **.nUUd*, and **nar** for **.nAr*, which are written separately from the stem, as in **murit** 'horses', **guimus** 'people', **gar ut** 'yurts', **cacag nugut** 'flowers', **tvgri nar** 'gods'. These elements can also occur in combinations (double plural), as in **qaqhat ut** 'emperors', **lame nar ut** 'lamas'. As an exception from the general pattern, the secondary formative **.cut** for **.ciUd* is written as a true suffix, as in **Muvgqhulcut** 'Mongols'.

For the same reasons as in Proto-Mongolic and the Modern Mongolic languages, the plural markers in Written Mongol may be regarded more as derivative than inflexional suffixes. The choice of the plural marker in each case depends on word-specific structural and semantic factors. For many words, several alternative plural formations are possible. Although the rules of plural formation have always followed the models supplied by the spoken language at any given time, it is probable that the general abstractness of Written Mongol has offered a possibility for stylistic experimentations which may well have gone beyond the spoken models. This is particularly true of the Classical norm as well as the Postclassical bureaucratic language of the early Republican period of Mongolia. Of course, the oral usage may also have been influenced by the literary style.

Both the unmarked singular and the derivationally marked plural stem of a noun can be followed by case 'particles', which in Written Mongol represent the six suffixally marked cases of Proto-Mongolic: genitive, accusative, dative, ablative, instrumental, and comitative. Most of the case 'particles' occur in two or three variant shapes (Table 2.3),

TABLE 2.3 WRITTEN MONGOL CASE MARKERS

	stem type	v	n	p
gen.	C O		**uv**	
	N		**u**	
	V		**jiv**	
acc.	C O N		**i**	
	V		**ji**	
dat.	V C N		**du/r**	
	O		**tu/r**	
abl.	V C O N		**vca**	
instr.	V		**bar**	
	C O N		**ijar**	
com.	V C O N	**luqhe**		**lugae**

corresponding to the categories of vowel stems (V), consonant stems (C), obstruent stems (O), and nasal stems (N). Additionally, the comitative marker has separate harmonic variants for stems with a velar (v) and a palatal (p) vocalism, distinguished by the alternation of the letters **qh** vs. **g**. The other case markers are harmonically ambivalent or neutral (n).

Although this system may be considered regular for the Classical language, there are slight complications which require further elaboration. First, the dative in **dur tur** is often replaced by the locative in **e**. The locative form is normally only used of consonant stems, and from the functional point of view it seems to be in free variation with the dative, as in **qhaczare (qhvczvr e)** or **qhaczar tur** from **qhaczar (qhvczvr)** 'place'. In Classical Written Mongol, both the dative and the locative occur in both dative and locative functions (dative-locative), but in the Postclassical language the locative tends to be restricted to fixed locative uses only, as in **qudune (qudun e)** 'in [the] town [of]'. At the same time, the dative 'particles' **dur tur** have lost the final consonant, yielding the shorter **du tu**, which corresponds to the situation recorded from the spoken languages starting with Middle Mongol. The older suffix variants are still occasionally used in order to create the impression of an archaic literary style, but in normal texts only the shorter variants occur.

Second, the comitative 'particles' **luqhe lugae** of the Classical language have been gradually replaced by the 'colloquial' possessive forms in **tai**, as in (Classical) **vaqe luqhe** vs. (Modern) **vaqe tai** from **vaqe** 'elder brother'. The possessive case marker forms normatively a separate graphic word, but occurrences of its original derivative (possessive adjectival) function are normally written together with the preceding nominal stem, in which case the suffix takes the shape **.dai**, as in (adverbal use) **vganar tai** 'with a woman' vs. (adnominal use:) **vganardai** 'having a wife, married' from **vganar** 'woman, wife'. In fully lexicalized (adnominal) expressions the suffix variant **.du** is used, as in **qaqhavdu** 'imperial' from **qaqhav** 'emperor'. Free variation between the different alternatives is, however, common, as in (adnominal use only): **naradai, nare tai, naradu, nare tu** 'having [the] name', from **nare** 'name'.

The behaviour of the stem-final unstable */n* in the Written Mongol nominal declension follows the evolution of the spoken language. In the Classical language, the nasal is permitted in all case forms, including the unmarked basic form, as in **muriv** 'horse' : gen. **muriv u** : acc. **muriv i** : dat. **muriv dur** : abl. **muriv vca** : instr. **muriv ijar** : com. **muriv luqhe**. However, in Modern Written Mongol the nasal is normatively absent in the basic form as well as in the accusative and instrumental cases, as in nom. **muri** : acc. **muri ji** : instr. **muri bar**. The same is true of the new possessive case form of the type **muri tai**.

Reflexive possession is expressed by the 'particles' **bav** and **ijav** added after vowel stems and consonant stems, respectively. These elements can also follow the regular case markers, yielding a complete set of analytic case forms for the reflexive declension (Table 2.4).

For three cases, synthetic markers also exist, incorporating the reflexive element in the shape **-qhav** or **-gav** for **-xA/n*, depending on the vocalism of the stem. The case markers in the synthetic complexes appear exceptionally as **yu-** for the genitive and **da-** or **ta-** for the dative, while the ablative has the regular marker **vca-** (Table 2.5).

The synthetic marker for the reflexive genitive is occasionally also used for the accusative, though most often the function of the accusative is filled by the basic reflexive form with no overt case ending. Generally, the use of the analytic and synthetic forms of the reflexive declension seems to be governed by stylistic, rather than grammatical, factors. With its firm basis in the spoken language, the synthetic dative is more common

TABLE 2.4 WRITTEN MONGOL REFLEXIVE DECLENSION: ANALYTIC FORMS

	stem type	v	n	p
gen.	C O		**uv ijav**	
	N		**u bav**	
	V		**jiv ijav**	
acc.	C O N		**i bav**	
	V		**ji bav**	
dat.	V C N		**dur ijav**	
	O		**tur ijav**	
abl.	V C O N		**vca bav**	
instr.	V		**bar ijav**	
	C O N		**ijar ijav**	
com.	V C O N	**luqhe bav**		**lugae bav**

TABLE 2.5 WRITTEN MONGOL REFLEXIVE DECLENSION: SYNTHETIC FORMS

	stem type	v	p
gen.	V C O N	**yuqhav**	**yugav**
dat.	V C N	**daqhav**	**dagav**
	O	**taqhav**	**tagav**
abl.	V C O N	**vcaqhav**	**vcagav**

than the other synthetic forms. Secondary analytic and synthetic alternatives also exist for the 'colloquial' comitative marker **tai**, which yields both **tai bav** and **tajiqhav** in the reflexive declension.

NUMERALS

The cardinal numerals for the basic digits of the first decade are written as 1 **nigae** : **nigav**, 2 **quyar**, 3 **qhurbae** : **qhurbav**, 4 **tuirbae** : **tuirbav**, 5 **tabu** : **tabuv**, 6 **jirqhuqhe** : **jirqhuqhav**, 7 **tuluqhe** : **tuluqhav**, 8 **naima** : **naimav**, and 9 **yisu** : **yisuv**. The corresponding numerals for the decades are 10 **varbae** : **varbav**, 20 **quri** : **quriv**, 30 **qhuci** : **qhuciv**, 40 **tuici** : **tuiciv**, 50 **tabix** : **tabiv**, 60 **jira** : **jirav**, 70 **tala** : **talav**, 80 **naya** : **nayav**, and 90 **yara** : **yarav** or **yira** : **yirav**. The numerals for the lower powers of 10 are 100 **jaqhu** : **jaqhuv**, 1,000 **mivgqhe** : **mivgqhav**, and 10,000 **tuima** : **tuimav**.

For the higher powers, the Classical language applies the Tibetan borrowings 100,000 **bum**, 1,000,000 **saie**, 10,000,000 **bsiue** or **bijue** (also simplified to **jiue**), and 100,000,000 **tuivgsiur**. The European numeral 1,000,000 **milliyuv** (borrowed through Russian) is occasionally encountered instead of **saie** in texts from the early Republican period. The system of counting the powers of 10 can be based both on 1,000 (as in Tibetan and Russian) or on 10,000 (as in Chinese). The latter alternative is today normative in Modern Written Mongol, as used in Inner Mongolia, e.g. 1,000,000 (Modern) **jaqhuv tuimav** (= 100 x 10,000).

The Written Mongol numerals show all the standard categories of Mongolic numeral derivation, including multiplicatives in **.da**, delimitatives in **.qav** (velar) or **.gav** (palatal), distributives and approximatives in **.qhat** (velar) or **.gat** (palatal), and collectives in **.qhule** : **.qhulav** (velar) or **.gula** : **.gulav** (palatal), e.g. mult. **qhurbavda** 'three times', **tuirbavda** 'four times'; del. **qhurbaqav** 'only three', **tuirbagav** 'only four'; distr. **qhurbaqhat** 'by threes', **tuirbagat** 'by fours'; appr. **quciqhat** 'about thirty', **tuicigat** 'about forty'; coll. **qhurbaqhule** 'three together', **tuirbagula** 'four together'. Examples on fully lexicalized derivatives are **qhurbalcziv** 'triangle' and **tuirbalcziv** 'square'.

Most importantly, the numeral stems serve as the basis for ordinals, which in Written Mongol reflect the chronological and dialectal variation exhibited by the spoken language. The two main suffix alternatives are the more literary **.duqhar** (velar) or **.dugar** (palatal) and the more 'colloquial' **.dagix**, as in **qhurbaduqhar** or **qhurbadagix** 'third', **tuirbadugar** or **tuirbadagix** 'fourth'. The former suffix is occasionally written as a separate graphic word, yielding **tuqhar** (rarely **tuigar**), which is also used as the noun for 'number'. For the ordinals from 3 to 5 the special archaic forms **qhuduqhar**, **tuidugar**, and **tabdaqhar** are actively used even in Modern Written Mongol.

As in the spoken language, the derivative categories of the numerals are also relevant to a number of nominal and pronominal stems, as in **vavgqaduqhar** 'first' from **vavgqe** : **vavgqav** 'beginning', **gadudugar** 'which in order' and **gadugula** 'how many together' from **ga-** [interrogative stem], and **vulaqhule** 'many together' from **vulav** 'many'. Other words with a numerical use include **tariguv** 'head, beginning' for 'first', and **nuigugae** 'other' for 'second'.

PRONOUNS

Because of their grammatical importance and morphological coherence pronouns show more often than other parts of speech systematic differences between Classical and Modern Written Mongol. Nevertheless, most of the basic pronominal stems have remained stable throughout the history of Written Mongol. Although many pronouns have irregular stem alternants, the pronominal declension follows otherwise the regular nominal pattern with the exception that synthetic orthographical forms, incorporating the stem and the case marker into a single graphic word, are relatively common both in the Classical and in the Modern language.

Due to the rules governing the orthography of certain word-final sequences, the basic forms of the Proto-Mongolic personal pronouns for the first and second persons appear in Written Mongol normally as sg. 1p. **bix** : 2p. **ci** : pl. 1p. **bae** : 2p. **ta**. The corresponding oblique stems are written **name** : **cime** : **mav** : **tav**, to which the regular case 'particles' can be added. As an alternative to obl. sg. 1p. **name**, the secondary variant **nada** is also used in Modern Written Mongol. Examples of synthetic forms include sg. acc. 1p. **namaji** : 2p. **cimaji**, dat. 1p. **nadadur** or **nadur** : 2p. **cimadur**, abl. 1p. **nadaca** : 2p. **cimaca**, instr. 1p. **namabar** : 2p. **cimabar**. The unique locative form pl. 2p. **tave** or **tane** 'for you' is today preserved as the fixed introductory phrase of letters and dedications.

As in the spoken language, the simple pronoun pl. 1p. **bae** : obl. **mav** is normally used in the exclusive function, while the corresponding inclusive function is expressed by the composite pronoun **bida** : **bidav**. In Modern Written Mongol, this distinction is only preserved in the oblique paradigm, while the basic form is invariably **bida**. The latter is frequently combined with the nominal plural 'particle' **nar**, yielding **bida nar** 'we', or with numerals, as in **bida quyar** 'the two of us'. With the increasing use of the pl. 2p.

pronoun **ta** : obl. **tav** in the singular honorific function, the plural form **ta nar** has also become more common.

The genitive forms of the personal pronouns are based on the stem variants sg. 1p. **miv** : 2p. **civ** : pl. 1p. **mav** : 2p. **tav**, as well as pl. 1p. **bidav** for the inclusive stem. Orthographically, both analytic and synthetic shapes are attested, but synthetic shapes seem to be more common in the singular forms **minu** : **cinu**, while the plural forms are often written analytically as **mav u** : **tav u**, as well as **bidav u**. Unlike the other case forms, the genitive series also includes the postnominally used forms 3p. sg. **vinu** : pl. **vanu**, which in the Preclassical language retain their original functions, but which in the Classical period are mostly used indifferently, without regard to the number distinction. The corresponding element in Modern Written Mongol is written as **ni**, while the other postnominal pronominal genitives (possessive suffixes) appear as sg. 1p. **mini** : 2p. **cini** : pl. 1p. **mani** ~ **manai** : 2p. **tani** ~ **tanai**.

The predicatively used possessive derivatives based on the genitive forms of the personal pronouns have the Classical shapes sg. 1p. **minuqai** 'mine' : 2p. **cinuqai** 'thine' : pl. 1p. **manuqai** 'ours' : 2p. **tanuqai** 'yours', which in the Modern language are replaced by sg. 1p. **minugai** ~ **minugix** : 2p. **cinugai** ~ **cinugix** : pl. 1p. **manajigix** : 2p. **tanajigix**. In this, as well as in all other formal categories with the exception of the postnominal genitives (possessive suffixes), the function of the third person pronouns is filled by the demonstratives.

The two basic Common Mongolic demonstrative stems are represented in Written Mongol as **vna** : obl. **vguv** ~ (Modern) **v(x)nav** this' and **tara** : obl. **taguv** ~ (Modern) **tarav** 'that'. Apart from the irregular formation of the oblique stems, the declension follows the nominal pattern. The plural forms are, however, **vda** : obl. **vdav** and **tada** : obl. **tadav**, or **vdagar** and **tadagar**, respectively. Common derivatives include **vnagav** 'this very' vs. **taragav** 'that very', **vdui** 'this much' vs. **tadui** 'that much', **vjiv** 'thus' vs. **tajiv** 'so', **vjimu** 'like this' vs. **tajimu** 'like that', and **vvda (vxvda)** 'here; this place' vs. **tavda** 'there; that place'. The corresponding interrogative derivatives are mainly based on **gav** : pl. **gat** 'who [*which]', which yields **gaduv** 'how many; several', **gadui** 'how much', **gar** 'how', and **gacziie** 'when; what time'.

Other pronominal words include the demonstratives **vuinugac** or (Modern) **vuinu** 'this very' and **muiv** '[the very] same', as well as the interrogatives **vali** : obl. **valiv** 'which', **yaqhuv** 'what', **yambar** > (Modern) **yamar** 'like what', and **qamiqhe** > (Modern) **qaqhe** 'where; what place'. Indefinite pronouns are formed from the interrogatives by the elements (Classical) **bar** ~ **ba** and (Modern) **cu**, as in **gav bar** or **gav cu** 'somebody; whoever'. The reflexive stem is **vuibar** 'self' : pl. **vuibasut** ~ **vuibarsat**, which, with the exception of the genitive **vuibar uv** 'one's own' : pl. **vuibasut uv** ~ **vuibarsat uv**, requires the endings of the reflexive declension, as in refl. **vuibar ijav** 'by oneself'.

VERBAL FORMS

Unlike the markers for nominal number and case (as well as possession and reflexive possession), the endings of verbal conjugation in Written Mongol are normally written contiguously with the stem. The verbal categories themselves are identical with those of the spoken language of various periods, but the general archaicness of Written Mongol is clearly visible in the persistence of orthographical conventions and formal distinctions well after they have lost their basis in the spoken language. This is perhaps even more true of verbal conjugation than of other sections of Written Mongol grammar.

As in the spoken language of all periods, the bare verbal stem serves in Written Mongol as the unmarked imperative for the second person (both singular and plural), as in **vab** 'take!', **vuig** 'give!', **yabu** 'go!', **vira** 'come!'. Additionally, the Classical language has six suffixally marked modal forms of the imperative sphere: voluntative (1p.), optative (1p.), benedictive (2p.), prescriptive (2p.), concessive (1-3p.), and dubitative (1-3p.), while in the Postclassical language the desiderative (1-3p.) is also attested. The suffixes are the same for all stem types, but certain suffixes require the addition of the connective vowel **u** after consonant stems (C). The distinction between a velar (v) and a palatal (p) stem vocalism is reflected in the alternation of the letters **q qh** vs. **g** (Table 2.6).

Further variants for some of the suffixes include **-su** (Preclassical) for the optative, **-tquv** vs. **-tguv** (Preclassical) and **-qdui** vs. **-gdui** (Postclassical, in the Buryat sphere) for the benedictive, as well as **-sai** (Modern) for the desiderative. The concessive in **-duqhai** vs. **-dugai** survives in Modern Written Mongol only in fixed phrases, like **bulduqhai** 'let it be!', **mavduduqhai** 'long live!', while otherwise it has been replaced by the permissive in **-q** vs. **-g**. The latter form, in spite of its apparent age, never made its way to the Classical norm of Written Mongol.

The participial sphere comprises the four suffixally marked forms that commonly characterize the nominal representation of the verb in Mongolic: the futuritive, imperfective, perfective, and habitive participles. Additionally, there is the functionally ambivalent agentive participle. The participle markers are affected by the regular phenomena of connective vowel addition and harmonic variation (Table 2.7).

While the status of the agentive participle with regard to the distinction between inflexion and derivation remains ambivalent, it does have some verbal characteristics in Written Mongol, including the possibility of negation. As for the other participles, they can all be used both as actor nouns and as action nouns, and in a variety of syntactic

TABLE 2.6 WRITTEN MONGOL IMPERATIVE MARKERS

	C	v	n	p
vol.	**/u-**		**-ie**	
opt.		**-suqhai**		**-sugai**
ben.	**/u-**	**-qduv**		**-gduv**
prescr.	**/u-**	**-qharai**		**-garai**
conc.		**-duqhai**		**-dugai**
dub.	**/u-**	**-qhuczai**		**-guczai**
des.	**/u-**	**-qhasai**		**-gasai**

TABLE 2.7 WRITTEN MONGOL PARTICIPLE MARKERS

	C	v	p
part. fut.		**-qu/i**	**-gu/i**
imperf.	**/u-**	**-qhe**	**-gae**
perf.	**/u-**	**-qsav**	**-gsav**
hab.	**/u-**	**-daq**	**-dag**
ag.	**/u-**	**-qci**	**-gci**

functions. For the futuritive participle, however, the Classical language tends to make a difference between the substantival and adjectival (attributive) uses by opposing the longer variants in **-qui -gui** (substantival) to the shorter ones in **-qu -gu** (adjectival). In Modern Written Mongol, only the shorter variants are used for both purposes. There is also the special plural form in **-quv -guv**, used in the Preclassical language.

The nominal case forms of the futuritive and perfective participles in their substantival function serve as the basis for several commonly used quasiconverbs, e.g. part. fut. dat. (Classical) **yabuqui dur** > (Modern) **yabuqu du** 'as [he] went', (Classical) part. perf. loc. **yabuqsave** : dat. **yabuqsav dur** > (Modern) **yabuqsav du** 'after [he] had gone'. Due to linguistic restructuring, some of these suffixal complexes, notably those of the so-called abtemporal and successive converbs, are written as indivisible entities: conv. abtemp. (part. perf. instr.) **-qsaqhar -gsagar**, conv. succ. (part. fut. com.) **-qula -gula** ~ (+ instr.) **-qular -gular**.

In spite of the role of quasiconverbs, converbs proper are the most diversified sphere of Written Mongol verbal conjugation, comprising the suffixally marked forms of the modal, imperfective, perfective, conditional, concessive, terminative, contemporal, final, and preparative converbs. Most of the converb suffixes have two or more shapes conditioned by the phenomena of connective vowel addition, harmonic variation, and suffix-initial consonant alternation (Table 2.8).

In accordance with the original morphological composition of the form, the genitive ending **uv** in the preparative converb marker **-r uv** is written as a separate graphic word. The same is true of the locative marker **e** in the composition of the final converb marker **-re** (**-r e**). Historically, the terminative converb is also a locative form, but in the Classical orthography the converb marker is normally written as **-dala**, while only the Modern language has **-dale** (though perhaps more for orthographical than for etymological reasons). A more important diachronic difference is that the Classical ending of the conditional converb **-basu** has been replaced by the 'colloquial' ending **-bal/e** in the Modern language, cf. e.g. (Classical) **bulbasu** vs. (Modern) **bulbal/e** 'if [it becomes], from **bul-** 'to be/come'. The primary variant of the conditional converb suffix is **-qhasu -gasu**, which is mainly attested in the Preclassical language but survives also in Classical **buigasu** 'if [it is]', from **bui-** 'to be'.

In the finite indicative sphere Written Mongol has distinct suffixes for all the six Proto-Mongolic temporal-aspectual forms, comprising the narrative, durative, deductive, terminative, confirmative, and resultative. The actual functions of these forms are not

TABLE 2.8 WRITTEN MONGOL CONVERB MARKERS

	stem type	/u-	v	n	p
conv. mod.	V	C O B		**-v**	
imperf.	V C			**-czu**	
	O B			**-cu**	
perf.	V	C O B	**-qhat**		**-gat**
cond.	V C O	B		**-basu**	
conc.	V C O	B		**-bacu**	
term.	V C O B			**-dala**	
contemp.	V	C O B	**-maqca**		**-magca**
fin.	V	C O B		**-re**	
prep.	V	C O B		**-r uv**	

TABLE 2.9 WRITTEN MONGOL FINITE TENSE-ASPECT MARKERS

	stem type	/u	v	n	p
narr.	V	C O B		**-mui**	
dur.	V	C O B		**-nam**	
ded.	V	C O B		**-yu**	
term.	V C O	B		**-ba/i**	
conf.	V	C O B	**-luqhe**		**-lugae**
res.	V C		**-czuqui**		**-czugui**
	O B		**-cuqui**		**-cugui**

stable, but depend on the complex areal and chronological patterns shown by the temporal-aspectual categories in Mongolic. The formal system is, however, coherent, and shows the regular segmental alternations conditioned by stem-final consonants and the stem vocalism (Table 2.9). As a deviation from the main rules, it may be recalled that the terminative suffix **-ba/i** requires the presence of the connective vowel **u** only after stems ending in the consonants **b r** (B), but not after other consonant stems, as in **vab-** 'to take', **qhar-** 'to go out', **vuig-** 'to give' : term. **vabuba/i** for **ab/u-ba/i*, **qharuba/i** for **gar/u-ba/i*, **vuigba/i** for **ög-be/i*.

In the Preclassical language the resultative can also end in **-cuqhu** (or **-cuqu**) resp. **-cugu**, a variant that in the Classical language survives in **vaczuqhu** for **a-juxu* 'had been', from **va-** 'to be'. Postclassical orthographical shapes for some of the suffixes include **-ne** for the durative, **-le** for the confirmative, and **-czai** resp. **-cai** for the resultative. In the Modern language the durative has largely (but not completely) replaced both the narrative and the deductive as the principal form of the present tense. For the past tense, the resultative dominates in 'colloquial' texts, but the terminative and confirmative also exist in functions conditioned by the spoken dialects. In the terminative suffix, the form **-bai** is prevalent in the Classical language, while the Modern language has only **-bae**.

SYNTAX

A major syntactic difference between Written Mongol and the spoken language has always been that the medium of writing allows more complex sentence patterns to be used without imperilling the communicative process. Especially Classical texts are therefore often characterized by extremely long and elaborate sentences, involving sequences of multiple subordinated clauses tied together by converbs and quasiconverbs. Under such conditions, finite forms occur only in the ultimate end of the complex sentence, as well as in the occasional embedded structures containing direct quotations. Since many Classical texts are literary translations, the syntactic influence of the original languages (mainly Tibetan and Sanskrit) may also be assumed to have been significant.

On the other hand, syntax, and especially morphosyntax, has always been the area of Written Mongol grammatical structure that most easily has absorbed influences from the spoken language. Unfortunately, this means that while Written Mongol is both orthographically and morphologically abstract enough to serve the speakers of a variety of Mongolic languages, its syntactic characteristics are inherently more language-specific and conform mainly to the patterns typical of Mongol proper. At least as far as Modern Written Mongol is concerned, syntax is clearly the part of the language that contains the

least number of archaic features. Historically, occasional deviations from the mainstream syntactic patterns can be observed in texts written in the Ordos and Buryat spheres.

Due to the interference of the spoken language, Written Mongol shows very few peculiarities of its own with regard to parameters such as word order, agreement, and goverment. There are, however, more idiosyncracies in the use of particles, which in Written Mongol express, among other things, topicalization, interrogation, and negation. The system of particles is intimately interconnected with that of the copulas, which are expressed by irregular verbs with incomplete paradigms such as **bui** : ded. **buyu** 'is' and conf. (Classical) **builugae** > (Modern) **bile** 'was', or also by predicatively used pronouns such as **muiv** '[is] the very same', (Modern) **yum** 'is' < (Classical) **yaqhume** '[is] something'.

The principal particle for *topicalization* in the Classical language is **bar**, which also forms indefinite pronouns from interrogatives. Unlike the graphically identical variant of the instrumental case marker, this particle has the same shape also after consonant stems, cf. e.g. top. **qaqhav bar** 'as for the emperor' vs. instr. **qaqhav ijar** 'by the emperor'. One of the most important functions of the topic particle is to allow a distinction to be made between the attributive and subjective uses of demonstrative pronouns and participles, as in **tara qaqhav** 'that emperor' vs. **tara bar qaqhav (bui)** 'he (is) an emperor', **viragsav guimuv** 'the person who has come' vs. **viragsav bar guimuv (bui)** 'the one who has come (is) a person'. The same role is played by the conditional converb forms (Classical) **buigasu** and (Modern) **bul** < **bulbal/e** 'if [it] is/becomes'.

It is often claimed that the postnominally used pronominal genitives **vinu** 'his' and **vanu** 'their' also function as topic particles or 'subject designators'. However, although they normally occupy the same position in the sentence as the topic particle **bar**, and although they do separate the subject from a following predicative noun, they are probably better understood as markers of *definiteness*. In many actual examples, their original role as possession markers is also inherently present. Since both topicalization and definiteness (as well as specificness) are categories that seem to have been grammaticalized only after the Proto-Mongolic period, examples from Written Mongol are often not easy to describe in terms of a single clear-cut synchronic framework.

The particle for *interrogation* is **uu** or positionally (in the Modern language only) **yuu**, added after the predicate, as in **ta sajiv uu** 'are you well?'. In combination with some of the tense-aspect markers, this particle can facultatively yield synthetic endings, including narr. **-muu** < **-mui uu**, dur. (Modern) **-nuu** < **-ne uu**, term. **-bau** ~ **-buu** < **-ba/i uu**, and conf. (Modern) **-luu** < **-le uu**. Sentences containing an interrogative pronoun originally required no other question marker, but the emergence of a corrogative particle is signalled in Written Mongol by the obligatory use of the copula **bui** in sentences of the types **ta gav bui** 'who are you?' and **ta qamiqhe vca viragsav bui** 'where do you come from?'.

The expressions for *negation* also involve a strictly conventionalized system, in which only certain combinations of verbal forms and negative particles are allowed. The general rule is that the imperatives are negated by the particles **buu** or (Modern) **bidagai**, the converbs by the particle **vuilu**, and the finite indicative forms by either one of the particles **vuilu** or **vsa**, all of which precede the verb, as in imp. **buu yabu** 'do not go!', conv. imperf. **vuilu yabuczu** 'not going', term. **vsa yabubae** '[he] did not go'. As a case of exception, the conditional and concessive converbs can also occur in combination with **vsa**, as in conv. cond. **vsa yabubasu** 'if [he] does not go'. The particle **vsa** can itself be conjugated in a limited number of forms, which typically echo the formal category of the preceding regular verb, as in part. fut. **yabuqu vsagu** 'to go or not [to go]'.

The negative particles can also negate some of the nominal forms of the verb. Thus, **vuilu** occurs in combination with the futuritive participle (as well as the actor noun), while **vsa** is used with the perfective participle, as in part. fut. **vuilu yabuqu** '[one] who does not go', part. perf. **vsa yabuqsav** '[one] who has not gone'. Another way to negate all forms of the participial sphere is offered by the postpositionally used noun **vuigai** 'absence', as in part. imperf. **yabuqhe vuigai** '[one] who did not go', part. hab. **yabudaq vuigai** '[one] who does not [habitually] go'. In combination with regular nouns **vuigai** expresses existential negation, as in **muri/v vuigai** '[there] is no horse' or '[one who is] without a horse'. The negation of nominal identity takes place with the pronoun **busu** or (Modern) **bisi** 'other [than]', as in **muri/v busu** '[it is] not a horse'.

One particular detail for which Classical Written Mongol is typically more elaborate than the spoken language is the quotative construction, which is expressed by framing the direct quotation with up to four forms of two different quotative verbs, **gama-** 'to say' and **vuigula-** 'to report'. The maximum construction is **vjiv gamav vuigular uv** [quotation] **gamav vuigulabae** 'thus [he] said', containing conv. mod. **gamav**, conv. prep. **vuigular uv**, and a finite form of **vuigula-**. In Modern Written Mongol, the construction is normally reduced to the exit phrase **gaczu gala-**, in which the verb **gama-** is represented by its 'colloquial' shape **ga-** in conv. imperf. **gaczu**, while the finite predicate is formed from **gala-** 'to speak'.

LEXICON

During centuries of continuous use, Written Mongol has absorbed lexical elements from a number of native and non-native sources. At the bottom there are the lexical resources of the original underlying language, close to Proto-Mongolic and Middle Mongol. This layer still dominates the basic vocabulary, but many additions and replacements have been made from the later stages of the spoken language, including the modern dialects of Mongol proper. In some cases, these changes are still visible in the presence of etymological and orthographical doublets.

Not counting the pre- and protohistorical loanwords already present in Pre-Proto-Mongolic, the main external sources of new vocabulary in Classical Written Mongol were Uighur, Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese. The most ancient donor of Buddhist lexical items, for instance, was Uighur, though many of the words concerned ultimately came from other languages, like **buyav** 'merit' (originally from Sanskrit), **simnu** 'demon' (originally from Sogdian), **suburqhe** 'stupa' (from an unknown source), and **Burqav** 'Buddha' (partially through Chinese from a Sanskrit original). Later, during the revival of Mongol Buddhism, new technical vocabulary, especially with reference to the material aspects of the religion, was mainly adopted from Tibetan, like **qurlu** 'praying wheel', **rabsal** 'prayer book', **savg** 'incense burning', **tugavg** 'temple hall'.

Interestingly, Sanskrit and Tibetan have occasionally yielded parallel sets of loanwords for the same concepts. Thus, for instance, the days of the week, based on the names of the Sun, the Moon, and the five planets, can be referred to both by the Sanskrit loanwords ('Sunday' to 'Saturday') **vadiie, sumiie, vavgqharaq, but, barqasabadi, sukare**, and **sanicar**, or by their Tibetan counterparts **nima, tabae, miqmar, lhaqbae, puirbu, basavg**, and **bimbae**. Both sets have ultimately been rendered obsolete by the current system, which follows the Chinese model and operates with the concept of the week, as in **qharaq uv nigae** 'the first [day] of the week' or **nigadagix vdur** 'the first day' for 'Monday'. In this system, 'Sunday' is identified as **sajiv vdur** 'the good day'.

The main sources of the more recent loanwords, introduced during the Postclassical period, are Russian and Chinese. Because of the prolonged Russian influence in the Republic of Mongolia, modern scientific, technological, and political terms in Written Mongol are mainly based on the standard international vocabulary transmitted through Russian, as exemplified by **vagevta** 'agent', **kumisar** 'commissar', **masiv** 'automobile', **prugram** 'programme', **radio** 'radio'. Even in Inner Mongolia, where Chinese borrowings often dominate the oral usage, the literary norm prefers the Russian (European) words, which have immediate counterparts in the Cyrillic norm of Khalkha. Chinese borrowings are nevertheless common in certain semantic fields, such as culinary terminology, as in **buucza** 'baozi', **luubavg** 'turnip', **miyav** 'noodles'.

In many cases, it is difficult to determine, whether a given loanword has entered Written Mongol directly from another written language, or through oral transmission. Quite often, the spoken language is likely to have been involved, as can be seen from the orthographical shapes of the items concerned. There are, however, also examples of true literary borrowings, which retain orthographical peculiarities of the donor language. Spellings like **blame** 'lama' for (*)*lama* (from Tibetan) or **trak'tur** 'tractor' for (*)*taraagtar* would not be possible without the influence of the written original. In fact, the rudiments of the Galig Alphabet still surviving in current use, especially the letters **dz h tz zh**, are mere transcriptional devices with no phonological basis in the spoken idioms.

For Chinese loanwords, which, in principle, can only be transmitted via the oral medium, there exists since Qing times a conventionalized system of transcription, which follows the Manchu segmentation of Chinese (Mandarin) syllables. Additionally, Chinese has yielded a large number of loan translations, beginning with **Tumdadu vUlus** 'Middle Kingdom' for 'China' (*Zhongguo*), and ending with technical binomes like **guimuv vama** ['man mouth'] for 'population' (*renkou*). Although binomes may also have indigenous roots in Mongolic, even many trivial examples have a parallel in Chinese, as in **vui siqhui** ['woods thicket'] for 'forest' (*senlin*). Such semantic parallelism is likely to have been stimulated by the interaction of Written Mongol with Written Chinese.

Finally, the lexical resources of Written Mongol have been increased by the conscious introduction of semantic neologisms, normally introduced contemporaneously in the spoken language. As a result, individual foreign elements have been more or less successfully replaced by indigenous words, like **savsar** 'samsara' by **vurcilavg** 'rotation', **kapi'tal** 'capital' by **guiruvgga/v** 'seed', and **vakademi** 'academy' by **guiriyalavg** 'committee'. At the same time, a systematic terminology covering many social and scientific fields has been built, starting with the basic concepts of **najigam** 'society' and **sivczilagu vuqaqhav** 'science'. The role of Written Mongol in the consolidation of such neologisms is obvious.

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CHAPTER THREE

MIDDLE MONGOL

Volker Rybatzki

Middle Mongol is the technical term for the Mongolic language recorded in documents during, or immediately after, the time of the Mongol empire(s), in the thirteenth to the early fifteenth centuries. Owing to the collapse of the centralized power base, Middle Mongol was followed by a transitional period from which only scarce documentation remains. After this transition, the literary tradition of Mongol was continued by Classical Written Mongol, while on the oral side Middle Mongol was replaced by the early forms of the Modern Mongolic branches, languages, and dialects.

Although Middle Mongol is only known from written documents, it is best defined as essentially a spoken language, which corresponds to the relatively uniform speech of the early Mongols following the unification under Chinggis Khan. Unlike Proto-Mongolic which is an abstraction reconstructed on the basis of the comparative material, Middle Mongol is an actual historical language, and the extant documents should be viewed as attempts to reflect this language in writing. Technically this means that our knowledge of Middle Mongol is restricted by the size of the available corpus. Fortunately, the Middle Mongol corpus is large and comprises documents in several different systems of writing.

It is more difficult to specify the relationship between Middle Mongol and Preclassical Written Mongol. Chronologically, the documents recorded in Preclassical Written Mongol correspond to the time frame of Middle Mongol, but linguistically the language underlying Written Mongol is in some respects different from that reflected by other sources of the Middle Mongol period. On the other hand, Preclassical Written Mongol was certainly closer to the contemporary spoken language than any subsequent stage of Written Mongol has been. The issue is further complicated by the fact that Preclassical Written Mongol has (or may have) variously influenced the Middle Mongol data of other sources.

There exist, consequently, two possible definitions for Middle Mongol: a broader one which includes all information preserved from the Middle Mongol period, and a narrower one which excludes the information preserved in Preclassical Written Mongol. Due to the vagueness of the borderline between Middle Mongol and Preclassical Written Mongol, the broader definition is adopted here, with the recognition of the fact that Preclassical Written Mongol has a somewhat special status as compared with the other sources on Middle Mongol.

SCRIPTS AND DOCUMENTS

The scripts used for Middle Mongol can be divided into two categories, which may be termed primary and secondary. The primary scripts were used by the Mongols themselves, while the secondary scripts were used by non-Mongols to write (transcribe) Mongol. In addition to the Uighur script (U), as applied for Preclassical Written Mongol, the only other officially authorized primary script was the Tibetan-based vPhags.pa script

(P). The secondary scripts include the Arabic (A), Armenian, Georgian, and Roman scripts. An exceptional position was held by the Chinese script (C), which had both primary and secondary applications. It is true that there are no extant examples of the use of the Chinese script in the primary function, but it is mentioned in the dynastic history of the Mongols (*Yuanshi*) that Chinese characters were used to write Mongol at the beginning of the Mongol empire. Edicts issued by the Mongols and using the Chinese language are, of course, abundantly attested.

The Uighur script was used all over the Mongol political sphere, including the Ilkhanid state in the west and the Yuan empire in the east. Since, however, it was only used to write Uighur and Mongol, the Yuan emperor Khubilai commissioned the Tibetan monk vPhags.pa (also Romanized as '*Phags-pa* or *ḥP'ags-pa*) to create a unified script suitable to write all languages of the empire. The new script, subsequently known as the vPhags.pa script, was presented to the emperor in 1269. Its consonant letters were derived from the regular (**dbu.can**) Tibetan script, while the vowel letters were influenced by the Uighur applications of the Brahmi script. Unlike Tibetan, the vPhags.pa script is written vertically (like Chinese and Written Mongol), and with the vowel letters as separate linear segments (as in the Uighur script). In spite of the original intention, the vPhags.pa script was mainly used for Mongol, though occasional examples of its use for Chinese, Uighur, and Tibetan have also survived. With the exception of a few Ilkhanid coins and seals, the vPhags.pa script was restricted to the Yuan empire both in time and space.

Middle Mongol sources preserved in the two primary scripts include various kinds of administrative and religious documents, as well as samples of belles-lettres. The administrative documents are represented by edicts, letters, coins, seals, travel passes (*paizi*), and biographical inscriptions. Edicts, written on paper or stone, include nominations, judicial sentences, a loan contract, as well as documents of tax exemption issued to Taoist and Buddhist monasteries. The oldest extant edicts are those issued by Empress Töregene (1240), Möngke Khaghan (1253) and Khubilai (1261). The oldest letters include those sent by the Ilkhans Arghun, Ghazan, and Öljeitü to Pope Nicholas IV, Pope Boniface VIII, and Philip the Fair of France (1289–1305), as well as a letter by Ötemish (1262) and a covering letter to a messenger by Ilkhan Abakha (*c.*1267). Edicts and letters on paper are typically written in Mongol only, while edicts carved in stone are accompanied by a Chinese version. The short inscriptions on travel passes also sometimes contain legends in Chinese or Persian.

A large body of literature in Uighur script is formed by the biographical inscriptions of Zhang Yingrui (1335), Jigüntei (1338), Arugh Wang (1340), Zhongwei (1348, fragmentary), and Hindu (1362). Other inscriptions include that of Möngke Khaghan (1257) as well as two texts from Khara Khorum (1346, 1348). With the exception of the famous 'Stele of Yisüngge' (1227–70), all extant inscriptions contain a parallel version in Chinese. Another important text of this type is the large Juyongguan inscription (close to modern Peking), in which the Middle Mongol text in vPags.pa script is accompanied by parallel versions in Chinese, Tibetan, Uighur, and Tangut. Of a more occasional character are the graffiti of three Buddhist pilgrims in Dunhuang (1323).

The religious documents of the Middle Mongol period comprise at least five large Buddhist texts, all translated in the fourteenth century: *Bodhicaryâvatâra*, *Lalitavistara* (*c.*1324), *Foshuo Beidou Qixing Yanming Jing* or *Tuluqhav vBugav Naradu vUduv u Sudur* (1328), *Subhâṣitaratnanidhi*, and *Pañcarakṣâ*. Of these, only a commentary to the *Bodhicaryâvatâra* (1310) and fragments of a printed version of the *Subhâṣitaratnanidhi* in vPhags.pa script are preserved. The rest of the texts are known as later copies, which,

however, contain several Middle Mongol linguistic characteristics. Other Buddhist texts exist only in fragments, of which the following five can be identified: *Mañjuśrî-nâmasaṅgîti*, *Prajñâpâramitâ*, *Bhâgavatî-prajñâpâramitâ-hṛdaya*, *Bhadracaryâ-praṇdhâna-râja*, and a *Mahâkâli* hymn. The existence of a translation of the *Dafang Guangyuan Jiaoxiu Duoluo Liaoyi Jing* is testified by a label. There are also several calendar fragments connected with folk religion.

A large number of Chinese non-Buddhist works were also translated during the Middle Mongol period. Of this literature, only a bilingual version of the 'Classic of Filial Piety' (*Xiaojing*), dating from 1382, and a fragment of the 'General Laws of the Great Yuan' (*Dayuan Tongzhi*), printed in 1324/5, have survived. In the extant edition of the *Xiaojing*, the Chinese text is broken into sentences, each followed by a Mongol translation in Uighur script. Other samples of prose are scarce; only a fragment of the 'Legend of Alexander' may be mentioned. Poetry is represented by three pieces: a poem of Muhammad al-Samarqandî (1324), a two-line poem from Dunhuang titled 'Imperial poetry', and a poem by a Mongol soldier from Sarai longing for his mother and native country.

Among the Middle Mongol sources written in secondary scripts those in Chinese characters are by far the most important. The largest surviving text is the 'Secret History of the Mongols' (SH), dating from the beginning of the Ming dynasty. The original version of the text was compiled in the mid thirteenth century in Uighur script, but this version is only preserved in a somewhat modified form in the composition of the seventeenth century chronicle 'Altan Tobchi' (*vAldav Tubci*). There are also several Chinese–Mongol vocabularies, the most important of which are the *Zhiyuan Yiyu* (1264–94) and the *Hua-Yi Yiyu* (1389). Apart from the lexical material, the latter vocabulary contains twelve letters of correspondence between Mongol tribal leaders and the Ming court. Further information on Middle Mongol in Chinese characters is offered by the relevant Chinese dynastic histories (nearly unexplored from this point of view), travel accounts, conversations in theatre plays, and other occasional sources.

Next in importance are the sources written in Arabic script. These are mainly vocabularies and isolated words scattered in travel accounts, though they also contain complete sentences. The most important vocabularies are: *Kitâb-i Majmû' Tarjumân-î Turkî va 'Ajamî va Muġalî va Fârsî*, also known as the 'Leiden manuscript' (1345), *Ḥilyat al-Insân va Ḥalbat al-Lisân* of Jamâl-ad-Dîn Ibn Muhannâ (from the first half of the fourteenth century), *Muqaddimat al-Adab* of Abû'l-Qâsim Maḥmûd b. 'Umar al-Zamaḫšarî (probably from the fifteenth century), and the *Šamil ül-lugha* of Ḥasan b. Ḥusain 'Imâd al-Qarâḥiṣâr (from the early fifteenth century), also known as the 'Istanbul Vocabulary'. Another important vocabulary is found in the so-called 'Rasûlid Hexaglott' (from the end of the fourteenth century), consisting of *c.* 1,800 entries in Arabic, Persian, Turkic (Kipchak-Oghuz), Middle Greek, Cilician Armenian, and Middle Mongol.

Other sources in secondary scripts are of minor importance, though onomastic material can be found in historical and geographical works by Arabic, Persian, Armenian, Georgian, and European scholars and travellers, including 'Alâ ad-Dîn 'Aṭâ Malik al-Juwainî, Rašîd ad-Dîn, Giovanni di Piano Carpini (1245–6), William of Rubruck (1253–5), and Marco Polo. The Armenian history of Kirakos (*c.* 1270) contains an interesting but short vocabulary (K), while the history of Grigor of Akner (late thirteenth century) contains some words, mainly personal names. Some words are also found in the history of the Goryeo dynasty of Korea (*Goryeosa*).

Owing to the great number of writing systems involved in recording Middle Mongol, a unified interpretative transcription will be applied below, except for Written Mongol.

Although the transcription is neither graphemically nor phonemically 'adequate', it reflects the extant tradition of Middle Mongol studies and fills the practical purpose of allowing the data from the different sources to be handled as a single corpus. This is not to say that a strictly graphemic approach to the corpus might not bring useful new insights to Middle Mongol in the future.

DATA AND SOURCES

Research in Middle Mongol is connected with names such as F. W. Cleaves, Gerhard Doerfer, Erich Haenisch, Shirô Hattori, Junast, György Kara, Marian Lewicki, Louis Ligeti, Antoine Mostaert, M. N. Orlovskaya, Shigeo Ozawa, Paul Pelliot, Nicholas Poppe, Igor de Rachewiltz, J. C. Street, Michael Weiers, and a few others. Much of the research has been focused on the philological analysis and publication of the relevant documents. The most ambitious project of publication was that of Ligeti, which covers most of the sources preserved in Uighur, vPhags.pa, and Chinese writing, with Romanized texts (1971–4) and indices (1970–4). Unfortunately, the indices were published separately for each source, leaving the compilation of an actual Middle Mongol dictionary a task of the future.

Not surprisingly, the single most studied Middle Mongol text is the 'Secret History', which has been published in a variety of editions in the original characters, in transcription, and in translation. The first two Western scholars to transcribe and translate the text were Haenisch (1937, 1941) and Pelliot (1949). Haenisch (1939) also prepared a glossary to his version of the text, while Pelliot's version was revised and indexed by de Rachewiltz (1972). Another early study of the 'Secret History' was made by Hattori (1946). The grammar of the text is described in an extensive monograph by Ozawa (1993), while the language of the later version preserved in 'Altan Tobchi' is discussed by M. N. Orlovskaya (1984).

The Middle Mongol material in the *Hua-Yi Yiyu* was first studied extensively by Lewicki (1949–59), followed by Mostaert (1977–95, with de Rachewiltz). The equally important *Zhiyuan Yiyu* was published by Kara (1990), while de Rachewiltz (1982) discusses the Mongol version of the *Xiaojing*. The data of the 'Leiden Manuscript' and the *Muqaddimat al-Adab* were made available in two early studies by Poppe (1927–8, 1938), who also prepared a pioneering overall survey of the sources in vPhags.pa script (1957). The 'Istanbul vocabulary' as well as the relevant data of the Armenian history of Kirakos were published by Ligeti (1962, 1965), while the 'Rasûlid Hexaglott' has recently been made available by P. B. Golden (2000). The most important contributions on the vPhags.pa sources after Poppe have been made by Junast (1990–1). A brief survey of earlier studies in the field is also given by Pentti Aalto (1964).

Although many of the material publications include grammatical commentaries, generalizing work on Middle Mongol grammar, apart from the language of the 'Secret History', has been scarce. Closest to this goal come the works of Weiers (1969), Orlovskaya (1999), as well as Stanisław Godziński (1985), but none of these covers the whole range of Middle Mongol in all the relevant systems of writing. For comparative studies, Poppe (1964) is still a good starting point. The most competent linguistic work on Middle Mongol grammar has been carried out by Street, who, after first preparing a grammatical survey of the 'Secret History' (1957), published an extensive series of syntactic papers on particles (1981, 1982, 1985, 1986ab). Two other fundamental papers on Middle Mongol syntax are those by Poppe (1953) and Doerfer (1955). Even so, the lack

of an overall grammar, as well as of a dictionary, continues to be an obvious disadvantage for the progress of Middle Mongol studies.

TAXONOMIC POSITION

There is no doubt that the principal value of the Middle Mongol documents lies in the factual information they supply concerning the historical circumstances to which they refer. Certain documents, notably the 'Secret History', are important sources for ethnological, folkloric, and literary studies. Middle Mongol has, however, also an inherent value for Mongolic comparative studies, in that it confirms much of the reconstructive work made on the basis of the living Mongolic languages. It also occasionally allows conclusions to be made about the chronology of diachronic developments. From this point of view, it is important to review the similarities and differences between Middle Mongol and Proto-Mongolic. It is also necessary to examine what internal dialectal divisions, if any, the Middle Mongol corpus may indicate.

The approximate taxonomic position of Middle Mongol can be determined on the basis of several phonological properties:

(*1*) The preservation of initial **x*, conventionally transcribed as *h* in Middle Mongol studies. Obviously, Proto-Mongolic initial **x* was still intact in Middle Mongol, since different sources independently point to its existence. The data for individual lexical items are, however, often contradictory, suggesting that the segment was already in the process of disappearing, cf. e.g. **xalaka/n* 'palm/s of the hand' > SH *halaqan* ~ A *halaqa* ~ A *alaqan*; **xokar* 'short' > A *hoqar* ~ A *oqar* ~ SH C *oqor*; **xüldü* ~ **xildü* 'sword' > A *hüldü* ~ A *hildü* ~ A *yüldü* ~ SH C A K *üldü* ~ C *ildü*. The segment is systematically absent in Preclassical Written Mongol, but this may be due to a specific rule of the Uighur orthography, or perhaps to the original dialectal bias of Written Mongol.

(*2*) The loss of medial **x*, which is variously reflected either simply as zero or as what may be interpreted as a hiatus ('), often represented as a glide (*w y*), e.g. **exüde/n* 'door' > SH *e'üden* ~ SH *eüden* ~ A *ewüden*; **nixur* 'face' > SH C *ni'ur* ~ K *niur* ~ A *niyur* ~ A *nawur* ~ A *nuur*; **daxu/n* 'sound' > SH C *dawu/n* ~ SH A *da'u/n*. The only systematic exception is again formed by Preclassical Written Mongol, which preserves medial **x* as a separate segment without, however, distinguishing it from the stops *g k* (**g q**). Occasional examples suggesting the preservation of medial **x* > *h* are also present in the other sources, e.g. **kaxan* 'emperor' > SH *qa'an* ~ SH *qahan* (probably the preferred fixed transcription of the term), **ixexe.n* ~ **ixexe.l* 'protection' > SH *ihe'el* ~ SH *iheyel* ~ C *iheyen* ~ C P *ihe'en* (a word with two consecutive instances of medial **x*), cf. also Written Mongol **vibagal** id. for **ibexel* < **ipexel* (with **p* > *b*).

(*3*) The occasional presence of prebreaking (**ï* > *V*), but rarely of actual palatal breaking (**i* > *yV*), e.g. **jïxa-* 'to communicate' > SH *ji'a-* ~ SH *ja'a-*; **sidü/n* 'tooth' > A K *sidün* ~ SH C *shidü/n* ~ SH *südü/n* (also 'root of grass') ~ C *shüdü*. Many words, e.g. **mika/n* (**mïka/n*) 'meat' and **nidü/n* 'eye', which show either prebreaking or breaking in the modern languages, appear in all Middle Mongol sources only in the unbroken shape. An exceptional case of prebreaking seems to be present in *manqan* for †*mangghan* 'thousand' of the 'Leiden manuscript', while all other sources point to †*mingghan* < **mingga/n*. Preclassical (like Classical) Written Mongol is generally free of both prebreaking and breaking.

(*4*) The general preservation of diphthongoid sequences, mostly formed by the loss of medial **x*. Monophthongization is, however, also occasionally observed in some

(apparently relatively late) sources, e.g. **ta(x)ulai* 'hare' > SH *ta'ulai* ~ SH C A *taulai* ~ C *tawulayi* (for †*taulai*) ~ A *tuulai* ~ K *tulay* (for †*tuulai*).

(*5*) The frequent absence of labial harmony in the combination **o-a*, e.g. **bora* 'grey' > A K *bora* ~ SH *boro* ~ C *buro*; **joba-* 'to suffer' > SH A *joba-* ~ SH *jobo-* : caus. **joba.xa-* 'to make suffer' > SH *joba'a-* ~ SH *jobo'a-* ~ A *jobaa-* : **joba.lang* 'suffering' > SH C *jobolang* ~ A *jobalang*; also in the sequence **oxa* (**uxa*), e.g. **toxa/n* (**tuxa/n*) 'number' > SH *to'a* ~ SH *to'o* ~ C *to'a/n* ~ P *to'on*. Since the absence of labial harmony is more or less regular in the sources recorded in the Western parts of the Middle Mongol sphere, it has been assumed that labial harmony may have been one of the first innovations that separated the Eastern dialects of Middle Mongol from the Western ones. The evidence is, however, controversial, and chronological differences are also likely to be involved. Preclassical Written Mongol is somewhat ambiguous for this feature, but it nevertheless basically seems to lack labial harmony.

(*6*) The merger of **ö* with **ü* and **e*, e.g. (**ebül* >) **öbül* 'winter' > A *öbül* ~ A *öwül* ~ SH P C *übül* ~ C *ü'ül* : **öbül.ji-* 'to spend winter' > A *öbül.ji-* ~ A *ebül.je-*; (**edür* >) **ödür* 'day' > C A K *ödür* ~ A *öder* ~ SH C *üdür*; **mören* 'river' > A K *mören* ~ SH C *müren* ~ C *mürin* ~ C *mürün* ~ A *meren*; (**menggü/n* >) **mönggü/n* 'silver' > SH C *mönggün* ~ A *möngün* ~ C *menggü* ~ A *mengü/n*. This feature has also been regarded as indicative of an early dialectal difference, since the development **ö* > **ü* seems to be more common in the sources from the Eastern sphere of Middle Mongol (cf. the similar development in several modern languages and dialects in the same region), while the development **ö* > **e* is more common in the Western sphere. However, the situation is difficult to evaluate, especially for the Arabic sources, which do not make a distinction between *ö* and *ü*. The examples with *e* might in some cases represent the preservation of an original **e*, as also attested in Written Mongol **vbul** 'winter', **vdur** 'day' and (Preclassical) **mavggu** 'silver', but they could also simply reflect an attempt to transcribe the sound of **ö*.

(*7*) The occasional reduction (loss) of vowels in non-initial open syllables, e.g. **jirüke/n* 'heart' > SH *jirüge/n*, ~ C *jirüken* ~ A *jirüge* ~ C *jirkön* ~ A *jirke*. This feature may well reflect an actual tendency in the late forms of Middle Mongol, though in some cases it may be also be connected with the limitations of the writing systems involved.

It may be concluded that Middle Mongol was, indeed, phonologically very close to Proto-Mongolic, but in the course of its existence it became increasingly affected by some of the developments observed in the modern languages. It is also possible, though not fully confirmed, that there were already slight dialectal differences between what may be termed Western and Eastern Middle Mongol. Even so, Middle Mongol was a relatively homogeneous language, and many of the apparent differences between the sources are connected with the secondary impact of the writing systems involved. There remain a few interesting parallels between the individual Middle Mongol sources and the modern languages; for instance, the item C *meisü* ~ *müisi* 'ice' (SH *mölsün*) comes close to modern Dagur *meis* (< **möisü* < **mölisü/n*) id. Such cases may well turn out to be of value for studies in Mongolic historical dialectology.

SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Middle Mongol retained the seven vowels of Proto-Mongolic, organized into the three back vowels *a o u*, the three front vowels *e ö ü*, and the single neutral vowel *i* (Table 3.1).

TABLE 3.1 MIDDLE MONGOL VOWELS

u	*i*	*ü*
o		*ö*
a		*e*

Strictly speaking, the seven vowels are distinguished systematically only in the vPhags.pa script, while the other scripts merge variously the rounded vowels *o ö u ü* and the unrounded low vowels *a e*. The distinction between front and back vowels is, however, partly reflected by the use of separate letters for the velar (with front vowels) and postvelar (with back vowels) stops.

It has to be noted that the vPhags.pa script has a further (eighth) vowel letter, which may be Romanized as *é*. In the initial syllable *é* seems to stand for a positionally raised or possibly fronted variant of *e*, and in most cases *e* and *é* alternate in the data, e.g. P *cerig* ~ P *cérig* 'army', P *geyid* ~ P *géyid* 'dwellings'. The normal counterpart of vPhags.pa medial *é* in the Uighur script is **a (v)** (for **e*), though **i** (for **i*) is also encountered, cf. e.g. P *sénggere-* 'to awake' = U **savggara-** for **sengkere-*; P *sénshingud* 'Taoist monks' = U **sivgsivgut** for **singsingud*. The exact reasons and conditions for using the letter *é* in such cases are still insufficiently understood, but basically it seems to be a question of an attempt to relate the written image more closely to the allophonic level of speech.

In final position, vPhags.pa *é* indicates a lowered variant of *i* in the composition of diphthongoid sequences. In the other scripts, the same segment is written as either *i* (asyllabic) or *yi* (syllabic), with no systematic distinction between the different texts, cf. e.g. P *keé* 'wind' = SH C A *kei* ~ U **gai** for **kei*; P *delegeé* 'vast' = SH C *delegei* ~ U **talagai** for **delekei*; P *ügeé* 'without' = SH C A *ügei* ~ U **vuigai** for **ügei*. In non-final position, the vPhags.pa script also normally has *yi*, e.g. P *éyin* 'such' = SH C A *eyin*; P *sayin* 'good' = SH C *sayin* ~ A *sain*. In some cases, diphthongoid sequences are represented as long monophthongs in sources recorded in the Arabic script, an apparent early Western dialectal feature, e.g. **manglai* 'forehead' > SH C *manglai* ~ C *mangnai* ~ A *manglai* ~ A *manlaa*. In other cases, a postvocalic **i* can be absent in some sources due to a derivational difference, e.g. **maxu.i* 'bad' > SH *mawui* ~ P *ma'ué* ~ P *mawué* ~ A *maghui* vs. **maxu* id. > SH C A *mawu* > C *muu*.

In the consonant system (Table 3.2), the main difference between Middle Mongol and Proto-Mongolic is that Middle Mongol already had several new Post-Proto-Mongolic phonemes, notably *p sh w*. Moreover, each of the writing systems used for Middle Mongol offered its own resources for transcribing secondary phonemes occurring in foreign names and terms. The vPhags.pa script, for instance, had separate letters for three types of stop obstruents (voiceless aspirated vs. voiceless unaspirated vs. voiced unaspirated), while Middle Mongol native words required a distinction between only two types (strong vs. weak, most commonly expressed by the letters for the voiceless aspirated and voiced unaspirated segments, respectively). Even so, there are frequent confusions and cases of underdifferentiation in writing the stops in all the scripts involved. Of the other redundant letters of the vPhags.pa script, *z* was idiosyncratically used in P *zara* for †*sara* 'moon'.

Most of the primary sources distinguish the postvelar stops *q gh* from the corresponding velar segments *k g*. Although this distinction was offered by the writing systems used for Middle Mongol, it also seems to have reflected the contemporary phonetic

TABLE 3.2 MIDDLE MONGOL CONSONANTS

p	*t*	*c*	*k*	*q*
b	*d*	*j*	*g*	*gh*
	s	*sh*	*h*	
m	*n*		*ng*	
	l			
	r			
w		*y*		

reality, and possibly even the phonemic situation. Importantly, the velar segments *q gh* can also occur before the vowel *i* (< **i*) in back-vocalic words, e.g. P A *saqi-* 'to protect' < **saki-*, A *jalghi-* 'to swallow' < **jalgï-*. The distinction between *q* (strong) vs. *gh* (weak) is in most sources imperfectly indicated, with *q* standing for both segments, cf. e.g. **koyar* 'two' > SH C P A *qoyar*, **gurba/n* 'three' > SH C P A *qurban*. For this detail, it is customary in Middle Mongol studies to follow the written image in the transcription.

The status of the hiatus (') is problematic, in that it is in an almost perfect complementary distribution with *h* (= *x* < **x*) and could possibly still synchronically be regarded as an allophone of the latter. Alternatively, it may be analysed as non-phonemic. An interesting peculiarity of Middle Mongol is that stem-final *g gh* (*k q*) alternate with the hiatus before certain suffixes beginning with a vowel, especially before the plural suffix */*U.d*. This suggests an original alternation between **g* and **x*, e.g. SH *cerik* 'soldier' : pl. *ceri'üt* from original **cerig* : **cerix/ü.d*. This alternation cannot be observed in the Uighur script, which makes no distinction between **x* vs. **g* **k* (**g q**), and it has also been analogically levelled in the Modern Mongolic languages.

Due to the gradual phonemization of the distinction between *s* (dental) and *sh* (palatal), the sequence **si* is in most primary sources written as *shi*, corresponding to the phonetic realization. The equivalent of *shi* is also attested in a few texts in Uighur script, but generally Preclassical Written Mongol does not distinguish *si* and *shi*.

WORD FORMATION

The Middle Mongol sources provide ample documentation for a variety of Proto-Mongolic and Common Mongolic derivative suffixes.

Denominal nouns: *.bci* [cover of], e.g. (**xerekei* >) A *erkee* 'thumb; finger' : *erke.bci* 'gloves'; *.btUr* [moderative], e.g. C *hula'an* 'red' : *hula.btur* 'reddish yellow'; *.bUr*, e.g. SH *kei* 'wind' : *keyi.bür* '[fast-flying] arrow [with an iron head]'; *.ci* [occupation], e.g. SH *qor* 'quiver' : *qor.ci* 'quiver-bearer'; *.dU* [location], e.g. SH *dumda* 'middle' : *dumda.du* '[located in the] middle'; *.GAn*, e.g. SH *beri* 'daughter-in-law' : *beri.gen* 'sister-in-law'; *.Gcin* [female animals], e.g. SH *qula* 'yellowish' [of horses]' : *qula.qcin* id. [of mares]; *.jin*, e.g. SH *mongqol* 'Mongol' : *mongqol.jin* 'Mongol [language]'; *.KAn* [diminutive], e.g. SH *shibawun* 'bird' : *shibawu.qan* 'little bird'; *.ki* [belonging to], e.g. A *keher* 'steppe' : *keher.ki* 'antilope' (literally: 'belonging to the steppe'); *.liG*, e.g. C *qajar* 'place' : *qajar.liq* 'home village'; *.mAD*, e.g. SH *egeci* 'elder sister' : *egeci.met* 'eldest daughter'; *.mji*, e.g. SH *arqa* 'means' : *arqa.mji* 'rope'; *.sU/n*, e.g. SH *adu'un* 'herd of horses' : *adu'u.sun* 'animal'; masc. *.tU* ~ fem. *.tAi* : pl. *.tAn* [possessive], e.g. C

gücün 'power' : *gücü.tü* 'strong' : pl. *gücü.ten*; *.'Ur*, e.g. SH *sara* 'moon' : *sara.'ur* 'moonlight'.

Deverbal nouns: *.DAl*, e.g. SH *yabu-* 'to go' : *yabu.dal* 'movement'; *.G*, e.g. SH *jasa-* 'to put in order' : *jasa.q* 'law'; *.'A.ci* [lexicalized agentive participle], e.g. C *bici-* 'to write' : *bice.eci* 'scribe'; *.KUlAng*, e.g. P *amu-* 'ro rest' : *amu.qulang* 'peace'; *.l*, e.g. SH *öci-* 'to report' : *öci.l* 'report'; *.lAng*, e.g. SH *jirqa-* 'to rejoice' : *jirqa.lang* 'joy'; *.m*, e.g. A *toghu-* 'to saddle' : *toghu.m* 'saddle fender'; *.mAl*, e.g. SH *arci-* 'to wipe' : *arci.mal* 'clean'; *.ngKi* ~ *.ngKU(i)*, e.g. A *soqta-* 'to become drunk' : *soqta.n*[*g*]*ki* 'drunkenness'; *.r*, e.g. SH *delge-* 'to spread' : *delge.r* 'wide'; *.sU/n*, e.g. SH *nilbu-* 'to spit' : *nilbu.su/n* 'spittle, tear'; *.'A/n* [lexicalized imperfective participle], e.g. SH *ide-* 'to eat' : *ide.'e/n* 'food'; *.'U*, e.g. SH *qari-* 'to return' : *qari.'u* 'return; answer'; *.'Ul*, e.g. SH *kebte-* 'to lie down' : *kebte.'ül* 'night-guard'; *.'Un*, e.g. A *seri-* 'to wake' : *seri.'ün* 'cool'; *.Ur* [instrument], e.g. SH *bari-* 'to grasp' : *bari.'ur* 'handle'.

Denominal verbs: *.ci.lA-* [factitive], e.g. SH *kö'ü/n* 'son' : *kö'ü.ci.le-* 'to take as one's son'; *.(V)D-* id., e.g. SH *qamtu* 'together' : *qamtu.d-* 'to unite'; *.DA-*, e.g. SH *qar* 'hand' : *qar.ta-* 'to take; to imprison'; *.lA-*, e.g. SH *aqa* 'elder brother' : *aqa.la-* 'to be [like] elder brother; to dominate'; *.rA-* [translative], e.g. U **balai** for **bala.i* 'blind' : **balar** for **bala.r* 'dark' : **balara-** for **bala.ra-* 'to become blind'; *.s*, e.g. SH *kei* 'wind' : *keyi.s-* 'to blow [of wind]'; *.Si-* [translative], e.g. U **valdar** for **aldar* 'fame' : U **valdarsi-** for **aldar.si-* 'to become famous'; *.Si.yA-* [evaluative], e.g. SH *berke* 'difficult' : *berke.si.ye-* 'to consider difficult'.

Deverbal verbs: Causatives show the suffixes *.'A-* or *.'Ul-* (after vowels), *.KA-* or *.GA-* (after consonants), e.g. SH *joba-* 'to suffer' : *joba'a-* 'to torment', SH *üje-* 'to see' : *üje.'ül-* 'to show', SH *sur-* 'to learn' : *sur.qa-* 'to teach', SH *ködöl-* 'to move [intransitive]' : *ködöl.ge-* 'to move [transitive]'. Verbs ending in the syllable **xU* > *'U* suggest graphically the suffix variant *.l*, but the intended phonemic shape is likely to have been †*.'Ul*, e.g. SH *sa'u-* 'to sit' : *sa'u.l-* 'to set' for †*sa'u.'ul-* < **saxu.xul-*, also C *sa'u.lqa-* for †*sa'u.lgha-* < **saxu.lga-*. The element *.l* is, however, occasionally attested in an iterative function, e.g. A *caqi-* 'to strike fire' : *caqi.l-* 'to flash'. Generally, Middle Mongol often shows the suffix **.xUl-*, while Classical Written Mongol and the modern languages have **.l.gA-*, cf. e.g. SH *ki-* 'to do' : *ki.'ül-* to cause to do' vs. Classical Written Mongol **gilga-** id. for **ki.l.ge-*. Passives are formed by *.GDA-* (after vowels) or *.DA-* (after consonants), e.g. SH *ala-* 'to kill' : *ala.qda-* 'to be killed', SH *ol-* 'to find' : *ol.da-* 'to be found'. Other deverbal derivatives include the cooperatives in *.lcA-*, e.g. SH *ab-* 'to take' : *ab/u.lcA-* 'to take together', and the reciprocatives in *.ldU-*, e.g. SH *bari-* 'to grasp' : *bari.ldu-* 'to grasp each other'. The Common Mongolic suffix **-cAgA-* for pluritative verbs is not attested in Middle Mongol.

The passive in Middle Mongol can also be formed from intransitive stems. In such cases, the passive (1) is used indirectly, e.g. SH *jirqo'an üdüt gülicejü ese ire.kde-be* 'waiting for six days, [we were exposed to the fact that they] did not come'; (2) in a necessitative function, e.g. SH *ülü qurimlan morila.qda-ba* '[he] had to depart without a feast'; or (3) in connection with an active verb in a converbial form, e.g. SH *bari-ju ire.kde-jü* 'being brought'. The indirect and necessitative (or possibilitative) uses of the passive are also common with transitive verbs, e.g. (indirect) SH *irge orqaban da'uli.qda-ba* 'I was robbed my people and homestead', (necessitative) SH *ker umarta.qda-qu* 'how is [one] to forget?'. Close in function to passives are the middle verbs in *.rA-*, which express an action by the subject in relation to him/herself, e.g. SH *ebde-* 'to destroy' : *ebde.re-* 'to be destroyed [by one's own action]'.

NOMINAL NUMBER

Middle Mongol has five derivational plural suffixes, though not all of them are attested in all the sources. Two of the suffixes, *.nAr* and *.nU'UD*, which are found only in texts of eastern provenance, seem to be used on semantic grounds, while the other three suffixes, *.s*, *.D*, and *.n*, are distributed depending on phonological criteria (stem type). In some cases, plural forms can be reduplicated to express distributiveness, e.g. SH *balaqa.su/n* 'city' : pl. redupl. SH *balaqa.t balaqa.t* 'one city after the other'.

The suffix *-nAr* occurs basically with kinship terms referring to non-lineal kin, e.g. SH *de'ü* 'younger brother' : pl. SH *de'ü.ner*, though it is also common with reference to deities, e.g. P *bodisiwid* 'bodhisattva' : pl. P *bodisiwid.nar.* The suffix *.nU'UD* occurs with both animate and inanimate nouns, e.g. P *abida shagemuni purghan.nu'ud* 'the Buddhas Amitabha and Shakyamuni', P *sudur.nu'ud* 'sutras'. In attributive constructions, *.nU'UD* is often attached to the attribute, while the head noun has another plural marker, e.g. SH *caqa'a.nu'ut singqo.t* 'white falcons'. The suffix *.s* is combined with vowel stems, while *.D* replaces the final consonants *n l r* of consonant stems, e.g. SH *beye* 'body' : pl. SH *beye.s*, SH *qatun* 'wife, lady' : pl. SH *qatu.t*, C *bo'ol* 'slave' : pl. C *bo'o.t*, SH *üdür* 'day' : pl. SH *üdü.t.* Nouns ending in *.sU/n* have plurals either in *.D* (especially in earlier texts) or *.sU.D* (especially in later texts), cf. e.g. SH *burqa.su/n* 'elm bark' : pl. SH *burqa.t* vs. A *burghasu.t.* Other consonant stems, and occasionally also stems in *n l r*, take *.D* with the connective vowel */U*, e.g. SH *jam* 'post-relay station' : pl. SH *jam/U.d*, P *yamun* 'office' : pl. P *yamun/U.d*, SH *uruq* 'family, descendant' : pl. P *uru'/U.d.* The suffix *.n* replaces the final *i* of diphthongoid stems, e.g. SH *mawu.i* 'bad' : pl. SH *mawu.n.* It is also used after derivative suffixes ending in *i*, e.g. SH *elci* 'envoy' : pl. SH *elci.n.* In later texts, *.n* is often replaced by *.s* and *.d.*

From the point of view of comparative Mongolic studies, the most unexpected feature of Middle Mongol plural formation is the occasional use of the suffix *.D* after a preserved stem-final *n* (or */n*), e.g. SH *qoni/n* 'sheep' : pl. SH *qoni.t* ~ *qoni/n.t* : acc. *qoni.d-i* ~ *qoni/n.d-i.* While it is possible that inflected forms like **koni/n.d-i* may really have occurred in the oral language, absolute plural forms like **konin.d* (with a word-final consonant cluster) would have been phonotactically unacceptable in any variety of premodern Mongol. Therefore, although superficially confirmed by the sources (and by the conventional transcriptions of the data), such forms cannot possibly represent the linguistic reality of Middle Mongol; rather, they are due to the interference of the writing systems used to record the language. This conclusion is definitively confirmed by the comparative information supplied by the Modern Mongolic languages.

A real Middle Mongol idiosyncracy of considerable interest is the occasional use of the Turkic plural suffix *.lAr* with Mongol stems in the *Muqaddimat al-Adab*, e.g. A *deel* 'robe' : pl. acc. A *deel.ler-i*, A *ger* 'yurt, house' : pl. acc. A *ger.ler-i.* Such usage suggests that the Middle Mongol dialect underlying this particular source had been subjected to profound areal influence from the surrounding Middle Turkic idioms.

NOMINAL CASE

Middle Mongol provides documentation for all the six suffixally marked Proto-Mongolic cases: genitive, accusative, dative, ablative, instrumental, and comitative. The shapes of the case endings (Table 3.3) vary according to the Common Mongolic pattern depending on whether the stem ends in a vowel (V), a dental nasal (N), or another consonant (C). As a seventh case, the locative is also attested, but almost solely for consonant (including nasal) stems. Other morphophonological phenomena affecting the case declension

TABLE 3.3 MIDDLE MONGOL CASE MARKERS

	V	C	N
gen.	*-(y)in, -n*	*-Un, -in, -Ai*	*-(n)U('Ai)*
acc.	*-(y)i*	*-i*	*-(n)i*
dat.	*-DU(r), -DA*		
loc.		*-A*	*-(n)A*
abl.	*-('A)cA > -('A)sA*	*-(A)cA > -AsA*	*-(n)(A)ca > -Asa*
instr.	*-'Ar*	*-i'Ar > -AAr*	*-(n)i'Ar > -AAr*
com.	*-lU'A > -lAA*		

include palatal (but not labial) harmony as well as the morphologically conditioned loss of the unstable */n*.

Chronologically, the case endings show a gradual transition from a more archaic (or literary) stage close to Proto-Mongolic towards a more innovative (or colloquial) stage anticipating the modern languages. It is apparent that the shapes of the case endings in many of the early sources in non-Uighur scripts have been influenced by the archaic orthography of Preclassical Written Mongol. It is therefore not always clear to what extent the sources represent the situation in the actual spoken language of their time. The influence of the Uighur orthography is also visible in the frequent separation of the case endings from the stem in the non-Uighur scripts, though examples of non-separation are also present in all scripts (including the Uighur script of the Preclassical period).

The unmarked nominative is basically the form of the subject, nominal predicate, and attribute, e.g. (subject and predicate) SH *bataciqan-nu kö'ün tamaca* 'Tamacha was the son of Batachikhan'; (attribute) SH *nidün qara* 'pupil' (literally: 'the black of the eye'). It also functions as a direct object ('casus indefinitus'), in which case the unstable */n* is dropped. Unlike the general trend in Mongolic, however, a nominative object in Middle Mongol is *not* necessarily indefinite or unspecific, cf. e.g. SH *tede irge icuqa'at* 'fetching back those people', A *düyilbe hekin* '[he] shaved the head'. The nominative is also attested in temporal and local expressions, e.g. A *namur töreksen botaqa* 'a young of the camel born in autumn'; SH *beiging balaqasu bawutqun* 'encamp in the city of Beiging!'. Finally, the nominative links coordinated nouns into chains, with only the last member of the chain taking a marked case ending, e.g. nom. + instr. refl. SH *irge orqa-bar-iyan* 'together with their people'.

The genitive is attested in a variety of adnominal functions, all of which are well known also from the Modern Mongolic languages, cf. e.g. (possessor) A *jun-u dumda sara* 'the middle month of summer', (purpose) A *nidün-i em* 'medicine for the eyes', (agent) A *hildü-yin jara* 'wound caused by a sword', (subject) A *mori.d-un urulduqu ghajar* 'horse track' (literally: 'place of horses' racing'), (object) A *tari'an-u janciqu ciqriq* 'flail' (literally: 'grain's-treshing instrument'), (superlative) A *irgen-ü sain haran* 'the best of the people'. Morphologically, the most important peculiarity of the Middle Mongol genitive is the frequent gemination of a stem-final *n* (including */n*) before the genitive case ending, e.g. SH C *hon* 'year' : gen. SH *hon-u* ~ C *hon-nu*; SH C *qahan* 'emperor' : gen. SH C *qahan-nu*. It is unclear to what extent this feature reflects the phonological (or phonetic) reality, and to what extent it is orthographically conditioned.

The accusative is the regular case of the object, especially if it is a question of a definite or specific noun, A *acira tere yama-yi* 'bring that thing!'. The accusative ending

occurs with both animate and inanimate nouns, cf. e.g. A *alaba böwesün-i* '[he] killed the louse', A *asqaba amandu em-i* '[he] poured the medicine in the mouth'. Like the genitive ending, the accusative ending can also condition the gemination of a stem-final *n*, e.g. SH *ökin* 'daughter' : acc. SH *ökin-i* ~ *ökin-ni*, SH C *irgen* 'people' : acc. SH *irgen-i* ~ C *irgen-ni*.

The dative marks the indirect object as well as a variety of local and temporal functions with both a static (locative) and a dynamic (dative) orientation, e.g. (indirect object, pronominal example) A *amiduluq ögbe cima-du tengri* 'God gave you life', (destination) A *jaqa kibe camcai-du* '[he] made a collar for the shirt', (purpose) A *kölesün-dü ögbe balghasun geri* '[he] lent the house' (literally: '[he] gave the house to rent'), (movement towards) A *ebesün-dü orciba adu'usun* 'the animals went to the grass', (action on/in) A *bö'esün eribe hekin-dü daghi deel-dü* '[he] was looking for lice on his head and in the fur', (action upon, pronominal example) A *asqaba tüün-dü usuni* '[he] poured water upon him', (time, participial construction with part. fut.) A *endebe toolaqu-du* '[he] made a mistake during counting', (judgement) A *burtaq-tu adalitqaba altani* '[he] regarded the money as forged', (instrument) A *niken nidü-dü üjebe* '[he] saw with one eye', (with a nominal headword) A *ja'[u]n-du oira* 'close to one hundred', (with an interjection) A *wai cima-du* 'woe you!'. Among the different variants of the dative ending, *-DUr* is the most common, but *-DA* is also frequent in the sources written in the Chinese and vPhags.pa scripts. The variant *-DU* is attested only in the *Muqaddimat al-Adab*. None of the sources is accurate in indicating the distinction between *t* (after obstruents) and *d* (after sonorants) in the suffix-initial consonant segment, cf. e.g. SH C A *caq* 'time' : dat. SH C A *caq-tur* ~ SH *caq-dur* vs. SH C P *hon* 'year' : dat. SH P *hon-dur* ~ SH C *hon-tur*.

The locative in *-A* seems to be functionally indistinguishable from the dative. It is well attested in sources representing all the relevant systems of writing, e.g. SH C P A *qajar* 'place' : loc. SH C P A *qajar-a*. In texts written in Chinese characters, the locative ending conditions the occasional gemination of a stem-final nasal, e.g. SH C *qahan* ~ *qa'an* 'emperor' : loc. SH C *qahan-na* ~ SH *qa'an-a*. Apart from actual consonant stems, the locative ending can also be attached to stems ending in a diphthongoid sequence, in which case the palatal glide *y* can occur as a hiatus-filling connective consonant, e.g. SH *moqai* 'snake' : loc. SH *moqai/y-a*, cf. U **muqai : muqaie (muqai e)**.

The ablative is used as a general separative case, e.g. (movement from) A *bosba oran-asa* '[he] raised from the place', (movement from within) A *cisun irebe qabar-asa* 'blood came out of the nose', (time) A *sara-sa saradu kölesün bariba tüüni* '[he] hired him from one month to the other', (origin) A *ghalun güri-'ese shirekü ghal* 'fire that stems from the flint', (cause) A *narin bolba getesün ölesküleng-ese* 'the belly became thin from hunger', (part) *harban qubi-'asa niken qubi* 'one tenth', (material) A *örgesün-ese bariqsan balghasun* 'a wall made out of thorn bushes', (comparative) A *qola-sa qola* 'very far' (literally: 'farther than far'). The distribution of the suffix variants varies somewhat among the sources, but all sources except the *Muqaddimat al-Adab* retain the original affricate **c* (later > *s* in all modern languages). The gemination of a stem-final *n* is also observed before the ablative ending, e.g. C *ejen* 'master' : abl. *ejen-nece*. The simple ending *-cA* is mainly attested in Preclassical Written Mongol (after all stem types), while other sources tend to have the complex ending *-AcA* (< **-A-cA*), cf. e.g. SH *huja'ur* 'root' : abl. U **vucaqur ca ~ vucaqur vca** vs. SH *huja'ur-aca* for **(x)ujaxur-(a-)ca*.

The instrumental fills several interrelated functions, e.g. (instrument) A *qabar-aar ng kelebe* '[he] said [the sound of] *ng* with the nose', (material) A *kirbice-er bosqaqsan quduq* 'a well built of bricks', (cause) A *kibe tüüni sain setkili-'er* '[he] did it because of

[his] good mind' (or: 'with a good intention'), (manner) *on-aar ungshiba qurani* '[he] read the Quran in [his] thoughts' (or: 'with thought'), (together with) A *bal-aar jasaqsan gül* 'roses, prepared with honey', (time, participial construction with part. fut.) A *sainliq kibe tüündü kücin kür-kü-'er* 'I did good to him as long as I had [enough] power'. After vowel stems, apparently under the impact of the orthographical model of Preclassical Written Mongol, the instrumental ending is often written with the archaic labial consonant, which was not necessarily present in the oral language, cf. e.g. SH *üge* 'word' : instr. SH *üge-ber* ~ *üge'er*. Stems ending in the unstable */n* have two instrumental forms with no functional differentiation, e.g. **manggirsu/n* 'onion' : instr. SH *manggirsu-'ar* ~ *manggirsun-iyar*. The gemination of a stem-final *n* is rare, but attested, e.g. C *niken* 'one' : instr. C *niken-niyer*.

The primary comitative is still well attested in all Middle Mongol sources instead of the secondary Common Mongolic possessive case. It occurs both in a comitative (sociative) and in an instrumental function, e.g. (comitative) A *nim niken-lee agha düü bolbalar* 'they were brothers with each other', (instrumental) A *belgetü bolba tere yamalaa* '[he] was characterized by that matter'. The hiatus in the ending is often marked by a labial glide (*w*) in sources written in Chinese characters, though not in the 'Secret History', cf. e.g. SH *gü'ün* 'person' : com. SH *gü'ün-lü'e*, C *elcin* 'messenger' : instr. C *elcin-lüwe* for †*elcin-lü'e*.

The most common example of double declension in Middle Mongol is the dative-ablative in *-DA-cA*, which functions as an ablative, e.g. SH *tenggeri* 'heaven' : dat. SH *tenggeri-de* : abl. SH *tenggeri-ece* : dat. abl. SH *tenggeri-de-ce*. The dative-nominative in *-DA-ki* is also well attested, e.g. A *ger* 'house' : dat. nom. A *ger-te-ki* 'living in a house, belonging to a house'. There are no examples of double declension based on the genitive. Forms attested only in the *Muqaddimat al-Adab* include the comitative-instrumental in *-lA-Ar*, the instrumental-comitative in *-(A)Ar-lAA*, and the instrumental-comitative-instrumental in *-(A)Ar-lA-Ar*, e.g. A com. instr. *mal-la-ar* 'together with the property', com. instr. refl. A *eme-le-er-een* 'together with his wife', instr. com. A *naadun-aar-laa* 'with the game', instr. com. instr. A *hodun-i'ar-la-ar* 'with stars'.

Apart from the regular nominal paradigm, there are several case-ending-like adverbial formatives which are only attested in a restricted number of lexicalized items, often spatial nouns and nominal postpositions. The two most common such formatives are *-'Un* > *-'An*, which forms a kind of prosecutive case, and *-GSi*, which functions as a directive, e.g. SH **dexe-* 'top' : loc. SH *de'e.r-e* 'on top, above' : pros. SH *de'e-'ün* 'above, over', **dotor* 'inner part' : loc. SH *dotor-a* : pros. U **tuduquv** for **doto-xun* 'inside' : loc. pros. SH *dotor-a-'un* ~ C *dotor-a-'an*; **ümer* 'back part' : loc. SH *ümer-e* 'behind, north' : dir. SH *üme-gshi* 'northwards'.

All case endings can be followed by the reflexive marker *-'An* (after vowels) ~ *-i'An* (after consonants). As in the instrumental ending, the hiatus of the reflexive marker is often represented as *b*, or also as *y*, yielding *-bAn* ~ *-(i)yAn*. The reflexive accusative in *-(y)i-'An* is normally replaced by the basic reflexive form (unmarked for case), e.g. SH A *anda* 'sworn friend(ship)' : refl. acc. SH *anda-yi-yan* ~ refl. A *anda-yan*. Stems ending in the unstable */n* occur in two variant shapes, e.g. SH *kö'ü/n* 'son' : refl. SH *kö'ü-ben* ~ *kö'ün-iyen* (also recorded as SH *kö'ü-be'en* ~ *kö'ün-be'en*). The reflexive genitive (occasionally also used in the function of an accusative) normally ends in *-yU-'An* > A *-yAAn* (after vowels) ~ *-U-'An* > A *-AAn* (after consonants), e.g. SH *aqa* 'elder brother' : gen. refl. SH *aqa-yu-'an*, SH *tus* 'legitimate' : gen. refl. SH *tus-u-'an*. The other case forms of the reflexive declension show no morphological complications, e.g. SH A *üge* 'word' : dat.

refl. SH *üge-dür-iyen* ~ A *üge-de-'en*, SH *nidü/n* 'eye' : abl. refl. SH *nidün-ece-'en*, SH *ulus* 'people' : instr. refl. SH *ulus-iyar-aan*, SH *köü/n* 'son' : com. refl. SH *kö'ün-lü'e-ben.*

NUMERALS

The cardinal numerals are attested as follows: 1 SH C P A *niken* ~ C *nigen*, 2 SH C P A *qoyar* ~ C *qoyor*, 3 SH C P A *qurban*, 4 SH C P A *dörben* ~ C *dürben*, 5 SH C P A *tabun*, 6 SH P *jirqo'an* ~ SH C *jirwa'an* ~ C *jirwaan* ~ A *jirghu'an* ~ A *jirghaan* ~ A *jirghuun* ~ A *jurghu'an* ~ A *jurghaan*, 7 SH C *dolo'an* ~ SH *dolon* ~ C *doloon* ~ A *dolaan*, 8 SH C A *naiman* ~ P *nayiman*, 9 SH C A *yisün*, 10 SH C P A *harban*, 20 SH C P A *qorin*, 30 SH C P A *qucin* ~ C *qujin*, 40 SH C A *döcin* ~ C *dücin*, 50 SH C A *tabin*, 60 C A *jiran* ~ A *jiren*, 70 SH C A *dalan*, 80 SH C P A *nayan*, 90 SH C *yeren* ~ C A *yiren*, 100 SH C A *ja'un* ~ A *jawun* ~ A *jaun*, 1,000 SH C *mingan* ~ SH A *minqan* ~ C A *minghan* ~ C P *mingqan* ~ C *mingghan* ~ A *manqan*, 10,000 SH C A *tümen* ~ C *dümen*. All numerals are inflected like regular nouns. Some of the nasal stems (but not all) are also attested without the nasal in the basic form. An additional numeral with a limited occurrence is 2 SH *jirin*, which most often refers to female beings.

Composite numerals are formed by addition and multiplication, e.g. 15 C P A *harban tabun*, 26 P *qorin jirqo'an*, 500 C P A *tabun ja'un*, 3,000 P *qurban mingqan*. In cases of multiplication, the second component can take a plural form, e.g. SH 500 *tabun ja'u.t.* Especially in later sources from the Western sphere of Middle Mongol, the numeral 10,000 *tümen* is replaced by multiples of 1,000 *minqan* ~ *manqan*, cf. e.g. 10,000 A *harban manqan*, 20,000 A *qorin minqan* vs. 30,000 C *qurban tümen*, U 120,000 **varbav quyar tuimat** for **(x)arban koyar tüme.d.*

Ordinal numerals are formed by the suffix *.DA'Ar* ~ *.DU'Ar* ~ *.DUwAr*, which is often attached to an irregular stem: SH *qu.ta'ar* ~ *qu.tu'ar* 'third', SH *dö.tü'er* ~ A *dö.teer* 'fourth', SH *tab.tu'ar* ~ A *tabu.taar* 'fifth', A *jirghu.daar* 'sixth', SH *dolo.du'ar* 'seventh', A *naiman.daar* 'eight', A *yisü.deer* 'ninth', C *qori.duwar* 'twentieth'. The two first ordinals are normally replaced by SH C P *teri'ün* ~ P *téri'ün* ~ C *teriwün* 'head, beginning; first' and SH C P *nökö'e* 'other; second', though the regular derivatives are also attested in C P *harban nike.dü'er* ~ C *harban nike.tü'er* 'eleventh', C *qorin nike.dü'er* 'twenty-first', C *qorin qoya.duwar* 'twenty-second'. The most complete record of ordinals is preserved in the Uighur script (not listed here). The *Muqaddimat al-Adab* shows occasionally the shorter ordinal suffix *.tU* ~ *.tA*, attested in A *qurban.tu* 'third', A *jirghaan.ta* 'sixth', A *harban-tu* 'tenth'. Even more importantly, this same source also records the use of the Turkic ordinal suffix *.ci/n* after Mongol numeral stems, as attested in A *qoyar.cin* 'second', A *tabun.ci* 'fifth', A *dolaan.ci* 'seventh'. In some fixed patterns, cardinal numerals are preferred to ordinals, cf. e.g. loc. SH P *qurban-a* 'on the third day', A *dörben ödür* 'the fourth day', C *dörben sara* 'the fourth month'.

Other numeral derivatives include the collectives in *.'UlA* ~ *.AlA*, e.g. SH A *qoya.'ula* ~ A *qoya.ala* 'two together'; the distributives in *.'AD*, e.g. SH *qori.'at* 'twenty each'; and the multiplicatives in *.tA*, e.g. SH *qurban.ta* 'three times'. The diminutives in **.KAn* are only attested in U **nigagav** for **nike.ken* (or **nige.ken*) 'only one'. Two consecutive suffixes (ordinal + multiplicative) are present in SH *qu.ta'ar.ta* 'for the third time'. Exceptional roots with a Proto-Mongolic background are shown by the distributives C *niji.get* ~ A *nij.eet* 'one each' and A *qosh.aat* 'two each', cf. also SH *niji'el* 'handful' (< 'one each'). Other lexicalized numeral derivatives include: SH SH *qunan* ~ C *ghunan* 'three-year-old' (male animal), A *dönen* 'four-year-old' (id.), A *dörbeljin* 'quadrangle'.

Fractions are expressed with the help of **kubi* 'part, share', e.g. A *dolaan qubi'asa niken qubi* 'one seventh' (literally: 'of seven shares, one share').

PRONOUNS

The declension of the personal pronouns (Table 3.4) shows considerable agreement between sources recorded in all the relevant systems of writing, including the Uighur script and early Arabic sources. More colloquial forms are attested in late Arabic sources: gen. sg. 1p. A *mini* : 2p. A *cini* : pl. 1p. incl. A *bidani*; acc. sg. 1p. A *namai* : 2p. A *cimai* > *camai* > *cami*; abl. sg. 1p. A *nadasa* ~ *nidasa* : pl. 1p. A *bidanasa*; com. sg. 1p. A *namalaa* ~ *nadalaa* : 2p. A *cimalaa* : pl. 1p. A *bidanlaa* : 2p. A *tanlaa*. Other exceptional data include: sg. 1p. acc. A *minayi* : instr. A *nadawar*; sg. 2p. dat. A *cinadur*. Arabic sources also tend to ignore the distinction between the first person plural exclusive and inclusive forms.

From the comparative point of view, the most important feature in the Middle Mongol system of personal pronouns is the presence of the oblique forms of the third person pronouns sg. **i* : pl. **a*. While this is an obvious archaism, an innovation is present in the use of the abbreviated oblique stem *na-* in the first person singular. The locative is only attested in the plural, apparently because only the plural pronouns have oblique stems ending in a consonant. The morphological slot of the locative is, however, filled in the singular by the datives in *-da*, which diachronically may be analysed as dative-locatives in **-d-a*, as opposed to the actual datives in **-d-u/r*. The singular dative-locatives also serve as the basis for the ablative forms, as well as, in the first person, for the instrumental form. No instrumental forms are attested for the plural pronouns.

The genitives of the personal pronouns can either precede or follow their headnoun, e.g. sg. 2p. SH *cinu üge* ~ *üge cinu* 'your word'. In the latter position, the pronominal

TABLE 3.4 MIDDLE MONGOL PERSONAL PRONOUNS

		1p.		2p.	3p.
sg.	nom.	*bi*		*ci*	
	gen.	*minu*		*cinu*	*inu*
	acc.	*namayi*		*cimayi*	*imayi*
	dat.	*na(ma)du/r*		*cimadu/r*	*imadur*
		nada		*cimada*	*imada*
	abl.	*nadaca*		*cimadaca*	*imadaca*
	instr.	*nada'ar*			*ima'ari*
	com.	*namalu'a*		*cimalu'a*	*imalu'a*
		excl.	incl.		
pl.	nom.	*ba*	*bida*	*ta*	
	gen.	*manu*	*bidanu*	*tanu*	*anu*
	acc.	*mani*	*bidani*	*tani*	*ani*
	dat.	*mantur*	*bidanDu/r*	*tanDur*	*andur*
	loc.	*mana*	*bidana*		*ana*
	abl.		*bidanaca*	*tanaca*	
	com.		*bidanlu'a*	*tanlu'a*	

genitives anticipate a fully grammaticalized system of morphological possessive suffixes. In the *Muqaddimat al-Adab* the third person forms *inu* 'his/her' and *anu* 'their' are already almost completely replaced by the Common Mongolic third person possessive suffix *-ni* ~ *-in*, e.g. px 3p. A *anda-ni* 'his friend', A *mör-in* 'his way', dat. A *ger-tü-ni* 'in his house'. In the same source, a first person possessor is occasionally marked by the suffix *-m*, as in px sg. 1p. A *anda-m* 'my friend'. Independent possessive pronouns are attested as follows: sg. 1p. SH *minu'ai* 'mine' : 2p. A *camaai* 'yours' : pl. 1p. excl. SH *manu'ai* 'ours' : incl. SH *bidanu'ai* 'ours [with you]' : 2p. A *tanaai* 'yours'.

An important feature, documented only from Middle Mongol, is the occasional use of what seems to be the basic form (nominative) of the third person singular pronoun **i* in the function of a possessive suffix. This suffix is most reliably attested after the dative ending in two epigraphic examples from Preclassical Written Mongol: (Hindu) U **sildagav tur i** for **siltexen-dür-i* 'in his village', (Zhang Yingrui) U **guirdagsav dur i** for (pass. part. perf.) **kür.te-gsen-dür-i* 'upon his arrival'. It is, however, apparently also present in the instrumental form of the third person singular pronoun SH *ima'ari* = *ima-'ar-i*. Several examples with no unambiguous case ending might also involve the accusative in *-i*, but a reasonably certain occurrence of the possessive suffix is (Hindu) U **gagur uv gar i** for **kexür-ün ger-i* '(his) grave' (literally: 'house of corpse'). The diachronic background of the possessive use of *-i* remains open to a variety of explanations. One possibility is that it represents an archaic reminiscence of an otherwise lost primary set of Pre-Proto-Mongolic possessive suffixes.

Since the independently used basic forms of the primary third person pronouns had already been lost by the Middle Mongol period, they are replaced by the demonstratives SH C A *ene* ~ P *éne* 'this' : pl. SH C A *ede*(*.'er*) ~ P *éde* ~ SH *ede.ci* and SH C P A *tere* 'that' : pl. SH C P A *tede*(*.'er*), in early sources also by SH C P *mün* 'this one' : pl. *müt*. The oblique forms, which are also used as personal pronouns, are based on the stems SH *e'ü/n-* : pl. SH *eden-* ~ P *éden-* vs. SH *te'ü/n-* : pl. SH P A *teden-*, in late sources A *üün-* ~ *enen-* vs. A *tüün-* ~ *teren-*. As a possessive pronoun, the form SH *te'ünü'ei* 'his' is also attested. Derivatives of the demonstrative roots include: SH A *ende* ~ P *énde* 'here' vs. SH C P A *tende* 'there', SH *eyin* ~ P *éyin* ~ A *hein* 'thus' vs. SH C *teyin* ~ A *tein* > *tiin* 'so', SH C *eyimü* ~ P *éyimü* 'like this' : pl. SH *eyimün* vs. SH P *teyimü* ~ A *tiim* 'like that' : pl. SH *teyimün*, SH C *edüi* : SH C *edün* 'this much' vs. SH *tedüi* ~ P *tedüé* ~ A *tedüü* 'that much', P *te'üncilen* 'thus'.

The basic interrogative pronouns are SH C P A *ke/n* 'who' (A also 'how') : obl. SH C A *ke/n-* : pl. SH P A *ked* ~ SH C *ket*, SH *ya'u/n* ~ A *yaa/n* 'what' : obl. SH C P *ya'u/n-* ~ A *yaa/n-* : pl. SH *ya'ut* ~ P *ya'ud*. Related derivatives include: SH A *keli* ~ A *kili* 'when', SH C P A *ker* 'how', SH C *kedüi* 'how much', SH C A *kedü/n* 'how many', SH *keji'e* ~ C *keje'e* 'when' : dat.(-loc.) P *keji'e-de* id.; (**yaxu.ma* >) A *yaama* > *yaam* 'what, something', SH C P *yambar* ~ A *yamar* 'what kind of', (**ya.xa+ki-n* >) SH A *yekin* ~ A *yegen* ~ A *yege* 'how' (< 'by doing what'). The corresponding possessive pronouns are attested as SH *kenü'ei* 'whose' vs. SH *ya'unu'ai* 'of what'. Of special importance is the feminine form SH *ya'u.jin* 'what' (of female beings). Other interrogative words are: SH C P A *ali/n* 'which, anyone', SH C P *qa'a* ~ A *qana* 'where' : abl. SH *qa'a-ca* 'from where' : dir. SH *qa'a-qsi* 'to what place'.

The interrogative pronouns are often used as such in an indefinite function; note, especially, SH P *ke* (the unmarked stem of *ken*) 'thing', also attested as U **gae** id. More specifically, indefinite pronouns are formed from the interrogatives by the particles *bA*, *bAr*. Orthographically, the particle *bAr* is usually treated as a separate word, while the particle *bA* is written either separately or together with the preceding pronoun. The vocalization of these particles is uncertain; each of them may actually have had two harmonic

variants, though the 'Secret History' and the vPhags.pa sources mainly suggest the invariable shapes *ba* and *ber*, respectively. Examples: SH *ken ber* 'whoever' : acc. C *ken-i ba* : pl. SH P *ked ber*, SH *ker ba* ~ SH P *ker ber* 'however; if' (later borrowed into Modern Mongolic as **kerbee/r* 'if'), C *kedüi ba* 'however much; even if', SH *kedün ber* 'however many'; SH C P *ya'u ba* ~ SH *ya'u ber* ~ SH *ya'un ber* 'whatever' : loc. SH *ya'un-a ba* : pl. P *ya'ud ba*; P *aliba* ~ P C *alibe* ~ SH P *ali ber* 'any, whatever'. In emphatic usage, the indefinite function can be expressed by reduplicating an interrogative pronoun, or by combining two different interrogative pronouns, either with or without the particles *bA* and *bAr*, e.g. U **gaduv gaduv** for **kedün kedün* 'how much indeed', pl. P *ked ked ber* 'whoever', U **gar jambar** for **ker yambar* 'how(ever) and what(ever)', instr. P *yambar yambar-iyar* 'in whatever manner'.

The basic reflexive pronoun is attested as SH P *ö'er* ~ SH *öber* ~ A *öör* 'oneself' : obl. SH C P *ö'er-* ~ SH C A *öör-* : pl. obl. SH C *ö'ed-*. A derivative of this item is SH P *ö'esü/n* id. : pl. SH *ö'esüt*. Another derivative is possibly SH *ö'ere* ~ A *ööre* 'other, different', though the derivational relationship remains formally and semantically obscure. The reflexive stems are most commonly marked either by the genitive case ending, gen. SH C P *ö'er-ün* 'one's own' : pl. gen. SH *ö'ed-ün*, or by the reflexive marker, refl. SH *ö'er-iyen* ~ SH C *öör-iyen* ~ C *öör-ü'en* 'oneself; by oneself' : pl. refl. SH *ö'ed-iyen* id., also refl. U **vuibusugav** ~ **vuibasugav** ~ **vuibasubav** for **öbesü-xen* id. In other case forms, the reflexive marker follows the case ending, e.g. dat. refl. SH *ö'er-tür-iyen* ~ SH *ö'er-dür-iyen* ~ SH *öör-tür-iyen* 'to oneself', but forms lacking the reflexive marker are attested, though mainly only in Preclassical Written Mongol: acc. U **vuibar i** for **öxer-i* : dat. U **vuibar tur** for **öxer-tür* : abl. U **vuibar vca** for **öxer-ece* = SH *ö'er-ece*. An idiosyncratic pattern is shown by the *Muqaddimat al-Adab*, in which the case endings can both precede and follow the reflexive marker, cf. refl. A *öör-een* ~ *öör-i'en* (the object form) : gen. A *öör-iin* (the attributive form) : dat. refl. A *öör-t-een* ~ refl. dat. A *öör-een-dü* ~ refl. dat. refl. A *öör-een-d-een* : refl. abl. A *öör-een-ese* ~ *öör-n-ese*.

VERBAL FORMS

Owing to the nature of the texts preserved, the Middle Mongol sources in the vPhags.pa and Arabic scripts, as well as the sources in Chinese characters other than the 'Secret History', exhibit a rather small selection of verbal forms. The information is also limited for the Uighur script, but the database can be increased by considering the Middle Mongol features preserved in the later (fifteenth–sixteenth-century) versions of the otherwise lost original translations of certain important Buddhist texts, notably the *Lalitavistara*, the *Subhâṣitaratnanidhi*, and the *Pañcarakṣâ*.

The Middle Mongol verbal forms can be conveniently grouped into the four Proto-Mongolic and Common Mongolic categories: imperatives, finite indicative forms, participles, and converbs. Each category is marked by a set of suffixes, which are subject to variation according to the rules of vowel harmony. Some suffixes require the insertion of the connective vowel *U* after consonant stems, while occasional alternations in the quality of the suffix-initial consonant are also conditioned by the difference between sonorant stems and obstruent stems.

The imperatives (Table 3.5) comprise six suffixally marked forms: the voluntative, optative, benedictive, concessive, dubitative, and desiderative. Of these, the optative and benedictive have two variant forms each. In addition, there is the unmarked basic imperative. The number of attested forms (marked by x in the table) varies greatly between the scripts and sources involved, with the most complete record being offered by the 'Secret

TABLE 3.5 MIDDLE MONGOL IMPERATIVE MARKERS

			U	SH	C	P	A
imp.		*-Ø*	x	x	x	x	x
vol.		*-yA*	x	x	x		x
opt.		*-sU*	x	x			
	exp.	*-sU'Ai*	x	x	x		x
ben.		*-DQUn*	x	x		x	
	var.	*-GDUn*	x	x			x
	pl.	*-GDUt*		x			
conc.		*-DUKAi*	x	x	x	x	x
dub.		*-'UjA('A)i*	x	x	x		
des.		*-'AsA*					x

History'. A Common Mongolic imperative form not attested in Middle Mongol is the prescriptive in **-xArAi.*

The unmarked imperative is used with reference to the second person singular, e.g. imp. SH C *ile* 'send!', C A *setki* 'think!', SH P *mede* 'know!', while the benedictive has mainly a polite plural reference, e.g. ben. SH A *yabu-tqun* ~ P *yabu-dqun* '(please) go!', SH *ög/ü-tkün* '(please) render!'. The benedictive variant in *-GDUn* : pl. *-GtU.t* is attested very seldom. Polite request can also be expressed by a predicatively used futuritive participle of a passive stem, e.g. SH pass. part. fut. *yabu-qda-qu* 'may you please go!', SH *ök-te-küi* 'may you please render'.

The most common first person imperative form is the voluntative, which always refers to a plural subject, e.g. vol. SH C *ög/ü-ye* 'let us give!', SH C *od/u-ya* 'let us go!', SH A *yorci-ya* 'let us go!'. Of the two optative variants, the short form in *-sU* is more common in profane texts, while the long form in *-sUGAi* occurs more often in translated Buddhist literature. Both variants refer basically to the first person singular, but examples of plural reference are also present, cf. e.g. opt. SH *ök-sü* ~ SH C *ök-sügei* 'I/we want to give', SH *üje-sü* 'I/we want to have a look', C recipr. *üje.ldü-sügei* 'we want to have a look (at each other)'. It may be noted that the written shapes of the optative suffix *-sUGAi* suggest an intervocalic **g*, although comparative evidence would rather require the reconstruction of the suffix as Proto-Mongolic **-sUxAi.* In Arabic sources, the optative is normally replaced by the innovative (though morphologically related) desiderative form, e.g. des. A *ungshi-'asa* 'I/we want to recite'.

The role of a third person imperative is filled by the concessive, e.g. conc. SH *ök-tügei* ~ P *ög-tügeé* ~ A *ög-tügei* '[he] shall give', SH C *sa'u-tuqai* ~ P *sa'u-tuqayi* '[he] shall sit'. In the 'Secret History', this form is sometimes used in reference to the second person (singular and plural). Second and third person references are also attested for the dubitative, which is a rare form in all sources, cf. e.g. dub. SH *ülü'ü bol/u-'ujai* '(you) should not be(come)', U (*Lalitavistara*) **buluqucai** ~ U (*Lalitavistara, Subhâṣitaratnanidhi*, and *Pañcarakṣâ*) **buluqucaqai** for **bol/u-xuja(xa)i* '(there) should not be(come)'.

In the indicative sphere (Table 3.6), Middle Mongol operates mainly with the narrative, deductive, terminative, confirmative, and resultative forms, all of which occur with two or more suffix variants. The Common Mongolic durative is only attested in late Arabic sources and may generally be regarded as untypical of Middle Mongol.

TABLE 3.6 MIDDLE MONGOL FINITE TENSE-ASPECT MARKERS

			U	SH	C	P	A
narr.		*-m*			x		x
	var.	*-mU*	x	x	x		
	var.	*-mUi*	x	x		x	x
dur.		*-nAm*					x
ded.		*-yi*		x		x	
	var.	*-yU*	x	x	x	x	
term.		*-bA*	x	x	x	x	x
	var.	*-bAi*	x	x	x	x	x
	fem.	*-bi*		x		x	
conf.		*-lU'A*		x	x	x	
	var.	*-lU'Ai*		x			
	fem.	*-li'i*		x			
res.		*-JU'U*	x	x	x		
	var.	*-JU'Ui*	x	x	x	x	
	fem.	*-Ji'i*	x				
	fem.	*-Ji'Ai*	x	x			

The variation of the individual tense-aspect markers is partially connected with functional factors, the most important of which is the category of grammatical gender. Unfortunately, grammatical gender in Middle Mongol is a feature only fragmentarily documented, little investigated, and poorly understood. On the basis of the documentary evidence it can only be said that there was a clear tendency to use some verbal forms specifically with a feminine subject (possibly also a feminine object), while other forms had mainly a masculine or neutral reference. Whether this was a temporary idiosyncracy of Middle Mongol, or a receding major typological feature that had once been more generally characteristic of Pre-Proto-Mongolic, is for the time being impossible to determine. The phenomenon should, however, be seen in connection with other occasional manifestations of grammatical gender in Middle Mongol, such as the specifically feminine numeral *jirin* 'two'.

The most conclusive evidence for the category of gender comes from the three temporal-aspectual forms of the past tense range: the terminative, confirmative, and resultative. Each of these forms has three basic suffix variants, two of which seem to be gender-specific. In each case, the masculine and feminine variants have identical consonants but different vowels, so that the vowels *A* and *U* of the masculine variants are replaced by *i* in the feminine variants, cf. term. masc. *-bA* vs. fem. *-bi* : conf. masc. *-lU'A* > *-lA'A* vs. fem. *-li'i* : res. masc. *-JU'U* vs. fem. *-Ji'i*. The diachronic background of this vowel replacement, which is of a type otherwise alien to Mongolic, remains unknown. The third variant of each marker, though formally derived from the corresponding masculine variant by adding the element *.i*, seems to be functionally ambivalent, cf. term. *-bA.i* : conf. *-lU'A.i* > *-lA'Ai* : res. *-JU'U.i* ~ *-JA'Ai*. For the resultative, however, the shape *-Ji'A.i* is attested as a feminine form.

From the point of view of the temporal-aspectual distinctions, the terminative most typically functions as a perfective form of the near past, e.g. term. SH C A *ire-be* : fem. SH *ire-bi* 'has/have (just) come', SH *ök-be* : P *ög-beé* : fem. P *ög-bi* 'has/have (just)

given'. The confirmative expresses an action which has taken place without any doubt, e.g. conf. SH C *bü-le'e* ~ A *bü-lee* : SH *bü-le'ei* : fem. SH *bü-liyi* ~ *bü-ligi* '(certainly) was/were', SH *ke'e-lü'e* ~ *ke'e-le'e* : SH *ke'e-le'ei* 'has (certainly) said'. The resultative functions as a pluperfect, e.g. res. SH C *a-ju'u* : SH *a-ju'ui* ~ P *a-ju'ué* : fem. SH *a-ji'ai* ~ U **vaciqai** for **a-jixai* ~ **vaciqi** for **a-jixi* 'had been', SH *ke'e-jü'ü* : SH *ke'e-jü'üi* ~ P *ke'e-jü'üé* 'had said'.

In contrast to the forms of the past tense range, the narrative and deductive markers do not seem to involve a gender distinction. Thus, the three variants of the narrative marker *-m* ~ *-mU* ~ *-mUi* (rarely > A *-mi*) and the two variants of the deductive marker *-yU* ~ *-yi* are used interchangeably, though the frequencies of the variants in the sources vary. The narrative refers to the present (including historical present) and future temporal ranges, e.g. narr. C A *mede-m* ~ SH C *mede-mü* '[s/he] knows', A *bol/u-m* ~ SH C *bol/u-mu* ~ SH *bol/u-mui* '[s/he] becomes'. The deductive has a similar temporal reference, but it has additionally a modal connotation ('it can be conferred that'), e.g. ded. C *mede-yü* '(obviously s/he) will know', SH C P *bol/u-yu* ~ SH *bol/u-yi* '(obviously s/he) will become'.

A further finite indicative form of the present tense range, attested rarely and only in Middle Mongol, has the ending *-D*, e.g. U **gamat** for **kexe-d* '(we) say', (conv. imperf. + *a-* 'to be') U **gamacu vad[x]** for **kexe-jü a-d* '(we) are saying'. This form is often followed by the particle *je*, which renders it the function of a future tense, e.g. SH *uqa-t je* ~ P *uqa-d je* 'will know'. Considering the fact that it normally refers to a plural subject, the suffix *-D* is likely to be identical with the plural marker **.d* of nominal morphology. If this is so, the corresponding singular form may have ended in **-n*, which would be natural to identify with the deverbal nominalizing suffix underlying the markers of the modal converb (**-n*) and the durative (**-n*+*a-m*). Examples of the independent finite use of **-n* are, however, not attested in the extant sources on Middle Mongol.

The system of non-finite forms attested in Middle Mongol includes all the five Common Mongolic participles (Table 3.7) as well as the modal, imperfective, perfective, conditional, terminative, final, and preparative converbs, plus the participle-based abtemporal converb (Table 3.8). The participles occur in a variety of nominal and verbal functions, while the converbs are only used as verbal modifiers. When occurring as predicates, the participles are often (but not always) combined with the copulas *a-* 'to be', *bü-* 'to be', *bol-* 'to be(come)'.

TABLE 3.7 MIDDLE MONGOL PARTICIPLE MARKERS

			U	SH	C	P	A
part. fut.		*-KU*	x	x	x	x	x
	var.	*-KUi*	x	x	x	x	x
	pl.	*-KUn*	x	x	x	x	x
imperf.		*-'A*	x	x			
	var.	*-'Ai*	x	x	x	x	x
perf.		*-GsAn*	x	x	x	x	x
	pl.	*-GsAD*	x	x		x	
hab.		*-dAG*	x	x			
ag.		*-Gci*	x	x	x	x	x
	pl.	*-Gcin*	x	x	x	x	x
	pl.	*-GciD*	x				x

TABLE 3.8 MIDDLE MONGOL CONVERB MARKERS

			U	SH	C	P	A
conv. mod.		*-n*	x	x	x	x	x
imperf.		*-JU*	x	x	x	x	
	var.	*-Ji*					x
perf.		*-'AD*	x	x	x	x	
cond.		*-'AsU*		x	x	x	x
	var.	*-bAsU*	x		x	x	
term.		*-tAlA*	x	x	x	x	x
fin.		*-rA*	x	x	x		
prep.		*-rUn*	x	x	x	x	
abtemp.		*-GsA-'Ar*	x	x	x	x	
	var.	*-GsA-bAr*	x		x		

The element *.i* of the futuritive and imperfective participle markers *-KU* : *-KU.i* resp. *-'A* : *-'A.i* is not connected with any synchronic functional role, though there are some indications that the variant *-KU.i* of the futuritive participle marker may originally have been a specifically feminine form. The variant *-KU.n*, on the other hand, functions as a marked plural, formed regularly from the singular *-KU.i*. Marked plurals are also attested for the perfective participle in *-Gsan* : pl. *-Gsa.d* and the agentive participle in *-Gci* : pl. *-Gci.n*, in late Buddhist or Arabic sources often replaced by pl. *-Gci.d*, or even A *-Gci-lAr*.

When used predicatively (normally without a copula), the futuritive participle has a future temporal reference, e.g. part. fut. SH C *ab-qu* ~ SH *ab-qui* ~ P *ab-qué* : pl. *ab-qun* '[s/he : they] will take', SH C *ire-gü* ~ SH *ire-güi* ~ SH *ire-küi* : pl. SH A *ire-kün* "[s/he : they] will come'. In a similar position (but normally with a copula), the perfective participle functions as a past tense, e.g. part. perf. SH P *ol/u-qsan* : pl. SH C *ol/u-qsat* ~ P *ol/u.qsad* '(has : have) taken', SH C A *ire-ksen* : pl. SH *ire-kset* '(has : have) come'. The agentive participle is normally used in non-predicative nominal functions, e.g. part. ag. SH *ab/u-qci* 'one who robs' : pl. SH *ab/u-qcin*, A *deled/ü-kci* 'one who beats' : pl. A *deled/ü-kcin*, cf. also pl. A *saqi-qci-lar* 'those who mind'. The imperfective participle does occur predicatively, but is generally rare, e.g. part. imperf. P *yabu-'ayi* 'has/have gone', SH *ire-'ei* 'has/have come'. The habitive participle is attested only twice: part. hab. SH *yabu-daq* 'one who (usually) goes', U **joqidaq** for **joki-dag* (**joqi-dagh*) 'one who (usually) obeys'.

An obscured formative of the participial sphere which was already non-productive in Middle Mongol is *.i*, which appears to be formally identical with the basic deductive marker *-(y)i*. This formative is mainly attested in a few fixed copular and auxiliary forms, which are well known also from Classical Written Mongol: C A *büi* ~ SH *bui* ~ P *bué* ~ A *bei* ~ A *bii* '(one who) is', P *bolué* ~ SH *bolu* ~ SH *boli* ~ SH C *bolai* ~ P *bolayi* '(one who) becomes', SH *ayisi* ~ SH *ayisai* ~ SH *ayisu* '(one who) approaches'. The vowel alternations *.i* ~ */u* ~ */u.i* ~ */a.i* may have originally involved gender or number distinctions, but the extant material is insufficient to allow a conclusive interpretation.

The modal converb indicates the manner in which the main action is performed, e.g. conv. mod. SH C *cida-n* ~ A (*ülü*) *cida-n* '(not) being able', SH P A *üje-n* '(by) seeing'. The imperfective converb expresses an action performed simultaneously with the main action, e.g. conv. imperf. SH *ab-cu* ~ C *ab-ju* ~ A *ab-ci* '(while) taking', SH C P *mede-jü* '(while) knowing'. The perfective converb expresses an action completed before the

main action starts, e.g. conv. perf. SH C *sonos/u-'at* '(after) hearing', SH *ire-'et* '(after) coming'. While these three converbs typically have the same subject as the main verb, the conditional converb can occur with a different subject, e.g. conv. cond. SH P *a-'asu* ~ SH P *aasu* 'if [it] is; when [it] was', SH C *ire-besü* ~ SH C *ire-'esü* 'if [he] comes; when [he] came'. When followed by the particle *ber*, the conditional converb has a concessive function, e.g. P *singtar-aasu ber* 'although [it] is discouraged'; U **vujiladbasu bar** for **ü(y)iled-besü ber* 'even if [he] does'. The terminative converb can also indicate simultaneous action, but more typically it marks the end point of the main action, e.g. conv. term. SH *ecül-tele* ~ *hecül-tele* 'until [it] ends', SH C *yabu-tala* 'until [he] has gone; when [he] goes', note also the lexicalized postposition P A *kür-tele* 'until, up to'. The abtemporal converb, by contrast, commonly expresses the starting point of the main action, e.g. conv. abt. SH C *bol/u-qsa'ar* 'as soon as [it] had become', P *delgere-gse'er* 'as soon as [it] had unfolded'.

The original derivational and declensional background of the final and preparative converbs is still visible in old texts, cf. e.g. (*Subhâṣitaratnanidhi*) U **jabur uv qujina** for (gen. + postposition) **yabu.r-un ko(y)ina* 'after going; after [he] had gone'; (loc. + verb) U **vuigura guirumui** for **ükü.r-e kürümüi* '(they) approached death'. In its fully grammaticalized function, the final converb expresses the purpose of the main action, e.g. conv. fin. SH *de'ermed/ü-re* 'in order to rob', C *else-re* 'in order to submit', while the preparative converb expresses an action that induces the main action, e.g. conv. prep. SH C P *bol/u-run* 'in consequence of becoming', SH P *ke'e-rün* 'in consequence of saying'.

SYNTAX

Although the subject–object–verb (SOV) word order is the norm in most Middle Mongol texts, examples of object-final sentence structure (SVO) are not rare. Some of these examples, especially in late Arabic sources, are due to the influence of non-Mongolic languages, or even to mistakes in the recording process, cf. e.g. (VO) A *acira-ba idekü-yi* '[he] brought the food', (VO + adverbial) A *arci-ba hildü-yi saiqal-aar* '[he] cleaned the sword with millinery', (adverbial + VO) A *kirbice-er bosqa-ba qudugh-i* '[he] constructed the well with bricks'. In other cases, however, it seems be a question of a true native feature, which suggests that Middle Mongol had, indeed, a less strictly regulated word order than is attested in both Classical Written Mongol and most of the Modern Mongolic languages, cf. e.g. (VO) SH *jebele-ye ima-yi* 'let us arm him!'.

There are also other types of irregular word order, conditioned by different patterns of discourse structure, cf. e.g. (OSV) SH *qamuq mongqol-i qabul qa'an mede-n a-ba* 'Qabul Qan governed over all the Mongols'. A pronominal subject of the first or second person is often used enclitically after the predicate verb (expressed by a finite form or participle). Actual personal endings (written together with the preceding verbal form) are attested only marginally in late Arabic sources.

In nominal phrases, congruence in number is frequently observed, e.g. SH *ire-gse.d ötögü.s öljei.te.n nökö.d minu* 'my old [pl.] and happy [pl.] companions, who have come', C *temü.d quya'.ud* 'iron [pl.] armours'. In some examples, plural marking is only present in the attribute, e.g. A *sait haran* 'good people'. Plural forms of nouns are often used after numerals. e.g. SH *jirin qatu.t* 'both women'. There is no congruence for the category of case, cf. e.g. (pl. loc.) P *yorci-qu.n yabu-qu.n elci.n-e* 'to messengers going to and fro'. Congruence for gender is attested especially in the suffix deriving possessive adjectival nouns, cf. e.g. masc. SH *nidün-tür-iyen qal.tu ni'ur-tur-iyan gere.tü kö'ün* 'a boy

with fire in his eyes and brightness on his face' vs. fem. SH *ni'ur-tur-iyan gere.tei nidün-tür-iyen qal.tai ökin* 'a girl with brightness on her face and fire in her eyes'.

Since there are no actual conjunctions in Middle Mongol, phrases and clauses are linked together by means of nominal and verbal morphology (case endings, converbs). Syntactically equal nominal phrases are linked by linear juxtaposition, e.g. SH *usun ebesün* 'water and grass', C *ebesün usun* 'grass and water'. A list of juxtaposed nouns can also be followed by a numeral indicating the number of entities involved, e.g. SH *temüjin qasar begter belgütei dörben qamtu sa'uju* 'Temujin, Khasar, Begter [and] Belgütei, [the four] were sitting together'.

Predicatively used nouns and participles are verbalized by the copulas *a-* and *bü-* 'to be' as well as *bol-* 'to be(come)'. All of these have a full verbal paradigm. The forms attested for *a-* in non-Uighur scripts are: caus. SH *a.'ul-* : pass. SH *a.qda-* : recipr. SH *a.ldu-* : opt. SH C *a-suqai* : conc. SH C *a-tuqai* ~ P *a-tuqayi* ~ P *a-tuqa'i* ~ SH *a-duqai* : narr. SH C *a-mu* ~ SH *a-mui* : term. SH *a-ba* ~ SH C *a-bai* : conf. SH *a-lu'a* ~ SH *a-la'ai* : res. SH C *a-ju'u* ~ SH *a-ju'ui* ~ P *a-ju'ué* : fem. SH *a-ji'ai* : part. fut. SH C P *a-qu* ~ SH C A *a-qui* : pl. SH C P *a-qu.n* : part. imperf. C *a-'ai* : part. perf. SH C *a-qsan* : pl. SH *a-qsat* : conv. imperf. SH C *a-ju* : conv. cond. C *a-basu* ~ SH P *a-'asu* ~ SH P *aa-su.* Additional forms and variants attested only in Uighur script are: vol. U **vai e** for **a-ya* : ben. U **vaqduv** for **a-gtun* : dur. pl. **vad[x]** for **a-d* : ded. **vaju** for **a-yu* : res. **vaciqu** for **a-jixu* : fem. **vaciqi** for **a-jixi* : part. ag. U **vaqci** for **a-gci* : pl. U **vaqciv** for **a-gci.n* : conv. mod. U **vav** for **a-n.* Some of the specifically Middle Mongol forms of *bü-* include: conf. fem. SH *bü-ligi* ~ SH *bü-liyi* : res. SH *bü-jü'üi* : part. perf. SH *bü-ksen* : conv. imperf. *bü-jü.*

A variety of functions related to both syntax and discourse are expressed by particles, normally placed immediately after the word to which they refer. Most particles are multifunctional. The particle SH C P *bAr* (U **bar**), for instance, functions basically as a topicalizer, but it also has other contrastive uses. It also forms indefinite pronouns from interrogatives, and when used after the conditional converb it yields a concessive structure. Similar functions are filled by the particles SH C P *bA* (U **bae**) and SH A *ci* (U **cu**), of which the latter represents a colloquialism rarely attested in Middle Mongol. The particle SH C *ele* ~ P *éle* (U **vla**) generalizes the meaning of the word to which it refers; it also gives the conditional converb an indefinite meaning. The particle SH C *gü* ~ SH P *kü* may be characterized as emphatic, while the particle SH *lU* seems to be contrastive. The particle SH C *je* (U **i e**) is most often used after finite indicative verbal forms, to which it gives a dimension of potentiality. It is also used after other verbal forms as well as after nouns.

Questions containing no other interrogative word are formed by the general interrogative particle, which is written together with the preceding word and appears in the shapes SH =*U* ~ SH P =*'UU* ~ SH C =*yU'U* ~ SH =*yUU* after vowels and SH =*U'U* ~ SH A =*UU* after consonants, e.g. term. interr. SH *ükü-be=ü* 'did [he] die?', A *burut-b=uu ta* 'did you escape?', part. fut. interr. C *jobolang bol-qu=yu'u* 'will [it] cause trouble?', SH *jöb=ü'ü tab=u'u ügüleriin* 'saying: is it appropriate, is it convenient?'. In Uighur script the particle is written **-(ju)gu -(ju)qu -(ju)qhu** after vowels and **-ugu -uqu -uqhu** after consonants. In a complete sentence the interrogative pronoun might also be taken by the subject, e.g. SH *caq=u'u gürbe* 'the time, has it arrived?'.

For verbal negation, Middle Mongol uses three negative particles, which always stand before the verbal form they negate. The particle SH C P A *bu* ~ *buu* (U **buu**) negates all forms of the imperative sphere with the exception of the dubitative. The dubitative is negated by the particle SH C P A *ülü* ~ A *üle* ~ A *ül* (U **vuilu**), which also negates the narrative and deductive of the finite indicative sphere, the futuritive and

agentive participles, and the modal converb. The remaining indicative, participial, and converbial forms are negated by the particle SH C P A *ese* (U **vsa**). Deviations from these patterns are rare and probably represent accidental mistakes. In negative questions, the interrogative particle is attached to the negative particle (*ülü* or *ese*), rather than to the main verb, e.g. neg. interr. P *ése-gü bui* 'is [it]/are [they] not?', P *ülü'ü ayuqu mün* : pl. *ülü'ü ayuqun müd* 'will he/they not be afraid?'. This might point to the possibility that the negative particles were originally verbal words.

Nominal existence is negated by the postpositionally used negative noun SH C A *ügei* ~ P *ügeé* (U **vuigai**) 'absent; without' and its derivatives SH *üge.'ü* ~ P *'üge'.ü* id. (SH also 'poor') : SH *üge.'üi* ~ SH *ügei.'üi* ~ P *üge.'üé* : pl. SH P *üge.'ün* ~ SH *ügei.'ün* (U **vuigagui** : pl. **vuigaguv**) id., e.g. C *üge ügei* 'without words', SH *eye üge'üi* 'without agreement', P *yosu üge'üé* : pl. P *yosu üge'ün* 'lawless'. The negative noun is also attested after the futuritive and agentive participles, as well as once after a deverbal noun formally identical with the modal converb, cf. U **sildav vuigai** for **silta.n ügei* 'without pretext' vs. conv. mod. U **vuilu sildav** for **ülü silta-n* 'not pretexting' (both in the same text). Because of its nominal character, the negative noun and its derivatives have a regular nominal declension. In predicative use, the negative noun can occur with the copulas *a-* and *bol-*, e.g. U conv. mod. U **vuigai vaqu** for part. fut. **ügei a-qu* 'will not be', SH A *ügei bol-* 'to die' (literally: 'to become non-existent').

For the negation of nominal identity, the negative pronoun SH C P *busu* ~ SH *busi* ~ P A *bushi* ~ A *bishi* 'not the one, different (from)' : pl. SH C *busu.t* ~ P *busu.d* (U **busi** ~ **busu** : pl. **busut**) is used after the noun, e.g. P *inu bütügegsen busu* 'it is not his accomplishment'. The negative pronoun can also occur after other parts of speech, e.g. U **tajiv busu** for **te(y)in busu* 'not like that'. An emphatic double negation is attested in U **vuilu turadqu busu** for **ülü duradqu busu* 'it is not that you must not think'. When not used as a negator, the negative pronoun stands before the word it modifies, e.g. SH *busu kü'ün* 'somebody else' (literally: 'another person'), P *busud haran* 'other people', P *busi bolgha-* 'to act differently'. Examples of independent nominal use are: SH C *busu bui* 'it is different', (acc.) SH *busu-yi oro'ulju* 'we will install another (one/person)'. When used after a nominal word in the ablative, the negative pronoun has the meaning 'besides, apart from', e.g. SH *se'ül-ece busu* 'apart from the whip'.

LEXICON

Much of the research done on Middle Mongol lexicon has been focused on the lexical parallels with other languages, notably Turkic and Tungusic. In spite of this research, no systematic survey has been made of the origin and distribution of the lexical data preserved in the different scripts used for the language. As a result, false or premature claims have often been made concerning the diachronic status of individual lexical items. It is particularly typical to find that words claimed to be 'rare' or 'archaic' in Middle Mongol are actually attested in several sources and may even survive in some of the Modern Mongolic languages.

Features that actually distinguish Middle Mongol from the later stages of Mongolic, including both Classical Written Mongol and the modern languages, are relatively numerous in borrowed Buddhist vocabulary, which in Middle Mongol still often reflects the direct impact of the Sanskrit, Uighur, and Sogdian originals, while later various kinds of phonological and/or orthographical adaptation have taken place, cf. e.g. P *körk* 'image' (identical with the Uighur original) : pl. P *körgüd* ~ U **guirg ut** for **körg/ü.d* vs. Classical Written Mongol **guirug** : **guirug ut** for **körüg* : **körüg/ü.d*; P *érdini* ~ *értini* ~ *erdini*

'jewel' ~ U **vrdini** for **erdini* (identical with the Uighur shape of the Sanskrit word) vs. Classical Written Mongol **vrdani** for **erdeni*. In other cases, early loanwords attested in Middle Mongol have later been replaced by native words, cf. e.g. U **qilivc** for **qilinc* 'deed' (identical with the Uighur original), later surviving as Classical Written Mongol **gilivca** 'sin', but largely replaced by **vujila** for **ü(y)ile* 'deed' (also attested in Middle Mongol). Needless to say, such specifically Middle Mongol words, meanings, and orthographical shapes are valuable for the identification of undated text fragments.

Another example of lexical change, connected with a corresponding conceptual reorientation, is offered by the names of the months of the lunar year. The complete original set is only preserved in the *Zhiyuan Yiyu* and goes as follows: *qubi sara* 'share month', *qudal ügöljin sara* 'false hoopoe month', *ünen ügöljin sara* 'true hoopoe month', *kököge sara* 'cuckoo month', *hular sara* 'heath-cock month', *najir sara* 'summer-festival month', *ghuran sara* 'roebuck month', *bughu sara* 'deer month', *quca dalbi sara* 'ram [---] month', *kelebdür sara* '[---] month', *idelgü sara* 'gyrfalcon month', *küküler sara* 'dewlep month'. Some of these items are also attested in other Middle Mongol sources, and some of them survive in the modern languages. However, already during the Middle Mongol period, months were also commonly listed by season ('the first, second, and third month of the spring, summer, autumn, and winter').

Generally, it has to be stressed that the Middle Mongol vocabulary is surprisingly close to that of both Classical Written Mongol and the Modern Mongolic languages. The number of lexical items attested only in Middle Mongol is relatively small. Also, the lexicon used in the various Middle Mongol sources is basically uniform, although some differentiation by genre and theme is, of course, present.

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CHAPTER FOUR

KHAMNIGAN MONGOL

Juha Janhunen

Khamnigan Mongol is the Mongolic language spoken by the population known as the Khamnigan or the 'Horse Tungus' (also 'Equestrian Tungus' or 'Steppe Tungus') of Transbaikalia. The native territory of the Khamnigan comprises the Onon and Argun basins in northeastern Mongolia and northwestern Manchuria. More exactly, most of the historically recorded Khamnigan population seems to have been concentrated in the territory lying between the main basins of the Onon and Argun, along rivers such as the Onon-Borzya, Urulyungui, Lower Borzya, Middle Borzya, and Upper Borzya. From the point of view of the history of the Mongols the Khamnigan occupy a most important region, since it was exactly here where Chinggis Khan was born and where he started the amalgamation of the Mongol tribes into a world-conquering empire.

After the fall of the Mongol empire the Khamnigan territory remained in the northern periphery of Mongolia and China until, in the mid-seventeenth century, it came within the sphere of the eastward-expanding Russian empire. In 1654 the Russians established the fort of Nerchinsk, which became the administrative centre of the Amur source region, known to the Russians as Dauria or 'the Dagur Land'. The Khamnigan were subsequently referred to as the 'Nerchinsk Tungus'. Officially, the Khamnigan were brought under Russia by the influential tribal leader and political strategist Gantimur (*Gantumur*), whose Russianized descendants, known as the Gantimur (*Gantimurov*) princes, later functioned as the hereditary native rulers of the Khamnigan until Soviet times.

From the seventeenth to the early twentieth century most Khamnigan lived within the Russian sphere, interacting intensively with the Transbaikalian Cossacks as well as the Buryat. At the same time, however, an unknown number of Khamnigan stayed on the Mongolian side of the border, in the northern part of the modern Kentei Aimak. After the Russian Civil War, a considerable part of the Russian Khamnigan crossed the Argun together with Cossack and Buryat groups, entering the Hailar basin and the so-called Three Rivers Region (*Trexrech'e*) in the northern part of the Barga (*Bargu*) steppe. Most of these emigrant Khamnigan came to be concentrated in the basin of the local river Mergel, where they today inhabit their native autonomous unit officially known as the Ewenki Autonomous Arrow (*sumu*) of the Old Bargut (*Chen Baerhu*) Banner, which, in turn, belongs to Hulun Buir League of Inner Mongolia, China.

The fact that the Russians traditionally identified the Khamnigan as 'Tungus' is no accident. In a similar way, the modern ethnic administration of China classifies the Khamnigan as 'Ewenki' ('Tungus Ewenki'). This is ultimately due to the fact that the Khamnigan as an ethnic group are a conglomeration of Mongolic and Tungusic elements. The dual affiliation of the Khamnigan is easy to trace in their social background (clan composition), but, even more importantly, it is also manifest in their inherited bilingualism, which involves the parallel use of two native languages, the one Mongolic and the other Tungusic. For historical reasons, it has been the Tungusic language according to which the Khamnigan have been classified by their neighbours. The term Khamnigan itself (*Kamnigan* : pl. *Kamnigad*) is the Mongolic name for the Ewenki.

From the linguistic point of view, the two languages of the Khamnigan are two separate entities. While the Mongolic language may be identified as Khamnigan Mongol, the Tungusic language can be comprised by the term Khamnigan Ewenki. However, a closer look at its taxonomic properties reveals that Khamnigan Ewenki is not a language in its own right, but forms part of the overall dialectal variation of the Northern Tungusic Ewenki language. Khamnigan Mongol, on the other hand, cannot be treated as a dialect of any other Mongolic language. Moreover, on the sociolinguistic side, Khamnigan Mongol is the dominant community language of the Khamnigan, while Khamnigan Ewenki (in two dialectal varieties) is only used inside families among part of the population.

The Khamnigan in the technical sense may, consequently, be defined as people speaking the Khamnigan Mongol language. A considerable proportion of these people are also fluent in Khamnigan Ewenki. Speaking of a first and a second language in this case would not be to the point, since both languages are learnt within the native community in early childhood. It is not known how long this bilingualism has characterized the Khamnigan, but historical information allows us to assume that the phenomenon is of several centuries old. There are, however, indications that the Khamnigan community may always have included sections (clans and individuals) monolingual in Khamnigan Mongol only. Under conditions of acculturation, even Khamnigan Mongol has tended to recede in favour of other languages, notably Buryat, Khalkha, and Russian.

Because of the taxonomic confusion concerning the ethnic position of the Khamnigan, it is impossible to assess the exact number of Khamnigan Mongol speakers in the past. Although the number of people registered in Russian statistics as 'Horse Tungus' reached *c.*25,000 individuals in the late nineteenth century, it is possible that there were never more than *c.*5,000 Khamnigan Mongol speakers. Even this number has gone rapidly down, and today there are few true Khamnigan left in Russia, while the situation in Mongolia is unknown. However, the Khamnigan population on the Chinese side, in spite of its official status as 'Ewenki', remains linguistically vigorous and continues to carry on both the Khamnigan Mongol language and the traditional bilingualism in Ewenki. The current size of this population may be estimated at *c.*2,000 individuals.

DATA AND SOURCES

Khamnigan Mongol was not recognized as a separate Mongolic language until very recently. For most early travellers in Transbaikalia, Khamnigan Mongol apparently represented a local variety of the Mongol language, possibly a variety specifically spoken by the 'Tungus'. Khamnigan Mongol language material, including words and phrases, can therefore be found in early travelogues and vocabularies under the general label of 'Mongol', or 'Daurian'. Khamnigan Mongol is also present on the early maps of Dauria, where most place names bear unmistakable Khamnigan features. Many of these place names are still in official use, even for localities now dominated by a Russian or a Buryat population.

Since Khamnigan Mongol is the dominant language of the bilingual Khamnigan, it penetrates also Khamnigan Ewenki at all levels of linguistic structure, especially the lexicon. It was, incidentally, Khamnigan Ewenki that first became the object of linguistic field work, in that M. A. Castrén based his Ewenki (Tungus) grammar (Castrén 1856) on the dialects of the 'Nerchinsk Tungus', among whom he stayed in 1848. Castrén did not work on Khamnigan Mongol, and he may not have realized its status as a separate

Mongolic language. Nevertheless, the Ewenki vocabulary collected by him is full of loanwords from Khamnigan Mongol, suggesting that his informants were fluent also in that language.

The first scholar to work specifically on Khamnigan Mongol seems to have been Ts. J. Jamtsarano, who in 1911 collected language samples and folklore from several informants in Russian Transbaikalia. His materials remained, however, unpublished, until the native Khamnigan scholar D. G. Damdinov prepared a volume of epic tales, which still remains the only published collection of Khamnigan Mongol texts (Jamtsarano and Damdinov 1982). Damdinov has also published a series of descriptive works on both the Khamnigan Mongol language and the ethnic history of the Khamnigan (Damdinov 1962, 1968, 1988, 1993). Other studies on the ethnic history of the Khamnigan alias the 'Horse Tungus' include those by A. S. Shubin (1973) and A. M. Reshetov (1986).

On the Mongolian side, Khamnigan Mongol material was collected in the 1950s and 1960s by Katalin (Käthe) Kőhalmi (1959) as well as L. Mishig (1961) and B. Rinchen (1969). Unfortunately, no modern follow-up study of the Mongolian Khamnigan has been made. Kőhalmi (1964, 1981) has also contributed to the understanding of the ethnic history of the Khamnigan. On the Chinese side, material on both Khamnigan Mongol and Khamnigan Ewenki, as spoken by the emigrant Khamnigan in the Mergel basin, has been collected by Juha Janhunen since the late 1980s (Janhunen 1990, 1991). He has also worked on the taxonomic status of Khamnigan Mongol as well as on the Khamnigan bilingualism (Janhunen 1992, 1996), topics earlier discussed by Gerhard Doerfer (1985).

TAXONOMIC POSITION

The conclusion that Khamnigan Mongol is a separate Mongolic language is based on an assessment of the similarities and dissimilarities that exist between Khamnigan Mongol and its closest neighbours, notably Dagur, Buryat, and Mongol proper. In this framework, Khamnigan Mongol is characterized by a unique property, in that it is the single most conservative Mongolic language spoken today. Khamnigan Mongol simply lacks almost all the innovations that have affected its neighbours since Middle Mongol times. With some exaggeration, Khamnigan Mongol could therefore be considered a residual form of Middle Mongol. The distance to Proto-Mongolic is only slightly longer.

The conservativeness of Khamnigan Mongol is easiest to establish on the basis of its phonological characteristics. There are only eight taxonomically relevant phonological innovations that separate Khamnigan Mongol from Proto-Mongolic. Four of these innovations are shared with Dagur, Buryat, and Mongol proper: (1) loss of intervocalic **x*, (2) assimilation of **e-ü* into **ö-ü*, (3) assimilation of **O-A* into **O-O*, and (4) syllable-final neutralization of **n* and **ng*. One innovation is shared with Buryat and Mongol proper: (5) loss of initial **x*; one innovation is shared with Dagur: (6) neutralization of **i(x)e* and **i(x)a* into *ie* (*éé*); and two innovations are specific to Khamnigan Mongol: (7) assimilation of **A(x)U* into **OO*, and (8) assimilation of **U(x)A* into **OO*.

While Dagur, Buryat, and Mongol proper are additionally characterized by a multitude of other phonological innovations, Khamnigan Mongol remains generally unaffected by them. In this respect there are, however, slight dialectal differences. Khamnigan Mongol can be divided into two main dialects, which may historically be identified with the Daurian localities of Urulga (*Urul'ga*) and Mankovo (*Man'kovo*), respectively. The principal difference between these dialects is that the Urulga dialect incorporates three important innovations which are normally considered to be diagnostic of

Buryat: (9) syllable-final neutralization of **s* and **d* into *d*, (10) intervocalic weakening (desibilization) of **s* into *h* (*x*), and (11) paradigmatic neutralization of **ö* and **ü* into **ü* (*u*).

It would, however, be incorrect to classify the Urulga dialect of Khamnigan Mongol as an archaic form of Buryat, for there are many more separating than uniting features between the two idioms. It is considerably more likely that the Urulga dialect has undergone a secondary, and possibly even very recent, period of Buryat influence, which has superficially distanced it from the Mankovo dialect. It has to be noted that the Mankovo dialect is also linked with Buryat by two features, in that it tends to replace the two specifically Khamnigan innovations by (7a) assimilation of **A(x)U* into **UU*, and (8a) assimilation of **U(x)A* into **AA*. These features are, however, also shared by Mongol proper, and it is possible that the Mankovo dialect has been influenced by the latter.

Altogether, the areal position of Khamnigan Mongol would seem to make it a natural partner for any innovations spreading in the Mongolic context from the west (Buryat), south (Mongol), or east (Dagur). Moreover, it is documentably also involved in a relationship of intimate interaction with a non-Mongolic language in the north (Ewenki). The curious thing is that Khamnigan Mongol has nevertheless been so resistent to external influences. This situation is only today being changed by growing influence of the more dominant languages, notably Buryat and Mongol (Khalkha and Khorchin), as well as Russian and Chinese.

As far as dialectal details are concerned, the present survey is based on the language of the Khamnigan living in the Mergel basin, an idiom which may also be termed Mergel Khamnigan. Taxonomically, Mergel Khamnigan belongs to the broader context of the Urulga dialect. Bilingualism in Khamnigan Ewenki is widespread, while influence of other Mongolic or non-Mongolic languages is still minimal. The literary medium is Modern Written Mongol, which, due to its archaic orthography, corresponds in many details to the actual Khamnigan pronunciation. Morphologically and lexically there are, however, considerable differences between Mergel Khamnigan and Written Mongol.

SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Khamnigan Mongol vowels are strongly affected by the phenomenon of rotation, which means that the harmonic pairs **a* vs. **e* and **u* vs. **ü* are more or less completely verticalized. In the case of **e*, velarization is accompanied by rounding. The opposition between **u* > *ů* vs. **o* > *o* is preserved, while the single (short) **ö* has been completely absorbed by the rotated value of **ü* > *u*. There are, consequently, only six paradigmatically distinct vowel qualities (Table 4.1).

The same qualities also occur as double (long) vowels: *aa ee ii oo ůů uu*, which in Khamnigan Mongol are best to be analysed as sequences of two separate segments. Importantly, the earlier double vowel **öö* (as still preserved in Buryat) has merged with **ee*, as in *teeke* 'history' (< **tööke* < **teüke*). Diphthongoid sequences with *i* comprise *ai ei oi ůi ui* as well as *ie iů iu*. The diphthongoid *ie* is particularly characteristic of

TABLE 4.1 KHAMNIGAN MONGOL VOWELS

u	*i*
ů	*e*
o	*a*

TABLE 4.2 KHAMNIGAN MONGOL CONSONANTS

p	*t*	*c*	*k*
b	*d*	*j*	*g*
	s		
m	*n*		*ng*
	l		
	r		
w		*y*	*h*

Khamnigan Mongol and fills phonetically the niche of the (long) non-high front vowel [e] otherwise absent from the paradigm.

The consonant system is more congruent with the Common Mongolic type (Table 4.2). The original system has been augmented by the new marginal phonemes *p w* as well as the regular phoneme *h* < **s* (before vowels other than **i*). The paradigmatic position of *h* is open to various interpretations; it could be treated simply as a velar fricative, but it also has properties in common with the glides *w y*. Phonetically *h* is realized as a weak laryngeal fricative, and it is convenient for comparative purposes to keep it notationally distinct from the spirantized reflexes of **k* (> *x*) in other Mongolic languages. In Khamnigan Mongol, **k* normally undergoes no spirantization, though an affricated pronunciation [kx] is reported before velar vowels for some dialects or idiolects.

Due to the development **s* > *h* before vowels (and **s* > *d* syllable-finally) Khamnigan Mongol retains **s* only before **i*, as in *sine* 'new'. There is, however, a new marginal *s*, which occurs in recent loanwords, such as *soyol* 'education'. Phonetically, *s* in the sequence *si* has a palatal quality (as in other Mongolic languages). It seems that this same quality also occurs as an independent marginal phoneme *sh* in the speech of some Khamnigan. The absence of a phonemic distinction between *s* and *sh* seems, however, to be more common, e.g. *sasin* ~ *shasin* 'religion'.

It is particularly important to note that, unlike any of its neighbours, Khamnigan Mongol lacks the phenomenon of palatal breaking. It therefore preserves the original **i* of the initial syllable intact, e.g. *sira* 'yellow', *mika/n* 'meat'. Cases of prebreaking are also less common than elsewhere in Mongolic, but they do occur, e.g. *cono* 'wolf' < **cino*.

WORD STRUCTURE

Khamnigan Mongol preserves well the general agglutinative structure of Proto-Mongolic. The internal coherence of words is enhanced by vowel harmony, which still clearly opposes the (verticalized) segments *a* vs. *e*. The system is no longer complete, however, for in spite of its general conservativeness Khamnigan Mongol shows several developments pointing to a rather serious disruption of vowel harmony. Thus, in addition to the neutral vowel *i*, the diphthongoid sequence *ie* is also neutral and can therefore occur in combination with both *a* and *e*, as in *yarie/n* 'speech' vs. *erien* 'mottled'. Also, the disappearance of **ö* from the paradigm left **o* > *o* without a harmonic counterpart.

Somewhat more intricate problems are connected with the synchronic status of the harmonic opposition **u* > *ů* vs. **ü* > *u*. These two vowels do contrast in monosyllabic stems of the type *jůn* 'summer' < **jun* vs. *jug* 'direction' < **jüg*, but the opposition has

a low functional load, and the phonetic distinction diminishes towards the end of the word. It therefore appears tentatively possible to interpret all occurrences of **u *ü* in non-initial syllables as manifestations of a single neutralized high vowel *u* < **u* & **ü*, e.g. *ûhu/n* 'water' < **usu/n* vs. *uhu/n* 'hair' < **xüsü/n*. For some speakers, this neutralization might also be valid for the initial syllable, at least if a harmonically distinctive vowel is present later in the word, as in *ûlaan* ~ *ulaan* 'red' < **xulaxan*.

Labial harmony is regularly present after an initial syllable containing a single (short) *o*, e.g. *koto* 'town' : instr. *kotoor*. A double (long) *oo* does, however, not condition labial harmony. This is due to the fact that *oo* diachronically often derives from the sequence **axu*, as in *noor* < **naxur* 'lake' : abl. *nooraaha*. Labial harmony is also disturbed by the development **uxa* > *oo* in non-initial syllables, which yields *oo* not only after an *o* of the initial syllable, but also after *a* or *u*, as in *ûhu/n* 'water' : instr. *ûhoor* (possibly also *ohoor*) < **usu-xar*. Under such circumstances, the presence of the sequence *o-oo* in a word is not necessarily indicative of labial harmony, cf. e.g. *modu* 'tree, wood' : instr. *modoor* < **modu-xar*.

Vowel stems and consonant stems take in many cases different suffix variants. Among consonant stems, obstruent stems (ending in *b d g r* as well as marginally *s*) form a distinct subtype, conditioning the presence of strong initial consonants in some suffixes, as in *ger* 'yurt' : dat. *ger-tu* vs. *gal* 'fire' : dat. *gal-du*. There are also ambivalent nominal stems ending in an unstable */n*. The use of the stem-final nasal in these stems is considerably more frequent than in Mongol proper, and it is also permitted, though not obligatory, in the basic (nominative) form.

A stem-final consonant alternation *n* : *ng* is exhibited by nominal stems ending in the nasals *n* and *ng*. In final position, the two segments are represented by an unmarked/archiphonemic (phonetically velar) nasal, but there is a morphophonological difference, which may be indicated by using the notations *n* vs. *n/g*. The stems ending in *n/g* show a distinctive velar nasal *ng* in prevocalic position, as in *an/g* < **ang* 'game, hunting' : instr. *ang-aar* vs. *on* < **on* 'year' : instr. *on-oor*. The velar nasal is also present before *n*, e.g. *ang.na-* 'to hunt'. On the other hand, even the dental nasal *n* is represented as a distinctive velar nasal before certain diachronically secondary and synchronically loose suffixes (or clitics) beginning with a nasal, e.g. *kuun* 'man' : acc. *kuun-ii* : px sg. 1p. *kuung-mini*.

An important archaic feature of Khamnigan Mongol is the regular preservation of the connective vowel **U* after consonant stems before certain (morphologically determined) suffixes of both the nominal and the verbal inflexion. It is true, this segment is only observable at the surface in a few relatively rare forms, e.g. *ab-* 'to take' : ben. *ab/u-gtui* '[please] take!'. However, its diachronic presence is still synchronically indicated by the development **uxa* > *oo* in suffixal syllables, as in conv. perf. *ab-ood* < **ab/u-xad* 'having taken'. It might be speculated that the connective vowel is still there in such cases at the synchronic deep level.

Like many other Modern Mongolic languages, Khamnigan Mongol uses the connective consonant *g* at the juncture of the stem and a suffix between two long vowel elements (double vowels or diphthongoids), as in *boo-* 'to descend' : conv. perf. *boo/g-aad*, *bai-* 'to be' : conv. perf. *bai/g-aad*. In nominal declension the hiatus (suffix border) can, depending on the stem, also be marked by *n* (representing the unstable */n*), which in these cases functions almost as a connective consonant, as in *galoo* 'goose' : abl. *galoo/g-aaha* or *galoo/n-aaha*.

While word-internal vowel sequences at the juncture of the stem and a suffix (V-V) are reflected as monophthongized double vowels (VV), vowel sequences at the border of

two words are affected by the phenomenon of elision. This elision takes place under conditions of syntactic sandhi, i.e. when the two words are pronounced contiguously. Normally, the first vowel (the final vowel of the first word) is dropped, as in *gert' oroo* < *gertu oroo* '[he] entered the yurt'. If the first vowel is a double vowel, the second vowel (the initial vowel of the second word) is dropped, but only in certain grammaticalized suffixes (or clitics), notably the negative particle *ugui*, as in part. imperf. neg. *iree-gui* from **iree+ugui* '[he] did not come'.

NUMBER AND CASE

In spite of the fact that Ewenki, the other ethnic language of a considerable part of the Khamnigan, has a regular suffixally formed plural declension, Khamnigan Mongol has not developed a consistent inflectional plural for nouns. The plural may therefore still be regarded as an optional derivational category, as it was also in Proto-Mongolic. The most common simple plural suffix is *.d*, which replaces a stem-final *n* (and */n*), as in *keegen* 'child' : pl. *keege.d*, *mori/n* 'horse' : pl. *mori.d.* Complex suffixes based on *.d* are also used, e.g. *baisin/g* 'building' : pl. *baising.uu.d*, *bacagan* 'girl' : pl. *bacagan.nuu.d.* A kind of lexicalized suppletive plural is present in *kuun* 'man, person' : *jon* 'people'.

The nominal paradigm in Khamnigan Mongol consists of the six Common Mongolic cases: genitive, accusative, dative, ablative, instrumental, and possessive. The material shapes of the case endings are directly connected with the corresponding Common Mongolic suffixes. The basic shapes of the endings are attested after stems ending in a single vowel (V), while stems ending in a general consonant (C), an obstruent (O), a dental nasal (N), or also a double vowel (VV) or a diphthongoid (Vi), require special variants for some suffixes (Table 4.3). When no special variant is required, the diphthongoid stems follow the double vowel stems, while the obstruent and nasal stems follow the consonant stems. Otherwise all stem types follow the simple vowel stems.

The formal variation in the shapes of the case markers reflects, among other things, the impact of the connective consonant *g*, which essentially transforms any stems ending in a long vowel element into consonant stems ending in *g*. All suffix-initial vowel elements following this *g*, or any other stem-final consonant, are long (double vowels or diphthongoids). This means that the suffixes actually contain a connective vowel, normally *A*, which follows the rules of vowel harmony. In a form like abl. *dalai/g-a-aha* from *dalai* 'sea' it is therefore only the final element *-aha* that represents the actual case suffix, while the preceding elements *g* and *a* are connective segments with no semantic function. This is the diachronic situation, but it may also be valid in a synchronic description.

TABLE 4.3 KHAMNIGAN MONGOL CASE MARKERS

	V	C	O	N	VV	Vi
gen.	*-in*	*-A-in*		[*n*]-*ie*	*/g-A-in*	*-n*
acc.	*-i*	*-ii*			*/g-ii*	
dat.	*-du*		*-tu*			
abl.	*-AhA*	*-A-AhA*			*/g-A-AhA*	
instr.	*-Ar*	*-A-Ar*			*/g-A-Ar*	
poss.	*-tie*					

From the comparative point of view, the most interesting feature of the Khamnigan Mongol nominal declension is that the long vowel elements present in the case forms of stems ending in a single vowel are still transparent as far as their morphological segmentation is concerned, e.g. *tala* 'steppe' : acc. *tala-i* : abl. *tala-aha*. This is especially evident in back-vocalic stems, in which the original stem types are visible in spite of the transformation of the sequences **u-a* and **i-a* into *o-o* and *i-e*, respectively, as in *jagahu/n* 'fish' : acc. *jagahu-i* : abl. *jagaho-oha* < **jagasu-asa*, *mori/n* 'horse' : acc. *mori-i* : abl. *mori-eha* < **mori-asa*. In front-vocalic stems the neutralization of the opposition between **ee* and **öö* has led to some merger between the stem types, as in *nere* 'name' : acc. *nere-i* : abl. *nere-ehe*, *nidu/n* 'eye' : acc. *nidu-i* : abl. *nide-ehe*.

The ending of the possessive case has widely developed into the harmonically neutral shape *-tie*, though pronunciations suggesting the original harmonic shapes **-tai* resp. **-tei* can also be heard. A harmonic neutralization seems also to be present in the genitive ending *-n-ie*, as used of stems ending in the nasal *-n*, as in gen. *galoo/n-ie* 'goose', *kuun-ie* 'man'. It is not clear whether these harmonic neutralizations are original Khamnigan developments, or due to the recent areal influence of the nearby dialects of Mongol proper (especially Khorchin).

As in many other Modern Mongolic languages, the possessive case presents problems for the synchronic analysis of the morphological system. The possessive forms are used both adnominally, as in *mori-tie kuun* 'a man with a horse', and adverbally, as in *mori-tie iree* '[he] came with a horse'. In the former function we could still speak of possessive adjectival derivatives, i.e. *mori.tie* 'equipped with a horse'. Even in the latter function, however, we could analyse the possessive forms simply as adverbally used adjectival nouns. Other adjectival nouns can also be used both adnominally and adverbally, e.g. *hain kuun* 'a good man', *hain yaboo* '[he] travelled well'. It is therefore controversial, whether the possessive forms should be included in the context of the nominal case paradigm.

On the other hand, if we recognize the synchronic presence of a possessive case, we probably also have to postulate a privative (caritive) case, which in Khamnigan Mongol has the harmonically neutral ending *-gui* for double vowel stems and *-ugui* for all other stem types. Stems ending in a single vowel lose the vowel before the privative ending (vowel sandhi), e.g. *nere* 'name' : priv. *ner-ugui*. The privative ending is transparently based on the Common Mongolic negative noun *ugui* < **ügei* 'absent, not'. The resulting complex behaves syntactically as an exact parallel to the possessive formation, and it can also be used adverbially. It would be difficult to analyse the two forms separately from each other: either they are both derivatives or they are both case forms.

NUMERALS

The numerals for the basic digits are: 1 *nege/n*, 2 *koir*, 3 *gůrba/n*, 4 *durbe/n*, 5 *tabu/n*, 6 *jůrgaa/n*, 7 *doloo/n*, 8 *naima/n*, 9 *yuhu/n*. The corresponding decades are expressed as: 10 *arba/n*, 20 *kori/n*, 30 *gůci/n*, 40 *duci/n*, 50 *tabi/n*, 60 *jira/n*, 70 *dala/n*, 80 *naya/n*, 90 *yere/n*, and the numerals for the lower powers of ten are: 100 *joo/n*, 1,000 *mingga/n*, 10,000 *tume/n*. All of these are native words, and with the exception of 2 *koir* all belong to the stem type ending in an unstable */n*. As in several other Modern Mongolic languages, the numeral 1 *nege/n* behaves exceptionally, in that it loses the final nasal in adnominal use, e.g. *nege kuun* 'one person' vs. *gůrban kuun* 'three persons'. It is also affected by vowel sandhi, e.g. *neg'udur* 'one day' vs. *gůrban udur* 'three days'.

In its currently surviving variety Khamnigan Mongol (Mergel Khamnigan) uses 10,000 as the basis for the higher powers of ten, as in 100,000 *arban tume/n*, 1,000,000 *joon tume/n*. This pattern reflects, without doubt, the influence of Chinese, transmitted through Written Mongol and Mongol proper, as used in Inner Mongolia. Also through Written Mongol comes the Tibetan numeral 100,000,000 *donsiur*. Chinese influence may be present in the commonly used expressions 100 *nege joo/n*, 1,000 *nege mingga/n*, 10,000 *nege tume/n* (with *nege* 'one').

Complex numerals are expressed by means of mechanic addition and multiplication. The resulting constructions seem to be either compound words (addition) or regular attributive phrases (multiplication), e.g. 11 *arban+nege/n*, 21 *korin+nege/n*, 200 *koir joo/n*, 300 *gůrban joo/n*. In technical contexts, under the influence of the Chinese system and Mongol proper, the literary conjunction *bugeed* 'and' is used to indicate missing intermediate units (zeros) in complex numerals, as in 101 *nege joo bugeed nege/n*, 1001 *nege mingga bugeed bugeed nege/n*.

Regular derivatives based on the numeral stems include the ordinals in *.dAki* or *.dugAAr*, e.g. *gůrba.daki* or *gůrba.dugaar* 'third'; the collectives in *.Ula/n*, e.g. *durbe.ele/n* 'four together', *tabo.ola/n* 'five together'; and the approximatives in *.Ad*, e.g. *tabi.ed* 'about fifty', *jira.ad* 'about sixty'. In all these cases, the numeral stems ending in the unstable */n* lose this segment. The multiplicative function is normally filled by the noun *ůdaa* (> *+udaa*) 'time', before which the unstable */n* is lost. Additionally, the final vowel of the numeral stems is lost due to sandhi, suggesting that it is a question of compound words, e.g. *neg+udaa* 'once', *gůrb+udaa* 'three times'. The multiplicative constructions can also indicate the ordering of consecutive actions, 'for the first time', 'for the third time'.

PRONOUNS

Unlike some other peripheral Mongolic languages, and in spite of its general conservativeness, Khamnigan Mongol has a pronominal system relatively close to Mongol proper. In the personal pronouns (Table 4.4.), only the first and second person stems are preserved, and the innovative first person plural inclusive stem has replaced the original pronoun in the basic form (nominative). The difference between the exclusive and inclusive functions is, however, consistently made in the oblique paradigms. The morphology of the personal pronouns is regular with the exception of the variation in the stem structure (Table 4.4).

The basic forms of the monosyllabic personal pronouns also have the longer shapes sg. 1p. *bii*, 2p. *cii*, pl. 2p. *taa*, which are used in stressed positions. The stem pl. 2p. *taa*

TABLE 4.4 KHAMNIGAN MONGOL PERSONAL PRONOUNS

		1p.		2p.
sg.	nom.	*bi*		*ci*
	gen.	*minii*		*cinii*
	obl.	*nama-*		*cima-*
		excl.	incl.	
pl.	nom.		*bide*	*ta*
	gen.	*manie*	*bidenie*	*tanie*
	obl.	*man-*	*biden-*	*tan-*

functions both as a regular plural pronoun and as an honorific address to a single person. To make the difference more clear, the plural function can also be expressed by the suffixally marked derivative *taa.nar*. The plural oblique stems 1p. excl. *man-* and 2 p. *tan-* serve as the basis for the special forms *mantaasi* and *tantaasi*, which function as a kind of directives: 'to our/your place'. Formally, they conform to the pattern of the petrified demonstrative directives *naasi* 'to this place, over here' and *caasi* 'to that place, over there'.

The demonstrative pronouns are *ene* : obl. ***eneen-*** 'this' vs. *tere* : obl. *tereen-*, with the corresponding plurals *ede* 'these' vs. *tede* 'those'. Another stem functioning as a demonstrative is ***eehun-***, which, however, originally is a reflexive pronoun (< **öxe.sü/n*). The pronoun *tere* is also used in the function of the personal pronoun for the third person 'he, she, it', which can be further substantivized into *tere kuun* 'that person'. In the personal function, the plural is *tedeen* 'they', against *tedegeer* 'those'. The form *tedeen*, like *taa.nar*, can also be used for the second person plural 'you', replacing the ambiguous primary pronoun *ta*.

Commonly used correlative derivatives from the demonstrative stems include: *eime* 'like this' vs. *teime* 'like that, such' (with an unexpected second-syllable vowel against Written Mongol **vjimu** vs. **tajimu**), *edui* 'this much' vs. *tedui* 'that much, so much', and *ende* 'here' vs. *tende* 'there'. The modal forms conv. mod. ***(*)ei-n*** vs. ***(*)tei-n*** are mainly preserved in the composition of the verbal compounds conv. perf. *ein/g+geed* 'thus' vs. *tein/g+geed* or *tei+geed* 'so' (based on either *+ge-* 'to say' or *+ki-* 'do do'). The derivative *odoo* 'now' is morphologically isolated and seems to have lost its synchronic connection with the demonstrative pronouns.

The interrogative pronouns are ***ken*** 'who' and *yee/n* < **yexü/n* 'what' : dat. *yeen-du* 'why'. The latter stem frequently appears in the shape *yuu/n*, which seems to be influenced by other Mongolic languages (Buryat and/or Mongol proper). The stem *yee-* is also present in the indefinite pronoun *yee.me* 'something', while the root *ke-* yields the derivatives *ker* 'how' and *kejie* 'when'. Other interrogative words are *kaa-* : loc. *kaa-na* 'where' : dir. *kaa-si* 'in what direction', as well as *yamar* 'what kind of' and *yaa-* 'to do what' : conv. perf. *yaa/g-aad* 'how, why'.

Finally, Khamnigan Mongol has the Common Mongolic reflexive pronoun *eer-* 'oneself', which regularly appears in combination with the reflexive marker, as in refl. abs. *eer-ee/n* 'by oneself', dat. *eer-te-e/n* 'for oneself'. Only the genitive form is used without the reflexive marker: gen. *eer-ein* 'one's own'. Reciprocity is normally expressed by the reflexive forms of the construction ***nege nege/n*** 'the one and the other', e.g. dat. refl. ***nege negendee/n*** 'to each other'.

POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

Like all the neighbouring Mongolic languages, Khamnigan Mongol has a set of possessive suffixes based on the postposited and slightly modified genitive forms of the personal pronouns (Table 4.5). For the third person (both singular and plural), a neutralized reflex of the original pronominal genitives is used.

The possessive suffixes can also be added to the oblique case forms, e.g. instr. px sg. 2p. *morier-cini* 'with your horse'. The genitive case often incorporates the nominativizer *-ki-*, e.g. gen.(-nom.) px 3p. *akaing-ki-ni* 'of his elder brother'. Compared with the case markers, the bond of the possessive suffixes with the preceding (inflected or uninflected) word is clearly weaker. This is indicated both by the nasal sandhi, e.g. px 3p. *moring-ni*

TABLE 4.5 KHAMNIGAN MONGOL POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

	sg.		pl.
1p.	*-mini*		*-mAnA*
2p.	*-cini*		*-tAnA*
3p.		*-ni*	

'his horse' (morphophonologically from *morin+ni*), and by the apparent absence of labial harmony (in the pl. 1p. and 2p. suffixes).

It is apparent that the use of the possessive suffixes in Khamnigan Mongol is supported by the presence of an analogous system in Khamnigan Ewenki. The possessive suffixes are, however, not obligatory. In ordinary speech, three alternatives are available for the expression of the possessive relationship: (1) the synthetic construction involving a possessive suffix, e.g. *ijii-mini* 'my mother', (2) the analytic construction involving a pronominal genitive plus a noun in basic form, e.g. *minii ijii* id., and (3) the pleonastic construction containing both the synthetic and the analytic marker of possession, e.g. *minii ijii-mini* id. However, in well-developed style, as in folklore texts, the synthetic construction seems to prevail.

As elsewhere in Mongolic, the suffixes sg. 2p. *-cini* and 3p. *-ni* are frequently used without direct reference to a possessor. In such use they are probably best analysed as deictic determinants connected with the category of *definiteness*. In this function, the possessive suffixes can be incongruent with a preceding pronominal genitive, as in *tanie koir ukin-cini yaagaa* 'what happened to your [honorific pl. 2p.] two daughters [px sg. 2p.]?' Possessive suffixes which refer to the discourse situation can also be added to pronouns and pronominal adverbs, e.g. px sg. 2p. *ene-cini* 'this one here [of which we are talking]', px sg. 2p. *bide-cini* 'we here [who are talking to you]', px 3p. *tende-ni* 'there [in the situation under talk]'.

Khamnigan Mongol retains the Common Mongolic reflexive paradigm, which is marked by the element *-A-A/n*, preceded by the connective consonant *g* after double vowel stems. The basic (absolutive) reflexive form denotes the direct object and replaces the accusative, while the other case forms involve a combination of the case endings with the reflexive marker, e.g. *aka* 'elder brother' : abs. refl. *aka-a/n* : abl. *aka-aha-a/n* : instr. *aka-ar-a-a/n*. As in the possessive declension, the genitive shows the additional element *k*, e.g. gen. (-nom.) refl. *aka-ing-k-a-a/n*. The dative is also exceptional, being based on the suffix variants *-dA-* resp. *-tA-* (instead of *-dU-* resp. *-tU-*), e.g. *nitug* 'homeland' : dat. refl. *nitug-ta-a/n*.

IMPERATIVES

In addition to the basic verbal stem there are three commonly used imperative forms, which correspond to the Common Mongolic voluntative, benedictive, and prescriptive forms (Table 4.6). The plain suffix variants are attached to stems ending in a single vowel (V), while consonant stems (C) and double vowel stems (VV) are under certain conditions accompanied by connective segments. It may be noted that, in difference from Written Mongol (and, as it seems, Proto-Mongolic), consonant stems do not require the connective vowel before the voluntative suffix.

Functionally, the prescriptive and benedictive, as compared with the basic unmarked imperative, express successively more polite requests addressed to the second person,

TABLE 4.6 KHAMNIGAN MONGOL IMPERATIVE MARKERS

	C	VV	V
vol.			*-yAA*
ben.	*-U-*		*-gtUi*
prescr.	*-U-*	*/g-A-*	*-Arie*

TABLE 4.7 KHAMNIGAN MONGOL NON-FINITE VERBAL MARKERS

		C	VV	V	O
part.	fut.			*-ku*	
	imperf.	*/u-*	*/g-A-*	*-A*	
	perf.			*-hAn*	
	hab.			*-dAg*	*-tAg*
	ag.	*/u-*	*/g-A-*	*-Aci*	
conv.	mod.	*/u-*		*-n*	
	imperf.			*-ji*	*-ci*
	perf.	*/u-*	*/g-A-*	*-Ad*	
	cond.	*/u-*	*/g-A-*	*-Aha*	

both singular and plural, e.g. imp. *yabu* 'go!', prescr. *yaboorie* '[please] go!', ben. *yabugtui* '[would you please] go!'. In practice, the benedictive is often combined with the honorific use of the pronoun *ta* 'you [honoured one]'. The voluntative refers to the first person, both singular and plural, e.g. vol. *yabuyaa* 'let me/us go!'.

NON-FINITE VERBAL FORMS

As far as non-finite forms are concerned, Khamnigan Mongol retains in productive use all the Common Mongolic participle markers as well as at least four basic converb markers (Table 4.7). Several markers have different variants for vowel stems (V), double vowel stems (VV), consonant stems (C), as well as, more specifically, obstruent stems (O).

It may again be noted that, due to morphological restructuring, the perfective and habitive participle markers do not require a connective vowel after consonant stems in Khamnigan Mongol, although a connective vowel is diachronically present in these cases, as is still evident from Written Mongol. For the perfective participle, this restructing was obviously conditioned by the simplification of the original suffix-initial consonant cluster: *-hAn* < **-sAn* < **-gsAn*, e.g. part. perf. *ab-han* '[the one who has] taken' < **ab/u-gsan*. The connective vowel, or a synchronically transparent morphological trace of it, is, however, well preserved in the other relevant categories of the non-finite conjugation.

Although all the mentioned non-finite forms may be regarded as productive in Khamnigan Mongol, not all of them have retained their original status and functions. Thus, the imperfective participle is rarely used in the nominal (substantival or adjectival) function, but it is well preserved in its predicative use, in which it functions as the main form of the past tense. Also, the modal converb seems to have been more or less completely replaced by the imperfective converb, except in lexicalized phrases like *karin*

'but, however'. It survives, however, in the negative construction of the type conv. mod. neg. *kele-ng-gui* 'without saying', from *kele-* 'to say, to speak'. The imperfective converb itself cannot be negated, so its negative counterpart is inevitably based on the modal converb.

The agentive participle marker in *-Aci* < **-xA-ci*, whose diachronic status as a participle marker is controversial, is probably also synchronically most appropriate to analyse as a simple deverbal nominal derivative suffix, e.g. part. ag. *keleeci* (*kele.eci*) 'speaker', *abooci* (*abo.oci* < **abu-xa-ci*) 'taker, the one who takes'. The Common Mongolic alternative suffix variant *-gci* < **-g.ci* is present in recent borrowings from Written Mongol and Mongol proper, e.g. *sůru.gci* 'student'. It is also attested in the apparently native lexicalized formation *ge.gci* 'called [by name]', which is used predicatively, as in *ken ge.gci bei* 'how are [you] called?'.

The conditional converb shows the original Proto-Mongolic marker (**-xA-sU* >) **-xA-sA*, e.g. *ire-ehe* 'if [he] comes', *oci-eha* 'if [he] goes'. The item *aaha* < **a-xa-sa* 'if it is', based on the otherwise lost auxiliary root **a-* 'to be', has been lexicalized into what may synchronically be analysed as a conditional conjunction with the meaning 'if'. A similar lexicalization has taken place in the terminative converb form *kurter* < **kür-tel* 'until', based on *kur-* 'to reach'. The terminative converb does not appear to survive as a productive category in Khamnigan Mongol.

FINITE INDICATIVE FORMS

The finite conjugation in Khamnigan Mongol preserves the durative, terminative, resultative, and confirmative forms of Proto-Mongolic (Table 4.8). None of the markers concerned requires a connective vowel after consonant stems, but the resultative marker retains its special variant for obstruent stems (O). Diachronically, the most remarkable feature of the Khamnigan Mongol indicative conjugation is the preservation of the final nasal in the durative marker *-nAn* < **-nAm*. The durative is also the only indicative form which has a suffixally marked plural, synchronically used as a part of the personal paradigm.

The durative form functions as a general present tense, e.g. dur. sg. 3p. *yabunan* '[he] travels', pl. 3p. *yabunad* 'they travel'. It can, in principle, also refer to habitual or future actions, but in these spheres its use is restricted by the fact that the habitive and futuritive participles can be used predicatively to replace the indicative verb, e.g. part. hab. *yabudag* '[he] always travels', part. fut. *yabuku* '[he] will travel'. Similarly, the terminative, confirmative, and resultative forms all refer to past or completed actions, but in normal speech they are replaced by the predicatively used imperfective participle, e.g. part. imperf. *yaboo* '[he] went', as used for sg. 3p. term. *yabubaa*, conf. *yabulaa*, res. *yabujie*. By contrast, the perfective participle is normally not used predicatively in Khamnigan Mongol.

TABLE 4.8 KHAMNIGAN MONGOL FINITE TENSE-ASPECT MARKERS

		pl.	O
dur.	*-nAn*	*-na-d*	
term.	*-bA(-A)*		
conf.	*-lAA*		
res.	*-jie*		*-cie*

For all verbal categories, a periphrastic progressive construction can be formed by using the imperfective converb followed by the required form of the auxiliary *bai-* 'to be'. The converb suffix can also be amalgamated with the auxiliary stem into *-jai-* or (for obstruent stems) *-cai-* (without vowel harmony), which synchronically may be analysed as a deverbal derivative suffix expressing the progressive (continuative) aspect. The progressive construction most often occurs in the durative form, e.g. *yabu-ji bai-nan* or *yabu.jai-nan* '[he] is travelling'. The use of the progressive construction does not seem to be obligatory, however.

PREDICATIVE PERSONAL ENDINGS

Khamnigan Mongol, like its immediate neighbours in the west (Buryat) and east (Dagur) belong to the type of Mongolic languages that have a set of personal predicative endings, based on the personal pronouns. The endings are formally transparent and more or less identical with the basic forms of the corresponding pronouns (Table 4.9).

The pl. 3p. element *-d* is strictly speaking not a personal ending, but a plural suffix of nominal derivation. It is only used in connection with the durative marker (*-na.d*), in which it replaces the final nasal of the corresponding singular form (*-na.n*). In all other cases both the singular and the plural remain unmarked (Ø) in the third person.

The predicative personal endings can, in principle, be attached to any word used as the predicate of a main clause, be it a noun, a finite verbal form, or a participle. In case of a nominal predicate, no copula is required, e.g. vx sg. 1p. *kuum-bi* 'I am a man' : 2p. *kuun-ci* 'you are a man' : 3p. *kuun* '[he] is a man'; (nom.) pl. 1p. *ende-ki-bide* 'we are from here' : 2p. *ende-ki-te* 'you are from here' : 3p. *ende-ki* '[they] are from here'. Depending on the context, however, the use of the personal endings can be facultative. This may be due to the influence of languages with no personal conjugation (Written Mongol, Mongol proper), but it may also reflect an internal tendency, within Khamnigan Mongol.

There are also some restrictions governing the use of the personal endings in connection with the finite forms. Most importantly, the endings are normally not used in connection with the imperative paradigm. Of the indicative paradigm, only the durative is commonly conjugated in persons, e.g. *kara-* 'to watch' : dur. vx sg. 1p. *kara-nam-bi* 'I watch' : 2p. *kara-nan-ci* 'you watch' : 3p. *kara-nan* '[he] watches' : pl. 1p. *kara-nam-bide* 'we watch' : 2p. *kara-nan-ta* 'you watch' : 3p. *kara-na.d* 'they watch'. This is apparently due to the fact that the durative is a living form used in regular colloquial speech. By contrast, the terminative, confirmative, and resultative forms are mainly restricted to folkloric texts, in which they normally refer to the third person with zero ending.

It has to be noted that the markers of the terminative, confirmative, and resultative forms all typically end in a long vowel element (double vowel or diphthongoid).

TABLE 4.9 KHAMNIGAN MONGOL PREDICATIVE PERSONAL ENDINGS

	sg.	pl.
1p.	*-bi*	*-bide*
2p.	*-ci*	*-tA*
3p.	*-Ø*	*[-d]*

Although this is in itself no obstacle to personal conjugation, the narrative context of these forms, accompanied by their phrase-final position, often implies an element of emphasis. This pattern can be extended to the durative marker, which then appears as *-nAA*, e.g. dur. emph. *yabu-naa*. Unlike the regular durative marker, the emphatic variant does not seem to take personal endings.

To compensate for the loss of the temporal-aspectual categories now only marginally expressed by the terminative, confirmative, and resultative forms, Khamnigan Mongol (like Buryat) uses the imperfective participle, which therefore is fully conjugated in persons, e.g. part. imperf. sg. 1p. *kara-a-bi* 'I watched' : 2p. *kara-a-ci* 'you watched' : 3p. *kara-a* 'he watched' : pl. 1p. *kara-a-bide* 'we watched' : 2p. *kara-a-ta* 'you watched' : 3p. *kara-a* 'they watched'. This suggests that the earlier complex system of aspectual distinctions is being transformed into a simple tense system with a present and a past temporal sphere.

The temporal system formed by the finite indicative durative and the predicatively used imperfective participle is completed by the futuritive participle, which, when used predicatively, expresses the future tense, e.g. part. fut. vx sg. 1p. *kara-ku-bi* 'I shall watch' : 2p. *kara-ku-ci* 'you will watch' : 3p. *kara-ku* '[he] will watch' : pl. 1p. *kara-ku-bide* 'we shall watch' : 2p. *kara-ku-ta* 'you will watch' : 3p. *kara-ku* 'they will watch'. Similarly, the habitive participle can be used predicatively to express habitually or frequently occurring action, e.g. part. hab. vx sg. 1p. *kara-dag-bi* 'I use to watch, I frequently watch', etc. Thus, there are altogether four verbal forms that occur productively in combination with the personal endings. Their functions may be summarized as: present tense (durative), past tense (imperfective participle), future tense (futuritive participle), and habitive aspect (habitive participle).

While the subject of a main clause is indicated by the predicative personal endings, the possessive and reflexive suffixes can fill a similar role in subordinated clauses. This is very common in quasiconverbs (converbially used adverbial case forms of participles), e.g. part. fut. dat. px 3p. *ire-ku-du-ni* 'when he comes/came [with a change of subject in the following clause]', part. fut. dat. refl. *yabu-ku-da-a/n* 'when he goes/went [with no change of subject in the following clause]'. The possessive suffixes can also be attached to the conditional converb, though apparently only in the third person, e.g. conv. cond. px sg. 3. *iree-he-ni* 'if he comes'. Other converbs do not take personal endings of any kind.

SYNTAX

Khamnigan Mongol exhibits most of the typical Common Mongolic syntactic patterns at the level of both simple clauses and complex sentences. Within the clause, the basic unmarked word order is invariably subject-object-predicate (SOV), with the attribute preceding its nominal headword (GAN). Embedded sentences are linked to their headwords by converbs and quasiconverbs (adverbial), as well as by participles (attributive). With some exceptions (elaborated above), there is agreement between the person of the subject and the personal ending of the predicate (vx or px).

Apart from word order and inflectional forms, syntactic relations and sentence types are distinguished by particles. The particle for *interrogation* has the shape *gu*, which follows the fully conjugated predicate, either nominal or verbal, e.g. *hain gu* 'is [it] good?', part. imperf. vx sg. 2p. *yadaraaci gu* 'are you tired?'. Sentences which contain an interrogative word take, however, the corrogative particle *bei*, e.g. *tere ken bei* 'who is he?',

ta kejie ireete bei 'when did you come?', *ci yaagaad eime teneg bei* 'how come are you so stupid?'. In casual speech, the particle *bei* can be omitted, e.g. *bide yaanan* 'what shall we do?'.

For the expression of *negation*, Khamnigan Mongol uses the Common Mongolic negative particles *bisi*, *buu*, *ugui*. The particle *bisi* functions as a negative copula and negates the identity of a nominal phrase, e.g. *ene bisi* '[it is] not this [one]', *hain bisi* '[it is] not good'. The particle *buu* expresses prohibition and negates the finite forms of the imperative paradigm, e.g. *buu kele* 'do not mention [it]!', prescr. *buu martaarie* '[please] do not forget [it]!'. It is also used in the fixed phrase *buu mede* 'I do not know; who knows?' (literally: 'do not know!').

The functions of the negative particle (noun) *ugui* are the most variegated and vacillate, as in other Mongolic languages, between syntax and morphology. In Khamnigan Mongol, *ugui* is used (1) as a separate phrase forming a general negative answer with the meaning 'no'; (2) as a negative existential predicate with the meaning 'there is not', e.g. *kuun ugui* 'there is not a person [there]'; (3) as the negation of possession, e.g. *manie kajaar ugui, emeel ugui* 'we do not have a bridle, nor a saddle'; (4) as the negation of the presence of a nominal attribute, e.g. *ner' ugui* 'without a name, nameless'; (5) as the negation of several predicatively used finite or infinite verbal forms. In the last two functions, *ugui* can, under appropriate phonological and morphological conditions, take the shape *-gui*, which may also be analysed as a suffix of either the nominal declension (privative case) or the verbal conjugation (negative conjugation).

The verbal forms which can be negated with *-(u)gui* are: (1) the predicatively used futuritive, imperfective, and habitive participles, e.g. part. fut. neg. *yabu-k-ugui* '[he] will not go', part. imperf. neg. *yabo-o-gui* '[he] did not go', part. hab. neg. *yabu-dag-gui* '[he] (normally) does not go'; (2) the durative form of the indicative finite conjugation, e.g. *yabu-nang-gui* '[he] does not go'; and (3) the modal converb, e.g. *yabu-ng-gui* 'without going'. As it seems that the terminative, confirmative and resultative forms cannot be negated and the perfective participle does not occur predicatively, the imperfective participle is the only form of the past tense sphere that has negation. Similarly, in the converbial sphere the only form that can be negated is the modal converb.

The status of the element *-(u)gui* in the negative verbal constructions is open to several alternative analyses. The morphophonological variation between *-ugui* and *-gui* suggests that it may be a question of a suffix, though at least the full shape *-ugui* might also be analysed as a clitic (*=ugui*). From the point of view of morpheme order it is important to note that the endings of the predicative personal conjugation always follow *-(u)gui*, e.g. part. fut. neg. vx sg. 1p. *yabu-k-ugui-bi* 'I will not go'. On the other hand, the suffixal bond of the personal endings seems also to be rather loose, which might allow the negative complexes to be analysed as purely syntactic sequences (with the impact of sandhi phenomena): *yabuk' ugui bi.*

Another enclitic particle is *=ci*, which originally had a general emphatic function, but which in Khamnigan Mongol mainly serves to mark the indefinite use of interrogative pronouns, e.g. *yee/n* 'what' : *yee=ci* 'something, anything, whatever'. The indefinite pronouns are also used in negative clauses, in which case the particle *=ci* functions as a *connegative* marker (implicating the presence of negation in the clause), e.g. *yee=ci kie-gui-bi* 'I did not do anything', *yamar=ci amitan baik-ugui* 'there is no animal of any kind [there]'.

The marking of *topicalization* is not well developed in Khamnigan Mongol, though the non-possessive use of the px sg. 2p. *-cini* after a subject noun or pronoun may occasionally be assumed to have a topicalizing connotation. In a style approaching Modern

Written Mongol and Mongol proper, the particle *bol* can, however, be used, although it does not seem to be native in Khamnigan Mongol, e.g. *manie abu ijii bol baroon koitu jug yaboo* '[as for] our father and mother [they] went to the northwest'. The corresponding native expression is conv. cond. *bai/g-aaha* 'as for', from *bai-* 'to be', but it is rarely used in normal speech.

LEXICON

The areal position of Khamnigan Mongol is well reflected in the lexicon. In details for which Buryat and Mongol proper show different semantic or derivational developments, Khamnigan Mongol normally goes together with Buryat. In some of these cases it may be a question of innovations, as in *tariki/n* 'head' (Mongol 'brain'), *hamagan* 'wife' (Mongol 'old woman'), *ilaahu/n* 'fly' (Mongol **ilaxa/n* 'gadfly'), but in others Khamnigan Mongol and Buryat preserve the more original state, e.g. *kubee/n* 'son' (lost in Mongol), *udesi* 'evening' (marginalized in Mongol). There are also some lexical items that are only attested in Buryat and Khamnigan Mongol, notably the word *jon* 'people'.

The archaicness of Khamnigan Mongol is even more obvious from lexical items which in Mongol proper have undergone sporadic phonological innovations, e.g. ***kuun*** 'man, person' (Mongol **küxün* > **kün*), *huni* 'night' (Mongol ****söni*** > ****sinö***), ***caarhu/n*** 'paper' (Mongol **caarsu/n* > **caasu/n*), *nilbuhu/n* 'tear/s' (Mongol ****nilbusu/n*** > ****nulmusu/n***), ***mulihu/n*** 'ice' (Mongol **mölisü/n* > **mösü/n*), *ucugul-dur* 'yesterday' (Mongol **öcegel-dür* > **öcige-dür*). In these cases Buryat normally also reflects the original state, though, at the same time, it has undergone other (regular) innovations absent in Khamnigan Mongol.

For the historical dialectology of Mongolic, lexical items which show irregular phonological innovations shared by Khamnigan Mongol and Buryat are of particular interest. Such items do, indeed, exist, but they are not numerous. Possible examples are *keeged* 'children' (with **k* > *g*, cf. Mongol **keüke.d*) and *degel* 'coat' (with **x* > *g*, cf. Mongol **dexel* < **depel*). On the other hand, in many cases it is impossible to determine which side is ultimately more innovative. For instance, *gajaa* (< **gaja-xa* << **gadi-xa*) 'outside' and *jocoo* (< **doco-xo* << **doti-xa*) 'inside' (Mongol **gada-xa* and **dota-xa*) show a special development in Khamnigan Mongol and Buryat, but the difference with regard to Mongol proper seems to go back to a primary variation in Proto-Mongolic.

It goes without saying that Khamnigan Mongol has also received secondary lexical influences from both Buryat and Mongol proper. These are technically distinguishable from the inherited native lexicon only when they show non-Khamnigan phonological features. Loanwords connected with social and technological concepts are often adopted through Written Mongol, which means that they automatically receive a more archaic look than they have in contemporary Mongol proper, e.g. *ûlus* 'country', *kûbiskal* 'revolution'. Some non-technical items have, however, reached Khamnigan Mongol directly through the oral medium, e.g. *bas* 'also', cf. the native Khamnigan Mongol *baha* 'still' (< **basa*).

The principal sources of non-Mongolic lexical elements are Russian and Chinese. Russian elements prevail in the premodern layer of cultural vocabulary, e.g. *ciuske* 'pig', *kartoobka* 'potato', *istool* 'table', *laampa* 'lamp', while the current source of similar items is Chinese (Mandarin), e.g. *suuliu* 'plastic' (also native *kûika* id.), *nangku* 'vacuum bottle' (also native *kaloon haba* 'hot bottle'). In some cases it is possible that Russian and Chinese loanwords have actually entered Khamnigan Mongol through the intermediation

of the dialects of Mongol proper, e.g. *masiin* 'car' (from Russian), *congko/n* 'window' (from Chinese).

Due to the inherited bilingualism of the Khamnigan, the language with which Khamnigan Mongol contacts most intensively on a daily basis is, of course, Ewenki (Khamnigan Ewenki). It is, however, curious that, apart from structural interference in the past, there are very few Ewenki elements in regular Khamnigan Mongol speech. Lexical influence is transmitted almost solely from Khamnigan Mongol into Khamnigan Ewenki, but not vice versa. This situation is, without doubt, indicative of the inherent dominance of Khamnigan Mongol as the community language of the entire Khamnigan population.

For the bilingual Khamnigan it must, nevertheless, be of practical importance that Khamnigan Mongol and Khamnigan Ewenki share a large number of lexical items. Some of these are very basic grammatical words, e.g. *bi* 'I', *gu* [interrogative particle], whose diachronic interpretation can still be disputed. Most are, however, unambiguous loanwords transmitted from Mongolic into Tungusic during a sequence of historical periods of contacting. In the most recent layer, Khamnigan Mongol words are simply used as such in Khamnigan Ewenki, but in the older layers various differences are observed, through which insights can be gained into the diachrony of both languages and language families.

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CHAPTER FIVE

BURYAT

Elena Skribnik

Buryat (*buryaad xelen*) is a Northern Mongolic language presently spoken by *c.* 363,000 people out of an ethnic population of 421,380 (according to the census of 1989). The Buryat are divided among three administrative units of the Russian Federation: (1) the Buryat Republic or Buryatia, east and south of Lake Baikal, (2) the Aga National District (*okrug*) of Chita Province (*oblast'*), east of Buryatia, and (3) the Ust'-Orda National District of Irkutsk Province, west of Lake Baikal. Additionally, there are at least 100,000 ethnic Buryat in the northern and eastern provinces of Mongolia as well as in Inner Mongolia, China.

Traditionally, the Buryat are divided into two principal territorial groups: the Western (or Cis-Baikalian) Buryat and the Eastern (or Trans-Baikalian) Buryat. This division correlates with both dialectal and cultural differences, which have tended to grow since the eighteenth century, when the Eastern Buryat started to convert from Shamanism to Buddhism, while the Western Buryat were Christianized. As a result, the effects of acculturation and linguistic Russification are more pronounced among the Western Buryat, while the Eastern Buryat have retained cultural and linguistic links with the rest of the Mongolic world.

The current level of native-language proficiency among ethnic Buryat varies (according to Dyrxeeva) from 78.7 per cent in the cities of Buryatia to 95.5 per cent among the rural population of the Aga District. At the same time, the knowledge of Russian as either the first or the second language varies between 97.3 and 99.5 per cent for all Buryat groups living in the Russian Federation. The proportion of children monolingual in Buryat is rapidly decreasing especially in the cities, where only 18.1 per cent of Buryat children attend a Buryat primary school against 48.9 per cent in the villages. The patterns of bilingualism are different for the Buryat groups in Mongolia and China, but the general trend is that Buryat is being abandoned in favour of the more dominant languages.

Historically, the linguistic ancestors of the Buryat are known to have been living in the Baikal region since the ninth and tenth centuries. The emergence of Buryat as a separate Mongolic language, however, took place only later, and was possibly due to a Tungusic substrate. The assumption of Tungusic influence is supported by data from archaeology, anthropology, ethnography, onomastics, folklore, and linguistics. The most important linguistic argument is the prevocalic development **s* > *h*, which distinguishes Buryat from all other Mongolic languages with the exception of Khamnigan Mongol. It has to be noted that Buryat, with its numerous divergent dialects, shows generally very little diachronic coherence. The reasons why Buryat is traditionally regarded as a single language are, therefore, partly extralinguistic.

Small remnant populations of Tungusic (Ewenki) speakers survive up to the present day in some parts of Buryatia, notably in the Barguzin valley east of Lake Baikal. Other aboriginal neighbours of, especially, the Western Buryat include the Turkic speaking populations of the Sayan region (Tuva, Tofa). It is also generally assumed that the Upper Lena basin west of Lake Baikal was once inhabited by the Kurykan Turks (*Üc Qurïqan*),

the linguistic ancestors of the modern Yakut. Part of the Kurykan Turks were apparently assimilated by the Mongolic speaking ancestors of the Western Buryat, while another part moved along the Lena towards the north. Until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there were also Samoyedic and Yeniseic speakers in the Western Buryat sphere of influence.

DATA AND SOURCES

Buryat was the first living Mongolic language to become an object of synchronic description. The pioneering Buryat grammar of M. A. Castrén (1857) has been followed by several other grammars and grammatical sketches, including those by Nicholas Poppe (1938, 1960, 1964), G. D. Sanzheev (1941), T. A. Bertagaev (1968), and A. A. Darbeeva (1997). The first official 'academic' description of Buryat phonology and morphology was prepared under the editorship of Sanzheev *et al.* (1962), complemented by a separate volume on syntax by Bertagaev and C. B. Cydendambaev (1962). A Western textbook of Buryat was compiled by James Bosson (1962).

More specific treatments of Buryat phonetics and phonology, both synchronic and diachronic, are those by I. D. Buraev (1959, 1987), B. Zh. Budaev (1981), as well as, most importantly, V. I. Rassadin (1982). Issues of grammatical categories, syntactic functions, sentence structure, and stylistics are discussed by Cydendambaev (1979), C.-Zh. Cydypov (1972), Elena Skribnik (1988), and L. D. Shagdarov (1974). The largest bilingual dictionaries are those by Cydendambaev (1954) and K. M. Cheremisov (1973), while U.-Zh. Sh. Dondukov (1964) and C. B. Budaev (1978) discuss other aspects of lexicology. G. A. Dyrxeeva (1996) has analysed the current sociolinguistic position of Buryat.

Altogether, Buryat is one of the best documented and researched Mongolic languages. This is partly due to the fact that Buryat is the literary language of a relatively large ethnic population with a high general level of education. The existence of the literary language has, however, not diminished the interest in research into the Buryat dialects. To the contrary, dialectological research (as well as political considerations) have caused important changes in the dialectal basis of the literary language. After the already very detailed and sophisticated work of A. D. Rudnev (1913–14), there has appeared a vast literature on Buryat dialectology. Some of the most important recent dialectological contributions include those by Budaev (1992), Buraev (1996), and Rassadin (1996, 1999).

Before the introduction of the modern literary language, the Eastern Buryat (but generally not the Western Buryat) used, starting in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Written Mongol as their principal literary medium. Few of the early texts compiled in the Buryat sphere are preserved, but from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries there is a representative corpus of literature, including historical chronicles, genealogical descriptions, and translations of religious and philosophical texts.

Written Mongol, as used by the Buryat, gradually received features from the spoken language, making it different from the written language used by the speakers of Mongol proper. Some of the specific features of 'Written Buryat-Mongol' are discussed by G. C. Cybikov (1993). In 1905, another Buryat scholar, Agvan Dorzhiev, following the principles of the Oirat script, created an entirely separate orthography for Buryat. The new orthography was based on the phonemic principle and contained a set of thirty-six letters, graphically invariant for all positions (initial, medial, final). The Buryat phoneme *h* was expressed by a special letter, while diacritics were used to indicate vowel length

and palatalization. However, Dorzhiev's creation never received wider applications, probably because it was culturally inferior to the Mongol script.

DIALECTS

In the history of Buryat language studies, several classifications of dialects have been proposed. The central problem of all classifications concerns the border between Buryat and its Mongolic neighbours, Mongol proper and Khamnigan Mongol. Most Buryat linguists regard Khamnigan Mongol as a Buryat dialect, but the normal criteria of linguistic taxonomy (the number of positive isoglosses) do not support this identification. Similarly, the so-called Tsongol and Sartul dialects, spoken at the border between Buryat and Khalkha, are conventionally counted as belonging to the Buryat language, although almost all of their taxonomic characteristics, including even the behaviour of prevocalic **s*, point to an intimate connection with Mongol proper. Linguistically, the Tsongol and Sartul dialects may be viewed as varieties of Mongol proper, which since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have been spoken on the Russian side of the border.

With these qualifications, the actual dialects of Buryat may be divided into the following five entities:

(1) The Lower Uda (Nizhneudinsk) dialect, spoken in the western periphery of the Buryat territory. This is the most isolated Buryat dialect, which shows the strongest traces of Turkic (as well as, possibly, other non-Mongolic) substratal and adstratal influences.
(2) The Alar–Tunka group, spoken to the southwest of Lake Baikal, and comprising the Alar, Tunka–Oka, Zakamna, and Unga dialects. Some speakers of the Tunka dialect have, mainly relatively recently, moved to the Mongolian side of the border.
(3) The Ekhirit–Bulagat group, dominant in the Ust'-Orda National District and adjacent territories, located mainly to the west of Lake Baikal, and comprising the Ekhirit–Bulagat (proper), Bokhan, Ol'khon, Barguzin, and Baikal–Kudara dialects.
(4) The Khori group, spoken to the east of Lake Baikal, and comprising the Khori (proper), Aga, Tugnui, and North Selenga dialects. Most of the Buryat living in Mongolia, as well as a small group of emigrants living in Hulun Buir League of Inner Mongolia, are also speakers of the Khori group of dialects.
(5) The Bargut group, spoken since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the territory of the modern Hulun Buir League (historically known as Barga), and comprising the Old Bargut (or Chibchin) and New Bargut dialects.

Of these, the Lower Uda dialect, the Alar–Tunka group, and the Ekhirit–Bulagat group are spoken by people territorially representing the Western Buryat, while the Khori and Bargut groups are spoken by the Eastern Buryat. It may be noted, however, that some of the dialects with a Western Buryat background, notably the Barguzin dialect of the Ekhirit–Bulagat group, are actually distributed to the east of Lake Baikal, in territories otherwise dominated by the Eastern Buryat. This mixture is the result of a relatively recent expansion of the Western Buryat across Lake Baikal to previously non-Buryat territories.

For political reasons, the first modern literary language used by the Buryat, created in 1931 and using the Roman alphabet, was based on the actually non-Buryat Tsongol and Sartul dialects, also known as 'Southern Buryat'. The intention was to create a literary standard that could also have served the Mongols of Mongolia. In 1936, the basis of the

literary language was changed to correspond to the Khori dialect, spoken by the majority of all Buryat. Since 1939, the Buryat literary language has employed a Cyrillic orthography with three extra letters (for *h ö ü*). Though dialectally alien to the Western Buryat, the standard language has increased the coherence of the Buryat as a single linguistic entity. In addition to its use in printed publications, the standard language is used orally in education, as well as in radio and television broadcasting. The description below mainly follows the norms of the standard language.

SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

The Buryat vowel system (Table 5.1) has six short (single) and seven long (double) vowels. This is because the short vowel **ö* has merged with **ü*, while the long vowels *üü* and *öö* are preserved as separate entities, cf. e.g. *xül* 'foot, leg' < **köl*, *böö* 'shaman' < **büxe*. A tendency to merge short **i* and **e* is also observed under certain conditions, as in *shene* 'new' < **sine*, but with no paradigmatic consequences. Phonetically, the qualities of *e ü u o* show a considerable impact of rotation.

The neutralization **ö* and **ü* > *ü* is often considered to constitute one of the distinctive characteristics of Buryat, but it is actually also widely attested in dialects of Mongol proper, as well as in Khamnigan Mongol and Dagur. On the other hand, **ö* is preserved as a distinct short vowel in most dialects of the Western Buryat group, which in this, as well as in several other respects, resemble Oirat. The taxonomic value of the Buryat vowel paradigm is therefore small.

In addition to the six short (single) vowels *a e i o u ü* and the seven long (double) vowels *aa ee ii oo öö uu üü*, Buryat has the four 'diphthongs' (diphthongoid sequences) *ai oi ui üi*, of which *ai* [ɛ:] *oi* [œ:] *üi* [y:] often receive monophthongoid realizations. Dialectally, there is also a distinction between the long vowel *ee* [ə:] and the 'diphthong' *ei* [e:]; in the standard language, this distinction is present only at the morphophonological and orthographical levels. The synchronic status of the unique long vowel *öö* [o:], as opposed to both *oo* [ɔ:] and *oi* [œ:], remains problematic. There remains the possibility that *öö* might be best analysed as another 'diphthong', perhaps *ue*.

In the consonant system, Buryat has maximally 30 phonemes (Table 5.2), which, according to the manner of articulation, comprise the strong stops *p py t ty k ky*, the weak stops *b by d dy g gy*, the strong fricatives *s sh x xy*, the weak fricatives *z zh*, the nasals *m my n ny ng*, the laterals *l ly*, the vibrants *r ry*, and the glides *w y h*. In difference from Mongol proper, the phonetic distinction between the strong and weak stops often involves, even in initial position, the feature of voicing (unvoiced vs. voiced), rather than aspiration (aspirated vs. unaspirated). The distinction between the strong and weak sibilants is always based on voicing.

All categories of consonants, with the exception of the glides, are characterized by an opposition between unpalatalized (plain) and palatalized segments. Palatalization is phonetically realized either as a secondary articulation (*py by my*), as alveopalatalness

TABLE 5.1 BURYAT VOWELS

u	*ü*	*i*
o	(*ö*)	*e*
	a	

TABLE 5.2 BURYAT CONSONANTS

p	*py*	*t*	*ty*	*ky*	*k*
b	*by*	*d*	*dy*	*gy*	*g*
		s	*sh*	*xy*	*x*
		z	*zh*		
m	*my*	*n*	*ny*		*ng*
		l	*ly*		
		r	*ry*		
w				*y*	*h*

(*ty dy sh zh ny ly ry*), or as palatalness (*ky gy xy*). Diachronically, the palatalization of an initial consonant is normally due to the palatal breaking of the following back vowel, as in *myaxa/n* 'meat' < **mika/n*. In non-initial syllables also, palatalization reflects an original **i*, and it is also observed before the long front vowels *ee üü ii*, as in *eryeen* 'motley' < **eriyen*, *tülxyüür* 'key' < **tülkixür*, *mori/n* 'horse' : acc. *mory-iiyi*.

The strong stops *p py k ky* are secondary marginal phonemes, which only occur in recent loanwords and descriptive items. The same is true of the labial glide *w*, which, moreover, is distinctive (against *b*) only in initial position. The velar nasal *ng* < **ng*, on the other hand, though originally a separate phoneme, has almost completely lost its distinctive status, merging with **n* in most positions. Stem-finally *ng* remains, however, morphophonologically distinctive, and the distinction can at least dialectally be present even at the phonological level in the position before a suffix-initial dental obstruent, as in *an/g* 'game, hunting' : instr. *ang/g-aar* : dat. *ang-da* (also > *an-da*) vs. *on* 'year' : instr. *on-oor* : dat. *on-do*. In the standard orthography, *n* and *ng* are not distinguished.

The most important diachronic peculiarity of the Buryat consonant system is the spirantization of the affricates **c* vs. **j* into *s sh* vs. *z zh*, accompanied by the weakening (desibilization) of the sibilant **s* > *h* before vowels other than **i*. This has removed the original palatal affricates from the paradigm, though secondary dental affricates of the type *ts dz* are attested as emerging marginal phonemes in proper names of foreign origin. Due to the parallelism of the developments **s* > *h* and **c* > *s*, no actual neutralization of segments has taken place in cases like **sang* > *han/g* 'store house' vs. **cang* > *san/g* 'cymbal/s'. A neutralization has, however, affected the sequences **ci* **si* **shV*, as in **cinar* > *shanar* 'quality' vs. **sira* > *shara* 'yellow' vs. *shabi* 'disciple' < **shabi*.

The spirantization of **c* **j* is paralleled by that of the original strong velar stop **k* > *x xy*, and from the Buryat point of view it could be a question of a single diachronic process. In the comparative context, however, the spirantization of **k* is a separate phenomenon, widely present in Mongolic. In the Western Buryat dialects (like in Oirat), this development is only observed before original back vowels, while in the Eastern Buryat dialects (like in Mongol proper) it is valid for all prevocalic positions, as in **kola* > *xolo* 'distant', **kele/n* > *xele/n* 'tongue'. It has to be noted that the opposition of *x* (velar fricative) vs. *h* (laryngeal spirant) is typologically rather precarious, and it has tended to be lost in at least the Bargut dialects, in which pairs like *xara* 'black' < **kara* vs. *hara* 'moon' < **sara* seem to have been regularly neutralized.

WORD STRUCTURE

Generally, the Proto-Mongolic rules of word structure are well preserved in Buryat. Most importantly, there is no elision of final vowels, though the medial loss of a vowel

segment is observed under circumstances not yet fully understood, as in *malgai* 'hat' < **malagai*, *mülyhe/n* 'ice' < **mölisü/n*. As a new type, words with the final consonant cluster *rd* have appeared in descriptive vocabulary, as in *shard* [sound of oil boiling in a pan], *tard* [sound of cloth being torn].

As a sign of incipient vowel reduction, the paradigm of short vowels in non-initial syllables has slightly diminished. Thus, the high rounded vowels **u *ü* have merged with the low vowels **a *e*, as in *aba* 'father' < **abu*, *üder* 'day' < **ödür*. After the segments *sh zh*, at least orthographically, the neutral vowel **i* has likewise merged with **a *e*, as in *bagsha* 'teacher' < **bagsi*. The distribution of vowels is also governed by vowel harmony (both palato-velar and labial), e.g. *xana* 'wall' : dat. *xana-da* : abl. *xana-haa*, *bodol* 'thought' : dat. *bodol-do* : abl. *bodol-hoo*, *düü* 'younger brother' : dat. *düü-de* : abl. *düü-hee*, *böö* 'shaman' : dat. *böö-de* (for **böö-dö*) : abl. *böö-höö*. The short vowel *i* can be followed by either a front or a back vowel, as in *nidxer-* 'to work [leather]', *nizal-* 'to pound', while the long vowel *ii* (normally < **ei*) can only be followed by a front vowel, as in *düle-* 'to win' (< **deile-*).

Complications to vowel harmony arise after an initial syllable containing the short vowel *ü* (< **ü* & **ö*). In such cases, a following non-high long vowel is normally *öö* irrespective of what the original harmonic pattern of the word is, cf. e.g. *xül* 'foot, leg' (< **köl*) : refl. *xül-öö* (< **köl-öö*), *üile* 'deed' (< **üile*) : instr. *üil-öör* (< **üil-eer*). The stem *xün* 'man' (< **küün*), however, preserves its original pattern and requires *ee*, e.g. abl. *xün-hee*. Labial harmony is transmitted forward by a syllable containing *e*, as in *üder* 'day' : instr. *üder-öör*, but not by syllables containing *uu üü*, as in *orshuul-* 'to translate' : part. fut. *orshuul-xa*, *böölüül-* 'to have a shamanist rite performed' : part. imperf. *böölüül-ee*.

Phenomena pertaining to consonant morphophonology include the strengthening of a suffix-initial *d* into *t* after obstruent stems, to which also stems ending in *r* belong, e.g. *mal* 'cattle' : dat. *mal-da* vs. *ger* 'house' : dat. *ger-te*; as well as the nasalization of a suffix-initial *l* into *n* after a stem-final nasal, e.g. *uha/n* 'water' : *uha.la-* 'to water' vs. *gem* 'guilt' : *gem.ne-* 'to accuse' (< **gem.le-*). It has to be noted that monosyllabic consonant-stem verbs have been restructured into vowel stems, which has removed some instances of suffix-initial consonant alternations, cf. e.g. *olo-* 'to find' (< **ol-*) : conv. imperf. *olo-zho* (for **ol-ji*) vs. *aba-* 'to take' (< **ab-*) : conv. imperf. *aba-zha* (for **ab-ci*).

As a feature of Common Mongolic origin, a suffix-initial long vowel conditions in Buryat the presence of the connective consonant *g* after stems ending in a long vowel, as in *zholoo* 'bridle' : instr. *zholoo/g-oor*. As in most dialects of Mongol proper, the connective consonant also appears after stems ending in *n/g* < **ng*, as in *zan/g* 'habit' : instr. *zang/g-aar*. Most interestingly, due to phonological restructuring, the connective consonant is used between a stem-final *n/g* and the ablative ending (< **-ΛΛha*), which gives rise to the otherwise unattested three-consonant medial cluster *nggh* (*ng/g-h*), as in *den/g* 'candle' : abl. *deng/g-hee*. The stems ending in *n/g* are also characterized by the alternation between *n/g* and *g*, as in *an/g* 'game, hunting' : *ag.na-* 'to hunt' (< **ang.la-*). A stem-final *n* < **n*, on the other hand, alternates with *ny* (before *ii*) and *m* (before *b*), as in *xün* 'man' : gen. *xün-ei* : acc. *xüny-iiyi* : vx sg. 1p. *xüm-bi*.

The unstable **/n* of nominal stems is generally well preserved in Buryat in the absolute form (nominative), though it is regularly absent in certain inflected forms. Another stem-final phenomenon is the deletion of all final short vowels before suffixes beginning with a vowel, which makes the inflected forms of vowel stems indistinguishable from those of consonant stems, as in *nere* 'name' : instr. *ner-eer* vs. *ger* 'house' : instr. *ger-eer*. Final *i* is also deleted, but it causes the palatalization of the stem-final consonant, as in *mori/n* 'horse' : instr. *mory-oor*.

NUMBER AND CASE

Like most other Mongolic languages, Buryat has a system of derivational plural marking. Forms marked for the plural express a multitude as a group; with non-animate nouns the plural markers are not obligatory. The plural markers are: *.UUd* after most consonants, e.g. *tüseb* 'plan' : pl. *tüseb.üüd*; *.nUUd* after vowels and the liquids *l r*, e.g. *baxa* 'frog' : pl. *baxa.nuud*, *gaxai* 'pig' : pl. *gaxai.nuud*, *sar* 'oxe' : pl. *sar.nuud*; *.d* after stems ending in an unstable */n* as well as after the actor noun suffixes *.gshA* and *.AAshA*, e.g. *shubuu/n* 'bird' : pl. *shubuu.d*, *huragsha* 'pupil' : pl. *huragsha.d*, also *nüxer* 'friend' : pl. *nüxe.d*; and *-nAr* after stems denoting social categories (profession, kinship, also pronouns), e.g. *bagsha* 'teacher' : pl. *bagsha.nar*, *axa* 'elder brother' : pl. *axa.nar*.

The case paradigm in Buryat is of the Common Mongolic type and comprises six suffixally marked cases: genitive, accusative, dative, ablative, instrumental, and possessive (Table 5.3). The unmarked basic form functions as a nominative. From the point of view of suffix allomorphy, the nominal stems may be divided into short-vowel stems (V), long-vowel stems (VV), 'diphthong' stems (Vi), including stems ending in *ii*, velar-nasal stems (Ng), obstruent stems (O), and other consonant stems (C), including stems ending in *n*. Generally, consonant stems follow the pattern of vowel stems except for the genitive, while obstruent stems differ from other consonant stems only in the dative. Long-vowel stems and velar-nasal stems follow the pattern of 'diphthong' stems, with some differences in the occurrence of the connective consonant *g*.

Most case endings show additional variation due to vowel harmony (both palatal and labial). Because of the specific features of vowel harmony in Buryat, the dative and possessive endings have three variants each (*-da* : *-do* : *-de* for the dative and *-tai* : *-toi* : *-tei* for the possessive), while the ablative and instrumental endings have four variants each (*-haa* : *-hoo* : *-hee* : *-höö* for the ablative and *-aar* : *-oor* : *-eer* : *-öör* for the instrumental). The genitive ending of consonant stems, also used after the connective consonant *g* for the long-vowel stems and velar-nasal stems, has three variants (*-ai* : *-oi* : *-ei*). Only the accusative ending is harmonically neutral (*-ii-yi*, written as **-iiye** in the standard orthography).

The unstable */n* of nominal stems is generally preserved in the case declension, except in the accusative. In the unmarked form (nominative), however, a functional distinction is present between the full variant (with the final nasal) and the short variant (without the nasal). The full variant occurs as a subject or an unspecified attribute, as well as with postpositions, e.g. *halxi/n* 'wind' : (attributive construction) *halxin teerme* 'wind mill', *modo/n* 'tree' : (postpositional construction) *modon deere* 'on a tree', while the short variant occurs as an unmarked object and as a component in compound words, e.g. *xoni/n* 'sheep' : (compound construction) *xoni yamaa/n* 'small cattle' (literally: 'sheep and

TABLE 5.3 BURYAT CASE MARKERS

	V	C	O	Vi	VV	Ng
gen.	*-iin*	*-Ai*		*-n*	*/g-Ai*	
acc.	*-iiyi*			*-yi*		*/g-iiyi*
dat.	*-dA*		*-tA*			
abl.	*-hAA*					*/g-hAA*
instr.	*-AAr*			*/g-AAr*		
poss.	*-tAi*					

goats'). A similar distinction is possible in the instrumental, with the full variant having a comitative meaning, e.g. *mori/n* 'horse' : instr. (short) *mory-oor* 'on horseback' vs. (full) *morin-oor* '[together] with a horse'.

Examples of case paradigms: *xada* 'mountain' : gen. *xad-iin* : acc. *xad-iiyi* : dat. *xada-da* : abl. *xada-haa* : instr. *xad-aar* : poss. *xada-tai*; *besheg* 'letter' : gen. *besheg-ei* : acc. *besheg-iiyi* : dat. *besheg-te* : abl. *besheg-hee* : instr. *besheg-eer* : poss. *besheg-tei*; *mori/n* 'horse' : gen. *mori/n-oi* : acc. *mory-iiyi* : dat. *mori/n-do* : abl. *mori/n-hoo* : instr. *mory-oor* or *mori/n-oor* : poss. *mori/n-toi*; *dalai* 'sea' : gen. *dalai-n* : acc. *dalai-yi* : dat. *dalai-da* : abl. *dalai-haa* : instr. *dalai/g-aar* : poss. *dalai-tai*; *düü* 'younger brother' : gen. *düü/g-ei* : acc. *düü-yi* : dat. *düü-de* : abl. *düü-hee* : instr. *düü/g-eer* : poss. *düü-tei*; *den/g* (orthographically **den**) 'candle' : gen. *deng/g-ei* : acc. *deng/g-iiyi* : dat. *deng-de* or *den-de* (**dende**) : abl. *deng/g-hee* : instr. *deng/g-eer* : poss. *deng-tei* or *den-tei* (**dentei**).

In the sentence, the nominative is the case of the subject and direct unspecific object, while the accusative indicates the direct specific object, e.g. *dorzh-iiyi* **stol**-*do uri-ba-d* 'they invited Dorzho to the table'. The genitive expresses various types of adnominal attribute, e.g. (possession) *ax-iin nom* 'brother's book', (part of a whole) *xübüü.d-ei negen* 'one of the children', (other relation) *namar-ai üder* 'autumn day', (postpositional construction) **urog**-*oi hüül-de* 'after the lesson' (with dat. *hüül-de* 'after' from *hüül* 'tail'). The genitive also marks the primary actants of deverbal nouns (and non-finite predicates), e.g. *uhan-ai uradxal* 'flow of water', *shuluun nüürhen-ei maltalga* 'mining of coal'.

The dative (dative-locative) and ablative function as the two local cases with both spatial and temporal meanings, e.g. dat. *hurguuli-da* 'at school, to school', *xarangxii-da* 'in the dark', abl. *tengeri-hee* 'from the sky', *xabar-haa* 'since the spring'. The dative also marks the addressee and recipient, while the ablative marks the source, e.g. dat. *egeshe-de* 'for the elder sister', abl. *hamgan-haa* 'from a woman'. More specifically, the dative indicates positive emotional reaction, e.g. (pronominal example) *bi tan-da duratai-b* 'I like you', while the ablative indicates negative emotional reaction, e.g. *xüiten-höö ai-xa* 'to be afraid of the cold'. The dative is also the case of the actor in passive constructions, e.g. *taryaan münder-te soxyuul-aa* 'the corn was beaten by hail'. Finally, the ablative (ablative-comparative), indicates the referent of comparison, e.g. *zürxeny-iiny shuluun-haa xatuu* 'his heart is harder than stone'.

The instrumental, when formed from inanimate nouns, indicates a variety of circumstances, e.g. (tool) *xutag-aar* 'with a knife', (means) *san-aar* 'by ski', (payment) *arba müngg-öör* 'for ten copecks', (material) *tümer-öör* 'from iron', (route) *xargü/g-aar* 'by the road', (time) *übel-öör* 'in winter', (period) *olon zhel-eer* 'for many years', (cause) *ööriinggöö xereg-eer* 'because of one's own business', (manner, from adjectival nouns) *bat-aar* 'firmly'. It is also used in constructions of measurement, e.g. *ayaga-tai sai* 'a cup of tea' (literally: 'tea with a cupful'). When formed from animate nouns, however, it typically implies the active participation of a second participant, e.g. *nüxer-öör-öö damzhuul-xa* 'to send by one's friend', *nüxed-öör-öö arxida-xa* 'to drink with one's friends'.

The instrumental may be compared with the possessive, which, when used adverbially, indicates simple accompaniment, e.g. *bagsha-tai* 'together with a teacher, accompanied by a teacher'. In adnominal use, the possessive retains its original function as a possessive adjectival noun. Stems ending in an unstable */n* have differentiated the two functions, with the full stem being used in the actual possessive case form, as in *morin-toi* 'with a horse' vs. *mori.toi* 'having a horse'. In both functions, the possessive is paralleled by the privative construction (or privative case) in *-güi* or *.güi* 'without', e.g. *mori-güi* 'without a horse', *zürxe.güi* 'heartless'.

NUMERALS

The Buryat shapes of the Common Mongolic numerals for the first decade are: 1 *nege/n*, 2 *xoyor*, 3 *gurba/n*, 4 *dürbe/n*, 5 *taba/n*, 6 *zurgaa/n*, 7 *doloo/n*, 8 *naima/n*, 9 *yühe/n*, 10 *arba/n*. The other non-composite numerals are, for the decades: 20 *xori/n*, 30 *gusha/n*, 40 *düshe/n*, 50 *tabi/n*, 60 *zhara/n*, 70 *dala/n*, 80 *naya/n*, 90 *yere/n*; and for the powers of ten: 100 *zuu/n*, 1,000 *myanga/n*, 10,000 *tüme/n*. For higher numerals, the Tibetan loanwords 100,000 *bum*, 1,000,000 *saya* 'million', and 100,000,000 *donshuur*, were used in the older language, but they are now obsolete. In the modern literary standard, the unadapted Russian orthographical shapes **million** 'million' and **milliard** 'billion' are used.

All numerals have a regular case paradigm. In composite numerals, only the last member (indicating units) is inflected. The unstable */n* of numeral stems is normally preserved in attributive use, except in the item 1 *nege/n*, e.g. *nege xün* 'one person' vs. *taban xün* 'five persons'. All numerals drop the final nasal in counting: *nege xoyor gurba dürbe taba* etc. The variants without the final nasal are also used adverbially as multiplicatives, e.g. *dürbe soxi-xo* 'to strike four times', and predicatively in multiplication, as in *taban taba, xorin taba* 'five times five is twenty five'. Fractions are expressed by the genitive, e.g. *arban-ai negen* 'one tenth', while the possessive expresses age, e.g. *arba-tai* 'ten years old'.

Derivatives based on the numerals include the ordinals in *.dAxi*, e.g. *nege.dexi* 'first', the distributives in */g.AAd*, e.g. *gurb.aad* 'three (for) each', the collectives in *.UUlan*, e.g. *dürb.üülen* 'four together', and the delimitatives in *.xAn*, e.g. *taba.xan* 'only five'. Etymologically conditioned special forms are present in distr. *nezh.eed* 'one each' and *xosh.ood* 'two each'. In coll. *zurgaa.l.uulan* 'six together', *doloo.l.uulan* 'seven together', the derivative suffix is partly reduplicated. For the ordinals, the Khalkha suffix *.dUgAAr* is also occasionally used in the literary language. Before all these suffixes, the stem-final unstable */n* is dropped. With the exception of the distributives, the numeral derivatives have a regular nominal paradigm, e.g. coll. gen. px pl. 1p. *gurb.uulan-ai-mnai* 'of the three of us', dat. refl. *gurb.uulan-d-aa* 'for the three of themselves'.

The distributive suffix, when added to numerals denoting decades or the higher powers of ten, is also used to form approximatives, e.g. *arb.aad* 'about ten', *zuu/g.aad* 'about a hundred'. For the units, approximation is expressed syntactically by placing two consecutive numerals together, the former of which drops the unstable */n*, e.g. *gurba+dürben* 'three or four', *taba+zurgaan* 'five or six'. For an approximate number exceeding a lower limit, the pronoun *xeden* 'several' (< 'how many') can be used, e.g. *arban xeden zhel* 'more than ten years'.

PRONOUNS

The Buryat system of personal pronouns is of the Common Mongolic type and comprises only items for the first and second persons, with the first person plural oblique paradigm being divided into exclusive and inclusive forms (Table 5.4).

In the singular pronouns the elision of the original medial vowel has resulted in different stem allomorphs being used for the accusative (*nama-yi* : *shama-yi*, orthographically **namaye** : **shamaye**) and for the other oblique cases (*nam-* : *sham-* < **nama-* : **cima-*). The plural pronouns can also appear as suffixally marked plural forms: 1p. excl. (colloquial style) *maa.nar* or *maa.na.d* : incl. (literary style) *bide.ner* or *bide.ne.d* : 2p. *taa.nar*. The second person plural pronoun *ta* is most often used in polite reference to

TABLE 5.4 BURYAT PERSONAL PRONOUNS

		1p.		2p.
sg.	nom.	*bi*		*shi*
	gen.	*minii*		*shinii*
	acc.	*namayi*		*shamayi*
	obl.	*nam-*		*sham-*
		excl.	incl.	
pl.	nom.		*bide*	*ta*
	gen.	*manai*	*bidenei*	*tanai*
	obl.	*man-*	*biden-*	*tan-*

a single person, though it has plural reference in combinations like *ta xoyor* 'you two', dat. *ta noyo.d-to* 'to you, gentlemen'.

The basic demonstrative pronouns are: *ene* 'this' : obl. *eneen-* : pl. *ede-* or *ede.ner* : obl. *eden-* or *edeen-* vs. *tere* 'that' : obl. *tereen-* : pl. *tede* or *tede.ner* 'those' : obl. *teden-* or *tedeen-*. Correlative derivatives include: *iime* or *iime.rxüü* 'like this' vs. *tiime* or *tiime.rxüü* 'like that', *edii* 'this much' vs. *tedii* 'that much' (also *edii tedii* 'some'), *ende* 'here' : abl. *ende-hee* vs. *tende* 'there' : abl. *tende-hee*, dir. *iishe* 'in this direction' vs. *tiishe* 'in that direction', *ii-*(+*ge*)- 'to do like this' and *tii-*(+*ge*)- 'to do like that'. Another demonstrative correlation is present in *ünöö* 'this' vs. *münöö* 'now, today', *ünöö-xi* 'exactly this' vs. *münöö-xi* 'the present one'.

The basic interrogative pronouns are *xen* 'who' : pl. *xe.d* and *yüü/n* 'what' : pl. *yüü.d*. The stem *xe-* is also preserved in a number of derivatives, including *xer* 'how' : instr. *xer-eer* id., *xezee* 'when', *xeden* 'several', *xedii* : obl. *xediin-* 'how many, how much' : ord. *xedii.dexi* 'how manieth' : coll. *xedii.lüülen* 'in a group of how many'. Some case forms of *yüü/n* appear in lexicalized uses, such as dat. *yüün-de* 'why', instr. *yüü/g-eer* 'at what price'. Other interrogatives include: *ali* 'which', *yamar* 'what kind of', *xaana* 'where' : abl. *xaana-haa* : pros. *xaa/g-uur* 'which way' : dir. *xai-sha* 'in which direction'. The interrogative verb is *yaa-* or *yaa*+*ge-* 'to do what' : conv. imperf . *yaa-zha* 'how' : perf. *yaa/g-aad* id.

The interrogative pronouns also function as indefinite pronouns, often accompanied by *nege/n* 'one, some, certain', e.g. *xen nege/n* 'somebody', *xezee nege/n* 'sometime', *yamar nege/n* 'some kind of', *ali nege/n* or *ali*+*baa* 'any'. Another indefinite pronoun is *zarim* 'some' : dat. refl. *zarim-d-aa* 'sometimes'. Generic pronouns with the meaning 'everything, all' include *bügede/n*, *büxeli*, *büxii*, *xamag*, *xuu*, *bulta/n*, *baran*, as well as (only adjectivally) *büxen* 'every', *büri* 'each'. Intensifying pronouns are: *ondoo* or *nügöö* 'other', *busa* or *beshe* 'other, different'.

The reflexive pronoun has the stems *öör* and *ööhen* (< **öxe.sü/n*) 'oneself' : pl. *ööhe.d*. The inflected forms, including a distinct nominative unmarked for the category of case, normally take the reflexive marker, e.g. nom. *öör-öö* : acc. *öör-ii/g-öö* : dat. *öör-t-öö* : abl. *öör-h-öö* : instr. *öör-öör-öö* : poss. *öör-tei/g-öö*. The reflexive marker can, however, be absent in the genitive: *öör-iin* or *öör-iing/g-öö*. Instead of the reflexive pronoun, the reflexive forms of the regular noun *beye* 'body' can also be used, as in refl. *bey-ee bari-xa* 'to keep oneself under control', instr. refl. *bey-eer-ee* 'by oneself, personally'. The reduplicated *öör&öör* and refl. *beye&bey-ee* 'each other' (with further case forms)

fill the function of a reciprocative pronoun. In the Lower Uda dialect, the reflexive pronoun sg. *ööhen* : pl. *ööhed* functions as the third person personal pronoun.

POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

Buryat has the full Common Mongolic set of possessive suffixes (Table 5.5). The relatively recent origin of the possessive suffixes is still signalled by the fact that they do not follow the rules of vowel harmony. Also, the adding of the possessive suffixes occasionally produces otherwise unattested complex consonant clusters, e.g. *ger* 'house' : px. pl. 2p. *ger-tnai* (with the three-segment medial cluster *rtn*).

There are, nevertheless, several morphophonological alternations connected with the possessive suffixes. In the first person, the full variants sg. *-mni* : pl. *-mnai* occur only after vowels, while after consonants the variants sg. *-ni* : pl. *-nai* are used. In the third person, the variant *-ny* is normally used only after vowels, while consonants require the presence of the connective vowel *ii*, e.g. *axa* 'elder brother' : px sg. 1p. *axa-mni* : 3p. *axa-ny* vs. *ger* 'house' : px. sg. 1p. *ger-ni* : 3p. *ger-iiny*. A final *n* (of any function or origin) merges with the initial *m* of the first person possessive suffixes, but is otherwise preserved, e.g. *mori/n* 'horse' : px. sg. 1p. *mori/m-ni* : 2p. *morin-shni* : 3p. *moriny-iiny* : pl. 1p. *mori/m-nai* : 2p. *morin-tnai*. The first person singular possessive suffix *-mni* can optionally be shortened into *-m*, e.g. *axa-m* 'my elder brother'.

In the basic possessive construction, the possessive suffixes can be replaced by an analytically used genitive attribute, as in px sg. 1p. (*minii*) *axa-m*(*ni*) or *minii axa* 'my elder brother'. On the other hand, possessive suffixes can be attached even to pronouns in order to stress the mutual relations in the communicative situation, as in sg. 2p. px sg. 1p. *shi-mni* 'you of mine', sg. 3p. px sg. 2p. *tere-shni* 'he of yours'. The third person possessive suffix often expresses individualization, e.g. *morinoi negeny-iiny* 'one of the horses', *xara-ny* 'the black one'.

When added to the case endings, the possessive suffixes show some special developments. Most interestingly, the third person suffix, when added to the instrumental case ending, yields the complex *-AAr-ny* (with the final cluster *rny*), which seems to contrast with the first person form in *-AAr-ni*. The combinations of all case endings with the singular possessive suffixes may be exemplified as: *mori/n* 'horse' : gen. 1p. *morin-oi-mni* : 2p. *morin-oi-shni* : 3p. *morin-oi-ny* : acc. 1p. *mory-iiyi-mni* : 2p. *mory-iiyi-shni* : 3p. *mory-iiyi-ny* : dat. 1p. *morin-do-mni* : 2p. *morin-do-shni* : 3p. *morin-do-ny* : abl. 1p. *morin-hoo-mni* : 2p. *morin-hoo-shni* : 3p. *morin-hoo-ny* : instr. 1p. *mory-oor-ni* : 2p. *mory-oor-shni* : 3p. *mory-oor-ny* : poss. 1p. *morin-toi-mni* : 2p. *morin-toi-shni* : 3p. *morin-toi-ny*.

The reflexive marker appears in Buryat as *-yAA* after stems ending in a short vowel, and as */g-AA* after other stem types, e.g. refl. *axa-yaa* 'elder brother', *ger-ee* 'house', *düü/g-ee* 'younger brother'. When combined with the case endings, the reflexive marker conditions special alternations. In the genitive, an element *-ng/g-* appears in all stem

TABLE 5.5 BURYAT POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

	sg.		pl.
1p.	*-m/ni*		*-m/nai*
2p.	*-sh*(*ni*)		*-tnai*
3p.		*/ii-ny*	

types, including nasal stems, e.g. *mori/n* 'horse' : gen. *morin-oi* : poss. *morin-oi-ng/g-oo.* In the ablative, the reflexive marker merges with the vowel of the case suffix, but a distinction is created by exceptionally retaining the original final */n* of the reflexive form, e.g. abl. *morin-hoo* : refl. *morin-h-oo-n.* In the possessive, the final component of the 'diphthong' becomes consonantal, e.g. poss. *morin-toi* : refl. *morin-toy-oo.* There are no complications in the dative and instrumental: dat. refl. *morin-d-oo* : instr. *mory-oor-oo.* There is no marked accusative case in the reflexive declension.

FINITE VERBAL FORMS

Compared with most other Mongolic languages, the spheres of imperative and indicative forms are in Buryat somewhat more closely integrated. In addition to occasional functional overlapping between the two spheres, a morphological link is created by the predicative personal endings, which (as in Oirat and Kalmuck) can be added to both imperative and indicative markers. A consistent formal distinction is, however, retained in the negative constructions. Most of the finite markers in Buryat (Table 5.6) originally belong to the imperative sphere, while only two or three forms survive from the Proto-Mongolic and Common Mongolic system of indicative temporal-aspectual forms.

The imperative sphere in Buryat comprises, in addition to the basic unmarked imperative, the following forms: precative, voluntative, optative (both simple and expanded), benedictive, prescriptive, permissive, and dubitative. Most of the imperative markers take personal endings, with only the benedictive and permissive remaining systematically without personal marking; personal marking is optional in the voluntative, optative, and prescriptive. The negation of all imperative forms takes place by the prepositional prohibitive particle *bü* ~ *büü.*

Functionally, the basic unmarked imperative and the benedictive are opposed not so much by the degree of politeness as by the different subject number (singular vs. plural), e.g. imp. [sg.] *oro* 'come in!' vs. ben. [pl.] *oro-gtii* '[you, many] come in!'. A more polite request is expressed by the precative, e.g. prec. sg. 2p. *duul-ii-sh* (*daa*) 'please sing!', pl. 2p. *sai ayagal-ii-t* 'please pour tea!', while the prescriptive normally refers to an action to be performed later ('future imperative'), e.g. prescr. pl. 2p. *yab-aarai-t* 'you can go (later)'. An order directed at the third person is expressed by the permissive, e.g. perm. *unsha-g* 'let him read!'.

TABLE 5.6 BURYAT FINITE VERBAL MARKERS

	person	marker	
prec.	2p.	*/g-ii-*	+vx
vol.	1p. pl.	*-yAA*	(+vx)
opt.	1p.	*-hUU*	(+vx)
opt. exp.	1–3p.	*-hAi*	+vx
ben.	2p.	*-gtii*	
prescr.	2p.	*/g-AArAi*	(+vx)
perm.	3p.	*-g*	
dub.	1–3p.	*/g-UUzhA/n*	+vx
dur.	1–3p.	*-nA*	+vx
term.	1–3p.	*-bA*	+vx
conf.	1–3p.	*-lAi*	+vx

Among the forms referring to the first person plural, the voluntative in *-yAA* (orthographically **-ya**, **-ye**, **-yo**) or vx. pl. 1p. *-yAA-bdi* presupposes an inclusive subject, e.g. vol. *unsha-yaa* or vol. vx pl. 1p. *unsha-yaa-bdi* 'let us read (together with you)', while the optative in *-hUU-bdi* presupposes an exclusive subject, e.g. opt. vx. pl. 1p. *unsha-huu-bdi* 'we shall read (without you)'. The optative marker *-hUU* (an irregular development of **-sU*) is also used in reference to a first person singular subject, either with or without a personal ending, e.g. opt. *unsha-huu* or opt. vx. sg. 1p. *unsha-huu-b* 'let me read!'. The expanded optative in *-hAi* (< **-sU-xAi*) expresses an irreal wish and has a full personal conjugation, e.g. opt. exp. 3p. *yaba-hai* 'if only he/they could go!' : vx. sg. 1p. *yaba-hai-b* : 2p. *yaba-hai-sh* : pl. 1p. *yaba-hai-bdi* : 2p. *yaba-hai-t.*

The dubitative occasionally retains its original cautionary meaning in the third person, e.g. dub. *duul-uuzha* 'I hope he does not hear'. Generally, the dubitative has in Buryat developed into an indefinite future tense with only a vague modal content, e.g. dub. vx. pl. 1p. *yab-uuzha-bdi* 'we shall go [later, sometime]'. The connection with the imperative sphere is, however, indicated by the use of the prohibitive particle *bü* (*büü*) for negation, e.g. neg. dub. vx. sg. 1p. *bü yab-uuzha-b* 'I shall not go'. With no functional difference, the dubitative marker can also appear with a final *n*, e.g. dub. sg. 1p. *yab-uuzham* (< **yab-uuzham-bi*) : 3p. *yab-uuzhan.*

The general present and past tenses of the indicative sphere are expressed by the durative and terminative forms, e.g. sg. 1p. dur. *huu-na-b* 'I sit' : term. *huu-ba-b* 'I sat'. Both forms are negated by the element *-güi*, e.g. dur. neg. *mede-ne-güi* '[he] does not know', term. neg. *oro-bo-güi* '[he] did not enter'. The durative can also be used to refer to a proximate future. A third indicative form is the confirmative, which, however, is obsolete in the modern standard language. It is recorded with both the temporal meaning of a declarative past, as in *xelseenggüi hain yabaad yere-lei-b* 'I went there and came back with very good results', and the modal meaning of caution (close to the original function of the dubitative), as in conf. sg. 2p. *una-lai-sh* 'you can fall' [i.e. 'take care, do not fall!'].

PARTICIPLES

The category of participle is exceptionally richly represented in Buryat. In addition to the five primary participles inherited from Proto-Mongolic, there are at least four secondary forms that may be classified as participles. In view of their functions, these forms may be termed the resultative, passive, potential, and qualificational participle. Also, the agentive participle (actor noun) retains in Buryat both of its Common Mongolic variants in productive (more or less synonymic) use (Table 5.7).

The futuritive participle can still refer to the future tense, e.g. (part. fut.) *übhende gara-xa xüniüüd* 'people who [will] go to haymaking', though it also has more general applications. In combination with modal derivatives of the type *xereg.tei* 'necessary' : *xereg.güi* 'unnecessary', it forms analytic predicates, e.g. *xolo osho-xo xereg.güi* 'one must not go far'. The perfective and imperfective participles express completed (past) and uncompleted (continuing) action, respectively, e.g. (part. perf.) *gerhee hayaa garazha yaba-han exener* 'a woman who just went out of the house', (part. imperf.) *enyeezhe bai-gaa basagan* 'a smiling girl'. The habitive participle expresses habitual action, e.g. (part. hab.) *daisanai bai-dag gazarnuud* 'places where the enemy [forces] are situated', while the agentive participle may be characterized as denoting frequentative action, e.g. (part. ag.) *xara-gsha basagam* 'the girl I saw [several times]'.

TABLE 5.7 BURYAT PARTICIPLE MARKERS

		neg.
part. fut.	*-xA*	*-xA-güi*
imperf.	*/g-AA*	*g/-AA-güi*
perf.	*-hAn*	
hab.	*-dAg*	*-dAg-güi*
ag. (1)	*-gshA*	*-gshA-güi*
ag. (2)	*/g-AAshA*	*/g-AAshA-güi*
res.	*-ngxAi*	
pass.	*/g-AAtAi*	
pot.	*-xAAr*	*+beshe*
qual.	*-mAAr*	*+beshe*

The negation of all the basic participles takes place by the suffix *-güi*, with the exception that the negative counterpart of the perfective participle is normally replaced by the corresponding imperfective construction in */g-AA-güi*. The imperfective participle marker can also be followed by the negative suffix *-düi* 'not yet' (< **edüi*), yielding */g-AA-düi*. Interestingly, the agentive participle in */g-AAshA* can be negated both by */g-AAshA-güi* and by */g-AA-güi-she*, revealing the original morphological connection with the imperfective participle marker in */g-AA*. The agentive participle in *-gshA* has only the negation *-gshA-güi*.

The resultative and passive participles are functionally close to the perfective participle, e.g. (part. res.) *puladaar üheyee uyazharxi-ngxai exener* 'a woman who has tied her hair with a scarf', (part. pass.) *uy-aatai morin* 'a tethered horse'. Materially, the resultative participle involves an old deverbal derivative (**.ng.kU.i*), which has gained (or retained) full productivity in Buryat, while the passive participle is the possessive derivative of the imperfective participle (**/g-AA.tAi*). It may be noted that the passive participle marker does not contain a formal passive marker. The Common Mongolic derivational passive marker *.gdA-* is, however, present in the corresponding negative suffix *.gd-AA-güi*.

The potential participle ('possibility') in *-x-AAr* and the qualificational participle ('suitability') in *-m-AAr* are diachronically instrumental case forms of the futuritive participle (**-kU*) and a deverbal noun (**-m/A*), respectively. The form in *-x-AAr* is elsewhere in Mongolic often analysed as a converb, while the form in *-m-AAr* is analysed as a derivative. In Buryat both may be viewed as participles because of their fully productive adnominal use, as in (part. pot.) *xeneishye magta-xaar beri* 'a daughter-in-law that can be praised by anyone', (part. qual.) *seregte aba-maar morid* 'horses that are fit to be taken to the war'. The special origin of these two forms is, however, still shown by the corresponding negative constructions, which employ the postpositive particle *beshe*, e.g. (part. qual. neg.) *etige-meer beshe xereg* 'an unbelievable thing'.

The basic form (nominative) corresponding to the suffix *-m-AAr* also survives on the periphery of the Buryat participial system as *-mA*, denoting the quality of action ('so that', 'such that'), e.g. *odool shanagiin zogso-mo güüledeg edyeesheg sai* 'tea so strong that, as they say, even the spoon stands [in it]'. The corresponding negative meaning is expressed by the suffix *-sha-güi*, e.g. *xele amanda oro-sho-güi muuxai ügenüüd* 'words so bad that they do not [even] enter the tongue and mouth'.

CONVERBS

As many as twenty five converbial forms have been established for Buryat, but many of them are rare or dialectally restricted. In the standard language, less than fifteen converbs are commonly used (Table 5.8).

The converbial system involves three diachronic levels. At the first and most basic level, there are the Proto-Mongolic modal, imperfective, and perfective converbs, as well as the corresponding negative form, based on the modal converb. The second level comprises the Common Mongolic conditional, concessive, and terminative converbs. The third level comprises forms of quasiconverbial origin, including the contemporal, abtemporal, final, intentional (supine), successive, and comparative ('instead of', 'rather than') converbs. At a still more secondary level, converb-like functions are also filled by many other, synchronically fully transparent quasiconverbial constructions, such as part. fut. dat. *-xA-dA* 'when' : abl. *-xA-hAA* 'since', part. fut. abl. *-hAn-hAA* 'after', part. imperf. neg. dat. *-AA-güi-de* 'while not' : *-AA-düi-de* 'while still not', and others.

The modal, imperfective, and perfective converbs are strongly dependent on the lexical and temporal-aspectual characteristics of their syntactic heads. They are used mostly in same-subject constructions, e.g. (conv. mod.) *ezhii morin deerehee harabshala-n udaan xarana* 'the mother looks into the distance from horseback, screening her eyes with her hand'; (conv. imperf.) *una-zha, bodo-zho bai-zha xoinohoony shergüüseldenebdi* 'we are trailing after him, falling down and rising again'. In different-subject constructions, the dependent subject is unmarked for case, e.g. (conv. imperf.) *urgasa nogoon unasatai bai-zha,* (conv. mod. neg.) *burunuudshye üxe-n xata-nggüi, hü myaxan gansata elbegzhee belei* 'grass being abundant, calves not dying, milk and meat became plentiful'; (conv. perf.) *ger-nai düresh-ööd, gansal ene shubuunai ger ülöö geeshe* 'our house having burnt, only this chicken yard was left'.

The subject of the other converbs is most often expressed by a possessive or reflexive ending, e.g. (conv. term. px pl. 1p.) *tende xürezhe osho-tor-nai dain baldaan duuhaxa yohotoi* 'by the time we get there the war will surely be over'; (conv. contemp. sg. 3p.) *edege-mseer-ny busaxabdi* 'we will come back right after she gets well'; (conv. abtemp. px sg. 1p.) *tanixashye bolo-hoor-ni oroidoo hara güisügüi* 'it is not even a month since I got acquainted [with her]'; (conv. succ. rx) *butedmaa tereniiyi tani-xalaar-aa*

TABLE 5.8 BURYAT CONVERB MARKERS

	marker	neg.	
conv. mod.	*-n*	*-ng-güi*	+rx
imperf.	*-zhA*		
perf.	*/g-AAd*		
cond.	*-bAl*		+px
conc.	*-bA-shye*		
term.	*-tAr*		+px/rx
contemp.	*-ms-AAr*		+px/rx
abtemp.	*-h-AAr*		+px
fin.	*-x-AAr*		
intent.	*-xA/y-AA*		
succ.	*-xA-lAAr*		+px/rx
comp.	*-ngx-AAr*		

bayarlashaba 'recognizing him, Butedmaa was glad'. A nominal subject can also stand in the genitive case, e.g. (gen. + conv. cond.) *xashangxa xabar-ai bolo-bol, buxalshye übhen ünetei bolodog xa* 'if a difficult spring comes, even a stock of hay can be valuable'; (gen. + conv. conc.) *xand-iin abyaagüi xebte-beshye, amilxany elixen bolozhol baiba* 'though Khanda lay without a sound, her breathing was clearly heard'.

The final, intentional, and comparative converbs are only attested in same-subject constructions, e.g. (conv. fin.) *debshen hain xün gegde-xeer hain yüüme yüü xeeb* 'what good has Debshen done to be called a good man?'; (conv. intent.) *tedenerte öxibüüdiiny tuhal-xayaa yerengxei* 'their children have come to them in order to help'; (conv. comp.) *neree xuxara-ngxaar yahaa xuxara* 'rather than break your name, break your bones!'. Two other forms with a similar restriction are those in *-ngg-AA* (< conv. mod. + rx), expressing simultaneous action (the so-called 'concomitant' converb), e.g. *shi gazaa gara-ng/g-aa tülyee asaraarai* 'bring firewood on your way out', and *-mgAsh-AA*, indicating an unusual manner in which the action of the main verb is performed, e.g. *shi bai-mgashaa ünyeegee haadag güsh* 'do you milk your cow standing?'.

Converbs form the basis for two kinds of analytic construction. The first kind involves the modal, imperfective, and perfective converbs in combination with *c.*50 auxiliary verbs, which express various types of aspectuality, directionality, and modality. The most basic auxiliary is *bai-* 'to be', e.g. (conv. imperf. + *bai-*) *nom unsha-zha baina* '[he] is reading a book' [progressive]; (conv. mod. + *bai-*) *nom unsha-n baina* '[he] reads a book [briefly, at the moment]' [non-progressive]; (conv. perf. + *bai-*) *unsh-aad baina* '[he] has read [it]' [perfective]. Other common auxiliaries include *orxi-* 'to throw' [perfective], *oro-* 'to enter; to begin' vs. *gara-* 'to exit; to stop' [inchoative vs. terminative], *yere-* 'to come' vs. *osho-* 'to go' [direction to vs. from], *xööre-* 'to ascend' vs. *buu-* 'to descend' [direction up vs. down], *üge-* 'to give' vs. *aba-* 'to take' [benefactive], *shada-* 'to be able' vs. *yada-* 'to be unable' [potential].

The other type of construction involves the final and intentional converbs in combination with the auxiliary *bai-* 'to be', or intentional verbs of the type *shiide-* 'to decide', *zabda-* 'to intend', *tegüül-* 'to strive'; *tüxeer-* 'to prepare', *zürxel-* 'to dare'. The meaning is that of intentionality, e.g. (conv. intent. + *bai-*) *shi xüügediiyi ürgezhe aba-xayaa bainash* '[so] you intend to adopt a child'; (conv. fin. + *zabda-*) *maidar yaba-xaar zabdaba* 'Maidar decided to go', (conv. intent. + *tegüül-*) *xadamda zhedemde gara-xayaa tegüülhen baigaa gü* 'does she strive to marry?'.

PREDICATIVE PERSONAL ENDINGS

Most finite predicates in Buryat incorporate a personal ending of the Common Mongolic type (Table 5.9). The third person singular is unmarked, while the third person plural can

TABLE 5.9 BURYAT PREDICATIVE PERSONAL ENDINGS

	sg.			pl.		
	V	C	N	V	C	N
1p.	*-b*	*-bi*	*/m(-bi)*	*-bdi*	*-di*	*/m-di*
2p.	*-sh*	*-shi*		*-t*	*-tA*	
3p.	*-Ø*			*[-d]*		

be marked by the nominal plural suffix **.d*. In the first and second persons, there are separate variants for vowel stems (V) and consonant stems (C), in the first person also for nasal stems (N). In the first person singular, the actual personal element can be lost after a stem-final nasal (*/m* < */m-bi* < */*n*+*bi*).

The predicative personal endings are added both to finite forms, including most forms of the imperative sphere, and to participles functioning as finite predicates. By contrast, the subject of non-finitely used participial forms and converbs, is normally expressed by either the possessive suffixes (dependent absolute person) or the reflexive suffix (dependent relative person), as in (px sg. 1p.) *nüxedtöö xele-xe-de-m ünenshexe-güi* 'when I tell [it] to my friends, they will not believe [it]' (dependent absolute person expressed by a possessive suffix); (rx) **inzhener** *bolo-xo-d-oo mede-xe-b* 'when I become an engineer, I will know [it]' (dependent relative person expressed by the reflexive suffix).

A special case is formed by the futuritive participle, which occurs in finite use in combination with both the predicative personal endings and the possessive suffixes. The forms with the predicative personal endings have a temporal reference (general future), while the forms with the possessive suffixes involve a modal connotation (inevitability or necessity), e.g. part. fut. sg. 1p. vx *unsha-xa-b* 'I will read' vs. px *unsha-xa-m*(*ni*) 'I will [have to] read [soon, for sure]'. In a somewhat similar use, the possessive suffixes can be attached to the perfective participle, which then assumes a role close to that of a subordinate predicate (succession of opposed actions), e.g. (part. perf. px sg. 1p.) *gansaxiiyi edixeb gezhe hana-ha/m-ni, xoyor baina gü* 'I intended to eat only one, but there seem to be two [here]'.

All predicatively conjugated finite and non-finite forms fuse into a single system of functional distinctions. In this system, the present tense range is represented by the durative (actual present) and the habitive participle (general present), while the past tense range has as many as five forms: the terminative (simple past), the confirmative (declarative past), the imperfective participle (actual past), the perfective participle (perfective past), and the resultative participle (resultative past). The participles can also be combined with the auxiliary *bai-* 'to be', yielding additional distinctions, e.g. (part. hab. + dur.) *baatar nom unsha-dag bai-na* 'Baatar usually reads books' (habitual action); (part. perf. + dur.) *bagsha gerte oro-hon bai-na* 'the teacher has entered the house' (actual for the present); (part. perf. + part. imperf.) *bagsha gerte oro-hon bai/g-aa* 'the teacher had entered the house' (actual for the past).

Many of the analytic forms with *bai-* 'to be' involve the connotation of inferentiality and/or mirativity (the speaker finds out a fact by watching its results), e.g. (dur. + part. fut.) *teresh ende huu-na bai-xa* 'he must be sitting here'; (part. res. + dur.) *zhargal yabangxai baina* '[it turned out that] Zhargal had gone away long ago'; (part. perf. + part. fut.) *ailnuud zuhalandaa hayaxan buu-han bai-xa* '[it will turn out that] the settlements have just moved to their summer pastures'; (part. perf. + term.) *iigezhe duugaralsazha baitaraa, nege xaraxadamni, ezhiimni untasha-han bai-ba* 'so I talked for a while, [but] when I looked up, [it turned out that] my mother had fallen asleep'.

PREDICATIVE PARTICLES

Important functional distinctions in the predicate are also expressed by predicative particles, a category which can be divided into interrogative, negative, modal, evidential, and copular particles. From the formal point of view, the predicative particles are either prepositional or postpositional. Some of the latter have developed into suffixes or clitics.

(*1*) Interrogation is expressed by the general question particle *gü* and the corrogative (special question) particle *be* (< **bui*), both of which are used postpositionally. After vowels, the corrogative particle takes the shape *-b*, which might also be analysed as a clitic (*=b*). Another interrogative particle is *aal*, used for rhetoric questions, e.g. *agaarhaa ünetei yüümen bii yüm aal* 'is there anything more precious than air?'.

(*2*) Negation of most verbal predicates takes place by the suffix *-güi* (or clitic *=güi*) 'not' (< **ügei* 'absent'). The imperfective participle can also be negated by the suffix *-düi* (or clitic *=düi*) 'not yet' (< **edüi* 'this much'), while imperatives can only be negated by the preposited prohibitive particle *bü* ~ *büü* 'do not!'. Contrastive negation of any part of the sentence is expressed by *beshe* 'other than' (postpositional).

(*3*) Modal particles express either confirmation, e.g. *agsha, bshuu, daa, geeshe, shuu, le* > *=l*, or probability, e.g. *aa, aab, aabza, aalam, altai, geebii, gelei, beze, xa, xayaa.* An irreal wish is expressed by the optative particle *hai* 'if only'. Diachronically, many of the modal particles are petrified finite and non-finite forms of a few auxiliary verbs, notably **a-* > Ø- 'to be', **bü-* > **bi-* > *be-* id., *ge-* 'to say'.

(*4*) The futuritive participle *gexe* (< **ge-kü*) of the verb *ge-* 'to say', most often combined with the perfective participle of the predicative verb, functions as an evidential particle (hearsay evidential with elements of doubt), e.g. *bazardaan gariiyiny xazazharxihan ge-xe* 'Bazardaan, so they say, bit his hand'. Somewhat less grammaticalized forms with a similar function are dur. *ge.lse-ne* and part. hab. *ge.lse-deg*, based on the derivative coop. *ge.lse-* 'to say together'.

(*5*) Some modal particles are so void of modal content that they are better classified as copular (constatational) particles. The most common copular particles are *yüm* (< **yexüme* 'something') for the present tense, and *belei* (< conf. **bi-lüxei*) or *hen* (< part. perf. **a-gsan*) for the past tense, e.g. *teresh ene nomiiyi unshahan yüm* 'he has read this book', *nüxershni yeree hen* 'your friend has come (already)'. In combination with the futuritive participle, the particles *belei* and *hen* express a hypothetical (counterfactual) circumstance, e.g. *suglaan boloxo hen* 'there should have been [there was supposed to be] a meeting'.

The basic elements of the predicate follow each other in the order: stem – finite or non-finite markers – negation – interrogation – predicative personal endings, e.g. (dur. + negation + interrogation + vx sg. 2p.) *shi yaba-na-güi gü-sh* 'do you not go?'. By contrast, possessive suffixes indicating the subject of a finite predicate precede the interrogative particle *gü*, e.g. (part. fut. + px sg. 1p. + *gü*, disjunctive function) *yaba-xa-m gü, bai-xa-m gü* 'shall I go or not?' (literally: 'shall I go, shall I stay?'). Other predicative particles are variously placed either before or after the predicative personal endings, e.g. (part. fut. + negation + modal particle + vx sg. 1p.) *bi eneenyiiyi xezhe shada-xa-güi xa-b* 'maybe I will not be able to do it', (part. ag. + modal particle + vx pl. 2p. + *daa*) *boroogoi urda osho-gsho hai-t daa* 'you had better go before the rain'.

SIMPLE SENTENCES

Buryat follows the Common Mongolic word order subject–object–predicate (SOV). The subject position can be filled by a noun, nominal phrase, headless relative clause, or a clause with nominalizers. The subject of a finite clause is in the nominative and determines the personal agreement of the predicate and the use of the reflexive marker within the clause, e.g. (dat. refl. + part. fut. px sg. 1p.) *bi xüdelmeri-d-öö osho-xo-m* 'I will go to my work'. To stress the subject as a topic, intensifying particles can be used: *xadaa,*

geeshe (also used as a predicative particle), *bolbol* (written language), e.g. *ene zhel xadaa nahan soom egeel zoltoi zhel baiba* 'this year was the happiest year of all my life'; *baigal geeshe delxei deere egeen yexe nuur yüm* 'Baikal is the biggest lake on earth'; *xün bolbol uxaatai amitan* 'man is a thinking creature'.

A noun in the object position can be either in the accusative or in the unmarked oblique stem form (without the unstable */n*). The accusative implies a specific focused object, mostly (but not necessarily) definite, e.g. *bi tanai mory-iiyi xaraab* 'I saw your horse', *ene tere lama bööner-iiyi shütezhe huudag baigaa* '[people] used to believe in lamas, shamans, and such'. The unmarked stem implies an unspecific unfocused object, e.g. *bazar shandaga agnazha oshoo* 'Bazar went to hunt hares'. Thus, proper names and personal pronouns are used as objects only in the accusative, e.g. *bi damdiny-iiyi xaraab* 'I saw Damdin'. Possessive suffixes also require the accusative ending, e.g. *xutag-iiye-ny xursada* 'sharpen his knife!', while the reflexive marker implies object position without accusative marking, e.g. *xutag-aa xursada* 'sharpen your knife!'.

The predicate position can be occupied by either a verbal or a nominal form, including a nominal case form. Nominal predicates require a copula (*bai-* 'to be', *bolo-* 'to become') only if marked tenses or moods, or a change of state, have to be expressed. The negation of nominal predicates takes place by the particle *beshe*. Clauses with nominal predicates can be divided into equative, ascriptive, locational, existential, and possessive. The most simple type is represented by equative clauses, in which the nominal predicate expresses either classification, e.g. *bi bagsha-b* 'I am a teacher' (the referential noun functions as the subject), or identification, e.g. *bagsha bi-b* 'I am the teacher' (the referential noun functions as the predicate). The nominal predicate can also take possessive suffixes, e.g. *mergen shinii yüün-shni* 'what is Mergen for you?'.

In ascriptive sentences, the nominal predicate is typically an adjectival noun in the nominative, but it can also be a numeral, an adverb, or a nominal case form, e.g. *tenggeri selmeg* 'the sky is clear'; (gen.) *ene nom zuun-ai* 'this book costs [one] hundred [rubles]'; (poss. corr. vx sg. 2p.) *shi xen-tei-b-shi* 'who are you with?'. With human subjects, an adjectival predicate is almost invariably complemented by a classifying noun like *xün* 'man, person' or *zon* 'people', e.g. *sogto hain xün* 'Sogto is [a] good [man]'. Comparison in ascriptive clauses is expressed syntactically by adding an ablative noun phrase denoting the referent, e.g. *enesh baran-haa uxaatai xün* 'he is (a) more clever (man) than anyone [else]'.

In locational clauses, the predicate is a local or temporal adverb, a local case form, or a postpositional phrase, e.g. *axash xaanab* 'where [is] your brother?'; *tarilgada garalgan xezee yüm* 'when do we go (to) sowing?'; *sesegmaa gertee xa yüm* 'Sesegmaa is at home'. Existential clauses have a similar structure, but a reversed word order, e.g. *gazaany tarimal sesegüüd* 'outside [there are] garden flowers'; *züün xoito bulanda nabtarxan modon oron* 'in the northeastern corner [there is] a low wooden bed'. The predicate of existential clauses can be complemented or replaced by an existential noun, which is either the affirmative *bii* (< **bui*) : intensive *bii=l* or the negative *ügii* (< **ügei*), e.g. *oi taiga bii=l* '[there] is taiga forest [here]'; *badma ügii* 'Badma is not [here]'.

Possessive clauses do not constitute a distinct structural type of their own. Instead, possession is expressed by three different structures, two of which follow the ascriptive and one the existential pattern. In the first ascriptive structure, the noun indicating the possessor functions as the predicate in the genitive case, e.g. *ene buush minii nüxer-ei=l* 'this gun belongs to my friend' (literally: 'is of my friend'). In the second ascriptive structure, the noun indicating the thing possessed occupies the predicate position in the possessive case, e.g. *yeshe münge-tei hen gü* 'did Yeshe have money?' (literally: 'was

Yeshe with money?'). In the third structure, the noun indicating the possessor is in the dative case, e.g. *nam-da saarhan ügii* 'I have no paper' (literally: 'to me there is no paper').

The existential (possessive) pattern is also used to describe internal states, e.g. *nam-da xüiten* 'I feel cold' (literally: 'to me it is cold'); *nam-da ayagüi baiba* 'I was ill at ease' (literally: 'to me it was uncomfortable'); *nam-da yexel honin baiba* 'I felt very interested' (or: 'it was very interesting for me'). For external states the locational pattern is used, e.g. *gazaa xüiten* '[it is] cold outside'; *üshemnai xülgöötei bolo-ngxoi* '[it] had become dangerous here'; also metaphorically, e.g. *dosoomni xarangxii boloo* 'I got sad' (literally: 'inside of me it became dark').

Sentences with a verbal predicate can be divided into those with and those without governed participants. No manifest participants are present with verbs denoting natural processes (*verba meteorologica*), e.g. *xeden xonogtoshye shuurgalzha boloxo* 'it will be storming for several days'. Only a non-governed participant (subject) is present with verbs denoting states and activities, e.g. *bi huuxab* 'I will sit down', *suglaan boloxony* 'a meeting will (have to) take place'. Other verbs have governed participants, as required by the government pattern of each given verb. Verbs of action normally have their governed participant (object) in the accusative, while verbs of emotion are combined with the dative (positive emotion) or ablative (negative emotion), e.g. (dat. refl.) *tere nüxer-t-öö suxaldaa* 'he got angry at his friend'; (abl.) *teresh xulgahan-haa aidag* 'he is afraid of mice'. Even polyvalent verbs, such as verbs of motion, are most often combined with only one manifest participant (source, route, or target), e.g. (source) *tedener xaana-haa yereeb* 'where did they come from?'.

The government pattern of the verb can be changed by adding voice affixes to the verbal stem. The passive (formed by *.gd-* after vowel stems, *.dA-* or *.tA-* after etymological consonant stems) decreases the valence by demoting the actor. Passivized verbs usually express the state after action, e.g. (pass. part. fut. px 3p.) *xargiinuud xaa.gda-xa-ny* 'the roads will be closed'. A retained actor stands in the dative, e.g. (dat. + pass. part. res.) *taryaan tüimer-te galga.gda-ngxai* 'the crops were burnt by fire'. The causative (normally formed by *.UUl-* after single-vowel stems and *.lgA-* after double-vowel stems) increases the valence by adding the causator argument. The actor is lowered to the indirect object position with dative marking, e.g. (dat. refl. + caus. part. imperf. vx sg. 1p.) *bi basagan-d-aa sai x.üül-ee-b* 'I made my daughter pour me tea'.

COMPLEX SENTENCES

From the structural point of view, there are three types of complex sentence in Buryat: monofinite synthetic sentences, monofinite analytic sentences, and bifinite analytic sentences. From the semantic point of view, there are also three types: modus-dictum (event-mind) constructions, dictum-dictum (event-event) constructions, and coreferential constructions. In modus-dictum constructions, the dependent clause is governed by the main predicate. In dictum-dictum constructions, one event acts as a modifier for another. In coreferential constructions, two events are coordinated through a common participant.

Of the three structural types, bifinite analytic sentences play only a marginal role. The two finite clauses are connected by either a number of secondary conjunctions, including *ba* 'and' (from Written Mongol) and *xarin* 'but' (conv. mod. of *xari-* 'to return'), or by connectors based on non-finite forms of the pronominal verbs *ii-*(+*ge*)- and *tii-*(+*ge*)- 'to do like this/that', e.g. *oshood yeriish daa, xarin türgen busaarai* 'go, but come back soon!'; *hain le gazarta, berxeer le aduulaaraigtii, tii-xe-de-tnai targalxa, hütei boloxobsho bii*

daa 'herd [your animals] in good places and with care, so that [they] will get fat and give more milk'. Constructions with paired or correlated pronouns are also possible, e.g. *ali hain xün gü, ali muu xün gü* 'is he a good man or (is he) a bad man?'; *xaana baigaa hembib, tendee baixab* 'where I stood, there I will stand'.

Two finite sentences can also be connected by the form conv. imperf. *ge-zhe* of the verb *ge-* 'to say'. Since this verb is used to introduce direct speech, the dependent predicate in same-subject phrases has the form of the first person singular, e.g. *shi xointoxogüi-b gezhe hain medene gü-sh* 'are you sure that you will not be late?'. In different-subject phrases, the rules of indirect speech are applied, and the dependent predicate has the form of the third person, while the dependent subject is in the accusative, e.g. *bi shamayi neeree xudalaar xelee gezhe hanaa-b* 'I thought that you actually lied'. Further grammaticalization of this connector leads to different semantic variants, such as the expression of purpose, e.g. (part. fut. + *gezhe*) *üglöögüür gertee xarixa gezhe gazaashaa garaba* 'in the morning [he] went out in order to return home'. The form part. perf. *ge-hen* is used before nouns, e.g. *xoyuulaa oshogtii gehen temdeg nyüdööröö ügebe* '[she] gave a sign with her eyes to go [there] together'.

The core of the complex sentence system is formed by monofinite sentences, in which the dependent predicate is expressed by a non-finite verbal form. A nominal subject is in the genitive, while a pronominal subject can also be expressed by a possessive or reflexive form. The most important subsystem of such sentences is formed by those with a participial case form as the predicate. Most typically, it is an adverbial case form, used quasiconverbially in a dictum–dictum construction. All such combinations have to a varying degree been idiomatized and grammaticalized.

Examples of quasiconverbial dictum-dictum constructions: (part. fut. dat. refl.) *tereny gazarta una-xa-d-aa xaxa xüreshebe* 'when it fell to earth, [it] broke into pieces'; (part. fut. neg. dat.) *xünei oldo-xo-güi-de nima-seren zübshöölöö ügebe* 'since no [other] person could be found [for this task], Nima-Seren agreed'; (part. perf. dat. px sg. 1p.) *oroidol gurban üder hata-han-da-m yüünde oroobshi* 'why do you worry like that, just because I was three days late?'; (part. imperf. neg. dat. refl.) *tyeed münöö tüly-ee-güi-döö yüüshye xeegüib* 'but today I did not prepare [anything], because I did not heat [the stove]; (part. fut. abl. px sg. 1p.) *turuunai tabaraa sonos-xo-hoo-m beshe yüüme uxaandam oroogüi* 'except that I heard the clatter of hoofs, nothing else reached my consciousness'; (part. fut. abl.) *shi yere-hen-hee baigaad oshooroi* 'since you have come, stay for a while before leaving'; (part. imperf. neg. abl.) *zuugaad shaxuu ereshöölei dainhaa bus-aa-güihöö xüshe xüregdöögüi* 'since about a hundred men did not come back from the war, there is not enough manpower'.

In modus–dictum constructions, the participial predicate of the dependent clause is governed by the finite predicate of the main clause. The finite predicate in such constructions typically expresses a mental process or its result. The choice of the participial form in the dependent predicate is basically free, restricted only by the semantics of the main predicate. The case form of the dependent predicate, on the other hand, depends on the government pattern of the verb functioning as the main predicate. The case forms that can occur in the dependent predicate include both the basic grammatical cases (nominative, genitive, accusative) and most of the adverbial cases (dative, ablative, instrumental).

The accusative is required by three large semantic groups of verbs, yielding constructions with different formal characteristics:

(1) Verbs denoting information processing can occur in both same-subject and different-subject phrases. They can also be combined with any participial form, including

negative forms, e.g. *debshenei yüünde yere-h-iiyi* (*yere-x-iiyi*, *yer-ee-güi-yi*, etc.) *bi medeneb* 'I know why Debshen came (will come, did not come, etc.)'.

(2) Verbs denoting immediate perception occur only in different-subject phrases, and only in fixed combination with the futuritive participle in affirmative use, e.g. *butid tagarai myaxa sabsha-x-iiyi-ny xarana* 'Butid watches how Tagar chops meat'.

(3) Verbs denoting causation (manipulation) likewise occur only in different-subject phrases in combination with the futuritive participle, but with the possibility of negation, e.g. *hü asar-x-iiyi-m elygeebe* '[he] sent me to bring some milk'; *tsibaan xünde xele-xe-güi-yi-ny hamgandaa zaxiba* 'Tsibaan ordered his wife not to tell people [about it]'.

The dative and ablative are required by verbs denoting positive and negative emotional reaction, respectively, e.g. (part. fut. neg. dat.) *xarin üdeshelen* **radio***goinggoo duugar-xa-güi-de yexel gaixaba* 'but in the evening [she] was astonished [by the fact] that the radio did not talk'; (part. fut. abl. px sg. 2p.) *aluul-xa-haa-sh ainab* 'I am afraid that you will be killed'. The subgroup of verbs denoting emotional prognosis ('to hope', 'to believe') requires the dative in different-subject phrases; in same-subject phrases, the intentional converb is used. The ablative is used in complex comparative constructions when referring to the action serving as the point of comparison: *xünyiiyi adagla-xa-da, ööriigöö adagla-gsha-haa belen* 'to watch others is easier than to watch oneself'.

The dative is also required by adjectival predicates expressing value judgement ('good/bad', 'merit/guilt', 'advantage/disadvantage'), e.g. *tyeed bi üshöö hurguulida yaba-dag-güi-d-öö zemetei aalbi* 'but am I guilty [of the fact] that I no longer go to school?'. In a similar function, the nominative can be used, placing the participle in the position of the subject, e.g. *shamtai uulza-ha-m yexe hain baigaa* 'it was very good that I met you'. More important from the systemic point of view is the use of the nominative with three other types of predicate with specific characteristics:

(1) passive derivatives of verbs denoting information processing, e.g. *nyodondo tereentei uulza-ha-mni namda hana.gda-ba* 'I recalled [literally: 'it was recalled to me'] that I had met him last year'; cf. the active sentence *nyodondo tereentei uulza-haa bi hanazharxyoob* 'I [suddenly] recalled that I had met him last year';

(2) causative derivatives of verbs denoting emotion, e.g. *üüdeyee xab yab xaagaad gara-hany-iiny namayi gomd.uul-ba* '[the fact] that he went out, slamming the doors, offended me'; and

(3) possessive adjectival predicates from nominal stems denoting an emotional state, e.g. *üüdeyee xab yab xaagaad gara-hany-iiny namda gomdol-toi bai-ba* '[the fact] that he went out, slamming the doors, was offensive to me', cf. the corresponding construction with dative government *üüdeyee xab yab xaagaad gara-han-da-ny bi gomdonob* 'I regret [feel offence from] the fact that he went out, slamming the doors'. It can be seen that the three case forms (nominative vs. dative vs. accusative) used with emotive predicates express three different grades of activity from the point of view of the 'experiencer'. For verbs denoting intellectual processes only two grades are differentiated (nominative vs. dative).

The genitive occurs in prenominal participial clauses. Nouns requiring the genitive are: names of relations between events ('cause', 'result', 'time'), e.g. *teretnai xuu arxi uu-x-iin shaltag* 'all of this [of yours] is a cause to drink [some] wine'; names of modal relations ('possibility'), e.g. *namayi tiishe zöölgelse-hen-ei xereg yüün baixab* 'what is the reason [necessity] that you brought me here?'; or nouns correlated with verbs denoting

emotion and information processing, e.g. *uulza-han-aing/g-aa bayar xubaldayaal daa* 'let us share the joy of our meeting!'.

The instrumental is used in complex constructions with verbs denoting inferring. The circumstance that is inferred is expressed by the accusative, while the instrumental indicates the basis of the conclusion made, e.g. (part. perf. acc. + part. perf. instr.) *esegiinggee olzotoi yere-h-iiyi alybar noxoin türüün yere-h-eer medebe* 'from [the fact] that his dog Alibar came running ahead, he knew that that his father had come with a catch'.

POSTPOSITIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS

Especially in dictum–dictum constructions, the meaning of the participial case form can be specified by a postposition. The possessive and reflexive suffixes are variously added either to the postposition or to the participial case form. Most of the actual combinations are grammaticalized to a variety of temporal and causal meanings. Examples:

part. fut. poss. px/rx + *adli* 'right after', e.g. *xuurai shenehe neme-xe-tei-mnai adli osho xayalan, tas nyas tashaganashaba* 'right after we threw [into the fire] a dry larch tree, sparkles flew cracking';

part. fut. abl. + [conc.] *baitagai* 'not only . . . but', e.g. *tede duugar-xa-haa baitagai, xüdelxeshye bolyood huunad* 'they stopped not only talking, but even moving';

part. fut. + *büri* + px/rx '(in proportion) as', e.g. *tedenei yaba-xa büri-ny nogoonoi urgasa haizharna* 'as they went farther, the grass became higher' (or: 'the farther they went, the higher the grass became');

part. fut + *deere* + px/rx 'just before', e.g. *yabaxa deere-m nüxerni yeree* 'just before I left, my friend came';

part. perf. + *deere* + px/rx 'while', e.g. *tengxeetei bai-han deer-ee taigahaa garazha oshoxo xeregtei* 'while you have the strength to do it, you must leave the taiga';

part. fut./perf./hab. + abl. *deere-hee* + px/rx 'because', e.g. *moridiiyi ende asarxa argagüi bai-han deerehee-ny bide büxii azhalaa garaaraa xexe baatai boloobdi* 'because it was impossible to take horses here, we had to do all the work with our hands';

part. fut. abl. px/rx + *gadna* 'not only – but', e.g. *müngge zööryeer demzhelge üzööl-xe-hee-tnai gadna, ulas türin talaar ashag olzo olozho abaxabdi* 'not only will you help financially, but also we will get political advantage';

part. perf. gen. px/rx + dat. *hüül-de* 'after', e.g. *xübüün shogonoxon bultaizha xara-han-aing/g-aa hüülde gazaashaa garaba* 'after peeping out and looking [at us] for a time, the child came out';

part. fut. gen. px/rx + dat. *oron-do* 'instead', e.g. *bayar xürge-x-iing/g-öö orondo xaragaad toniloo gedeg* 'instead of thanking, he cursed and disappeared, they say';

part. imperf./perf. + dat. *sag-ta* + px/rx 'when', e.g. *amidii bai/g-aa sagt-aa tere üxedeliiyi tabixagüib* 'as long as I am alive, I will not set this villain free';

part. perf. + dat. *sheg-te* + px/rx 'still in the state of', e.g. *tuwaang-xamba garaa namanshal-han shegt-ee xüdelenggüi zogsono* 'Tuwaan Khamba stands without moving, [still in the state of] keeping his hands joined in prayer';

part. perf. + *soo* '[in the way] as, according to', e.g. *tanai hana-han soo, bagshanarai hurga-han soo hainda xürtezhe, xamta yabaxabdi* 'we shall go together, striving for goodness, [in the way] as you dreamed [and] as [our] teachers taught [us]';

part. fut. + *teeshe* + px/rx '(closer to the time) when', e.g. *ali edege-xe teeshe-ny orozho üzexe güb* 'or shall I go to visit him (closer to the time) when he gets better?';

part. perf./hab. (neg.) + *tula* 'because', e.g. *urdany iime tüxelei mediülelnüüd yexeer xereglegde-deg-güi tula abahaar obyoorogdoggüi baigaa* 'because sentences of this type were not much used formerly, they were not [even] paid attention to';

part. fut. gen. + *tülöö* 'in order to', e.g. *sülööshel-x-iin tülöö ede xoyoriiyi amindaxanany bishixan gerte oruulaa hemneibdi* 'we have put these two in a separate little house, so that they feel free';

part. perf. gen. + px/rx + *tülöö* 'for, because', e.g. *ene nomiiyim esesteny xüreter unsha-han-ai-tnai tülöö bayartaib* 'I thank you for reading this book of mine to the end';

part. fut. abl. + *türüün* 'before', e.g. **moskwa** *osho-xo-hoo türüün tere manda oro-zho yeree* 'before going to Moscow, he came to visit us';

part. fut. abl. + px/rx + *urda* 'before', e.g. *xarin yere-xe-hee-ny urda balgaanuudaa barixa yohotoibdi* 'but before he comes we must build a hut';

part. fut. + dat. *üye-de* + px/rx 'when', e.g. **institud**-*ta hura-xa üyed-öö* **sambo** *barildaanda yabadag hem* 'while studying at the college, I went in for sambo wrestling';

part. fut. poss. + *xamta* 'at the same time as', e.g. *negenyiiny le minii duugarzharxi-xa-tai xamta, gente xüzüügee ürgen, shagnaarxaad ababa* 'and one of them, when I started speaking, suddenly raised its head [neck] and listened';

part. fut./imperf./perf./hab. + *hen* + *xoinoo* 'because', e.g. *mergen uran zoxyoolshin garaar temdeglegde-hen hen xoinoo sedyxel xüdelgemöör besheetei baina* 'because it is described by the hand of a skilful writer, it is written so that it touches the heart';

part. fut. + dat. *xooron-do* + px/rx 'at the time when', e.g. **lepyoshko** *baga baga-xanaar xazazha huu-xa xoorondo-m, damdinzhab miniishye mori emeellezherxibe* 'while I was biting from the cake little by little, Damdinzhab saddled my horse, too';

part. fut. + *zuura* + px/rx 'while', e.g. *dorzho hamganainggaa xazhuugaar alad gara-xa zuur-aa gashuunaar gezhe aalixan shebenebe* 'while passing by his wife, Dorzho whispered: 'stronger!'.

A category close to postpositions is formed by the postpositional connectors known as conjunctional particles (often termed conjunctions in Buryat grammars). The most important conjunctional particles are *aad* 'but' (conv. perf. < **a-xad*), *haa* 'if' (< conv. cond. **a-xasa*), and *xada* id. (< part. fut. dat. **a-ku-du*), all of which are petrified non-finite forms of the obsolete auxiliary **a-* 'to be'. With the exception of the particle *aad*, which is combined with a nominative subject, clauses with conjunctional particles have the subject in the genitive, when not expressed by a possessive or reflexive form, e.g. (part. hab. + *haa* + px 3p.) *xerbee shamayi honirxuul-dag haa-ny, xelexedemnishye, boloxol daa* 'if [it] interests you, I can tell [you]'; (part. imperf. + neg. + *xada*), e.g. *minii udaan yereegüi xada, shi bü xülyeegeerei* 'in case I do not come for a long time, do not wait for me!'; cf. (part. perf. + *aad*) *sharaldai übgen gente hüxeyee dalai-han aad, gasarta abyaagüixen huushaba* 'Old Sharaldai tossed up his axe, but suddenly sat down without a sound'.

RELATIVE CLAUSES

All participles can serve to build a relative clause. The basic restrictive relative clause precedes the head noun, though it can be separated from the latter by simple attributes (such as adjectival nouns or numerals). For marking the relativized position of the head noun in the relative clause, the gap strategy is used.

If the object position is relativized, the subject is in the genitive, and the head noun can optionally be marked by the possessive or reflexive suffixes, e.g. (part. fut.) *ene*

shinii xe-xe azhal beshe geeshe 'this is not a work you can do'; (part. perf. + px 3p.) *aldar-ai baryaad bai-han tülxyüür-iiny multarshaba* 'the key that Aldar had held fell down'; (part. perf. + rx) *hurguuli düürge-hen zhel-ee hanabab* 'I remembered the year when I graduated from the school'. Although it occasionally may seem that the possessive suffixes express possession in such constructions, they actually always only refer to possession through action; if the possessor and the actor are two different persons, the possessive suffixes are determined by the actor person, e.g. (part. perf. + px sg. 2p.) *zun namda aba-han samsa-shni xaanab* 'where is the shirt that you bought for me last summer?' (literally: 'where is your shirt [that was] bought for me last summer?').

If the adverbial position is relativized, case markers are omitted, e.g. (part. hab.) *malshad-ai bai-dag ger* 'the house where the shepherds live'. Postpositions are retained, but the omitted noun is replaced by the third person possessive suffix, e.g. (postp. + px 3p. + part. hab.) *manaadai doro-ny zagaha bari-dag xüürge endehee xolo beshe* 'the bridge under which we usually fish is not far from here'. The relativized attributive position is also marked by the third person possessive suffix, which in these cases always expresses possession (part/whole relationship). Unlike in Mongol proper, only attributes to subjects can be relativized in Buryat, e.g. *ünööxi amhar-iiny bütüül-hen* **korzina**-*yaa asarba* '[he] brought that covered basket of his' (literally: 'he brought that basket of his, the opening of which was covered').

Headless relative clauses have basically the same structure as normal relative clauses, except that the morphological marking that would be present in the head noun goes to the participle, e.g. (part. perf. acc.) *biden-ei shana-h-iiyi tere edixeyeeshye hanaagüi* 'he did not even want to eat what we cooked'; (part. perf. abl.) *bagsh-iing/g-aa xööre-hen-hee xelehüü* 'let me tell [you something] from what my teacher said!'. Instead of headless clauses, nominalizers of the type *xün* 'man', *yüüme/n* 'thing', *gasar* 'place', *sag* 'time', can be used, e.g. (part. perf. + *yüüme/n* + px sg. 2p.) *altan gezhe hanazha yaba-han yüümen-shni miin le guulin* 'the thing that you believed to be gold is just copper'. All such sentences represent the coreferential type of syntactic construction.

LEXICON

Buryat shares much of its core vocabulary with Mongol proper, the chief differences arising from the derivational patterns. In some respects of lexical structure, however, Buryat may be regarded as a more 'Siberian' language than Mongol proper. Sound symbolism, for instance, is particularly typical of Buryat. Words with sound symbolism have often only a very vague descriptive meaning, cf. e.g. *palxagana-* 'to move [of a short fat man]', *papagana-* 'to sway, to move from side to side [of something fluffy or shaggy]', *tezheexei* 'a short-legged pot-bellied being', *dedegenüür* 'speaking fast and muddled'. Correlations based on idiosyncratic phonetic principles are frequent, cf. e.g. *tarshagana-* 'to crack', *torshogono-* 'to crash', *türshegene-* 'to knock'; *parshagana-* 'to speak hoarsely', *porshogono-* 'to bubble, to gurgle', *pirshagana-* 'to squeak, to peep'.

Language contacts have also contributed to the differentiation between Buryat and the other Mongolic languages, as well as between the Buryat dialects. In the Western Buryat sphere there are some Turkic loanwords with a dialectal distribution, e.g. *sordon* 'pike', *saazha* 'plait', *töörseg* 'milk container', *sool* '[kind of] stove', *ühee* '[beam of] ceiling', *xii* 'dried dung'. The Turkic donor languages include Khakas, Tofa, and Yakut. Tungusic borrowings (from Ewenki) are mainly confined to toponyms and special terms relating to the boreal environment, e.g. *zegeen* or *zantaxi* 'wolverine', *onggolo* 'nutcracker'.

In premodern times, especially among the Eastern Buryat, loanwords were received from Chinese and Tibetan, though in most cases they entered through the intermediation of Mongol proper and/or Written Mongol. The Chinese loanwords are often connected with material culture and obsolete administrative structures, e.g. *buu* 'gun', *den/g* 'candle', *taishaa* [head of local government], while the Tibetan loanwords are typically terms of religion and science, e.g. *bumba* 'gravestone' (< 'urn'), *dasan/g* 'temple', *debter* 'notebook', *zula* 'icon-lamp'. Most conspicuously, a large proportion of the personal names still favoured today by the Eastern Buryat are of Tibetan origin. Of course, many of the Tibetan terms and names are ultimately literary borrowings from Sanskrit.

Modern cultural vocabulary has penetrated into Buryat mainly from Russian. The Western Buryat dialects were affected first, starting in the seventeenth century. The earlier borrowings are phonologically fully adapted, cf. e.g. *potoloog* 'ceiling' (< Russian **potolok**), *xileemen* 'bread' (< Russian **xleb**), *xubaahan* [kind of drink] (< Russian **kvas**), *shumdaan* 'suitcase' (< Russian **chemodan**), *üshöö* 'yet' (< Russian **yeshhë**), *shüüd* 'a little' (< Russian **chut'**). Full nativization is also indicated by the presence of productive derivational patterns, cf. e.g. *xaarta* 'playing cards' (< Russian **karta**) : *xaarta.lda-* 'to play cards' : *xaarta.shan* 'gambler'. In more recent borrowings, especially from the Soviet period, the literary standard preserves the Russian orthographical shape, while orally various degrees of adaptation are normally present.

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CHAPTER SIX

DAGUR

Toshiro Tsumagari

Dagur (also Daghur, Dahur, Daur) is an aberrant North(east)ern Mongolic language spoken by the majority of the *c.*120,000 (1990) ethnic Dagur (Chinese *Dawoer*) in China. The name reflects the self-appellation of the Dagur (*dagur* ~ *dawur* ~ *daur*). Historically, the Dagur once inhabited the Middle Amur region, including, in particular, the Zeya basin, from where they moved (or were forced to move) to the Chinese side of the border in the seventeenth century and later. Subsequent movements have further dispersed the Dagur population, resulting in their current distribution, which may be described in terms of four separate regional groups:

(1) The Amur Dagur are a small (and rapidly diminishing) remnant group of perhaps only 400 individuals, who still remain in the original homeland. The Amur Dagur are today concentrated in the Heihe region on the Chinese side of the Middle Amur basin.
(2) The Nonni Dagur are today the principal group of the Dagur, living in several localities of the Nonni (Chinese *Nenjiang*) basin. They can be further divided into (2a) the Morin Daba Dagur, in the Morin Daba (*Moli Dawa*) Dagur Autonomous Banner of Hulun Buir League, Inner Mongolia; (2b) the Butha (*Buteha*) Dagur, immediately south of Morin Daba Banner; (2c) the Tsitsikar Dagur, in Tsitsikar (*Qiqihaer*) City and surrounding areas; and (2d) the Mergen or Nenjiang Dagur, in Nenjiang (formerly Mergen) County of Heilongjiang Province.
(3) The Hailar Dagur are another important group, living mainly in the Ewenki Autonomous Banner of Hulun Buir League, immediately south of Hailar City.
(4) The Sinkiang Dagur comprise the descendants of those Dagur who in the eighteenth century were transferred by the Qing government to the Ili (*Yili*) region of Sinkiang (*Xinjiang*).

Although the regional differences of Dagur are small, making all local varieties of the language mutually intelligible, some dialectal differences are nevertheless present. The Nonni Dagur are normally divided into speakers of the Butha (northern) and Tsitsikar (southern) dialects, while the Hailar and Sinkiang Dagur (as well as the Amur Dagur) constitute dialectal groups of their own. According to an estimate made on the basis of an earlier census (1982), the Butha dialect is spoken by *c.*48 per cent, the Tsitsikar dialect by *c.*43 per cent, the Hailar dialect by *c.*5 per cent, and the Sinkiang dialect by *c.*4 per cent of all Dagur.

Dagur has no official literary language, though attempts have been made to write it in three different writing systems: in the Manchu script during the late Qing dynasty, in a Roman orthography in the early 1930s, and in the Cyrillic script in the 1950s. Since the 1980s, a new attempt of literary use has been going on using a Pinyin-based Roman standard. For their everyday literary use, as well as for wider written communication, the Dagur nevertheless rely upon Chinese (Mandarin) and Mongol (Written Mongol). Most Dagur are today either bi- or trilingual in Chinese and/or Mongol, while earlier, Manchu

was also widely known and used. On the other hand, Dagur has for several centuries been the second language of the majority of the Solon Ewenki, a major Manchurian branch of the Tungusic Ewenki people. The long-term contacts with two Tungusic languages (Manchu and Ewenki) have resulted in several peculiar innovations in Dagur. In the past, Dagur was even mistakenly classified as a Tungusic language, until competent field work, initiated in the late nineteenth century, revealed its Mongolic identity.

DATA AND SOURCES

Following the pioneering work by A. O. Ivanovskii (1894), Nicholas Poppe (1930, 1934–5, 1964) was the first modern linguist to publish grammatical and lexical material on Dagur and establish the genetic position of the language. Before Poppe, F. V. Muromski had also recorded a glossary of some 2,000 Dagur words, but it was published only much later by Stanisław Kałużyński (1969–70). Another important work, based on data from a single informant, but involving a new theoretical framework (American structuralism), was published by Samuel E. Martin (1961).

It was, however, not until the 1980s that sufficient data became available to allow the study of Dagur at a more advanced level. A concise Dagur grammatical sketch with a glossary was prepared by Zhong Suchun (1982) for the official Chinese series of minority language grammars. A more substantial grammar, based on field work carried out in the 1950s, was published in Russia by B. X. Todaeva (1986), later followed by a brief sketch by the same author (1997). Even greater contributions have been made by the native Dagur scholar Merden Enhebatu in collaboration with other members of Inner Mongolia University. The results include a Dagur vocabulary of *c.*7,000 items (Enhebatu *et al.* 1984), a collection of texts (Enhebatu *et al.* 1985), as well as a detailed historical-comparative grammar (Enhebatu and Shinetge 1988). Another comparative grammar of Dagur was prepared by Namtsarai and Has-Erdeni (1983).

All these new materials, as summarized by Juha Janhunen (1988), have shed light on the previously enigmatic Dagur language. Moreover, after the long years of the closed-door policy of China, accessibility to the Dagur-inhabited areas has much improved, and it is today also possible to meet and interview Dagur speakers elsewhere in the world. The present sketch is, in addition to the extant published sources, based on personal field observations. Some results of this field work have also been made available in earlier publications by the author (Tsumagari 1985, 1986). Other recent treatments and databases include those by Hitoshi Kuribayashi (1989) and Shigeki Shiotani (1990).

While most works on Dagur are of a scholarly character, the experimentations with literary use have also resulted in some publications. The relatively large corpus of Cyrillic sources in Dagur has been republished under the editorship of György Kara (1995). A Pinyinized Dagur–Chinese dictionary for modern practical use has been published by Enhebatu (1983), while a reader with texts has been prepared by Erhimbayar and Enhebatu (1988). There is also an occasional scholarly newspaper titled *Daor Huu* ('Dagur People'), but it is published only in Chinese.

SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Dagur has five singly occurring vowel phonemes, which may be divided into the rounded back vowels *o u*, the unrounded back vowels *a e*, and the single unrounded front vowel *i* (Table 6.1).

TABLE 6.1 DAGUR VOWELS

u		*i*
o	*e*	
	a	

Diachronically, the rounded back vowels *u* [u] and *o* [o ~ ɔ] represent the rotated and merged reflexes of **ü* & **ö* as well as **u* & **o*, respectively, e.g. *xund* 'heavy' (< **kündü*), *duc* 'forty' (< **döci/n*); *mory* 'horse' (< **mori/n*), *goc* 'thirty' (< **guci/n*). Both *u* and (to a lesser extent) *o* have a labializing effect on a preceding consonant. The unrounded back vowels *a* [ɑ ~ a] and *e* [ə] represent original **a* and **e*, respectively, e.g. *xar* 'black' (< **kara*); *er* 'man' (< **ere*). The unrounded front vowel *i* represents original **i* and has a palatalizing effect on a preceding consonant, e.g. *nid* [ɲid] 'eye' (< **nidü/n*). All these vowel phonemes occur in the initial syllable, while in non-initial syllables only the three single vowels *i e u* can appear. In the present description, it is assumed that the single vowels never occur word-finally at the phonological level.

All vowel qualities can occur as phonetically long. Such long vowels can phonologically be analysed as sequences of two identical vowels: *aa ee ii oo uu*, and in most cases they imply diachronic contraction, e.g. *shiree* 'table' (< **sirexe*), *seruung* 'cool' (< **seri-xün*). In some cases, however, a secondary lengthening has taken place, e.g. *taaw* 'five' (< **tabu/n*), *mood* 'tree' (< **modu/n*). Lengthening may be considered regular in monosyllabic words of the type CV, e.g. *bii* 'I' (< **bi*).

There are also seven diphthongoid sequences, consisting of two non-identical vowels. These may be classified into three types: (1) *ai ei oi ui*; (2) *au eu*; and (3) *ie*. The first type, containing *i* as the second component, has parallels in most other Mongolic languages, e.g. *baidal* 'situation' (< **bayidal*), *uwei* [negative particle] (< **ügei*), *noitung* 'wet' (< **noyitan*), *kuitung* 'cold' (< **küyiten*). The second type, attested only in the initial syllable, involves an archaism peculiar to Dagur (with parallels in Moghol and the Gansu–Qinghai complex), e.g. Dagur *aul* 'mountain' vs. Mongol *uul* (< **axula/n*), Dagur *eud* 'door' vs. Mongol *üüd* (< **exüde/n*). The third type, as analysed here, comprises only the sequence *ie*, which has two monophthongoid realizations: [e] in the initial syllable, but never word-initially, and [e:] in non-initial syllables, with a palatalizing effect on the preceding consonant. In the initial syllable *ie* occurs as an irregular reflex of **i* (by palatal breaking) or **a* (by palatal umlaut), e.g. *bied* 'we' (< **bida*), *jieby* 'boat' (< **jabi*), while in non-initial syllables it has a sequential background, e.g. *tarie* 'field' (< **tariya/n*), *unie* 'cow' (< **üniye/n*). In a different interpretation, *ie* could be analysed as a sixth member of the basic vowel paradigm (unrounded mid-high front vowel).

The consonant paradigm comprises some nineteen basic segments, which, according to the manner of articulation, may be divided into the strong stops *p t c k*, the weak stops *b d j g*, the fricatives *f s sh x*, the nasals *m n ng*, the liquids *l r*, and the glides *w y* (Table 6.2). Of these, the segments *p f* are mainly attested in recent lexical innovations, loanwords, as well as irregular developments.

The opposition between the strong vs. weak stops is manifested in the presence vs. absence of aspiration, as in (strong aspirated) *pus-* 'to breed' (from Manchu), *xumpaa-* 'to swim' (< **xumba-*), *lup* 'straight'; *taa* 'you' (< **ta*), *kateng* 'hard' (< **katan*), *alt* 'gold' (< **alta/n*); *cas* 'snow' (< **casu/n*), *wacir-* 'to meet' (< **ucira-*), *kurc* 'bowstring' (< **köbci/n*); *kuly* 'foot, leg' (< **köl.i*), *saikeng* 'beautiful' (< **sayikan*), *nek* 'one'

TABLE 6.2 DAGUR CONSONANTS

p	*t*	*c*	*k*
b	*d*	*j*	*g*
f	*s*	*sh*	*x*
m	*n*		*ng*
	l		
	r		
w		*y*	

(< ***nike/n***); (weak unaspirated) *bes* 'belt' (< ***büse/n***), *ambeng* 'minister'; *deer* '[on] top [of]' (< ***dexere***), *udur* 'day' (< ***ödür***), *end* 'here' (< ***ende***); *jau* 'hundred' (< ***jaxu/n***), *xujuu* 'neck' (< ***küjüxü***), *orj* 'nursing bottle' (< ***ugji***); *galy* 'fire' < ***gal.i***), *myangg* 'thousand' (< ***mingga/n***). The weak segments *b g* are, however, voiced and spirantized intervocalically and syllable-finally, as in *debel-* 'to advance' (< ***debül-*** 'to spout'), *gwareb* 'three' (< ***gurba/n***), *cigaan* 'white' (< ***cagaxan***), *eg* 'mother' (< ***eke***).

In certain environments, it is difficult to distinguish the weak stops *b g* from the corresponding glides *w y*. The glides are fully distinctive in initial position, e.g. *warkel* 'clothes', *yas* 'bone' (< ***yasu/n***). In intervocalic and final position, however, the phonetic distinction between *b* (pronounced as a voiced bilabial spirant) and *w* (a voiced bilabial approximant) is minimal, and both seem to represent the same diachronic source (**b*), e.g. *oboo* 'heap' (< ***obuxa/n***) vs. *dawaa* 'mountain pass' (< ***dabaxa/n***). Before the vowel *u*, there often seems to be free variation between *b* or *w* and *g*, as in *uwul* ~ *ugul* 'winter' (< **öbül*), though zero representation (Ø) is also encountered, as in *yau-* 'to go' (< **yabu-*). In the case of the palatal glide *y*, the contrast against zero is generally retained, as in *baying* 'rich' (< ***bayan***) vs. *saing* 'good' (< ***sayin***), but a merger between *g* and *y* is possible before the vowel *i*, as in *degii* (from Ewenki) > *deyii* 'bird'.

The fricatives *f s sh x* are all phonetically voiceless. The segment *f* has a dentilabial pronunciation (as in Manchu and Chinese), e.g. *faid-* ~ *paid-* 'to arrange' (from Chinese through Manchu), *xafeng* 'official' (from Manchu). The segments *s sh* are realized as a dental and palatal sibilant, respectively, e.g. *sau-* 'to sit' (< **saxu-*), *taser-* 'to cut off' (< ***tasura-***), *os* 'water' (< ***usu/n***) vs. *shar* 'yellow' (< ***sira***), *shii* 'thou' (< ***ci***), *tashieng* 'error' (< ***tasiya/n***), *udish* 'yesterday' (< ***üdesi*** 'evening'). Diachronically, *sh* implies a position preceding an original **i*, but synchronically *s* can also occure before *i*, notably the suffixal long *ii* of the connective case ending, as in *os* 'water' : conn. *os-ii*.

The segment *x*, realized as a velar to pharyngeal to laryngeal fricative, is particularly important taxonomically and diachronically, since it preserves a concrete trace of the Proto-Mongolic velar fricative **x* (< **p*) in initial position. The segment is, however, regularly lost in the Hailar dialect, as in *xukur* > Hailar *ukur* 'cattle' (< **xüker*). Another complication is caused by what appears to have been an unsystematic spirantization of initial **k* > *x* before a velar vowel, as in *xony* 'sheep' (< **koni/n*). Many words show a dialectal alternation between *k* and *x* (both initially and medially), as in Butha *kakraa* vs. Tsitsikar and Hailar *xaxraa* 'hen/rooster', Butha *xwaker* vs. Tsitsikar and Hailar *waxer* 'short' (< **okar*). Rarely, such alternation is also encountered before an original palatal vowel, as in Butha *xeing* vs. Tsitsikar and Hailar *keing* 'wind' < **keyi/n* 'air, wind'.

The labial and dental nasals *m n* occur without complications in all positions, e.g. *magel* 'hat' (< **malaga*), *emeel* 'saddle' (< ***emexel***), *am* 'mouth' (< **ama/n*); *nar* 'sun'

(< **nara/n*), *tanil* 'acquaintance' (< **tanil*), *en* 'this' (< **ene*). The velar nasal *ng* represents a merger of original **n* and **ng* in final position; a final *ng* is normally pronounced as a nasalized continuation of the preceding vowel. The synchronic contrast between *n* vs. *ng* is due to vowel loss after an original medial *n*, as in *xaan* 'where' (< **ka-xana*) vs. *xaang* 'emperor' (< **kaxan*). A medial *ng* occurs in the homorganic clusters *ngg ngk*, e.g. *ninggeen* 'thin' (< **nimgexen*), *engkw-* 'to bite' (< **emkü-*). In recent loanwords, *ng* has expanded its distribution to other positions, as in *gungren* 'worker' (from Chinese).

Of the liquids, only the lateral *l* occurs in all positions within the word, e.g. *lam* 'lama' (< **lama*), *xulaang* 'red' (< **xulaxan*), *ail* 'village' (< **ayil*). In initial position *l* sometimes derives from **n*, as in *larc* 'leaf' (< **nabci*), *lom* 'sutra' (< **nom*). The vibrant *r* occurs medially and finally, but not initially, e.g. *xoroo* 'finger' (< **kuruxu*), *xwar* 'rain' (< **kura*). Diachronically, *r* is connected with the single most important taxonomic feature of Dagur, the phenomenon known as 'Dagur rhotacism', according to which *r* can stand for any original syllable-final obstruent (**b *d *s *g*), as in *torc* 'button' (< **tobci*), *aurky* 'lung' (< **axuski*), *derd-* 'to fly' (< *degde-* 'to float'). Original final **r* is basically also preserved as *r*, as in *xaur* 'spring(time)', but in some cases, secondary dissimilation has confused the relations between *r* and *l*, e.g. *shurkul* 'demon' (< **shurkur* < **cidkür*), *urgil* 'story' (< **ulgir* < **üliger*).

Another taxonomically important feature of Dagur is breaking, which in this language has affected both the original high palatal vowel **i* (palatal breaking) and the rounded vowels **u *o* (labial breaking), e.g. *yor* 'omen' (< **iro*), *wair* 'near' (< **oyira*), *want-* 'to sleep' (< **umta-*). Due to breaking, Dagur has, in addition to the basic consonants, a system of palatalized and labialized consonants, each of which can be analysed either as a single segment or as a sequence of two segments. In principle, with the exception of the glides, any non-palatal initial consonant can be secondarily palatalized, e.g. *kyand* 'cheap' (< **kimda*), *nyombus* 'tears' (< **nilbusu/n*). Similarly, any non-labial initial consonant can be secondarily labialized, e.g. *dwater* 'inside' (< **dotar*), *xwadel* 'lie' (< **kudal*). In practice, the paradigm of the palatalized and labialized consonants is restricted by a number of accidental distributional gaps.

Another source of palatalized and labialized consonants has been the elision of the final vowels **i *u* (< **u* & **o*), which has left an asyllabic trace of secondary articulation on the final consonant, e.g. *xeky* 'head' (< **xeki/n* 'beginning'), *nogw* 'dog' (< **noko*). Considering also this source, the number of the actually attested palatalized consonants in Dagur is eleven (*py ty ky by dy gy xy my ny ly ry*), while the number of the labialized consonants is thirteen (*tw cw kw bw dw jw gw sw shw xw mw nw lw*). The labialized consonants can also occur medially in inflected forms, as in *usugw* 'word' : instr. *usugw-eer*. The same is actually true of the palatalized consonants, but due to neutralizing vowel developments medial palatalization tends to be non-distinctive, as in *mory* 'horse' : instr. *mor(y)-ier*. Medial palatalization is, nevertheless, attested in a few marginal words, such as *monyoo* 'monkey' (from Manchu), *nyoo&nyoo* ~ *ninyoo* 'baby'.

WORD STRUCTURE

In the framework followed here, the general structure of the Dagur syllable may be schematized as (C)(G)V(V)((C)C)(G), where G stands for the glides *w y* and C for any other consonant. Sequences of two vowel segments (VV) may, of course, also be analysed as single vowel phonemes (long vowels and diphthongs), while sequences of consonant + glide (CG) may be analysed as single consonant phonemes (palatalized resp.

labialized consonants). There are no words ending in a single vowel, and no medial syllables ending in a sequence of consonant + glide. Therefore, syllables of maximal complexity occur only among monosyllabic words, such as *xyaarkw* 'sidewalls of a room'. In clusters of two consonants (CC), the first segment is normally one of the set *b g m n ng l r*, while the second segment comes from the set *p t c k d j s sh*.

It has to be mentioned that there is another possible phonotactic framework that has also been proposed for Dagur. In this other framework (Martin), Dagur has only open syllables. The glides are interpreted as fully vocalic (*u i*), while any (apparent) syllable-final consonants are actually assumed to be followed by the (neutral) vowel *e*. A final *ng*, as well as a homorganic nasal before a consonant, are interpreted as an archiphonemic syllabic nasal (*n*). This line of analysis has certain advantages, especially in that it avoids postulating certain otherwise necessary phonemes (*y w ng*). However, there are also problems involved, for which reason it appears advisable not to adopt this framework here.

The most important phonotactic phenomenon affecting the vowels is vowel harmony, which in Dagur has been significantly restructured due to rotation and various neutralizing developments. The vowels of the initial syllable may be divided into three groups: the 'masculine' (original back) vowels *a aa ai au o oo oi ie*, the 'feminine' (original front) vowels *e ee ei eu uu ui*, and the neutral vowels *u i ii*. In non-initial syllables, the distribution of the vowels into the three groups is somewhat different, with the first group comprising the vowels *aa oo*, the second group the vowel *ee*, and the third group the vowels *u uu ui i ii ie e ei*. It may be noted that the category of neutral vowels has increased in Dagur, especially in non-initial syllables. Even so, the 'masculine' and 'feminine' vowels do not normally co-occur in a single word. A further restriction is that *oo* usually does not occur after an initial syllable containing *u ii*.

Vowel harmony is synchronically manifest in the behaviour of suffixal long vowels. Suffixes beginning with a consonant, or involving a connective consonant, have two alternants with the vowels *aa ee*, e.g. abl. *akaa/y-aas* 'elder brother', *ukaa/y-aas* 'wisdom', *coloo/y-aas* 'stone', *degii/y-ees* 'bird', *shiree/y-ees* 'table', *tulie/y-ees* 'firewood'. By contrast, suffixes beginning with a vowel have four alternants with the vowels *aa oo ee ie*. The alternant with *oo* is triggered both by a preceding *o* (labial harmony) and by a stem-final labial glide after 'masculine' vowels, while the alternant with *ie* is triggered by a stem-final palatal consonant or glide irrespective of the preceding vocalism, e.g. abl. (*am* :) *am-aas* 'mouth', (*mood* :) *mood-oos* 'tree', (*tatkw* :) *tatk-oos* 'drawer', (*taaw* :) *taaw-oos* 'five', (*eg* :) *eg-ees* 'mother', (*usugw* :) *usugw-ees* 'word', (*mory* :) *mor-ies* 'horse', (*bey* :) *bey-ies* 'body', (*kaic* :) *kaic-ies* 'scissors'.

Two Common Mongolic phenomena affecting the suffix boundary are the alternation of **n* (> *ng*) with zero and the addition of the connective consonant *g* between two long vowel elements. Unlike many other Mongolic languages, Dagur has eliminated the unstable **/n* from the declension of regular nouns. The nasal is, however, preserved in pronominal declension, e.g. *yoo* 'what' : dat. *yoo/n-de*, as well as in forms used as attributes before other nouns, e.g. *xori* 'twenty' : attr. *xori/ng*. Additionally, many nouns ending in an etymologically stable **n* lose this segment before certain derivational suffixes. The connective consonant *g*, on the other hand, has been replaced by *y* in the nominal declension, but it is retained as *g* in the verbal conjugation, cf. e.g. *akaa* 'elder brother' : abl. *akaa/y-aas* vs. *oo-* 'to drink' : part. ag. *oo/g-aacing* 'one who drinks'.

According to the rules of syllable structure, the vowels *e u* are regularly added after a stem-final consonant before a syllable-final consonant (not followed by a vowel), as in *id-* 'to eat' : caus. *id/e.lgee-*, *mood* 'tree' : dat. *mood/u-d*. As a reverse effect of the same phenomenon, the vowel *e* in the final syllable of a stem is lost before a suffix beginning

with a vowel, as in *biteg* 'book' : conn. *bitg-ii.* Stems ending in a glide (including a glide indicating palatalization or labialization) always add the vowels *i* resp. *u* before a suffixal consonant, e.g. *bey* 'body' : dat. *bey/i-d*, *taaw* 'five' : attr. *taaw/u.ng*, *mory* 'horse' : poss. *mor(y)/i-tii*, *nogw* 'dog' : poss. *nog(w)/u-tii.* Another type of resyllabification is involved in stem-final diphthongs, the latter component of which becomes consonantal before a suffixal vowel, e.g. *yau-* 'to go' : conv. cond. *yaw-oosaa.*

One of the advantages of the phonotactic framework adopted above is that it allows a simple and consistent description of word prosody (pitch pattern). Dagur, like Mongolic in general, tends to place the primary stress (expiratory accent) on the first syllable of the word. The pitch, on the other hand, may be said to lie on the last syllable of the word (more specifically, on the nucleus of the last syllable), e.g. *akga* 'elder brother', *xarengui* 'dark', *xukur* 'cattle', dat. *nek-end* 'along with'. Although pitch remains functionally non-distinctive in Dagur, it is significant to note that other interpretations of the phonotactic structure of the language would appear to necessitate a more complicated prosodic description.

WORD FORMATION

Both inflectionally and derivationally, Dagur retains the basic distinction between nouns (nominals) and verbs (verbals). The nominal words comprise also pronouns and numerals. Adjectives can be distinguished from other nouns by their syntactic behaviour as well as by a few special derivational patterns. The most important fully productive denominal derivative suffix with an adjectival function is the Common Mongolic possessive formative *.tii* (< **.tAi*), e.g. *kuc* 'power' : *kuc/i.tii* 'powerful', *ant* 'taste' : *ant/e.tii* 'tasteful'. There are also a few non-productive deverbal suffixes with an adjectival function, notably *.mul*, e.g. *shad-* 'to be able' : *shad.mul* 'pretentious', and *.gAAr*, e.g. *ai-* 'to fear' : *aid.gaar* 'coward(ly)'.

Various modifications of adjectival intensity are expressed by the suffix *.keng* or *.kung* [originally deminutive], e.g. *xig* 'big : *xig.keng* 'rather big', *xaluu.ng* 'hot' : *xaluu.kung* 'quite hot' (lexicalized examples:) *sai.ng* 'good' : *sai.keng* 'beautiful', *sholuu.ng* 'honest' : *sholuu.kung* 'brisk'. Other similar suffixes include: *.kAAlii* [augmentative], e.g. *xol* 'far' : *xol.kaalii*, *buduung* 'thick' : *buduung.keelii*; *.lbing* or *.rbing* [moderative, of colour and taste], e.g. *xulaa.ng* 'red' : *xulaa.lbing* or *xulaa.rbing*, *dasuu.ng* 'sweet' : *dasuu.lbing*; *.cir/ee* [moderative], e.g. *sert* 'wise' : *sert.cir/ee*, (after other suffixes:) *jeulee.ng* 'soft' : *jeulee.ken.cir*, *xol* 'far' : *xol.kaalii.cir*, *xar* 'black' : *xar/e.lbin.cir.* Intensity can also be expressed by the Common Mongolic reduplicative construction of the type *xa.b&xar* 'coal-black'. In some cases, the reduplicated syllable ends in a consonant other than *.b*, e.g. *ci.m&cigaang* 'snow-white'; other cases show emphatic lengthening, e.g. *xu.b&xulaang* ~ *xuu.b&xulaang* 'deep-red'.

It may be noted that reduplication also plays a role in the formation of symbolic (onomatopoetic and descriptive) vocabulary. Dagur has a rich stock of words based on sound symbolism. Most of these words function as adverbs, and many occur with either full or partial reduplication, e.g. *eeng&eeng* [sound of crying, of babies], *wang&wang* [sound of barking, of dogs], *kuur&kaar* [sound of blowing, of wind; sound of growling, of stomach], *caur&nyaur* [sound of frying], *lertee&sartaa* 'in tatters [of clothes]'. Items of symbolic vocabulary can also take a verbalizing suffix, e.g. *cak* [sound of breaking, as of wood] : *cak.er-* 'to break [wood]', *xyat* [sound of splitting, as of glass] : *xyat.er-* 'to split [of glass]', as in *moodii cak cerci-seng* ~ *cak.er-seng* '[he] broke the branch'; *congkui guu xyat ici-seng* ~ *xyat.er-seng* 'the window glass split'.

Suffixes deriving verbs from nominal stems include: *.d-*, e.g. *dau* 'voice' : *dau.d-* 'to talk; to read aloud'; *.dAA-* [instrumentative], e.g. *aleg* 'net' : *aleg.daa-* 'to catch fish in a net'; *.j* [translative], e.g. *bayi.ng* 'rich' : *bayi.j-* 'to become rich'; *.l* [translative], e.g. *jusuu.ng* 'sour' : *jusuu.l-* 'to turn sour'; *.lAA-* [instrumentative], e.g. *myaucaa.ng* 'gun' : *myaucaa.laa-* 'to fire a gun'; *.lj-*, e.g. *usugw* 'word' : *usugu.lj-* 'to talk'; *.mAA-*, e.g. *nid* 'eye' : *nid.mee-* 'to watch'; *.r-*, e.g. *tashie.ng* 'error' : *tashie.r-* 'to make a mistake'; *.shie-* [evaluative], e.g. *sai.ng* 'good' : *sai.shie-* 'to praise'; *.t-*, e.g. *dolgieng* 'wave' : *dolgien.t-* 'to billow'. All of these suffixes may be regarded as synchronically non-productive, though some of them occur in a considerable number of parallel derivatives.

The single most productive and grammatically important derivational category is formed by deverbal verbs, which typically convey the meaning of voice and aspect. The voice suffixes are: for the causative, *.lgAA-* (after a double vowel element) ~ *.gAA-* (after an etymological sonorant consonant) ~ *.kAA-* (after an etymological obstruent consonant) ~ *.AA-* (replacing an etymological stem-final vowel), e.g. *yau-* : 'to go' : *yau.lgaa-* 'to cause to go', *sor-* 'to learn' : *sor.gaa-* 'to teach', *bos-* 'to rise' : *bos.kaa-* 'to raise', *panc-* 'to get angry' : *panc.aa-* 'to make [someone] angry'; for the passive, *.rd-* (< **.gdA-*), e.g. *uj-* 'to see' : *uj/i.rd-* 'to be seen', *tark-* 'to hit' : *tark/e.rd-* 'to be hit', *shor-* 'to pull' : *shor/u.rd-* 'to be pulled'; for the reciprocal, *-lc-* (< **.lcA-*), e.g. *bary-* 'to seize' : *bar/i.lc-* 'to seize each other, to wrestle', *el-* 'to talk' : *el/e.lc-* 'to talk together'. The voice suffixes can also be combined, e.g. caus. + pass. *yau.lgaa.rd-* 'to be made to go, to be sent', pass. + caus. *jau.rd/e.lgaa-* 'to let someone be bitten'.

Aspectual suffixes include: *.jaa-* [progressive] (< conv. imperf. *-j* + *aa-* 'to be'), e.g. *yau.jaa-* 'to be going', *usugulji.jaa-* 'to be talking'; *.joo-* ~ *.coo-* [iterative], e.g. *yau.joo-* 'to go repeatedly', *shor.coo-* 'to pull many times'; Tsitsikar *.jik-* ~ Hailar *.cik-* [perfective], e.g. *yau.jik-* 'to have gone', *id.jik-* 'to eat up'; *.lAA-* [momentaneous], e.g. *uji.lee-* 'to see briefly, to glimpse', *bari.laa-* 'to scratch'. Some of these suffixes can also be combined, both with each other and with the voice suffixes, e.g. *gui.joo.jaa-* 'to be running repeatedly', *yau.joo.lc-* 'to go together repeatedly'. There are also two derivatives (originally compounds) which indicate movement to and from: */y.iir-* ~ */u.ir-* 'to come [to do something]' (< *+ir-* 'to come'), */y.iic-* ~ */u.ic-* ~ *.c-* 'to go [to do something]' (< *+ic-* 'to go'), e.g. *uj.iir-* 'to come to see', *beic.iic-* 'to go hunting'.

NUMBER AND CASE

Nominal plurality is expressed by several derivative suffixes. The most widely used plural suffix is *.sul*, which can occur without any semantic restriction on the preceding noun, e.g. *akaa* 'elder brother' : pl. *akaa.sul*, *mory* 'horse' : pl. *mor/i.sul*, *mood* 'tree' : pl. *mood.sul*. Interestingly, this suffix seems to have been borrowed from Tungusic (an identical suffix with a similar function is attested in Solon Ewenki). Two other plural suffixes are *.nur* (< **.nAr*) and *.r* (< **.d*), both of which are attached only to nouns denoting human beings, e.g. *guc* 'friend' : pl. *guc/i.nur*, *deu* 'younger brother' : pl. *deu.nur*; *kekw* 'child' : pl. *kek/u.r*. The suffix *.r* replaces a final (.)*ng* of the nominal stem, e.g. *ugi.ng* 'girl' : pl. *ugi.r*, *uciike.ng* 'infant' : pl. *uciike.r*. In some cases, plurality is also expressed by the suffix *.cieng*, e.g. *gambul* 'executive' (from Chinese) : pl. *gambul.cieng*; originally, *.cieng* denotes place of origin or habitation, e.g. *batgen.cieng* 'Butha people', *degidee.cieng* 'upper-river-dwellers'.

The use of the plural suffixes is not obligatory, and unmarked forms are preferred after numerals and other quantitative expressions. The plural forms in *.r* and *.cieng* are

more or less fully lexicalized, allowing the productive plural suffix *.sul* to be added to them (double plural), e.g. *keku.r.sul* 'children', *monggul.cien.sul* 'Mongolians'. Plurality can also be expressed syntactically by repeating a noun or its attribute. The repetition of a head noun often conveys a distributive meaning, e.g. *gajir* 'place' : *gajir gajir* 'many places, each place'. The repetition of an attribute to a noun may imply emphasis, but it may also simply indicate plurality, e.g. *xundur xundur aul* 'high mountains'.

Like several other Mongolic languages, Dagur also has a method of expressing generic plurality by final reduplication. The reduplicate (rhyme word) normally begins with the sequence *ma*, which may induce further harmonic changes in the vowels, e.g. *kataa mataa* 'salt and other things like that', *aul maul* 'mountain(s) etc.' *em mam* 'medicine etc.', *shiree maraa* 'desks etc.', *biteg mateg* 'books etc.'. If the noun itself begins with *m*, the reduplicate has another initial consonant, e.g. *myag shag* 'meat etc.'. The reduplicative pattern, with various modifications, is also attested in other functions, as in *koodoo* 'fool' : *koodoo baadaa* 'foolish'. Generic class, on the other hand, can also be expressed by the pronoun *yoo* 'what', e.g. *myag yoo* 'meat and something like that'.

The nominal stem, either with or without plural marking, is followed by the case endings. Due to the merger of the original genitive and accusative, Dagur has synchronically a system of only five suffixally marked cases, which may be termed the connective, dative, ablative, instrumental, and possessive. The case endings are basically added to the unmarked stem, which also functions as a nominative. Depending on the stem-final segment, there are, nevertheless, some morphophonological alternations in both the stems and the case suffixes (Table 6.3). The principal stem types are those ending in a plain consonant (C), palatalized consonant (Cy), labialiazed consonant (Cw), and double vowel (VV).

Most of the morphophonology at the suffix boundary is due to the impact of the stem-final palatalized and labialized consonants and their vocalic correlates (*i u*), which appear before the case suffixes, as required by the rules of syllable structure. After a stem-final plain consonant (C), a vowel is added only in the dative, and only after the consonants *d t k s*, as in *xad* 'cliff' : dat. *xad/e-d*. Due to contextual factors, the added vowel can also be *u*, as in *os* 'water' : dat. *os/u-d*. In the ablative and instrumental, stems ending in a labialized consonant (Cw) behave differently depending on whether they have a 'masculine' or a 'feminine' vocalism. Stems with a 'masculine' vocalism show the development **w-aa* > *oo*, while stems with a 'feminine' vocalism retain the sequence *w-ee* at the suffix border, as in *usugw* 'word' : abl. *usugw-ees*.

It should be noted that, although the unstable **/n* has generally been eliminated from nominal declension, it can be retained as an etymological segment in attributive forms,

TABLE 6.3 DAGUR CASE MARKERS

	C	Cy	Cw	VV
conn.	*-ii*	[*y*]-*ii*	*/u-i*	*-y*
dat.	*/e-d*	*/i-d*	*/u-d*	*-d*
abl.	*-AAs*	[*y*]-*ies*	[*w*]-*oos*	*/y-AAs*
instr.	*-AAr*	[*y*]-*ier*	[*w*]-*oor*	*/y-AAr*
poss.	*-tii*	*/i-tii*	*/u-tii*	*-tii*

cf. e.g. *mory* 'horse' (< **mori/n*) : *mor/ing tereg* 'horse cart' vs. *xukur tereg* 'ox cart'. It remains disputable whether it is synchronically a question of a stem-final consonant, a derivative suffix, or a case ending (attributive case). On the other hand, stems ending in an original stable **n* > *ng* have synchronically a final alternation between *ng* and *n*, e.g. *ering* 'time' : dat. *erin-d* : abl. *erin-ees*. Exceptionally, the genitive of such stems can also have an abridged (fusional) shape with a final *ny*, e.g. *gurung* 'nation' : gen. *gurn-ii* ~ *gurun/y*.

Examples of full paradigms: *aul* 'mountain' : conn. *aul-ii* : dat. *aul-d* : abl. *aul-aas* : instr. *aul-aar* : poss. *aul-tii*; *mory* 'horse' : conn. *mor-ii* : dat. *mor/i-d* : abl. *mor-ies* : instr. *mor-ier* : poss. *mor/i-tii*; *nogw* 'dog' : conn. *nog/u-i* : dat. *nog/u-d* : abl. *nog-oos* : instr. *nog-oor* : poss. *nog/u-tii*; *akaa* 'elder brother' : conn. *akaa-y* : dat. *akaa-d* : abl. *akaa/y-aas* : instr. *akaa/y-aar* : poss. *akaa-tii*.

In the sentence, the unmarked nominative (nominative-absolutive) is used not only as the case of the subject, but also in many other functions, including those of predicate, adnominal attribute, vocative apposition, indefinite object, and various types of adverbial, e.g. (subject) *nek uncing kekw aaseng* '[there] was an orphan boy'; (predicate) *en miny biteg* 'this is my book'; (attribute) *xukur tereg* 'oxe cart'; (apposition) *ewee* 'mother!'; (object) *os oobei* '[he] drinks water'; (adverbial) *dagie udur* 'on the following day'.

The connective (genitive-accusative) has all functions of the original genitive and accusative cases. Adnominally, the connective functions as an attribute, e.g. *mood-ii larc* 'leaf of a tree'. Adverbially, it serves to mark the definite object of a transitive verb, e.g. *ter xuu-y shii tanibeish yee* 'do you know that man?', (in a causative construction:) *deuminy ter xuu-y geridee warelgaaseng* 'my brother let the man enter his house'. It also marks the subject of an embedded participial construction, e.g. *ter xuu-y yauseniiny medteng uwei* 'I didn't know that the man had gone'.

The dative (dative-locative) basically expresses a location or direction of an action or state in time and space, e.g. *uciiker ger/i-d bei* 'the children are at home'; *akaaminy beejin-d iciseng* 'my brother went to Peking'; *en baitii ter xuu-d buu jaatw* 'you must not tell this matter to the man'. The dative also marks the agent in passive sentences and the causee of some causative verbs, e.g. (dat. px pl. 1p. excl. + passive) *ter kekw nogu-d-maany jau.rd-seng* 'the child was bitten by our dog'; (dat. + causative) *shii sarind irseng olur-d cie oo.lgaa/g-aa-shiny bolseng* 'you had better have the people who attend the party drink [some] tea'. Participles in the dative form have various quasiconverbial and other functions depending on the context, e.g. (part. fut. dat.) *daar-gu-d warkel saing* 'when/if you feel cold, clothes are good [to have]'; (part. perf. dat. px sg. 2p.) *shiny ir-sen-d-shiny bii baisjaawei* 'I am glad that you came'.

The ablative (ablative-comparative) typically shows either a physical starting point ('from') or a standard of comparison ('than'), e.g. *bii kailaar-aas irsem-by* 'I came from Hailar'; *en udur udish-ies kuitung* 'it is colder today than yesterday'. In practice, an ablative form followed by an adjectival noun constitutes a comparative phrase, e.g. *kasoo/y-aas kateng* 'harder than iron'. A similar construction formed by repeating a single adjectival noun expresses an emphatic superlative, e.g. *ort* 'long' : *ort-oos ort* 'very long, longest'. Interestingly, in all of its functions, the ablative has in the Butha dialect been widely replaced by the instrumental (ablative-instrumental), though the original ablative is not entirely lost. This instance of syncretism, like that of the genitive and accusative, suggests a systematic trend to reduce the size of the case paradigm in Dagur.

The (original) instrumental has a wide range of functions, e.g. (tool) *bii terg-eer irsemby* 'I came by car'; (material) *mood-oor shiree xiibei* 'he makes a table of wood'; (route) *naurii kec-ier nek ciicee tergul bei* 'along the lakefront runs a road for cars';

(cause) *miny yeeyeeminy xund eur-eer bey dubeeseng* 'my grandfather died of serious disease'; (role) *taa dorjii meefan-aar sonjisentaa yee* 'did you choose Dorj as a model?'; (measure) *ing namaas taaw-oor ag* 'he is older than me by five [years]'. In causative constructions, the instrumental expresses the causee, e.g. (instr. + caus.) *en shireey saing majin-aar xii.lgee-seng* 'he had this table made by a good craftsman'. The instrumental is also used in several converbial and quasiconverbial constructions.

The possessive case, when used adverbially, functions as a comitative ('together with'), e.g. (poss. px sg. 1p.) *eshkee-tii-miny eus lashiiciseng* 'he went to cut grass with my uncle'. However, the same form can also occur adnominally, e.g. *mor/i-tii xuu* 'a man with a horse', in which use it is difficult to distinguish from the derivational category of possessive adjectival nouns, e.g. *mor/i.tii* 'with a horse'. The derivational interpretation is probably correct at least for predicative use, as in *ted uciiker.tii yee* 'do they have [small] children?' (literally: 'are they with children'), and for inflected forms, as in (poss. instr. refl.) *ter kekw naim.tii/y-aar-aa weildseng* 'the boy began to work from eight years old'. Phonologically, the possessive ending also has the variant *-tie*.

There are several other marginal cases that have been postulated for Dagur (Enhebatu), including the terminative in *-cAAr* ('till'), the indefinite locative in */y-AA-ten* or */yAA-kul* ('in the vicinity of'), the definite locative in *-kAAkel* or *-kAAky* ('exactly in/on'), the elative in */y-AA-t-AAs* or */y-AA-t-AAr* ('from the direction of'), the indefinite allative in *-d-AA* or *-d-AAy/-AA* ('in the direction of'), and the definite allative in *-maay* ('exactly in the direction of, aiming at'). The grammatical status of all of these forms remains to be investigated. It has also been proposed that Dagur has a special indefinite accusative in *-ii-yu* (or perhaps *-ii-yuu*), which seems to have been formed by combining the original accusative (connective) suffix with the interrogative pronoun *+yoo* 'what'.

NUMERALS

The Dagur basic numerals, with the exception of the first two, retain two shapes, one of which is used independently and the other attributively. The attributive shapes incorporate the original final unstable **/n* > *ng* (: *n* : *m*), which often conditions additional changes in the segmental composition of the preceding stem. The numerals of the first decade are: 1 *nek*, 2 *xoyir* > *xoir*, 3 *gwareb* : *gwarbeng*, 4 *durub* : *durbung*, 5 *taaw* : *taawung*, 6 *jirgoo* : *jirgoong*, 7 *doloo* : *doloong*, 8 *naim* : *naimeng*, 9 *yis* : *yiseng* > *is* : *iseng*, 10 *xareb* : *xarbeng*. The other numerals are, for the decades: 20 *xory* : *xoring*, 30 *goc* : *gocing*, 40 *duc* : *ducing*, 50 *taby* : *tabing*, 60 *jar* : *jareng*, 70 *dal* : *daleng*, 80 *nay* : *naying*, 90 *yer* : *yereng*; and for the powers of ten: 100 *jau* : *jaung*, 1,000 *myangg* : *myanggeng*, 10,000 *tum* : *tumung*.

The attributive forms are used in compounding, e.g. 25 *xorin+taaw*, as well as adnominally, e.g. *gwarbeng xuu* 'three persons'. Hundreds, thousands, and ten-thousands are counted by multiplicational compounds with digits, in which 1 *nek* is omissible, e.g. 200 *xoir+jau*, 1,000 (*nek+*) *myangg*, 40,000 *durbun+tum*. Complex numerals are expressed by additive constructions, e.g. 111 (*nek+*)*jau xarben+nek*, 1986 (*nek+*) *myangg isen+jau nayin+jirgoo*. Non-final zeros can facultatively be expressed by the postpositionally used form px sg. 3p. *xuluu/y-iny* of *xuluu* 'remainder, excess', preceded by the ablative form of the upper digit, e.g. 202 *xoir+jau/y-aas xuluu/y-iny xoir*. Plain constructions of the type 202 *xoir+jau xoir* are, however, more frequent.

Ordinal numerals are productively derived by the suffix *.dAAr* (< **.dU.xAr*), attached to the non-attributive cardinal stems: *nek.deer* 'first', *xoir.daar* 'second', *gwareb.daar* 'third', *durub.deer* 'fourth', *taawu.daar* 'fifth', *jirgoo.daar* 'sixth', *doloo.daar* 'seventh',

naim.daar 'eighth', *is.deer* 'nineth', *xareb.daar* 'tenth', *xori.daar* 'twentieth', etc. Archaic shorter variants in (*).*dAAr* : *.tAAr* are attested in facultative use for the range 3 to 7: *gu.taar* 'third', *du.teer* 'fourth', *tab.taar* 'fifth', *jirgu.daar* 'sixth', *dol.loor* 'seventh'. For the first two digits, suppletive stems also exist: *etee* 'first', *jie* 'second' (from Manchu).

Collective numerals are formed by the suffix *.(AA)l*, to which the reflexive ending *-AAng* can be added: *xoy.ool* : *xoy.ool-aang* ~ *xoy.ool-oong* 'two together', *gwarb.ool* : *gwarb.ool-aang* ~ *gwarb.ool-oong* 'three together', *durb.eel* : *durb.eel-eeng* 'four together', *taaw-ool* : *taaw.ool-aang* ~ *taaw.ool-oong* 'five together', *jirgoo.l* : *jirgoo.l-aang* ~ *jirgoo.l-oong* 'six together', *doloo.l* : *doloo.l-aang* ~ *doloo.l-oong* 'seven together', *naim.ool* : *naim-ool-aang* ~ *naim-ool-oong* 'eight together', *is.eel* : *is.eel-eeng* 'nine together', *xarb.ool* : *xarb.ool-aang* ~ *xarb.ool-oong* 'ten together', etc.

Other numeral derivatives include the approximatives, delimitatives, distributives, and multiplicatives. The approximatives are formed by *.AAd*, e.g. *xarb.aad* 'about ten', *xor.ied* 'about twenty'; the delimitatives by *.kAAn*, e.g. *nek.keen* 'only one', *xoir.kaan* 'only two', *gwareb.kaan* 'only three'; and the distributives by *.(AA)gAAr*, e.g. *nek.eegeer* 'one each', *xoir.oogaar* 'two each', *gwarb.aagaar* 'three each', *durb.eegeer* 'four each', *taaw.oogaar* 'five each', *jirgoo.gaar* six each', *doloo.gaar* 'seven each', *naim.aagaar* 'eight each', *is.eegeer* 'nine each', *xarb.aagaar* 'ten each', *xor.iegaar* 'twenty each'. Another distributive suffix is *.tel*, used for numerals from 3 upwards, e.g. *gwareb.tel* 'three each'.

The multiplicative suffix is basically *.tAA*, which in the case of 1 *nek* can be added both to the plain and to the extended stem (with the unstable nasal): *nek.tee* ~ *nek/en.tee* 'once; already'. For the other numerals, however, the suffix has the shape *.ntaa* (with no vowel harmony), which conditions the presence of a stem-final vowel: *xoir/e.ntaa* 'twice', *gwarb/e.ntaa* 'three times', *durb/u.ntaa* 'four times', *taaw/u.ntaa* 'five times', *jirgoo.ntaa* 'six times', *doloo.ntaa* 'seven times', *naim/e.ntaa* 'eight times', *is/e.ntaa* 'nine times', *xarb/e.ntaa* 'ten times'.

There are also several analytic constructions involving the numerals. A distributive meaning can be expressed by simply repeating the numeral stem, e.g. *xoir xoir ukw* 'give by the twos!'. A sequence of two consecutive numerals implies approximation, e.g. *xoir gwarbeng xuu* 'two or three persons'. An indefinite number above a certain level is expressed by the interrogative *xed* 'how many' > 'some', placed after the attributive forms of the numerals for the tens, e.g. *xarbeng xed* 'ten-some; ten and more; more than ten'. The same meaning is also conveyed by *xuluu* 'remainder, excess' > 'over' (< **xilexü*), e.g. *myangg xuluu* 'a thousand and more'. An indefinite number below a certain level is expressed by *shakeng* 'near' or part. fut. *kur-gw* 'to reach', e.g. *xory shakeng* 'nearly twenty', *duc kurgw* 'almost forty'. Analytic multiplicative constructions are based on the words *tang* 'time/s' (from Chinese) and *mudaang* ~ *madeng* id. (from Manchu), e.g. *gwarbe/n+tang* ~ *gwarbe/m+mudaang* 'three times'.

PRONOUNS

The Dagur system of personal pronouns (Table 6.4) shows several archaic features absent in most other Mongolic languages. Thus, Dagur retains the original third person stems sg. **i* : pl. **a*, with the modification that the synchronic nominative forms *ing* : *aang* incorporate the final nasal of the genitive stem (**i.n* : **a.n*). Also, Dagur preserves the original first person plural exclusive pronoun **ba* > *baa* : **ma.n-* > *maan-* not only in the oblique cases, but also in the nominative. On the other hand, the second person singular pronoun shows the exceptional deaffrication **ci* > *shii* (possibly under Tungusic influence).

TABLE 6.4 DAGUR PERSONAL PRONOUNS

		1p.		2p.	3p.
sg.	nom.	*bii*		*shii*	*ing*
	gen.	*minii*		*shinii*	*inii*
	acc.	*namii*		*shamii*	*yamii*
	dat.	*namd* ~ *naad*		*shamd*	*yamd* ~ *ind*
	obl.	*nam-*		*sham-*	*yam-*
		excl.	incl.		
pl.	nom.	*baa*	*bied*	*taa*	*aang*
	conn.	*maanii*	*biednii*	*taanii*	*aanii*
	obl.	*maan-*	*bieden-*	*taan-*	*aan-*

An important morphological property of the personal pronouns is that they have separate genitive and accusative forms, though the distinction is retained only in the singular series. The genitive and/or genitivally used connective forms can also be replaced by the shortened variants sg. 1p. *miny* : 2p. *shiny* : 3p. *iny* : pl. 1p. excl. *maany* : incl. *biedeny* : 2p. *taany* : 3p. *aany*. The other case forms of the singular are based on the accusative stem, with the exception of the aberrant dative variants sg. 1p. *naad* : 3p. *ind*. As in the regular nominal declension, the ablative forms can in the Butha dialect be replaced by shapes identical with the corresponding instrumental forms. In the Hailar dialect, the second person plural *taa* and its case forms may refer to a single person honorifically.

The singular genitive and plural connective forms in genitive function can take the nominativizing suffix *-g* (apparently < **-ki*), yielding a set of predicatively used possessive pronouns: sg. 1p. *minii-g* 'mine' : 2p. *shinii-g* 'thine' : 3p. *inii-g* 'his/hers' : pl. 1p. excl. *maanii-g* 'ours (without you)' : incl. *biednii-g* 'ours (with you)' : 2p. *taanii-g* 'yours' : 3p. *aanii-g* 'theirs'. The plural possessive pronouns can also be based on a stem variant in *-aa-* (without vowel harmony), pl. 1p. excl. *maan-aa-g* : incl. *biedn-aa-g* : 2p. *taan-aa-g* : 3p. *aan-aa-g*.

The demonstrative pronouns are *en* 'this' [proximal] : obl. *enen-* : pl. *ed* : obl. *eden-* vs. *ter* 'that' [distal] : obl. *teren-* : pl. *ted* : obl. *teden-*. The demonstratives can also replace the third person personal pronouns, though this usage is less relevant in Dagur than in most other Mongolic languages. As in the personal pronouns, the plural connective forms have longer and shorter variants: conn. *ednii* ~ *edeny* vs. *tednii* ~ *tedeny*. In the singular, the connective, ablative, and instrumental are based on the shorter stem variants *en-* vs. *ter-* : conn. *en-ii* vs. *ter-ii* : abl. *en-ees* vs. *ter-ees* : instr. *en-eer* vs. *ter-eer*. Correlative derivatives include: (adverbial) *end* 'here' vs. *tend* 'there' : *eneeweer* 'from here' : *tereeweer* 'from there' : *ei* 'in this way' vs. *tii* 'in that way' : *eikeeng* 'this much', *tiikeeng* 'that much' : (attributive) *eimer* 'like this' vs. *tiimer* 'like that, such'.

The basic interrogative pronouns are *xeng* 'who', *yoo* : obl. *yoon-* 'what', *aly* 'which'. These may be doubled and/or expanded by the suffix *.tgaang* ~ *.tnaang* to emphasize plurality, as in *xeng xen.tgaang irseng* 'who and who came?'. The interrogative stems have a regular case declension with the exception of *aly*, which has the stem *alin-* in the dative *alin-d*. Another pronoun in the meaning 'who' is *aniing*, which has no inflected forms. Further interrogative words and forms with lexicalized meanings include *xed*

'how many/much' : *xer* 'how' : *xejee* 'when'; dat. refl. *yoo/n-d-aa* 'why, how' : *yoo.kie* ~ *yie.kie* 'how many/much' : *yuguu* 'why' : *yamer* 'what kind of'; *xaan* 'where' : *xaidaa* 'where to'.

Indefinite pronouns are formed from the interrogatives by the suffixes (or clitics) *-maa(yaa)* and *-c*, e.g. *xem-maa* ~ *xen-c* 'anyone, whoever', *yoo-maa* ~ *yoo-c* 'anything, whatever', *yamer-maa* ~ *yamer-c* 'whatever (kind of)'. Indefiniteness can also be expressed by adding the numeral *nek* 'one', e.g. *xejee nek* 'whenever, anytime'. In still another indefinite construction, the interrogative pronoun is followed by a reduplicate beginning with the interrogative root *ya-*, e.g. *xaan yaan* 'wherever, anywhere'.

The reflexive pronoun has the shape *weer* '(one)self' (by labial breaking from **öxer*). This stem also occurs in the nominal plural form *weer.sul* 'selves'. The regular case forms of the reflexive pronoun normally refer to the subject of the sentence, but they may also simply emphasize the person involved irrespective of the grammatical subject, as in (pron. refl. pl. poss. px 3p.) *bii tednii weer.sul-tii/y-iny usuguljiyaa* 'let me talk with them(selves)!'. More often, the case forms occur in combination with the reflexive ending. The basic reflexive forms sg. *weer-ie* (possibly from **öxer-i-xe/n*) : pl. *weer.sul-ee* are used adverbially in the meaning 'by/for oneself', e.g. *weerie yau* 'go by yourself!'.

POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

Unlike all other Mongolic languages, Dagur has separate possessive suffixes for the singular and plural numbers in the third person, and for the exclusive and inclusive categories in the first person plural (Table 6.5). The first person plural inclusive suffix is obviously in a complex relationship with the corresponding pronominal genitive *bideny*, while the third person plural suffix */y-iin-aany* is transparently based on the short genitive *aany* of the corresponding personal pronoun, though it also incorporates the third person singular possessive suffix. It has to be noted that the third person singular suffix can also refer to a plural possessor, but this is not automatic, as is the case in the other Mongolic languages.

Owing to their relatively recent grammaticalization, the plural possessive suffixes show no harmonic alternation. The connective consonant *y* is used in the third person suffixes after stems ending in a double vowel, e.g. *adoo* 'herd' : px sg. 3p. *adoo/y-iny*. After a labialized consonant, the singular third person suffix can also take the shorter shape *-ny*, e.g. *kekw* 'child' : px sg. 3p. *keku-iny* ~ *keku-ny*, cf. pl. 3p. *keku-inaany*. The variant */m-naany* of the first person plural inclusive suffix is rare, and seems to imply a diachronic nasal stem, cf. e.g. px pl. 1p. incl. *geri-naany* 'our house' vs. *mori/m-naany* 'our horse', *tere/m-naany* 'that one of ours'. Examples of oblique case forms: pl. dat. px sg. 2p. *biteg.sul-d-shiny* 'in your books', conn. px pl. 1p. incl. *acaa-yi-naany mor-iny* 'our father's horse'.

TABLE 6.5 DAGUR POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

	sg.		pl.	
		excl.		incl.
1p.	*-miny*	*-maany*		*/m-naany*
2p.	*-shiny*		*-taany*	
3p.	*/y-iny*		*/y-iinaany*	

A possessor coreferential with the subject is marked by the reflexive (reflexive-possessive) suffix */y-AA*, to which the element *-mulw* ~ *-mungw* ~ refl. *-mulw-ee* ~ *-mungw-ee* (possibly from **mön* 'the very same') can be added to indicate special emphasis. A reflexive form is, by definition, not able to function as the subject of a sentence, and it is usually preceded by an oblique case ending, as in (dat. refl.) *guci-d-ee jieshgeng xiisemby* 'I wrote a letter to my friend'. However, the plain reflexive form can syntactically function as an object without an accusative ending, as in *saing xuu ner-ee xailjibei* 'a good person respects his own name'.

IMPERATIVES

The system of imperative forms in Dagur (Table 6.6) differs substantially from its counterparts in the other Mongolic languages. Apart from the basic unmarked imperative, the Common Mongolic imperative forms seem to be represented only by the voluntative as well as the concessive. The latter occurs, however, in two variants, one of which only contains the presumably original concessive formative **-tU*, while the other is identical with the widespread expanded variant in **-tU.gA.i.* Additionally, there are two special forms that may synchronically be identified as the indirect and indefinite imperative, respectively.

Functionally, the indirect and indefinite imperatives form two separate series, distinguished for all persons. Personal marking in the indirect series takes place by the possessive suffixes, while the indefinite series requires the predicative personal endings. A third series, which may be termed the direct imperatives, is formed suppletively by all the other imperative forms. Of these, the voluntative refers to the first person (both singular and plural), while the expanded concessive refers to the third person (with optional plural marking for plural reference). The plain concessive refers to the second person plural, while the corresponding singular is expressed by the basic imperative (unmarked verbal stem).

The direct series denotes intention or invitation (for the first person), direct command (for the second person), or wish or concession (for the third person), e.g. vol. *yau-yaa* 'let me/us go!' : imp. *yau-Ø* '[thou] go!' : conc. *yau-tw* '[you] go!' : *yau-tgai* 'let him/them go!'. Phonologically, it has to be noted that the voluntative marker, when attached to consonant stems, gives rise to internal clusters with the palatal glide *y* as the second component. In such cases, the syllable boundary is normally retained (*C'y*), in distinction from the palatalized consonants (*Cy*), e.g. *shag-* 'to wipe' : vol. *shag'yaa* (if not restructured into **shag/i-yaa*).

The indirect series implies delayed action or politeness, e.g. sg. 1p. *yau-gaam-miny* ~ *yaw-oo-miny* 'I will go later; let me go later!', similarly sg. 2p. *yau-gaan-shiny* ~

TABLE 6.6 DAGUR IMPERATIVE MARKERS

	person	marker	
vol.	1p. sg. pl.	*-yAA*	
conc.	2p. pl.	*-tw* ~ *-tuu*	
conc. exp.	3p. sg. pl.	*-tgai*	(+vx)
indir.	1-3p. sg. pl.	*-gAA/ng* ~ *-AA/ng*	+px
indef.	1-3p. sg. pl.	*-gui*	+vx

yaw-oon-shiny : 3p. *yau-gaan-iiny* ~ *yaw-oon-iiny* : pl. 1p. excl. *yau-gaam-maany* ~ *yaw-oo-maany* : incl. *yau-gaan-naany* ~ *yaw-oo-naany* : 2p. *yau-gaan-taany* ~ *yaw-oon-taany* : 3p. *yau-gaan-iinaany* ~ *yaw-oon-iinaany*. For the second person, forms with the reflexive marker *-ie* can also be used, e.g. 2p. sg. *yau-gaan-ie* ~ *yaw-oon-ie* : pl. *yau-gaan-t-ie* ~ *yaw-oon-t-ie*. The simple reflexive form in *-gaan-ie* is identical with the final converb 'in order to', a situation conditioned by Tungusic influence. The origin of the indirect marker remains unclear, but a connection with either the imperfective participle or the Common Mongolic permissive marker **-gV* cannot be ruled out.

The indefinite series expresses indecisiveness, hesitation, anxiety, or doubt, e.g. *mart-gui-by* 'I am afraid I might forget; I hope I will not forget; let me not forget!'. The meaning is more or less identical with that of the dubitative in many other Mongolic languages, though it remains unclear whether the suffix *-gui* itself has any material relationship with the Common Mongolic dubitative marker **-xU-ji*(-).

PARTICIPLES

Dagur has four functionally distinct participial forms, which, in view of their Proto-Mongolic and/or Common Mongolic counterparts, may be identified as the futuritive, perfective, agentive, and qualificational participles (Table 6.7). The agentive participle occurs in two variants, corresponding to the two derivative structures that existed for this category already in Proto-Mongolic. The actual functions of the participles have undergone slight shifts. Conspicuously, the Common Mongolic imperfective and habitive participles are absent in Dagur. The futuritive participle may therefore be said to include an imperfective (as well as aorist) meaning, while the habitive function is filled by the agentive participle.

The two most basic forms of the participial sphere are the futuritive and perfective participles, e.g. (part. fut.) *xwar war-gw udur* 'a rainy day' (literally 'rain falling day'); (part. fut. dat. px sg. 3p.) *geridee aajaa-g/u-d-iny iciyaa* 'let us go when he is at home!'; (part. perf.) *shiny jaa-seng usugw* 'the story you told'; (part. perf. dat. refl.) *en najir amer-sen-d-aa beyminy saing bolseng* 'my health was restored by having rest during this summer'. The initial *s* of the perfective participle marker is often assimilated by a stem-final dental consonant, cf. e.g. part. perf. *yau-seng* 'to go', *wan-seng* > *wan-neng* 'to fall', *bol-seng* > *bol-leng* 'to become, to ripen', *id-seng* > *id-teng* 'to eat'. (Incidentally, such assimilation supports the phonotactic framework followed here, since it confirms that the consonant stems really synchronically end in a consonant segment, and not in a strongly reduced allophone of the neutral vowel *e*.)

TABLE 6.7 DAGUR PARTICIPLE MARKERS

	marker	function
part. fut.	*-gw* : *-g/u-*	aorist/imperfective
perf.	*-seng* > *-Ceng*	perfective
ag. (1)	*-kic*	habitive
(2)	*/g-AAc/ing*	habitive
qual.	*-mAA/y-AAr*	qualificational/potential

The two variants of the agentive participle have developed a small functional difference, in that the marker *-kic* (an irregular correspondence with Proto-Mongolic **-g-ci*) occurs mainly in independent (substantival) use, though with clearly adverbal modifiers, e.g. (conv. imperf. + part. ag.) *nyurgaang nyur-j shad-kic* 'one who can draw a picture'. The marker */g-AAc/ing* (< **-xA-ci/n*), on the other hand, is used in both independent and attributive (adjectival) functions, e.g. *jaus bat-aac* 'fisherman' (literally: 'fish catcher'); *dangg oog/-aacing xuu* 'a man who smokes' (literally: 'tobacco smoking man'); *suu gar-aacing unie* 'a cow which produces milk' (literally: 'a cow from which milk comes out').

The qualificational participle (with an approximate cognate in Buryat) denotes the suitability (qualification) or possibility of action with a passive notion ('suitable/possible for being done'), e.g. *dwarle-maayaar jak* 'a thing one can be delighted with' (more literally: 'a likeable thing'); *edee yau-maayaar* 'it is possible to go now'. (The status of the suffix *-mAAyAAr* with regard to vowel harmony remains to be investigated.)

CONVERBS

Dagur has eighteen formally distinct converbs in active use, though not all of them are functionally independent. Roughly half the converbs have Common Mongolic connections, while the other half are specific Dagur formations, some of which remain diachronically obscure. The functions of many converbs differ from those attested in other Mongolic languages (Table 6.8). Also, many typical converbial functions are filled by forms other than the Common Mongolic ones.

As elsewhere in Mongolic, the borderline between participles and converbs is not sharp, for some synchronically transparent participial case forms behave like converbs and may be classified as quasiconverbs. Also, some of the forms listed as converbs are

TABLE 6.8 DAGUR CONVERB MARKERS

marker	form	function
-ng	conv. mod.	repetitious
g/-AAr > *g/-AA*	conv. perf.	anterior
-j	conv. imperf.	imperfective
-j-ii	conv. imperf. exp.	perfective
-j-ie	conv. imperf. exp.	simultaneous
-gw-EEr	conv. fin.	final/posterior
-gAAn-ie	imp. indir. refl.	final/purposive
g/-AAs	conv. cond.	conditional
-tgai-c/ig	imp. conc. exp. + *ci-*	concessive
(y)-ie-sh		concessive
-tel	conv. term.	terminative
-tl-AA/n-ie	conv. term. exp.	alternative
-rs-AAr > *-s-AAr*	conv. abtemp.	continuous
-gw-EE-t-EEr	part. fut. exp.	successive
g/-AA-j-AAr		progressive
-m/k-ii ~ *-m(k)-lii*		contemporal
-m-der ~ *-m-del*		contemporal
-m-AA-k/en ~ *-m-AAr*		critical

actually petrified case forms of participles or other deverbal nouns. Apart from the regular suffixes of nominal declension, some converb markers contain also other elements of morphological expansion.

From the semantic and syntactic points of view, the converbs in Dagur may be divided into two groups: simple and clausal. The simple converbs usually constitute a verbal phrase by directly modifying the main verb, sharing the same subject with it. By contrast, the clausal converbs potentially constitute a separate adverbial clause whose subject may be different from that of the main clause. Thus, a clausal converb serves both as the predicate of the subordinate clause and as a conjunction which combines the clauses in a specific semantic relation. In different-subject constructions, the clausal converbs, like many quasiconverbs, can contain personal marking by the possessive suffixes.

The most typical simple converbs are the primary modal, perfective, and imperfective converbs. The modal converb expresses repetitious action, usually in a combination of two contrastive or related verbs, e.g. (conv. mod.) *bosu-ng sawu-ng xiijaabei* 'now he is standing and now sitting'; *gui-ng karie-ng irseng* 'he came running and jumping'. The perfective converb (with *g/-AAr* < **g/-AAd* by rhotacism) expresses anterior action, e.g. (conv. perf.) *usuguljij aaguiny sons-oor medsemby* 'after hearing what he was saying, I understood [it]'. The imperfective converb retains its original function, but it also has two expanded forms which express perfective and simultaneous action, respectively, e.g. (conv. imperf.) *biteg uji-j saujaabei* 'he is sitting reading a book'; *bunier xii-j eurkeebei* 'he will begin to do [it] tomorrow'; (exp.) [perfective] *naucooshiny ir-jii yauseng* 'your uncle came and [then] went [away]'; *id-jii yau* 'go after eating!'; (exp.) [simultaneous] *cie oo-jie usuguljij saujaabei* 'drinking tea, he is sitting to talk'; *med-jie daugerseng uwei* 'he knew [it], but did not tell'.

There are two other simple converbs, both of which basically express finality or intentionality. The form in *-gw-EEr* (*-gw-eer* : *-g-oor*) is the Common Mongolic secondary final converb (part. fut. instr. **-kU-xAr*), e.g. *buny yau-gweer ~ yau-goor tortseng* 'it has been decided to go tomorrow'; *buny yau-goor belkejaabei* 'he is preparing to go tomorrow'. The form in *-gAAn-ie* is identical with the indirect imperative (with the reflexive marker); functionally, it might also be identified as a supine, e.g. *os au-gaanie yauseng* 'he went to bring water'.

Among the clausal converbs, only two are unambiguously inherited from the Proto-Mongolic system of primary converbs. These are the conditional converb in *g/-AAs* and the terminative converb in *-tel*, e.g. (conv. cond.) *dangg oo/g-aas beyidshiny moo* 'if you smoke, it is bad for your health'; (conv. cond. refl.) *shii terii dagej yaw-oos-aa ul tweereng* 'if you follow him, you will not lose your way'; (conv. term. px sg. 2p.) *xajir-tel-shiny bii kulceejie aayaa* 'let me wait until you come back!'. The terminative converb also occurs with the expanded marker *-tl-AA* : *-tl-AA/n-ie*, which expresses an alternative action ('instead of', 'rather than'), e.g. *weerie xii-tleenie beleng warkel awoor taly* 'just buy a ready-made suit rather than making one yourself!'.

Another clausal converb with a Proto-Mongolic derivation is the form in *-rs-AAr*, which obviously corresponds to the originally quasiconverbial abtemporal converb (part. perf. instr. <**-g.sA-xAr*) in the other Mongolic languages. In Dagur this form may be described as expressing continuous action, e.g. (conv. abtemp.) *ing sane-rsaar nek areg boduj olseng* 'he thought and thought, and got an idea'. Most interestingly, the initial *r* of the suffix *-rs-AAr* (also simplified into *-s-AAr*) seems to preserve a segmental trace of the original segment **g* (by rhotacism > *r*) of the perfective participle marker, though this same segment has been lost in the regular participle marker *-seng* (< **-g.sA/n*).

The function of a concessive converb is expressed by two secondary forms, ending in *-tgai-c/ig* and *-(y)iesh* (without vowel harmony), e.g. *xwar war-tgaicig bii bas icibei*

'even if it rains, I will still go'; *shiny el-iesh xiiwei, ul el-iesh xiiwei* 'whether you say or not, I will do [it]' (literally: 'even if you say, I will do, even if you do not say, I will do'). Both suffixes seem to involve an enclitically used particle, *c/ig* resp. *yiesh* 'even', attached to an imperative form: the concessive imperative in the case of *-tgai=c/ig* and the basic unmarked imperative in *-Ø=(y)iesh*.

Most of the other clausal converbs are also recent formations. The forms in *-gw-EE-t-EEr* (*gw-ee-t-eer* : *-g-oo-t-oor*) and *g/-AA-j-AAr* express successive ('after') and progressive ('while') action, respectively, e.g. (+ px sg. 1p.) *geridee kucir-gweeteer-miny xwar warj eurkeeseng* 'soon after I came home, it began to rain'; (+ rx) *saw-oojaar-aa wantaa taliseng* 'while he was sitting, he fell asleep'; (+ px sg. 1p.) *want-aajaar-miny yauseng uweish yee* 'didn't you go while I was sleeping?'. The forms in *-m/k-ii* ~ *-m(k)-lii* or *-m-der* ~ *-m-del* may be described as contemporal ('immediately when'), e.g. *uji-mder tanisemby* 'the moment I saw [it], I recognized [it]'. Finally, the forms in *-m-AA-k/en* ~ *-m-AAr*, normally followed by the auxiliary *bol-* 'to become', express an action in a critical stage ('just about to'), e.g. *eweeyiny eudjii ugu-meeken bolseng* 'his mother became ill and was just about to die'. Only the marker *-m-AAr* seems to have converbial and/or participial uses elsewhere in Mongolic.

FINITE INDICATIVE FORMS

The Proto-Mongolic system of finite indicative forms has in Dagur been reduced to a single form in active use. The surviving form is the terminative in **-bAi* > *-bei* ~ Hailar *-wei*, which functions as a present-future tense, e.g. term. *yau-bei* '[he] goes/will go', *med-bei* '[he] knows/will know'. The development of this specific function, as opposed to the function of a past tense in the other Mongolic languages, is apparently connected with the original aspectual content of the form. Obviously, the terminative primarily functioned in Dagur as a future tense, but it was later extended to the function of a present tense, as well.

Marginally, mostly in verse and other literary works (including oral literature, such as proverbs), Dagur also preserves two other primary finite forms. One of these is the confirmative in **-lUxA* > *-lAA*, e.g. conf. *yau-laa* '[he] went'. The confirmative marker normally no longer follows vowel harmony, but it often appears as *-lii-* (< **-lUxAi*) before predicative personal endings, e.g. conf. vx sg. 1p. *tejee-laa-by* ~ *tejee-lii-by* 'I brought [someone] up'. The other marginal form ends in *-ng* (: *-n-* : *-m-*), suggesting a connection with the simple durative marker **-n* (also used non-finitely as the modal converb marker), e.g. *yau-ng* '[he] goes/will go' (? < **yabu-n*); *mede-ng* '[he] knows/will know' (? < **mede-n*). This form is important from the comparative point of view, since other Mongolic languages show only the expanded durative marker **-n+A-m*. It cannot be ruled out, however, that it is actually a question of the narrative marker **-m*, which would apparently also have yielded *-ng* (: *-n-* : *-m-*) in Dagur.

The disappearance of the durative (or narrative) from active finite use is clearly due to its functional overlapping with the terminative. There was no similar overlapping in the case of the confirmative, but the latter has been replaced by the predicatively used perfective participle in *-seng*, which now functions as the only productive past tense finite form in Dagur, e.g. part. perf. pred. *yau-seng* '[he] went', *id-seng* > *id-teng* '[he] ate'. Most other participles can also be used predicatively either with or without an auxiliary word, e.g. (part. ag.) *aang erd bos-ooc* 'they are early risers'. An auxiliary word, such as the emphatic particle *yum*, is always required by the predicatively used futuritive participle, e.g. *ted bas xer tii tend aajaa-gw yum* 'why do they still stay there in that way?'.

TABLE 6.9 DAGUR PREDICATIVE PERSONAL ENDINGS

	sg.	pl.	
		excl.	incl.
1p.	*-by* ~ *-bii* ~ *-bie*	*-baa*	*-daa*
2p.	*-sh* ~ *-shii* ~ *-shie*	*-taa*	
3p.	*-Ø*	*-sul*	

PREDICATIVE PERSONAL ENDINGS

Both the original finite forms and the predicatively used participles are conjugated in persons by adding the predicative personal endings (Table 6.9). The same endings can also be added to regular nouns in predicative use (nominal predicates).

Like the possessive suffixes, the predicative personal endings in Dagur incorporate a distinction between an exclusive and an inclusive form in the first person plural; the endings derive directly from the corresponding pronominal nominatives excl. **ba* > *-baa* resp. incl. **bida* > *-daa*. There is also a difference between the third person singular and plural, in that the nominal plural suffix *.sul* has been generalized as a personal ending for the third person plural. The plural first and second person endings have invariably a long vowel, while in the singular short variants are also used. None of the personal endings has any harmonic variants.

Examples of personally conjugated nominal predicates: (substantival) (vx sg. 1p.) *bii tuyaa-bii* 'I am Tuyaa'; (pl. 1p. excl.) *baa geridee doloo anggel-baa* 'we are seven persons in our family'; (adjectival) (sg. 2p.) *shii nyakendaa sain-shii* 'you are good at Chinese'. The personal endings may also follow a predicatively used possessive form, e.g. (px pl. 2p. + vx pl. 1p. excl.) *baa taanii tursen-taani-baa* 'we are your relatives'.

Example of a fully conjugated verbal form: *mart-* 'to forget' : imp. indef. vx sg. 1p. *mart-gui-by* : 2p. *mart-gui-sh* : 3p. *mart-gui* : pl. 1p. excl. *mart-gui-baa* : incl. *mart-gui-daa* : 2p. *mart-gui-taa* : 3p. *mart-gui-sul*. After the perfective participle marker, the initial stops *b d* of the relevant personal endings are facultatively nasalized, e.g. *yau-* 'to go' : part. perf. pred. vx sg. 1p. *yau-sem-by* ~ *yau-sem-my* : 2p. *yau-sen-sh* : 3p. *yau-seng* : pl.1p. excl. *yau-sem-baa* ~ *yau-sem-maa* : incl. *yau-sen-daa* ~ *yau-sen-naa* : 2p. *yau-sen-taa* : 3p. *yau-sen-sul*. There are also special developments in the personal paradigm of the terminative, e.g. term. vx sg. 1p. *yau-bei-by* ~ *yau-b-by* ~ *yau-wei* ~ *yau-w* : 2p. *yau-bei-sh* ~ *yau-b-sh* : 3p. *yau-bei* : pl. 1p. excl. *yau-bei-baa* ~ *yau-b-baa* ~ *yau-waa* : incl. *yau-b-daa* : 2p. *yau-bei-taa* ~ *yau-b-taa* : 3p. *yau-bei-sul* ~ *yau-b-sul*.

AUXILIARY VERBS

Dagur shares the Common Mongolic feature of using certain basic verbs as auxiliaries in combination with a preceding converbial form of the semantic main verb. Such constructions express a modal or aspectual content, and the two converbs normally used in them are the imperfective converb in *-j* and the perfective converb in *g/-AAr* (> *g/-AA*).

The most simple auxiliary is *aa-* 'to be', a lexical archaism preserved in active use only in Dagur. In combination with the imperfective converb this auxiliary yields the sequence *-j+aa-* > *-jaa-*, which may synchronically be regarded as a derivative suffix for the progressive aspect. In combination with the perfective converb, the meaning is that

of the perfective aspect, e.g. *xoo sons-oor aa-jaabtaa yee* 'have you already heard everything?'; alternatively, habituality can be implied, e.g. *xuuyi geridiny ic-ier aa-bei* (also as a suffix > *ic-ier-aa-bei*) 'he always visits others'.

The function of the perfective aspect can also be filled by the verbs *taly-* 'to put; to set free' (< **talbi-*) and, less frequently, *au-* 'to take' (< **ab-*), both in combination with the perfective converb, e.g. *bii id-ee tali-yaa* 'let me eat [it] up!'; *bitgee dar-aa au-seng* 'he closed his book'. (The examples suggest that these constructions may involve a grammaticalized use of the shorter variant *g/-AA* of the perfective converb.)

The verbs *bol-* 'to become' and *ol-* 'to find' (probably also originally 'to become') are used in combination with the imperfective converb to express the potential mood ('to be able to'), e.g. *dase-j bol-ooshiny dasjii baitelgaantie* 'if you can repair it, make use of it after the repair!'; *bodu-j ol-gw uweiby* 'I cannot remember it'.

Verbs of motion, such as *ir-* 'to come', *ic-* 'to go', *yau-* 'to go', are most often combined with the perfective converb, yielding expressions of gradual transformation, e.g. (conv. perf. + *ir-*), e.g. *tariseng nuwaamaany xoo gar-aar ir-seng* 'all the vegetables we planted sprouted one after another'; (conv. perf. + *ic-*) *orie bolgootoor kuitur-eer ici-seng* 'it became colder and colder in the evening'; (conv. perf. + *yau-*) *xuu uceek bol-oor yau-seng* 'people became fewer and fewer'.

The verb *ukw-* 'to give' expresses in combination with the imperfective converb the benefactive mood, e.g. *eudee nee-j uk/u-tw* 'please open the door for me!'. This construction also has the synthetic (suffixalized) variant *-j-ukw-*, e.g. *naad myanggeng xolungkw xii-j-ukw* 'please make me a thousand bags!'.

Finally, the verb *uj-* 'to see' has the meaning of 'to try', when used after a main verb in the form of the imperfective converb, e.g. *shii acaayaasaa xasoo-j uj kenee* 'just try to ask your father!'.

SYNTAX

The presentation of Dagur syntax below is mainly focused on the use of particles, especially in such major communicative structures as negative and interrogative sentences.

The *negation* of finite predicates takes place by a number of preverbal and postverbal particles, all of which are Common Mongolic. Imperative predicates are negated by the preverbal prohibitive particle *buu*, e.g. (vol., imp.) *buu ici-yaa eleesee buu ic* 'if you don't want to go, don't go!'; (conc. pl.) *uciikerd buu medelgee-tgai-sul dee* 'let them not tell [it] to the children!'; (imp. indir. sg. 3p.) *buu sanaa jogu-gaaniiny dee* 'I wish he might not trouble his mind'. The last two examples contain also the sentence-final emphatic particle *dee*.

Non-imperative predicates are negated by the particles *es* (< **ese*) and *ul* (< **ülü*), both of which are used preverbally. The particle *es* is mainly used with participles and converbs, but also with indicative forms. It often has emotional connotations, as in (term. vx sg. 2p.) *terkeenee es medjaa-b-sh yee* 'don't you [really] know such a thing?' (with the interrogative particle *yee*); (conf. vx pl. 1p. incl.) *es sons-lii-daa* 'we have never heard [of it]'; (conv. cond. refl.) *terkeenii es shad-aas-aa bas yamer ergunshie* 'what kind of man are you if you cannot [even do] such a thing!'.

The particle *ul* is more neutral and can be used with various verbal forms, e.g. (dur./narr. vx sg. 1p.) *bii ul med/e-m-by* ~ (progr. term. vx sg. 1p.) *bii ul med-jaa-wei* 'I don't know'; (progr. part. perf. pred. vx pl. 2p.) *ordoong enii taa ul med-jaa-sen-taa kaw* 'maybe you did not know this before' (with the putative particle *kaw*); (part. fut.)

ter ul med-gw arbuntii saujaabei 'he seems not to know [it]' (literally: 'he is sitting with a not-knowing appearance'); (conv. imperf.) *ul uj/i-j xer medbeishii* 'how do you know [it] without seeing?'. The particle *ul* can also be used alone in the function of a general negative answer ('no').

Nominal words are negated by the postpositionally used particle *uwei* (< **ügei*), e.g. (negation of existence:) *naad xar sateng uwei* 'I have no brown sugar'; (negation of quality:) *en ilgaa saikeng uwei* 'this flower is not beautiful'. After participle markers, *uwei* can facultatively have the bound shape *-wei*, before which the futuritive marker appears as *-w-*, e.g. (progr. part. fut. neg. pl. 3p.) *naadjaa-gw uwei-sul* > *naadjaa-w-wei-sul* 'they are not playing'; (part. perf. neg. vx sg. 1p.) *bii badaa id-seng uwei-by* > *id-seng-wei-by* 'I have not eaten (food)'. Constructions with *uwei* can also be used as adnominal attributes, e.g. *jisaa uwei xuu* 'a reasonless person', *ujiseng-wei jakaa ujisendaa* 'we saw a thing which we had never seen' (literally: 'we saw an unseen thing of ours').

Two other postpositionally used negative particles are *udieng* 'not yet' (irregularly from **edüi* 'this much') and *bishing* 'not the one; other than' (< **bisi/n*). The former can replace *uwei* in combination with the futuritive participle, e.g. *wantegw ering bol-gw udieng* 'it has not yet become the time to sleep'; *badaayaa id/e-gw udien-taa yee* 'have you not eaten (your food) yet?'. The latter is used postnominally to deny identity, e.g. *enshiny xig bait bishing* 'this is not a major matter'.

The expression of *interrogation* in yes/no questions takes place by the sentence-final particle *yee*, e.g. *en biteg yee* 'is this a book?'; *shii nyakeng usugw shadbeish yee* 'can you speak Chinese?'; *acaashiny geridee bei yee* 'is your father at home?'. In pronominal questions (wh-questions), no corrogative particle is required, e.g. *shii aniinsh* 'who are you?'; *taa ordoong xaan aasentaa* 'where did you live before?'. In emphatic questions, however, the final particles *yum/oo* or *yum dee* can be used, e.g. *en yoo yum* 'what(ever) is this?'; *en yamer gery yum dee* 'what kind of house is this?'; *tershiny yoo yumoo* 'what on earth is that?'.

A rhetorical or confirmative question is often expressed by combining the negative particle *bishing* with the interrogative particle *yee*. The negative particle can then be shortened into *shing* (*shin- : shim-*), e.g. *shii lwaacidaa saing* (*bi*)*shin-sh yee* 'you are good at Russian, aren't you?'. It is mostly either in such a question or in double negation that a participle form can be negated by *bishing*, e.g. (part. perf.) *en bitgii shii uji-seng bishin-sh yee* 'you read this book, didn't you?'; (part. fut. px sg. 2p.) *shii erij ul ol-gu-shiny bishing* 'you will certainly find [it]' (literally: 'it is not that you will not find'). A decisive tone can also be indicated by *shindee* (< **bisin+dee*) e.g. *akaashiny iciseng shindee* 'your brother certainly went!'.

Apart from the negative and interrogative particles, there are several other sentence-final elements, many of which may be classified as modal or emphatic particles. The particle *jak* (< 'thing', from Manchu), for instance, like its equivalent *yum* (< 'something'), expresses emphasis, e.g. *edee xoo barseng jak* 'now everything is over!'. The particles *kee* and *mookie* add the meaning of unexpected surprise, e.g. *en xuu tend aajaagw mookie* 'this man lives there! [I found it out just now]'; *xoo yawoo talisensul kee* 'they all have gone! [I am surprised to know it]'. Uncertainty is expressed by the particle *woo*, e.g. *ing yauseng woo* 'maybe he went'. The moderative particle *kenee* ~ *kene* occurs after imperative forms, e.g. *naad nek ukw kene* '[please] give me one!'.

There are also particles that are not confined to the sentence-final position, but occur postpositionally or enclitically with a varying degree of connection with the preceding word. Some of these particles are originally converbs, while others are nominal case

forms governing the nominative or connective form of the preceding noun. The following three functional groups may be distinguished:

(*1*) the particles of emphatic specification ('only, the very, at least') *=l, kunu, mak, maty*, as well as *kee* (also used sentence-finally), e.g. *bii=l medbei yee* 'do only I know it?'; *ter gajir kunu madeng saikeng* 'that region, among others, is very beautiful'; *nideeree ujiesee mak medbei* 'you can know it if only you look by your own eyes'; *mogugudaa garie maty uwaa dee* 'just wash your hands at least'; *bitgee mart aar piiyee kee martseng uwei awoor irseng* 'although he forgot his book, he brought at least his pen without forgetting';

(*2*) the concessive particles *cii, cig, yiesh* (possibly from Chinese) 'even', e.g. *tereg cig bolbei* 'It is possible [to go] even by car'; *mory yiesh bolbei xukur yiesh bolbei* 'horses and cattle will do equally well' (literally: 'even horses will do, even cattle will do');

(*3*) the topic particles (conv. cond. refl.) *boloos/oo, aagaas/aa* > *aasaa* > *asaa* 'as for, talking of' (literally: 'if it is'), especially after pronouns, e.g. *en boloos/oo miny guciminy* 'this is my friend'; *ted asaa aruukung xuu bishinsul* 'they are quite inhuman'. Sometimes, the second person singular possessive suffix *-shiny* also has the role of a topic marker, e.g. *enshiny miniig aalwoo* 'this (what you see here) seems to be mine'.

Functionally close to particles are many postpositions, such as (causal) *twalaang, twald, turgund* 'for the sake of, because of', e.g. *gurung gerie twald kucilbiiyaa* 'let us make efforts for our nation!'; (directional) *juur* 'in the direction of' (< **jüg* 'direction'), e.g. *garkui juur uj* 'look eastward!'; (terminative) *jak* (< **jaka* 'border'), conv. term. *boltel, kurtel* 'till, as far as, even', e.g. *en jak geridee xarigw udieng* 'up to now he has not yet come home'; *eimer nomuukung morii kurtel onuj ul shadeng* 'he cannot ride even such an obedient horse'; (comparative) *nuwaang, jirgie, mush, xee* 'like, as', e.g. *xarebseng som nuwaang kuiceej kurseng* 'he chased like a shooting arrow'; *en(-ii) jirgie xig* 'as large as this'; *xorgw mush waa* 'a worm-like taste'; *xukrii xee xig coloo* 'a stone as big as a cow'.

Another group of minor words with a syntactic function are the conjunctions, such as *kesh* 'but' (from Chinese), *xerwul* ~ *xergul* 'if' (+ conv. cond.), *ecwei* 'or else' (< *eic+uwei* 'not like this'), all of which are relatively recent. A copulative relationship is expressed by (conv. perf.) *boloor* 'and', e.g. *ecig boloor eg* 'father and mother'.

LEXICON

It has been estimated that, roughly speaking, more than half of the entire vocabulary of Dagur is Mongolic in origin, including both inherited items and reintroduced borrowings. Borrowings from Manchu amount to *c.*10 per cent, while borrowings from Chinese cover another 10 per cent of the lexicon. A smaller number of items has been borrowed from Ewenki. This means that a significant proportion, over 20 per cent, of all vocabulary items are specific only to Dagur.

Due to its peripheral position, Dagur retains a considerable number of archaic Mongolic words, which are not commonly found in the modern Mongolic languages, but which are attested in Middle Mongol sources, such as the *Hua-Yi yiyu* and the 'Secret History'. Such words include: *tergul* ~ *terwul* 'road' (Mongol **jam*), *najir* 'summer' (Mo. **jun*), *xeky* 'head' (Mongol **tologai*), *sorby* 'staff' (Mongol **tayag*). Other more or less idiosyncratic words include several basic items, such as: *kasoo* 'iron', *saur* 'spade', *ogw*

'brain', *basert* 'kidney', *twalcig* 'knee', *kataa* 'salt', *warkel* 'clothes', *el-* 'to say' (cf. Mongol **kele-*).

From Manchu, including its written form, Dagur has adopted not only political, military, and other cultural terms, but also words for daily use, cf. e.g. *gurung* '(political) state', *ambeng* 'minister', *xafeng* 'official', *cwag* 'soldier', *weeshgung* 'noble', *tackw* ~ *tashkw* 'school', *endur* 'god', *bait* 'matter', *ilgaa* 'flower'. A case of systematic borrowing is observed in the names for the months, based on the Manchu numerals (plus Manchu 'month'): *aniebie* 'January', *jweebie* 'February', *yalembie* 'March', *duyimbie* 'April', *sunjaabie* 'May', *ninggumbie* 'June', *nadembie* 'July', *jakumbie* 'August', *uyimbie* 'September', *jwambie* 'October', *onshumbie* 'November', *jorgumbie* 'December'. Apart from nouns, the borrowings include also other parts of speech and even some functional items, e.g. *func-* 'to be left', *gaitii* 'suddenly', *utkai* 'that is; the very', *gojim* 'even though', *jak* 'thing' (also used as an emphatic particle).

The Ewenki borrowings derive mainly from Solon, e.g. *aminaang* 'cock, male bird', *yeekee* ~ *iikee* 'pan', *nannaakeng* 'beautiful', though some items pertaining to hunting suggest an Orochen source, e.g. *eterkeeng* 'bear', *nikcaa* 'musk deer', *pentuu* 'young antlers [for medical use]'. There also seem to be some relatively old Ewenki borrowings, e.g. *degii* 'bird' (replacing Mongolic **sibaxu/n* id.), which may have entered Dagur before the differentiation of the modern Ewenki dialects. It goes without saying that there are considerably more Dagur borrowings in the Ewenki dialects spoken in the Dagur sphere, especially Solon.

There is a layer of premodern Russian loanwords, e.g. *topoor* 'ax', *bajingky* 'leather shoes', *xelieb* ~ *lieb* 'bread', *weidree* 'bucket'. Most cultural vocabulary has, however, been adopted from Chinese, e.g. *dyaang* 'shop' (Chinese **dian**), *waas* 'socks' (Chinese **wazi**), *jeetw* ~ *jeetuu* 'hoe' (Chinese **juetou**), *liibai* 'week' (Chinese **libai**), *shincii* id. (Chinese **xingqi**), *maashieng* 'at once' (Chinese **mashang**), *puntu.rshie-* ~ *funtu.rshie-* 'to make efforts' (based on Chinese **fendou**). Some Chinese words may have been transmitted by Mongol proper, e.g. *congkw* 'window' (cf. Mongol **congko/n*, from Chinese **chuanghu**), while other (older) items entered Dagur through Manchu, e.g. *saisaa* 'sage' (from Chinese **caizi** through Manchu **saisa** id.), *paid-* ~ *faid-* 'to arrange' (from Chinese **pai** through Manchu **fai.da-** id.), *gyaa* 'downtown' (from the equivalent of modern Mandarin **jie** through Manchu **giya** or **giyai**).

Many of the Chinese elements are reasonably well adapted to Dagur. Contemporary borrowings are, however, often adopted without adequate phonological adjustment. This results in the marginal occurrence in Dagur speech of such exotic sounds as retroflex consonants (Pinyin **ch zh sh r**), retroflex vowels (Pinyin **chi zhi shi ri**), sibilant vowels (Pinyin **ci zi si**), and a high rounded vowel (Pinyin **qu ju xu nü lü**). In many cases it is obviously a question of direct citations, conditioned by widespread bilingualism. Words in general use apparently still tend to undergo adaptation, at least as far as the most exotic features (such as tones) are concerned. There may be individual differences, however, and both partially and fully adapted shapes can cooccur in speech, e.g. *cheezhan* > *ceejang* 'station' (Chinese **chezhan**), *cüüdung* > *cuidung* 'match' (Chinese **qudeng**).

Chinese lexical influence is also manifest in the presence of compounds and phrases based on loan translation, e.g. *gurung gery* 'nation' (literally: 'state house', cf. Chinese **guojia**), *kasoo tergul* 'railway' ('iron road', cf. Chinese **tielu**), *galy tereg* 'train' ('fire car', Chinese **huoche**), *dangg tat-* 'to smoke' ('to pull tobacco', Chinese **chouyan**). Many of these have counterparts in the other Mongolic languages, and some may actually have entered Dagur via Mongol proper.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

KHALKHA

Jan-Olof Svantesson

Khalkha, or Khalkha Mongol (**xalx mongol**), often misleadingly identified simply as 'Modern Mongolian', is the official language of the Republic of Mongolia, used both orally and in writing in all kinds of communication, in everyday life, in administration, in books and newspapers, as well as at all levels of education. The number of Khalkha speakers today is close to 2 million, though the rest of the 2.3 million inhabitants of the Republic of Mongolia (including Buryat and Oirat speakers) are also rapidly adopting Khalkha as either the second or the first language.

Taxonomically, Khalkha belongs to the larger context of the Mongol language, and in view of its oral intelligibility to speakers of other Mongol dialects it can hardly be counted as a separate language in the linguistic sense. Khalkha is, however, separated from the rest of the Mongol dialects by two important properties: its political status as a state language, and its separate Cyrillic literary norm, which replaced Written Mongol as the official written language of Mongolia in the 1940s. Recently, there have been attempts to reintroduce the Written Mongol language, but for the time being the 'Old Script' is used only marginally.

Khalkha itself is also divided into (sub)dialects, of which that of Ulan Bator (**Ulaanbaatar**) occupies a position of historical and political prestige. The variant described in this chapter is the standard language, which is close to, but not identical with, the modern Ulan Bator dialect. The standard language, which was created in parallel with the written norm, had from the beginning a supradialectal or panchronic orientation, especially as far as the orthography is concerned.

DATA AND SOURCES

Due to its political status, Khalkha is the most extensively documented and investigated Modern Mongolic idiom. Its documentation started with the monographs of G. J. Ramstedt on Khalkha phonetics (1902) and conjugation (1903). The first systematic grammar was published in Russian by Nicholas Poppe (1931), later expanded into a German version (1951), which may still be considered a standard work on Khalkha. Poppe (1970) is a more strictly structuralist descriptive grammar.

Other basic grammars and grammatical sketches include those by John C. Street (1963), Udo Posch (1964), G. D. Sanzheev (1973), Marie-Lise Beffa and Roberte Hamayon (1975), and N. S. Yaxontova (1997). An overall description of Khalkha phonology is given by Don Graham Stuart and Matthew Haltod (1957), while the syntax is described by T. A. Bertagaev (1964) and Robert I. Binnick (1979a).

With the progress of the work, the phonological research on Khalkha has come to focus on a few central issues, notably the vowel system, as discussed by Chingeltei and Shinetge (1959), Shirô Hattori (1982), Annie Rialland and Redouane Djamouri (1984), and Jan-Olof Svantesson (1985). Svantesson (1994, 1995) has also worked on questions

pertaining to syllable structure. On the syntactic side, an important topic has been formed by the temporal-aspectual system, as discussed by Binnick (1979b, 1990, 1991) and Svantesson (1991). Of the large number of other contributions on a variety of grammatical details, the work by Masanori Mizuno (1992) on accusative subjects may be mentioned.

Lexicologically, Khalkha is recorded in a wide selection of bilingual dictionaries, including the Khalkha–Russian dictionary by A. Luwsandendew (1957) and the Khalkha–English dictionaries by Gombojab Hangin *et al.* (1986) and Charles R. Bawden (1997). The largest bilingual corpus is contained in the new Khalkha–Russian dictionary, published under the editorship of A. Luwsandendew and Ts. Tsedendamba (2001–2002). The standard monolingual dictionary is that by Ya. Tsewel (1966), reverse-indexed by Hans-Peter Vietze and Ludwig Zenker (1976).

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SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Khalkha segmental structure may be approached from three points of view: phonetic, phonemic, and graphemic. Below, the Khalkha data will mainly be quoted in a graphemic notation (in boldface), which corresponds to the Romanized image of the Cyrillic orthography. In the discussion of the sound system and morphophonology, phonemic representations (in italics) and/or phonetic realizations (in square brackets) will also be presented, e.g. **baatar** *baatr* [paːʰtər] 'hero'. For some details, the phonemic representations may be understood as underlying (deep-level) forms.

The Khalkha vowel system comprises seven basic units, which may be written phonemically as *a e i o ö u ü* (Table 7.1). Diachronically, these units stand in a more or less one-to-one correspondence to the Proto-Mongolic vowels **a *e *i *o *ö *u *ü*. Phonetically, however, the system has undergone rotation, the basic effect of which is the pharyngealization of the original rounded back vowels **o *u* and the centralization of the original rounded front vowels **ö *ü*. The pharyngealized vowels are also realized as lower than their non-pharyngealized counterparts.

The rough phonetic values of the basic vowels may, consequently, be described as [a e i ɔ o ʊ u], with the additional remark that the qualities [ɔ ʊ] are accompanied by pharyngealization. The low unrounded back vowel [a] alternates with the velar quality [ɑ], which might perhaps also be described as pharyngealized. On the other hand, all vowel qualities can be slightly fronted in a palatal environment. The graphemic representations of the vowels are **a e i o ö u ü**. In the Cyrillic orthography, the vowels **a e o u** also have iotated counterparts, which may be Romanized as **ya ye yo yu**. The iotated counterparts of **ö ü** are orthographically replaced by **ye yu**, but they will be Romanized here as **yö yü**.

Each of the seven vowels occurs both short (single) and long (double) in the initial syllable, except that there is no short *e* in colloquial Ulan Bator Khalkha in this position.

TABLE 7.1 KHALKHA VOWELS

u	*ü*	*i*
o	*ö*	*e*
	a	

Short **e** and **i** are distinguished in writing, but they have merged to [i] in the spoken language, so that, e.g. **ix** [ix] 'big' and **ex** [ix] 'mother' have become homophonous. There is no substantial qualitative difference between long and short vowels, except that long *öö* is a mid-high back vowel [o:], while short *ö* tends to be more fronted and raised, close to the quality of [ʉ]. Dialectally, this has resulted in the merger of short *ö* and *ü* (as in Buryat and Khamnigan Mongol).

Examples of qualitative and quantitative vowel contrasts: *bal* [paɮ] 'honey' vs. *baal-* [pa:ɮ] 'to harrow'; *il* [iɮ] 'clear' vs. *iil-* [i:ɮ] 'to flee' vs. *eel* [e:ɮ] 'blessing'; *bol-* [pɔɮ] 'to become' vs. *bool* [pɔ:ɮ] 'slave'; *öl* [oɮ] 'grey' vs. *ööl-* [o:ɮ] 'to trim'; *ul* [uɮ] 'sole' vs. *uul* [u:ɮ] 'mountain'; *ül-* [uɮ] 'to remain' vs. *üül* [u:ɮ] 'cloud'.

There are also four diphthongs (diphthongoid sequences) ending in *i*. The first component of the diphthongs is either *ü*, as in *üül* [uiɮ] 'deed', or one of the original back vowels *a o u*, as in *ail* [aiɮ] 'family', *uil-* [uiɮ] 'to cry', *oil-* [ɔiɮ] 'to understand'. Orthographically, the diphthongs are written with the Cyrillic letter for a non-syllabic ('short') *i*, Romanized as **i**. This convention is also used to write the long vowel *ii* (**ii**). An additional historical and orthographical diphthong is **ei* (**ei**), which, however, has phonemically merged with the long vowel *ee*.

The Khalkha consonant system (Table 7.2) is considerably larger than that of Proto-Mongolic, the main reason being the presence of an almost complete palatalization correlation. Apart from the phenomenon of palatal breaking, distinctive palatalized consonants have arisen in Khalkha due to the reduction and deletion of **i* in non-initial syllables, as in *amy* 'life' < **ami/n* vs. *am* 'mouth' < **ama/n*. There are 14 pairs of unpalatalized vs. palatalized consonants, plus three isolated unpalatalized consonants (*gh ng lh*) and one inherently palatal consonant (*y*). Altogether, this yields 32 consonant phonemes. The palatalized consonants are, however, distinctive only in words with an original velar vocalism.

By the manner of articulation, the consonants represent the following functional types: the strong stops *p py t ty*, the strong affricates *ts c*, the weak stops *b by d dy g gy gh*, the weak affricates *dz j*, the fricatives *sh x xy*, the nasals *m my n ny ng*, the laterals *l ly lh*, the vibrants *r ry*, and the glides *w wy y*. By the place of articulation, the unpalatalized consonants may be divided into the labials *p b m w*, the dentals *t d ts dz s n l lh r*, the velars *g x ng*, and the postvelar (uvular) *gh*. The phonetic realization of the palatalized consonants varies depending on their primary place of articulation. In the labials *py by my wy* palatalization is realized as an actual secondary articulation (palatalized

TABLE 7.2 KHALKHA CONSONANTS

p	*py*	*t*	*ty*			
b	*by*	*d*	*dy*	*gy*	*g*	*gh*
		ts	*c*			
		dz	*j*			
		s	*sh*	*xy*	*x*	
m	*my*	*n*	*ny*		*ng*	
		lh				
		l	*ly*			
		r	*ry*			
w	*wy*			*y*		

labials). In the dental series, however, the palatalized segments *ty dy c j sh ny ly ry* may be characterized as alveopalatals, while the palatalized velars *gy xy* (as well as the inherently palatal *y*) are realized simply as palatals.

The strong stops are probably produced with tensed vocal cords; they give a tense voice quality to the surrounding vowels, both the following and the preceding one, resulting in some pre- and postaspiration. In the phonetic transcription, the strong stops and affricates are probably best written as postaspirated [p^h p^{jh} t^h t^{jh} ts^h $tʃ^h$] in initial position, and as preaspirated [^hp $^hp^j$ ^ht $^ht^j$ ^hts $^htʃ$] in medial and final position. Other phonetic correlates are involved, however, and the aspiration is not as long and perceptually salient as in some other languages (like Chinese).

The weak stops and affricates are basically plain voiceless unaspirated sounds in all positions. In Modern Khalkha, however, this is fully true only of the weak labials and dentals [p p^j t t^j ts tʃ], while the weak velars seem to be functionally voiced, though they can be phonetically voiceless [k k^j q] word-finally and before a voiceless consonant. In other positions, they are phonetically voiced [g g^j ɢ]. Additionally, especially in the case of *gh*, the weak velars can have fricative realizations.

A peculiarity of Khalkha with regard to the other dialects of the Mongol language is that the laterals *l ly* are pronounced as lateral fricatives (fricolaterals) with the values [ɮ ɮʲ]. Especially in word-final position they tend to become voiceless and may even be preceded by a slight closure. As a result, *l* comes phonetically very close to (and can at least potentially merge with) the third lateral *lh*, which is basically a voiceless lateral fricative, though it might also be described as a lateral with simultaneous velar friction [lx]. The segment *lh* is, however, rare and occurs only in Tibetan loanwords, e.g. *lhaghw* [lxaɢəw] 'Wednesday'.

The orthographical correlates of the basic consonants are here Romanized by the letters (and digraphs) **p b m w** for the labials, **t d ts z s n l lx r** for the dentals, and **g x** for the velars. In the Cyrillic orthography, there are no special letters for the segments *gh ng*. The palatal glide is expressed by using the iotated vowel letters **ya ye yo yu**, which also indicate the palatalization of a preceding consonant. Palatalization before long vowels is, however, indicated by the sequences **ia io iu**, as in **xiam** *xyaam* 'sausage'. Syllable-final palatalization is expressed by the Cyrillic palatalization letter ('soft sign'), which may also be Romanized as **y**. An actual postconsonantal palatal glide segment *y* is orthographically signalled by using the corresponding depalatalization letter ('hard sign'); in such cases, the glide may be Romanized as **ÿ**, e.g. **awÿaas** 'talent'.

In deviation from the general pattern, the palatalized affricates and sibilant *c j sh* are written by special letters, which may be Romanized as **c j sh** (for what are more commonly Romanized as **ch zh sh**). The Cyrillic alphabet has additionally several letters, notably **f k shh**, which are mainly used in Russian graphic borrowings. Of these, the letter **k** can correspond to a strong (aspirated) velar stop [k^h], which probably represents two actual marginal phonemes (*k ky*) for some speakers.

Examples of some crucial consonantal contrasts: *ad* [at] 'demon' vs. *at* [a^ht] 'castrated camel'; *dal* [taɮ] 'seventy' vs. *tal* [$t^haɮ$] 'steppe'; *dzam* [tsam] 'road' vs. *tsam* [ts^ham] 'mask dance'; *bar* [par] 'tiger' vs. *byar* [p^jar] 'strength'; *jad* [tʃat] 'spear' vs. *cad-* [$tʃ^hat$] 'to be able'; *sar* [sar] 'moon' vs. *shar* [ʃar] 'yellow'; *xar* [xar] 'black' vs. *xyar* [x^jar] 'ridge'; *nam* [nam] 'party' vs. *nyam* [n^jam] 'Sunday'; *xor* [xɔr] 'poison' vs. *xory* [$xɔr^j$] 'twenty'.

A special orthographical convention, corresponding to the diachronic situation but not to the synchronic segmental structure, is used to indicate syllable-final *n gh* in distinction from *ng g*. Thus, the sequences **na no ne** and **ga go** indicate *n* (< **nA*) and *gh* (< **gA*), respectively, while the letters **n g** (without a vowel) indicate *ng* (< **n* & *ng*) and

g (< **g*), e.g. **xan** *xang* [xaŋ] 'king' vs. **xana** *xan* [xan] 'wall', **bag** *bag* [paɢ] 'team' vs. **baga** *bagh* [paɢ] 'small'. In basically the same way, the iotated letters **ya ye yo** indicate the actual glide segment *y* in distinction from the diphthongs ending in *i*, e.g. **tsai** *tsai* [tsʰai] 'tea' vs. **saya** *say* [saj] 'recently'; **sain** *saing* [saiŋ] 'good' vs. **bayan** *bayng* [pajəŋ] 'rich'.

The contrast between *n* and *ng* is synchronically only possible in syllable-final position, while the contrast between *g* and *gh* is also attested in medial syllable-initial (prevocalic) position. In the latter position, no orthographical distinction is made (except before *i*), e.g. **zurag** *dzurg* 'picture' : refl. **zurgaa** *dzurg-a* (< **jirug-axa/n*) vs. **zurgaa** *dzurgha* 'six' (< **jirguxa/n*). Altogether, the contrast between *g* and *gh* (both diachronically < **g*) is rather marginal and may even be absent dialectally or idiolectally. The same is true of the contrast between *b* (*by*) and *w* (*wy*) (both diachronically < **b*), which is possible only after *l*, e.g. **alba** *alb* 'duty' (< **alba/n*) vs. term. **alaw** *alw* 'to kill' (< **ala-ba*). A distinctive *w* is also attested in borrowings, e.g. **wan** *wang* 'king' (from Chinese).

WORD STRUCTURE

The maximal syllable structure is CVVCCC, i.e., the vowel kernel may be preceded by at most one consonant and followed by a cluster of up to three consonants. The vowel can be short, long or a diphthong. In non-initial syllables, it can also be a non-phonemic schwa vowel. Onsetless syllables occur only word-initially. Whether a consonant combination can form a syllable coda or not depends on the phonetic properties of the consonants. Permitted types of coda include: voiced + voiceless consonant, e.g. *daws* [taws] 'salt', *alt* [aɮʰt] 'gold', *bügd* [pugt] 'all'; nasal + stop or affricate, e.g. *xünd* [xunt] 'heavy', *möngg* [moŋg] 'silver', *myanggh* [mʲaŋɢ] 'thousand'; fricative + stop or affricate, e.g. *tsast* [tsʰasʰt] 'snowy'. Three-consonant codas consist of a voiced consonant followed by a fricative + stop or affricate, e.g. *ilst* [iɮsʰt] 'sandy'.

A considerable proportion of root words are monosyllabic. There is a requirement that a monosyllabic word must have a heavy syllable rhyme, i.e., it either has a coda consonant, as in *xüng* [xuŋ] 'person', a long vowel or a diphthong, as in *düü* [tuu] 'younger brother', *suu-* [sʊʊ] 'to sit', *tsai* [tsʰai] 'tea', or both, as in *tsaas* [tsʰaːs] 'paper'. Words of the type (C)V (with a short vowel) do not occur. A few monosyllabic function words are spelled (and transliterated) with a short vowel only, e.g. **bi** 'I', **ta** 'you' [honorific], but they are pronounced (and may be phonemized) with a long vowel in citation form, i.e. *bii* [piː], *taa* [tʰaː].

There are also many bisyllabic and even polysyllabic roots. Moreover, because of the agglutinative morphology, derived or inflected words are often polysyllabic. In words with more than one syllable, stress is not contrastive. There is no agreement in the literature about the place of stress, or even if there is stress. The possible interaction of stress and intonation also remains to be investigated further. Another important issue connected with polysyllabic words involves vowel quantity in non-initial syllables. Traditional analyses of Khalkha, for instance the one implemented in the Cyrillic orthography, distinguish short and long vowels in all syllables, but there are reasons to question this interpretation.

A phonetic analysis immediately reveals that the 'short' vowels of non-initial syllables are reduced (centralized) versions of the vowel of the preceding syllable (here invariably transcribed as [ə]). In the Cyrillic orthography, these vowels are written with

the equivalents of the single vowel letters **a e o ö**, depending on the harmonic quality of the vowel of the previous syllable, e.g. **xawar** [xawər] 'spring', **mongol** [mɔŋgəɮ] 'Mongol'. When a reduced vowel is preceded by a palatalized (including alveopalatal) consonant, it has an [i]-like quality and is written as **i**, e.g. **guril** [gʊrʲəɮ] 'flour', **ajil** [atʃəɮ] 'work'.

Not only the qualities, but also the places where reduced vowels occur can be predicted by rules, and for this reason they can be regarded as non-phonemic schwas, which are absent from underlying (lexical) forms (as in Kalmuck). The basic rule is that schwa vowels are inserted in order to make well-formed syllables. If the underlying form of a word ends in two consonants, a schwa is inserted if these two consonants cannot form a syllable coda, but not otherwise. For example, since the clusters *rd gd ls* (voiced + voiceless consonant) in **ard** *ard* [art] 'people', **bügd** *bügd* [pugt] 'all', **uls** *uls* [ʊɮs] 'state' can form a coda, no schwa is required. By contrast, the clusters *mr td tr* in *xamr* 'nose', *xyatd* 'Chinese', *baatr* 'hero' cannot form a coda at the surface, so a schwa must be inserted, yielding **xamar** [xamər], **baatar** [pa:^{h}tər], **xyatad** [x^{j}a^{h}tət].

If there are three underlying final consonants, the schwa is inserted between the first two consonants, if this is phonotactically possible, e.g. **gudamj** [gʊtəmtʃ] 'street' from underlying *gudmj*. If, on the other hand, the last two consonants would not yield a well-formed syllable coda, the schwa is inserted between them, e.g. **byaslag** [p^{j}asɮəg] 'cheese' from underlying *byaslg*. More generally, it may be said that schwas are always inserted as far to the left as possible while maintaining a sequence of well-formed syllables, e.g. **yörtönts** [jor^{h}tən^{h}ts] 'world' from underlying *yörtnts*, **xüüxeldei** [xu:xəɮte] from underlying *xüüxlde*.

In a few cases, the schwa insertion rule takes morphology into consideration. One conspicuous case is the futuritive participle marker *-x*, which requires a schwa if the verb stem ends in a consonant, cf. e.g. part. fut. **xalax** [xaɮəx] 'to change' vs. **xalx** [xaɮx] 'shield; Khalkha'. Since the occurrence of the schwa in this case is not phonologically predictable, it has to be treated as a potentially distinctive segment (°). It might also be possible to maintain that the schwa belongs to the underlying form of this and other similar grammatical markers. There seem to exist no regular lexical items with an underlying schwa.

In spite of the presence of exceptions, the orthographical short vowels of non-initial syllables may generally be treated as non-distinctive schwas, which are not present in underlying forms. In this situation, the orthographical long vowels of non-initial syllables need not be interpreted as phonologically long. Instead, they may be analysed as quantitatively unmarked and segmentally equal to the short vowels of the initial syllable (as in Kalmuck). Support for this analysis comes from phonetic data, which show that these vowels tend to be much shorter than the long vowels of the initial syllable and only slightly longer than the short vowels of the initial syllable, e.g. **sanaa** *sana* [sana] 'thought', **ulaan** *ulang* [ʊɮaŋ] 'red', **xöömii** *xoomi* [xo:mi] 'throat'.

The distribution of the vowel qualities in non-initial syllables is regulated by vowel harmony. The Khalkha vowels may be divided into two classes, corresponding to the original back vowels *a o u* and the original front vowels *e ö ü i*. However, due to the effect of vowel rotation, also termed the *Khalkha Vowel Shift*, the original back vowels *o u* (and to a lesser extent *a*) are pronounced as pharyngealized, while the original front vowels *ö ü* (and to a lesser extent *e*) are pronounced as centralized or even fully velarized. Phonetically, it seems that pharyngealization is a marked feature, which distinguishes the vowels *o u* (and possibly *a*) from *ö ü* (and possibly *e*). The pharyngealized vowels are characterized by a relatively small pharynx cavity, probably due to retraction of the tongue root and tensing of the pharynx constrictor muscles.

In view of the crucial role of pharyngealization, the Khalkha vowel harmony is best identified as a pharyngeal harmony, in which the vowels are divided into pharyngealized and non-pharyngealized. The basic vowel harmony rule says that vowels from these two classes cannot co-occur in the same word. A partial exception is formed by *i*, which, when occurring in the initial syllable, can only be followed by non-pharyngealized vowels, but which, when occurring in non-initial syllables, can follow both pharyngealized and non-pharyngealized vowels. The distribution of the low vowels *a e o ö* in non-initial syllables is additionally regulated by labial harmony, according to which the unrounded vowels *a e* cannot be followed in the same word by the rounded vowels *o ö*.

Both types of vowel harmony (pharyngeal and labial) apply both in roots and in derived and inflected words. Their impact on suffix vocalism may be described in terms of four archiphonemic entities: *A Ai U i*. The low vowel *A* has four harmonic alternants (*a o e ö*), the diphthong *Ai* three (*ai oi e*), and the high rounded vowel *U* two (*u ü*), while the high unrounded vowel *i* appears only in a single invariant shape (Table 7.3). Marginally, there is also the diphthong *Ui*, which, in principle, follows the same pattern as *U* (with the two alternants *ui üi*). Exceptions from the rules of vowel harmony are present in a few elements that are probably best classified as clitics. These include the possessive suffixes and the negative particle *=güi* (also used in the private construction).

Examples of suffixal vowel harmony: *yaw-* 'to go', *or-* 'to enter', *ux-* 'to understand', *xeel-* 'to decorate', *ög-* 'to give', *üdz-* 'to see', *id-* 'to eat' : conf. (the *A* series) *yaw-la* [jawɮa], *or-lo* [ɔrɮɔ], *ux-la* [ʊxɮa], *xeel-le* [xeːɮɮe], *ög-lö* [ogɮo], *üdz-le* [utsɮe], *id-le* [itɮe]; caus. (the *U* series) *yaw.ul-* [jawʊɮ], *or.ul-* [ɔrʊɮ], *ux.ul-* [ʊxʊɮ], *xeel.ül-* [xeːɮuɮ], *ög.ül-* [oguɮ], *üdz.ül-* [utsuɮ], *id.ül-* [ituɮ]; part. fut. acc. (the invariant *i*) *yaw-x-ig* [jawxig], *or-x-ig* [ɔrxig], *ux-x-ig* [ʊxxig], *xeel-x-ig* [xeːɮxig], *ög-x-ig* [ogxig], *üdz-x-ig* [utsxig], *id-x-ig* [itxig]; *gar* 'hand', *or* 'bed', *sum* 'arrow', *deel* 'gown', *xöl* 'foot', *süx* 'axe', *shil* 'glass' : poss. (the *Ai* series) *gar-tai* [garʰtai], *or-toi* [ɔrʰtɔi], *sum-tai* [sumʰtai], *deel-te* [teːɮʰte], *xöl-te* [xoɮʰte], *süx-te* [suxʰte], *shil-te* [ʃiɮʰte].

The Khalkha vowel harmony can, consequently, be understood as a phenomenon which spreads the features pharyngeal and rounded from the first vowel towards the right in a word. The vowel *i* is transparent in the sense that it neither affects nor is affected by vowel harmony, which spreads through it as if it were not present. The vowels *u* and *ü* take part in pharyngeal harmony, but not in labial harmony, which is blocked by them. The difference between *i* and *u ü* (*U*) is evident from examples like caus. conf. *or.ul-la* 'to enter' vs. acc. refl. *or-ig-o* 'bed', where labial harmony is blocked by an intervening *u* but not by *i*.

Concerning the orthography of the vowel *i* in non-initial syllables it has to be noted that it is written as **ii** (congruent with the diphthongs) only when preceded by a palatalized consonant, as in **mory** *mory* 'horse' : acc. **moriig** *mory-ig*, or also by the velar (not post-velar) stop *g*, as in **tsag** *tsag* 'time' : acc. **tsagiig** *tsag-ig*. When preceded by a

TABLE 7.3 KHALKHA VOWEL COMBINATIONS

	after: *a*	*o*	*u*	*e*	*ö*	*ü*	*i*
A =	*a*	*o*	*a*	*e*	*ö*	*e*	*e*
Ai =	*ai*	*oi*	*ai*	*e*	*e*	*e*	*e*
U =	*u*	*u*	*u*	*ü*	*ü*	*ü*	*ü*
i =	*i*	*i*	*i*	*i*	*i*	*i*	*i*

non-palatalized consonant, including the post-velar segment *gh*, it is written with a special letter ('yery') of the Cyrillic alphabet, which for Khalkha may be romanized as **ï**, as in **gar** *gar* 'hand' : acc. **garïg** *gar-ig*, **baga** *bagh* 'small' : acc. **bagïg** *bagh-ig*. This letter is never used in the initial syllable.

Although Khalkha stems are usually unchanged in the morphology, while the suffixes vary mainly with vowel harmony, there are a few other morphophonological processes, which are also connected with the vowels. For instance, the rules for schwa insertion frequently condition a phonetic alternation between a schwa and zero either within the stem, as in **xamar** *xamr* 'nose' : abl. **xamraas** *xamr-as*, or at the junction of the stem and a suffix, as in **xot** *xot* 'town' : dat. **xotod** *xotd*. The distinctive schwa of grammatical endings, as of the futuritive participle marker, can also be lost morphophonologically, though normally not orthographically, e.g. part. fut. **yawax** *yaw-°x* 'to go' : instr. **yawaxaar** *yaw-x-ar*.

When a suffix beginning with a vowel is added to a stem that ends in a vowel, the connective consonants *g* and *gh* are added at the juncture. The velar *g* is used after stems of the non-pharyngealized harmonic class, as in **xüü** *xüü* 'boy' : instr. **xüügeer** *xüü/g-er*, while the postvelar *gh* is used after stems of the pharyngealized harmonic class, as in **sanaa** *sana* 'thought' : instr. **sanaagaar** *sana/gh-ar*.

WORD FORMATION

The Khalkha vocabulary is a closely woven web of interrelated words connected by derivative suffixes. Most derivative suffixes are used in either a denominal or a deverbal function, though there are a few ambivalent (or homophonous) suffixes, cf. e.g. *.l(-)* in **mal** 'cattle' : **mal.la-** 'to breed cattle' (denominal verb), **xur-** 'to meet' : **xura.l** 'meeting' (deverbal noun). The borderline between derivation and inflexion is transitional in some cases. The dimensions of derivation may be illustrated by the following series of deverbal derivatives (from Bawden):

sur- 'to learn' : **sura.gc** 'pupil' : **sura.l** 'enquiry' : **sur.laga** 'study' : **sura.mgai** 'trained' : **sura.mgai.sh** 'to get trained' : **sur.ga.gc** 'instructor' : **sur.ga.lt** 'teaching' : **sur.ga.mj** 'instruction' : **sur.ga.mji.l-** 'to admonish' : **sur.ga.mj.tai** 'instructive' : **sur.g.aal** 'doctrine' : **sur.g.uuly** 'school' : **sur.g.uul.tai** 'trained' : **sur.g.uuli.l-** 'to send to school' : **sur.g.uuli.l.t** 'training' : **sur.mag** 'trained' : **sur.tal** 'doctrine' : **sur.tal.d-** 'to indoctrinate' : **sur.tal.tan** 'ideologist' : **sur.tal.c** 'propagandist'.

üz- 'to see' : **üze.gc** 'spectator' : **üze.l** 'view' : **üz.leg** 'examination' : **üze.lt** 'minded' : **üze.lte.n** 'supporter' : **üze.mj** 'appearance' : **üze.mji.t** 'beautiful' : **üze.mj=güi** 'unsightly' : **üz.wer** 'show' : **üz.mer** 'display' : **üz.mer.d-** 'to foresee' : **üz.mer.c** 'seer' : **üz.üül-** 'to show' : **üz.üüle.l** 'demonstration' : **üz.üüle.lt** 'indicator' : **üz.üül.ber** 'performance' : **üze.gde.gc** 'visible' : **üze.sgelen** 'beauty; exhibition' : **üze.sgelen.t** 'beautiful' : **üze.sh=güi** 'unsightly'.

Adjectives do not differ formally from nouns, e.g. **ulaan** 'red', 'redness', 'the red one'. Certain derivational patterns are nevertheless specific to adjectival nouns, e.g. **baga** 'small', **tom** 'big', **bogino** 'short' : moder. **baga.xan** 'rather small', **tom.xon** 'rather big', **bogino.xon** 'rather short' : ess. **baga.d-** 'be (too) small', **tom.d-** 'be (too) big', **bogino.d-** 'be (too) short' : transl. **baga.s-** 'to get smaller', **tom.s-** 'to get bigger', **bogino.s-** 'to get shorter' : caus. **baga.s.ga-** 'to decrease', **tom.s.go-** 'to enlarge', **bogino.s.go-** 'to shorten'.

Some derivative suffixes occur only in a small number of lexicalized examples, while others are more or less productive and have a predictable meaning. The most important

productive suffixes are those of verbal voice, including, in particular, the passives in *.gd-* and the causatives in *.Ul-*, *.A-*, *.G-* and *.lG-* (the choice of suffix depends mainly on the phonology of the stem), e.g. **id-** 'to eat' : **id.üül-** 'to cause to eat' : **ide.gd-** 'to be eaten'. It is also possible to form double causatives, e.g. **gar-** 'to exit' : **gar.ga-** 'to take out' : **gar.g.uul-** 'to cause to take out'. Other suffixes form cooperative and collective verbs, e.g. **sur-** 'to study' : coop. **sura.lts-** 'to study together' : coll. **sur.tsgaa-** 'to study [many together]'.

Compounding is another way of forming words, especially nominals, e.g. **awia+züi** 'phonetics', from **awia** 'sound' and **züi** '-ology'. Similar to compound words are lexicalized phrases containing two nominal or nominalized words, e.g. **xar xün** 'layman' (literally: 'black person'), **nise-x ongots** 'airplane' (literally: 'flying boat'). Often a noun in the genitive is involved, e.g. **nom-ïn san** 'library' (literally: 'store of books'), **nusn-ï alcuur** 'handkerchief' (literally: 'cloth of snotting').

NUMBER AND CASE

Nouns can take suffixes for number, case, and possession, in that order. Plural marking is not obligatory, but is used for emphasizing that several persons or objects are involved. The plural is not marked in the presence of numerals or other quantifiers, e.g. **tawan ger** 'five houses'.

Plural is probably best regarded as a derivational category. There are several different plural markers, the distribution of which depends on both lexical and phonological factors. The most common plural markers include *.Ud*, *.nUd*, *.cUd*, *.s*, and *.d*, e.g. **gar.uud** 'hands', **ger.üüd** 'houses'; **mongol.cuud** 'Mongols', **emegtei.cüüd** 'women', **üg.s** 'words'. The marker *.d* usually replaces a final *n* in the stem, e.g. **zocin** 'guest' : pl. **zoci.d**. The plural marker *.nr* is orthographically rendered as a separate word with the invariant shape **nar**, e.g. **düü nar** 'younger brothers'.

In addition to the unmarked nominal stem (nominative), there are six suffixally marked cases: genitive, accusative, dative, ablative, instrumental, and possessive (Table 7.4). The basic series of case endings is taken by consonant stems (C), which also comprise stems ending in a diachronic short vowel (*V). Stems ending in a diachronic velar nasal (Ng), as well as stems ending in a diachronic long vowel (V < *VV), require the connective consonant *g* (or *gh*), except in the genitive for diphthong stems (Vi) and the accusative for all vowel stems. Special suffix variants are present in the genitive for diachronic nasal stems (N) and the dative for some diachronic obstruent stems (O).

TABLE 7.4 KHALKHA CASE MARKERS

	C	O	N	Ng	V	Vi
gen.	*-ing*		*-i*	*/g-ing*		*-ng*
acc.	*-ig*			*/g-ig*	*-g*	
dat.	*-d*	*-t*				
abl.	*-As*			*/g-As*		
instr.	*-Ar*			*/g-Ar*		
poss.	*-tAi*					

Additional morphophonological variation is caused by the unstable */n*, which appears in the genitive, dative and ablative (but not in the other cases) of certain stems.

Examples of paradigms: (C) **nom** 'book' : gen. **nom-ïn** : acc. **nom-ïg** : dat. **nom-d** : abl. **nom-oos** : instr. **nom-oor** : poss. **nom-toi**; (O) **ger** 'house' : gen. **ger-iin** : acc. **ger-iig** : dat. **ger-t** : abl. **ger-ees** : instr. **ger-eer** : poss. **ger-tei**; (N) **on** 'year' : gen. **on-ï** : acc. **on-ïg** : dat. **on-d** : abl. **on-oos** : instr. **on-oor** : poss. **on-toi**; (Ng) **wan** 'king' : gen. **wan/g-iin** : acc. **wan/g-iig** : dat. **wan-d** : abl. **wan/g-aas** : instr. **wan/g-aar** : poss. **wan-tai**; (V) **xüü** 'boy' : gen. **xüü/g-iin** : acc. **xüü-g** : dat. **xüü-d** : abl. **xüü/g-ees** : instr. **xüü/g-eer** : poss. **xüü-tei**; (Vi) **dalai** 'sea' : gen. **dalai-n** : acc. **dalai-g** : dat. **dalai-d** : abl. **dalai/g-aas** : instr. **dalai/g-aar** : poss. **dalai-tai**; *(/n)* **or** 'place' : gen. **or/n-ï** : acc. **or-ïg** : dat. **oro/n-d** : abl. **or/n-oos** : instr. **or-oor** : poss. **or-toi**; **shiree** 'table' : gen. **shiree/n-ii** : acc. **shiree-g** : dat. **shiree/n-d** : abl. **shiree/n-ees** : instr. **shiree/g-eer** : poss. **shiree-tei**.

The nominative normally functions as a subject or a direct indefinite object, though it is also used in attributive and postpositional constructions. A direct definite object often stands in the accusative, while an indirect object is in the dative. The subject of a subordinate clause can also be in the accusative, while the subject of a participial construction can be in the genitive. Otherwise, the genitive is used to mark attributive nouns, including possessor nouns. Location at or direction to is expressed by the dative, while direction from is expressed by the ablative. The instrumental basically expresses instrument, but it is also used to indicate direction through or along (prosecutive). The possessive (comitative) expresses both possession ('equipped with') and joint action ('together with').

Due to the absence of morphological comparative forms, adjectival nouns are compared by placing the standard of comparison in the ablative case, e.g. **mory muur-aas tom** 'a horse is bigger than a cat'. A construction with gen. **xamg-iin** 'of all' corresponds to the superlative, e.g. **xamg-iin tom mory** 'the biggest horse (of all)'.

NUMERALS

The Khalkha numerals are inflected like nouns. The basic numerals are, for the digits: 1 **neg** : **negen**, 2 **xoyor**, 3 **guraw** : **gurwan**, 4 **döröw** : **dörwön**, 5 **taw** : **tawan**, 6 **zurgaa** : **zurgaan**, 7 **doloo** : **doloon**, 8 **naim** : **naiman**, 9 **yös** : **yösön**; for the tens: 10 **araw** : **arwan**, 20 **xory** : **xorin**, 30 **guc** : **gucin**, 40 **döc** : **döcin**, 50 **tawy** : **tawin**, 60 **jar** : **jaran**, 70 **dal** : **dalan**, 80 **naya** : **nayan**, 90 **yer** : **yeren**; and for the powers of ten: 100 **zuu** : **zuun**, 1.000 **myanga** : **myangan**, 10,000 **tüm** : **tümen**. Intermediate numerals are formed as follows: 12 **arwan xoyor**, 35 **gucin taw**, 4,653 **dörwön myanga zurgaan zuun tawin guraw**.

All the numerals, with the exception of 2 **xoyor**, end in the unstable */n*. The nasal stem appears in the declension, but it is also used attributively, except in the case of 1 **neg** and 1,000 **myangga**, e.g. **neg tögrög** 'one tugrik', **gurwan tögrög** 'three tugriks', **myangga tögrög** 'one thousand tugriks'. In counting, the plain stems are used.

Ordinal numbers are formed with the suffix **.dugaar** or **.dügeer**, added to the plain stem, e.g. **neg.dügeer** 'first', **döröw.dügeer** 'fourth', **taw.dugaar** 'fifth'. The ordinals 'sixth' and 'seventh' are formed from a truncated stem: **zurga.dugaar** and **dol.dugaar**. The orthographical shape of the ordinal suffix is exceptional and apparently anachronistic, in that it suggests the presence of a non-reduced short (single) vowel (*u* or *ü*) in a non-initial syllable. (The phonological status of the ordinal suffix in the spoken language remains to be investigated.)

Khalkha also retains regular reflexes of most of the other Common Mongolic numeral derivatives, including the collectives in *.Ul*, e.g. **taw.uul** 'five together', the multiplicatives

TABLE 7.5 KHALKHA PERSONAL PRONOUNS

		1p.		2p.
sg.	nom.	**bi**		**ci**
	gen.	**minii**		**cinii**
	acc.	**namaig**		**camaig**
	obl.	**nad-**		**cam-**
		(excl.)	(incl.)	
pl.	nom.		**bid**	**ta**
	gen.	**manai**	**bidnii**	**tanai**
	obl.	**man-**	**bidn-**	**tan-**

in *.nt*, e.g. **gurwa.nt** 'three times', and the distributives and approximatives in *.Ad*, e.g. **gurw.aad** 'three each', **myang.aad** 'about a thousand'. The collectives **zurg.uul** 'six together' and **dol.uul** 'seven together' are based on truncated stems, while the distributives **nejeed** 'one each' and **xoshood** 'two each' are synchronically suppletive. The role of multiplicatives can also be filled by the plain numeral stems, e.g. **neg** 'once', **guraw** 'three times'.

PRONOUNS

The Khalkha personal pronouns (Table 7.5) follow in most details the Common Mongolic pattern. The singular pronouns have separate stems for the nominative (**bi** : **ci**), genitive (**min-** : **cin-**), and accusative (**nam-** : **cam-**). In the second person the accusative stem is also used in the other cases, while in the first person a special oblique stem (**nad-**) is present. In the first person plural, the distinction between an exclusive and an inclusive stem (**man-** : **bidn-**) is retained only formally, but not functionally, in the oblique paradigm. The second person plural pronoun (**ta**) mainly functions as an honorific singular, while actual plural reference is expressed by the suffixally marked plural form **ta nar**, phonologically *taa.nr*.

There are no personal pronouns for the third person; instead, the demonstratives **ene** 'this' and **ter** 'that' are used, often in combination with a head noun, as in **ter xün** 'that person'. The demonstratives have two oblique stems, **üü/n-** vs. **tüü/n-** (literary) and **enen-** vs. **tern-** (colloquial). In the instrumental function, the special form **terüügeer** 'that way' is also used. The plurals are **ed** and **ted**, but extended forms (double plurals) like **ednüüd** vs. **tednüüd** or **ted nar** are often used. Related demonstrative derivatives are: **end** 'here' vs. **tend** 'there', **iim** 'like this' vs. **tiim** 'like that', **edii** 'this much' vs. **tedii** 'that much', **enge-** 'to do like this' vs. **tege-** 'to do like that', **odoo** 'now'.

Other pronominal words include the interrogatives **xen** 'who' : **xezee** 'when' : **xedii** 'how much' : **xeden** 'how many', **yüü** : **yüün-** 'what', **aly** : **alyn-** 'which', **yamar** 'what kind of' : **yaa-** 'to do what', **xaa** 'where' : dir. **xaash** 'where to'. The interrogatives are also used as indefinites, normally combined with the clitic **=c**, e.g. **xen=c** 'whoever'. The reflexive pronoun is **öör-** : refl. **öör-öö** '(by) oneself' : gen. **öör-iin** 'one's own'.

POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

The genitives of the personal pronouns are used as possessive pronouns, which precede the head noun, e.g. **minii nöxör** 'my husband'. In slightly altered shapes, they function

TABLE 7.6 KHALKHA POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

	sg.		pl.
1p.	**miny**		**maany**
2p.	**ciny**		**tany**
3p.		**ny**	

as possessive suffixes, e.g. **nöxör miny** 'my husband'. The system is complemented by the Common Mongolic third person possessive suffix (Table 7.6).

The possessive suffixes are probably best analysed as clitics, since they (as is evident from the first and second person plural) do not follow vowel harmony. Orthographically, they are written as separate words. The orthographical representation does not, however, reveal the full picture of the phonological behaviour of the possessive suffixes. The third person suffix, for instance, is normally realized as *=in* after a stem-final consonant, e.g. **ger** 'house' : px 3p. **ger ny** *ger=in*.

The reflexive suffix *-A*, in the genitive *-x-A-*, is added after the plural marker and the case suffixes. It refers back to the subject of the clause (regardless of person), e.g. dat. refl. **ger-t-ee** 'to (one's) own house', pl. poss. refl. **mongol.cuud-tai/g-aa** 'with (one's) own Mongols'.

VERBAL FORMS

The Khalkha verbal forms can be divided into three morphological and functional classes: finite forms, participles, and converbs. Finite forms can be further divided into imperatives and indicatives. The division between finite and non-finite forms is, however, not entirely clear-cut. The finite forms function as main (final) verbs of main clauses, and do not occur in subordinate clauses, except in direct speech. Most participles can also function as finite verbs, occupying the position of the final verb of a main clause. When participles are used as nouns or as the final verb of a subordinate clause, they can take case and reflexive suffixes. They can also modify nouns, forming relative clauses. The converbs modify other verbs and are also used in subordinate clauses.

The finite forms used in Khalkha include, in addition to the basic unmarked imperative, the precative, voluntative, prescriptive, permissive, desiderative, dubitative, and potential of the imperative sphere, as well as the durative, terminative, confirmative, and resultative of the indicative sphere (Table 7.7). Some of the finite markers have separate allomorphs for regular consonant stems (C), lexicalized obstruent stems (O), and vowel stems (V). The markers containing vowels have regular harmonic alternants, except the resultative marker, which is harmonically invariant. The voluntative marker, though phonologically *-i* (after consonant stems) or *-y* (after vowel stems), is orthographically rendered in its historical shape **-ya** (with the harmonic alternants **-ye -yo**).

There are no predicative personal endings, though the precative marker contains the suffixed trace of the second person singular pronoun **=ci* > *-c* (the corresponding plural form in **=tA* > *-t* is no longer actively used in Khalkha). Most of the other imperative forms also have a fixed personal reference, with the voluntative referring to the first person (mainly plural), the prescriptive to the second person (singular and plural), and the permissive to the third person (singular and plural). The negation of the imperative forms takes place by prepositing the negative particle **bitgii**, e.g. **bitgii gar** 'don't go out!'.

TABLE 7.7 KHALKHA FINITE VERBAL MARKERS

	C	O	V	person
prec.	*-A-c*		*/g-A-c*	sg. 2p.
vol.	*-i*		*-y*	pl. 1p.
prescr.	*-ArAi*		*/g-ArAi*	sg. pl. 2p.
perm.	*-g*			sg. pl. 3p.
des.	*-AsAi*		*/g-AsAi*	
dub.	*-UdzAi*		*/g-UdzAi*	
pot.	*-mdz*			
dur.	*-n*			
term.	*-w*			
conf.	*-lA*			
res.	*-je*	*-ce*		

TABLE 7.8 KHALKHA NON-FINITE VERBAL MARKERS

		C	L	O	V	neg.
part.	fut.	*-°x*			*-x*	*=güi*
	imperf.	*-A*			*/g-A*	*=güi*
	perf.	*-sng*				*=güi*
	hab.	*-dg*				*=güi*
	ag.	*-gc*				
conv.	mod.	*-ng*				
	imperf.	*-j*		*-c*		
	perf.	*-Ad*			*/g-Ad*	
	cond.	*-wl*	*-bl*			
	conc.	*-w-c*				
	term.	*-tl*				

The indicative forms cannot be negated as such; the corresponding negative forms are expressed by finitely used participles, combined with the negative particle *=güi*. The interrogative forms incorporate the particle *=U*, orthographically **uu** or **üü**, yielding dur. interr. *-n=U* and res. interr. *-J=U*.

Examples of finite paradigms: (O) **ög-** 'to give' : imp. **ög** : prec. **ög-ööc** : vol. **ög-ÿö** : prescr. **ög-öörei** : perm. **ögö-g** : dub. **ög-üüzei** : dur. **ög-nö** : term. **ögö-w** : conf. **ög-löö** : res. **ög-cee**; (O) **gar-** 'to exit' : imp. **gar** : prec. **gar-aac** : vol. **gar-ÿa** : prescr. **gar-aarai** : perm. **gara-g** : dub. **gar-uuzai** : dur. **gar-na** : term. **gara-w** : conf. **gar-laa** : res. **gar-cee**; (V) **inee-** 'to laugh' : imp. **inee** : prec. **inee/g-eec** : vol. **inee-ÿe** : prescr. **inee/g-eerei** : perm. **inee-g** : dub. **inee/g-üüzei** : dur. **inee-ne** : term. **inee-w** : conf. **inee-lee** : res. **inee-jee**.

The participial and converbial systems (Table 7.8) also follow closely the Common Mongolic pattern. Thus, the participial system comprises the futuritive, imperfective, perfective, habitive, and agentive participles. The agentive participle has, however, largely lost its verbal characteristics, occurring mainly as a deverbal derivative category (actor

noun). The imperfective participle is also relatively rare in verbal use, except in the negative construction. All verbally used participles can be negated by the particle *=güi* 'not'. Phonologically it should be noted that the futuritive participle marker always requires the presence of a (lexicalized) schwa (°) after consonant stems.

The converbial system basically comprises the modal, imperfective, perfective, conditional, concessive, and terminative converbs. None of the converbs can synchronically be negated, though in older language, the complex conv. mod. neg. *-ng=güi* is attested as the negative counterpart of the modal and imperfective converbs. Secondary quasi-converbial suffixes, based on participles or deverbal nominal derivatives, include (conv. comp.) *-x-Ar* 'instead of', (conv. succ.) *-x-l-Ar* 'as soon as', (conv. contemp.) *-ms-Ar* 'when, after', (conv. abtemp.) *-s-Ar* 'when, since'. The suffixal complex *-x-A* functions as a supine. Phonologically and/or orthographically, an exceptional feature is involved in the conditional converb marker *-wl*, which appears as *-bl* after stems ending in *l m w* (L), e.g. **ol-** 'to find' : conv. cond. **ol-bol**, **yaw-** 'to go' : cond. conv. **yaw-bal**.

Examples of non-finite paradigms: (O) **ög-** 'to give' : part. fut. **ögö-x** : imperf. **ög-öö** : perf. **ög-sön** : hab. **ög-dög** : ag. **ögö-gc** : conv. mod. **ögö-n** : imperf. **ög-c** : perf. **ög-ööd** : cond. **ög-wöl** : conc. **ögö-wc** : term. **ög-töl**; (O) **gar-** 'to exit' : part. fut. **gara-x** : imperf. **gar-aa** : perf. **gar-san** : hab. **gar-dag** : ag. **gara-gc** : conv. mod. **gara-n** : imperf. **gar-c** : perf. **gar-aad** : cond. **gar-wal** : conc. **gara-wc** : term. **gar-tal**; (V) **inee-** 'to laugh' : part. fut. **inee-x** : imperf. **inee/g-ee** : perf. **inee-sen** : hab. **inee-deg** : ag. **inee-gc** : conv. mod. **inee-n** : imperf. **inee-j** : perf. **inee/g-eed** : cond. **inee-wel** : conc. **inee-wc** : term. **inee-tel**.

TENSE AND ASPECT

The temporal and aspectual differences of finite predicates in Khalkha are expressed by using a mixture of actual finite indicative forms and finitely used participles. The two basic tenses are past and non-past. In the past tense range there are three modally differentiated categories, which, in the lack of better terms, may be identified as the plain past, the direct past, and the indirect past.

Morphologically, the affirmative non-past (present-future) tense is expressed by the durative. For action verbs, this tense refers to events that take place after the moment of speech, e.g. [what happens if I eat this mushroom?] **ci üx-ne** 'you will die'. For stative verbs, the reference is to a state that obtains at the time of speaking, e.g. **ter mongol xel med-ne** 'he knows Mongol'. In interrogative sentences, the durative can be replaced by the futuritive participle, especially for action verbs, e.g. **awax uu** 'will [you] buy [it]?', though the durative can also be used, especially for static verbs, e.g. **baina uu** 'is [it there]?'. In the negative construction, however, only the futuritive participle can be used, e.g. **awax=güi** '[I] will not buy [it]', **baix=güi** '[it] is not [there]'.

In the past tense range, the direct past is morphologically identical with the confirmative. This form indicates that the speaker has witnessed the situation himself, e.g. [the speaker has just seen the king arrive:] **xan ir-lee** 'the king has arrived'. The indirect past, by contrast, is morphologically identical with the resultative, and indicates that the speaker has not personally experienced the situation, but has heard about it from someone else (quotational), e.g. [the speaker has not seen the king but has heard that he has arrived:] **xan ir-jee** 'the king has [reportedly] arrived'. The indirect past can also refer to situations which the speaker has inferred from their consequences (inferential), e.g. [seeing that the ground is wet:] **boroo or-jee** 'it has [obviously] rained'.

The plain past is expressed by the perfective (past) participle, though, as a stylistic variant seldom used in the colloquial language, the terminative can also occur in this

function. Since it seems that the use of the direct and indirect past forms is not obligatory, the plain past is an alternative in most contexts, depending on whether or not the speaker wants to stress how he obtained his knowledge of the situation. The plain past can refer either to specific events or to accumulated past experience (experiential), e.g. **ta minii axtai uulz-san uu** 'did you meet my brother [as was expected]?' or: 'have you [ever] met my brother?'.

Since the direct and indirect past forms cannot be negated as such, their modal content cannot be expressed in a negative sentence. The normal negated form of the past tense is based on the imperfective participle, e.g. (affirmative) **bi uulz-san** 'I have met [him]' vs. (negative) **bi uulz-aa=güi** 'I have not met [him]'. Occasionally, though not very commonly, the perfective participle is also used with negation. In such cases, reference is made to a unique and definite event which, against expectations, did not occur, e.g. [the king is expected to arrive:] **xan ir-sen=güi** '[it turned out that] the king did not arrive'.

There are at least four aspectual categories, which may be referred to as the perfective, progressive, habitive, and intensive aspect. The progressive aspect (progressive construction) is formed by combining the imperfective converb of the semantic main verb with the proper tense form of the auxiliary **bai-** 'to be'. The progressive (like the English progressive) is the normal category used for ongoing actions that take place at the time of speaking, or at the same time as another action took place in the past, e.g. [what is your brother doing right now?] (non-past) **ter zaxia bici-j bai-na** 'he is writing letters', [what was your brother doing yesterday when you went to see him?] (past) **ter zaxia bici-j bai-san** 'he was writing letters'. The most common patterns of negation are of the types (non-past) **bic-ee=güi bai-na** and (past) **bici-j bai/g-aa=güi**.

The habitive aspect is expressed by the habitive participle, which in the marked (past) tenses is combined with the auxiliary **bai-**. This aspect is widely used in Khalkha, and it is obligatory for situations that occur repeatedly or habitually, e.g. [what does your brother usually do after breakfast?] **zaxia bic-deg** '[he] writes letters', [what did your brother usually do after breakfast last summer?] **zaxia bic-deg bai-san** '[he] wrote letters'. The habitive can also be used generically, e.g. [what kind of sounds do cows make?] **üxer möör-dög** 'cows moo'.

The perfective aspect (perfect) is formed by combining the perfective participle of the main verb with the auxiliary **bai-** 'to be'. This construction denotes that an event has taken place before, but is still relevant at, the time of reference. Like the indirect past (expressed by the resultative), the perfective aspect often emphasizes that the speaker has inferred the action from its result, e.g. [seeing that the ground is wet:] (dur.) **boroo or-son bai-na** 'it has rained'. The time of reference is expressed by the proper tense suffix on the auxiliary, with the past tenses indicating a time of reference before the moment of speaking (pluperfect), e.g. ['did you find your brother at home?'] (conf.) **ter yawcix-san bai-laa** '[no,] he had left'. The corresponding negative construction is based on the imperfective participle, e.g. [when you came to this place a year ago, had you met my brother?] **bi uulz-aa=güi bai-san** '[no,] I hadn't met [him]'.

The intensive aspect is expressed by the derivative suffix *.cx-* **.cix-**, which forms new verbal stems that can be inflected for tense and aspect. The intensive aspect is often used for punctual actions, and it indicates that something happens unexpectedly or suddenly, or is done forcefully and completely. It typically occurs either in the past tense or in the non-past with a future reference, e.g. [have you heard the news?] **xan alagd.cix-jee** (res.) 'the king has been killed', [if you don't stop playing with the ball:] (dur.) **bi aw.cix-na** 'I'll take it away'. It is frequently combined with the perfective aspect, e.g. [when you come back:] **bi ene zaxiag bic.cix-sen bai-na** 'I will have written this letter'.

The futuritive and imperfective participles can be used in main clauses to denote irreal mood, implying that the speaker believes, but does not know for sure, that a situation obtains. Temporal and aspectual differences can be shown by combining the irreal forms of the auxiliary **bai-** 'to be' with suitable participial forms of the preceding main verb, e.g. (irreal future) **ter ire-x bai-x** 'he will probably come', [what do you think your brother is doing right now?] (irreal progressive non-past) **ter zaxia bici-j bai/g-aa** 'he is probably writing letters'.

PHRASE TYPES

In the regular noun phrase, most modifiers precede the head noun. The common types of modifier include adjectival nouns, e.g. **zuzaan nom** 'a thick book'; numerals, e.g. **dörwön nom** 'four books'; and possessives marked with the genitive ending, e.g. **bagsh-iin nom** 'the teacher's book'. A noun which is not a possessive modifier can nevertheless stand in the genitive, e.g. **öwl-iin shönö** 'winter night'; or it can have the extended stem with the element *-ng* (originally the unstable **/n*), e.g. **modo-n baishin** 'a wooden building'. Constructions with nominal modifiers often correspond to English compounds.

A synchronically problematic type of nominal modifier is involved by nouns which would formally seem to be in the possessive case form, e.g. **süü-tei tsai** 'milk tea', with **süü** 'milk' : poss. **süü-tei** 'with milk'. Although diachronically it is a question of possessive adjectival derivatives (and not a case form), the synchronic borderline between derivation and inflection is open to various interpretations. A related problem concerns the status of the privative construction, containing the negative clitic *=güi* in examples like **süü=güi tsai** 'tea without milk'.

Certain quantifiers, notably **bür** 'every', and the clitic forms of the possessive pronouns (the possessive suffixes) follow the head noun, e.g. **ödör bür** 'every day', **nöxör miny** 'my husband'.

There is no agreement within noun phrases. Although case and reflexive suffixes belong to the whole noun phrase, they are added phonologically to its last word, e.g. (abl. refl.) **dörwön tom modon baishin/g-aas-aa** 'from [his] own four big wooden houses', (acc.) **xawar, zün, namar, öwl-iig dörwön uliral gedeg** 'the spring, summer, autumn, and winter are called the four seasons', (gen.) **jil bür-iin negdügeer sar** 'the January [literally: 'the first month'] of every year'. The clitic possessives follow case suffixes, e.g. (acc. px sg. 2p.) **öwc-tei shüd-iig ciny aw-na** 'he will extract your aching tooth'.

The basic spatial relations are expressed with cases, but postpositions are used for more specific spatial relations, and for other grammatical relations for which case forms are not available. In the postpositional phrase, the semantic head noun can appear in different cases, including the nominative, genitive, and ablative, e.g. (nom.) **deewer deer** 'on the roof', **margaash xürtel** 'until tomorrow'; (gen.) **Mongol-ïn tölöö** 'for the sake of Mongolia', **shiree/n-ii dor** 'under the table', **baishin/g-iin ömnö** 'in front of the building'; (abl.) **dörwön tsag-aas ömnö** 'before four o'clock'. The directive postposition **ruu** 'to, towards', though written as a separate word, is reminiscent of a suffix, in that it has the harmonic alternant **rüü** and the dissimilatory variants **luu lüü** (after stems ending in *r*), e.g. **shuudan ruu** 'to the post office', **delgüür lüü** 'to the shop'.

Special lexicalized and/or grammaticalized verbal phrases are formed by the modal and imperfective converbs. The modal converb is mainly used to link two verbs into a compound-like combination, e.g. **xülee-n aw-** 'to receive' (literally: 'to wait and take'). The imperfective converb, which basically indicates simultaneous action, is often used with auxiliaries of the types **cad-** 'to be able' (modal) and **or-** 'to enter' (directional),

e.g. **bi sawxaar ide-j cad-na** 'I can eat with chopsticks', **ter or-j ir-sen** 'he came in' (literally: 'he entered and came'). The progressive construction, with the auxiliary **bai-**, is also based on this phrase type.

SIMPLE SENTENCES

The basic word order is subject–object–verb (SOV). An indirect object usually precedes the direct object. The order of constituents before the predicate is, however, rather free.

The subject of a main clause is in the unmarked (nominative) form, e.g. **xüü güisen** 'the boy ran'. The direct object may be in the nominative or accusative. The more animate and definite the object is, the more likely it is to be in the accusative (Mizuno). A personal pronoun or the name of a person obligatorily requires the accusative, e.g. **bi cam-aig üzsen** 'I saw you', while an inanimate and indefinite noun is typically in the nominative, e.g. **xüü nom unshsan** 'the boy read a book'. Between these extremes, both the nominative and the accusative are possible. For instance, an inanimate noun preceded by a demonstrative pronoun can be in either case form, e.g. (nom.) **xüü ene nom unshsan** or (acc.) **xüü ene nom-ïg unshsan** 'the boy read this book'. The nominative object is more common in the colloquial language, while the written language tends to prefer the accusative. The indirect object is in the dative case (1).

(1) **Xüü öcigdör oxin-d nom ög-sön.**
boy yesterday girl-DAT book give-P:PERF
'The boy gave a book to the girl yesterday.'

A constituent which is a topic is usually placed at the beginning of a clause. The topic position can also be emphasized by using a topic marker, most commonly **bol** 'as for'. When a direct object is topicalized it requires the accusative case (2). A clause with a topicalized object corresponds more or less to a passive clause in English. The place closest to the predicate is focused, usually containing new information.

(2) **Ene nom-ïg Bat oxin-d ög-sön.**
this book-ACC Bat girl-DAT give-P:PERF
'This book was given by Batu to the girl.'

Although the verb-final requirement is rather strong, it is possible to place a personal pronoun subject after the verb for special emphasis (3) in a pattern reminiscent of the originally enclitic personal predicative endings in several other Mongolic languages.

(3) **Ene nom-ïg mart-san uu ci.**
this book-ACC forget-P:PERF INTERR SG:2P
'You forgot this book, didn't you!'

The case forms indicating spatial relations are the dative (location at or direction to), ablative (direction from), and instrumental (direction through or along), e.g. (dat.) **bi Mongol-d suuj baina** 'I live in Mongolia', (abl. and dat.) **bi Xyatad-aas Mongol-d irsen** 'I came from China to Mongolia', (instr.) **aaw uul-aar xony xariulsan** 'father herded sheep along the mountains'. The instrumental is also the case that marks a noun indicating an instrument, e.g. **xyatad xün sawx-aar iddeg** 'Chinese people eat with chopsticks'.

Clauses with a nominal word as the predicate are constructed with the copular verb **bai-** 'to be', which can be inflected for tense and aspect. The copula is not necessary for temporally and aspectually unmarked situations obtaining at the time of speech,

e.g. (non-past tense) **minii düü bagsh** 'my brother is a teacher', though it can be present especially with adjectival nouns, e.g. **us xüiten** or **us xüiten bai-na** 'the water is cold'. In temporally or aspectually marked situations, the proper form of the copula is required, e.g. (past tense) **minii düü bagsh bai-san** 'my brother was a teacher', (habitive aspect) **us xüiten bai-dag** 'the water is [usually] cold'. The negative copula is **bish**, e.g. **minii düü bagsh bish** 'my brother is not a teacher', **us xüiten bish** 'the water is not cold'.

Since there is no verb corresponding to the concept of 'to have', possession is expressed by either a nominal clause with the possessed in the possessive case (4), or an existential clause with the possessor in the dative case (5).

(4) **Zaan** **xoyor** **tom** **soyoo-toi.**
elephant two big tusk-POSS
'The elephant has two big tusks.'

(5) **Zaan-d** **xoyor** **tom** **soyoo** **bai-na.**
elephant-DAT two big tusk be-DUR
'The elephant has two big tusks.'

Interrogative clauses of the yes/no type are marked with the final particle =*U* (orthographically **uu** or **üü**), after vowels =*yU* (**yuu** or **yüü**), e.g. **ci ene nom awax uu** 'will you buy this book?', (nominal predicate:) **cinii düü emc üü** 'is your brother a doctor?'. Pronominal questions require the corrogative particle =*w* (orthographically **we**), after nasals =*b* (**be**), e.g. **xen tsai uusan be** 'who drank tea?'.

Pronominal question words normally occupy the same place as the corresponding constituent of an affirmative clause, cf. e.g. **oxin yüü uusan be** 'what did the girl drink?' (with **yüü** 'what' as the object), **oxin xen-d nomïg ögsön be** 'to whom did the girl give the book?' (with dat. **xen-d** 'to whom' as the indirect object), **oxin nomïg yaa-san be** 'what did the girl do with the book?' (with part. perf. **yaa-san** 'done-what' as the transitive predicate). When occurring in the focus position, pronominal question words can also be placed immediately before the verb, e.g. **tsai xen uusan be** 'who [is the one who] drank tea?', **oxin nomïg xen-d ögsön be** 'to whom [exactly] did the girl give the book?'.

PASSIVE AND CAUSATIVE

Both the passive and the causative are marked derivationally on the verbal base. The passive is not very common in the spoken language, and, when there is no overt agent, the active verb, with the object in the accusative, is normally used, e.g. (passive) **xaalga nee.gd.sen** or (active) **xaalg-ïg nee-sen** 'the door was opened', (active) **ene nom-ïg oxind ögsön** 'this book was given to the girl'. The equivalent of an English passive sentence with an overt agent is most often expressed by topicalizing the direct object, e.g. **xaalg-ïg Bat neesen** 'the door was opened by Batu'.

The causative is more common than the passive. When an intransitive verb is causativized, the causee is treated as a direct object, which is either unmarked (nominative) or in the accusative case, e.g. (nom.) **bi zaxia yaw.uul-san** 'I sent a/the letter', (acc.) **bi Bat-ïg yaw.uul-san** 'I sent Batu' (literally: 'I made Batu go'). When a transitive or ditransitive verb is causativized, the case-marking of direct and indirect objects is not changed, and the causee is in the instrumental case (6–7).

(6) **Bi** **Bat-aar** **zaxia-g** **bic.üül-sen.**
SG:1P Batu-INSTR letter-ACC write.CAUS-P:PERF
'I made Batu write the letter.'

(7) **Bi** **Bat-aar** **Dorji-d** **alim** **ög.üül-sen.**
SG:1P Batu-INSTR Dorji-DAT apple give.CAUS-P:PERF
'I made Batu give an apple to Dorji.'

The causee can also be in the dative. This indicates that the action of the base verb is controlled by the causee, rather than the causer, e.g. (dat.) **bi Bata-d alim id.üül-sen** 'I [unintentionally] let Batu eat an apple', in contrast to the instrumental causee, which has little or no control of the action, e.g. (instr.) **bi Bat-aar alim id.üül-sen** 'I [intentionally] made Batu eat an apple'. If there is no direct object, the causer subject takes the patient role, e.g. **xony cono/n-d id.üül-sen** 'the sheep was eaten by the wolf' (literally: 'the sheep let the wolf eat'). In such sentences, the subject cannot be analysed as a topicalized object, since it cannot take the accusative ending. Thus, the causative results in a passive-like construction.

COMPLEX SENTENCES

Subordinate clauses are formed by using participles and converbs in various subordinate positions. The two main types of subordinate clause are relative clauses and embedded clauses. Finite sentences can also be subordinated with the help of the complementizer **ge-** 'to say'.

In relative clauses, participles function as nominal modifiers and precede their head noun. The relativized constituent is deleted, e.g. (part. perf.) **gutal öms-sön oxin** 'the girl who wore boots' (relativized subject). When another constituent than the subject is relativized, the subject of the relative clause is in the genitive, e.g. (gen. + part. hab) **oxin-ï öms-dög gutal** 'the boots that the girl usually wears' (relativized direct object), (gen. + part. fut.) **oxin-ï nom ögö-x xün** 'the man to whom the girl will give a book' (relativized indirect object), (gen. px sg. 2p. + part. imperf. progr.) **aaw-ïn ciny ajilla-j bai/g-aa üildwer** 'the factory where your father is working' (relativized locative phrase).

An embedded clause which is the subject of the main clause ends with a participle form in the nominative (8). In complement clauses (in object position), the final participle is in the accusative (9–11), or in the reflexive form (unmarked for case) if the subjects of the main clause and the embedded clause are coreferential (12). The complement clause can occupy the normal object position (9) or be topicalized (10). The subject may stand in the nominative or accusative.

(8) **Shöl** **sawx-aar** **id-ex** **xetsüü.**
soup chopsticks-INSTR eat-P:FUT difficult
'It is difficult to eat soup with chopsticks.'

(9) **Bi** **Dulmaa-g** **margaash** **ire-x-iig** **med-ne.**
SG:1P Dulmaa-ACC tomorrow come-P:FUT-ACC know-DUR
'I know that Dulmaa will come tomorrow.'

(10) **Ter/Tüün-iig** **zaxia** **bic-sn-iig** **bi** **xar-san.**
that/-ACC letter write-P:PERF-ACC SG:1P see-P:PERF
'I saw that he wrote a letter.'

(11) **Us** **xüiten** **bai-gaa-g** **bi** **med-ne.**
water cold be-P:IMPERF-ACC SG:1P know-DUR
'I know that the water is cold.'

(12) **Bi zaxia bic-sn-ee mart-san.**
SG:1P letter write-P:PERF-REFL forget-P:PERF
'I forgot that I had written a letter.'

Participles with dative case marking form temporal subordinate (quasiconverbial) clauses. The subject may stand in the nominative or accusative (13), or it can be expressed by a possessive or reflexive suffix (14). If the temporal relation is expressed with a postposition, the participle takes the appropriate case suffix (15).

(13) **Bi/Nam-aig delgüür-t bai-xa-d Bat shuudan-d yaw-san.**
SG:1P/-ACC shop-DAT be-P:FUT-DAT Batu post:office-DAT go-P:PERF
'When I was in the shop, Batu went to the post-office.'

(14) **Bi Mongol-d bai-x-d-aa ene nom-ïg aw-san.**
SG:1P Mongolia-DAT be-P:FUT-DAT-REFL this book-ACC buy-P:PERF
'I bought this book when I was in Mongolia.'

(15) **Ci yadra-x-aas-aa ömnö unta-x xeregtei.**
SG:2P be:tired-P:FUT-ABL-REFL before sleep-P:FUT necessary
'You have to [go to] sleep before you get tired.'

The subject of subordinate clauses formed with the terminative and conditional converbs can also be in the nominative or accusative (16–17). The conditional converb is often accompanied by the sentence-initial conjunction **xerew** or **xerwee** 'if'. The conditional copula is expressed by the particle **bol** 'if [it] is', which is also used in the negative conditional construction, cf. e.g. (conv. cond.) **zogs-wol** 'if [you] stop' vs. (part. fut. neg. cond.) **zogso-x=güi bol** 'if [you] don't stop'.

(16) **Bi cam-aig ir-tel xülee-ne.**
SG:1P SG:2P-ACC come-CV:TERM wait-DUR
'I will wait until you come.'

(17) **Ci/Cam-aig ene nom aw-bal bi unsh-na.**
SG:2P/-ACC this book buy-CV:COND SG:1P read-DUR
'If you buy this book, I will read it.'

Subordinate clauses ending with the imperfective converb denote actions which take place at the same time as the action of the main verb (18), while the perfective converb denotes actions taking place before that of the main verb (19).

(18) **Ter sandal deer suu-j nom unshi-j baina.**
that chair upon sit-CV:IMPERF book read-PROGR-DUR
'He is sitting in a chair reading a book.'

(19) **Xüü möngö aw-aad oxin-d beleg aw-san.**
boy money take-CV:PERF girl-DAT present buy-P:PERF
'When the boy had got the money he bought a present for the girl.'

The complementizer **ge-** 'to say' is basically used to indicate reported speech. It can, however, also form complement (object) clauses to other verbs. Its most common form is conv. imperf. **ge-j** 'saying', which functions synchronically as a quotative particle (20–22, cf. 11).

(20) **Ter zaxia bici-j bai-na ge-j xel-sen.**
that letter write-PROGR-DUR QUOTE speak-P:PERF
'He said that he was writing a letter.'

(21) **Zaxia bic-sen üü ge-j bi tüün-ees asuu-laa.**
letter write-P:PERF INTERR QUOTE SG:1P that-ABL ask-CONF
'I asked him if he had written a letter.'

(22) **Us xüiten ge-j bi med-ne.**
water cold QUOTE SG:1P know-DUR
'I know that the water is cold.'

The rules governing the case form of the subject in subordinate clauses can be generalized as follows: when the subjects of the main clause and the subordinate clause are coreferential, the subject is overtly present only in the main clause and stands in the nominative (12, 14–15, 18–19). If the subordinate clause ends in a participle, it often takes the reflexive suffix (12, 14–15). If the subjects of the main clause and the subordinate clause are not coreferential, the subject of the subordinate clause can be in the nominative, accusative, or genitive.

The choice between accusative and nominative subjects depends on animacy and definiteness (Mizuno). For animate and definite subjects, the accusative is often used, but the nominative is always a possible alternative, especially in the spoken language (10–11, 13, 17, 22). Genitive subjects occur with relative clauses, but may also be used with other subordinate clauses which end in a participle.

LEXICON

Khalkha retains much of the heterogeneity of the Proto-Mongolic and Common Mongolic lexicon. Even in the modern language there are many old loanwords deriving from a variety of sources (often through Ancient Uighur), e.g. **arxi** 'liquor' (ultimately from Arabic), **bar** 'tiger' (ultimately from Persian), **erdene** 'jewel' (ultimately from Sanskrit), **nom** 'book' (ultimately from Greek), **sawan** 'soap' (ultimately from Germanic).

Later loanwords mainly come from three sources: Chinese, Tibetan, and Russian. Interestingly, the number of Chinese loanwords is relatively small, although the Mongols have for centuries been in close contact with the Chinese. In this respect, Khalkha is even less affected than the Mongol dialects spoken in Inner Mongolia. The Chinese elements that have made their way to Khalkha are mainly connected with material culture, e.g. **buuz** 'dumpling', **guanz** 'restaurant', **luus** 'mule', **waar** 'tile', **tsonx** 'window'. Many of these words have a Common Mongolic distribution.

The Tibetan loanwords are mainly connected with the expansion of Buddhism from Tibet to Mongolia, especially in the seventeenth century. Apart from religious terms like **lam** 'lama' and **xorloo** 'prayer wheel', the Tibetan elements also include more general items, e.g. **garcig** 'index', **namtar** 'biography'. The most commonly used set for the days of the week is also of Tibetan origin ('Sunday' to 'Saturday'): **nyam, dawaa, myagmar, lxagwa, pürew, baasan, byamba.**

Many modern political and scientific terms have been borrowed from Russian, though most of them derive ultimately from Greek or Latin. Those Russian loans that have entered the everyday vocabulary have often been changed according to Khalkha phonological rules, e.g. **piwo** [pʰiːw] 'beer', **tyeatr** [tʃʰaːʰtər] 'theatre', **ocyeryedy** [ɔːʰtʃər]

'queue'. The Khalkha Cyrillic spelling of such words follows Russian, and those who know Russian well tend to pronounce them as in Russian.

Most recently, English words have been borrowed, though some of them have obviously also come through Russian, e.g. **baar** 'bar', **emeil.d-** 'to e-mail', **kanoon.d-** 'to photocopy' (from the trade mark *Canon*).

Generally, the Khalkha normative literary language has tended to be lexically conservative and puristic. The possibility of creating new words by derivation and compounding is often preferred to direct loans, and many technical terms in Khalkha have been formed in this way, e.g. **awia.l.bar** 'phoneme' (based on **awia** 'sound').

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CHAPTER EIGHT

MONGOL DIALECTS

Juha Janhunen

It is important to realize that Khalkha is linguistically only a dialect, or a group of dialects, of a language that is also spoken in many other varieties. All these varieties are bound together not only by the synchronic fact of their mutual intelligibility, but also by a shared historical and ethnic framework, which allows them to be viewed as a single entity. This entity is best termed the *Mongol* language, or Mongol *proper*. Spoken by some 5 million people in Mongolia and China, Mongol proper is demographically by far the most important Mongolic language.

Although the political division between Outer Mongolia (the present-day Republic of Mongolia) and Inner Mongolia (today the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region of China) dates back to early Qing times (seventeenth century), the cultural and linguistic unity of the Mongols has never been broken. It is true, external factors in recent history, such as the Soviet dominance in Outer Mongolia (1921–90), the Japanese expansion to Manchuria and Inner Mongolia (1931–45), and the Cultural Revolution of China (1966–76), have recurrently severed the physical contacts of the Mongols across the border. Nevertheless, the contacts have been resumed, and the Mongols have emerged as a single, albeit divided, nation.

The most conspicuous linguistic difference between Outer and Inner Mongolia today is their differing literary basis. However, even this difference is moderated by the continuing, and recently reinvigorated, use of Written Mongol in Outer Mongolia, as well as by the relatively widespread passive familiarity of the Inner Mongolian Mongols with the Khalkha Cyrillic literary language. At the oral level, the normative speech of Ulan Bator is widely accepted as a prestige variety of the Mongol language also on the Inner Mongolian side. The scholarly and literary communities of Outer and Inner Mongolia are in continuous interaction.

The general dialectological situation of Mongol corresponds rather closely to the political division between Outer and Inner Mongolia. Thus, on the Outer Mongolian side, the single dominant dialect is Khalkha, which covers most of the territory of the Mongolian state, extending in places even beyond its borders. Other Outer Mongolian dialects, increasingly strongly influenced by Khalkha, are concentrated along the northern and eastern borders of the country. This suggests a situation well known from areal linguistics and dialect geography, namely that Khalkha owes its wide distribution to a relatively recent and rapid expansion. Obviously, the expansion of Khalkha was aided by its strong political position.

By contrast, the Mongol-speaking areas in China are dialectally extremely fragmented. While the dominance of Khalkha has not been questioned for centuries in Outer Mongolia, there is no similar *lingua franca* dialect on the Inner Mongolian side. Geographically, Inner Mongolia is a long and narrow border zone of Mongolia against China and Manchuria, and it is probably this very circumstance that has prevented any single Inner Mongolian dialect from gaining dominance over the whole territory. Even today, the internal communications in Inner Mongolia operate largely through the city of Peking.

The dialectal fragmentation of Inner Mongolia is further promoted by the Chinese linguistic presence all over the region. Starting as small enclaves within a predominantly Mongol-speaking territory, the Chinese areas have grown in the course of a few decades, and account today for over 90 per cent of the total Inner Mongolian population. As a result, it is the Mongol language that has been forced into enclaves among a Chinese-speaking majority. Bilingualism in Chinese is the norm for all present-day Inner Mongolian Mongols, and the few remaining Mongol areas of any territorial significance are located in remote grasslands. It has to be noted, however, that there are also some vigorous groups of Mongols who have long lived in villages of the Chinese (or Manchu) type.

The increasingly endangered situation of the Mongol language in many of its original areas in Inner Mongolia and elsewhere in China means that the role of the Mongolian state for the ethnic and linguistic survival of the Mongols becomes even more crucial than it has been. This may well lead to a growing Khalkha impact on the Inner Mongolian dialects. Certainly, for the Mongols of China it is more essential to preserve their overall linguistic identity than to maintain the local varieties of speech. Even so, the Inner Mongolian dialects may be seen as a resource which can be utilized in the future normative development of the Mongol language.

CLASSIFICATION

The classification of the Mongol dialects is conventionally done in a framework operating with a mixture of ethnic, territorial, and administrative criteria. Since the Mongols were originally a nomadic people, the natural social unit promoting dialectal identity was the tribe. Even when moving to a new location, a tribe, at least initially, kept its tribal dialect, which allowed it to mark its borders with regard to neighbouring tribes. However, the contacts between different tribes in each given territory inevitably led to linguistic interaction, resulting in the emergence of supratribal or regional dialects. It is notoriously difficult to make sharp distinctions between Mongol tribes, for all tribes incorporate fragments of other tribes at the clan, family, or individual level. Traces of this constant intermixing can be seen in Mongol ethnonymy and anthroponymy.

The tribal system of the Mongols has also been the object of conscious efforts of administrative regulation. Most importantly, under the Manchu rule of China (1644–1911) all the Inner Mongolian Mongols were included in the Manchu banner system, which divided them into leagues (Written Mongol **ciqhulqhav**), banners (**qusiqhuv**), and arrows (**sumuv**). In this system, the tribal level of social organization was mainly represented by the administrative level of banner. In spite of many changes in the names and borders of the administrative entities involved, the banner system has remained the basis of local administration in Inner Mongolia up to the present day. By contrast, most of Outer Mongolia was during the Manchu period divided into four large 'homelands' or aimaks (**vajimaq**), which were less closely connected with tribal factors.

With reference to the Manchu administrative framework, the Inner Mongolian (and Manchurian) Mongols may be divided into five large regional entities, corresponding to the historical leagues of Jerim (**Jirim**, today divided between Inner Mongolia and the regular Chinese provinces of Heilongjiang and Jilin), Juu Uda (**Juu vUda**, in the meantime also known as the Jehol Province of Manchuria, and today mainly administered as the Inner Mongolian city of Chifeng), Josotu (**Jusudu**, today divided between Inner Mongolia and the regular Chinese province of Liaoning), Ulan Tsab (**vUlaqhavcab**), and Shilingol (**Sili jiv Qhuul**). Although none of these entities is dialectally homogeneous,

there is an approximate correlation with dialectal differences. On this basis, the principal groups of Inner Mongolian dialects may be identified in the following ways.

(1) The Jerim group

This group comprises the Khorchin (**Qurciv**), Jasagtu (**Jasaqdu**), Jarut (**Jarut**), Jalait (**Jalajit**), Dörbet (**Tuirbat**), and Gorlos (**Qhurlus**) tribal dialects, of which the Jarut tribal dialect historically belongs to the administrative context of the Juu Uda group. Generally, this group shows little internal variation, but certain diagnostic features allow, in particular, the speech of the Jalait and Dörbet to be classified as a separate subdialect (Jalait-Dörbet).

(2) The Juu Uda group

This group comprises the Aru Khorchin (**vAru Qurciv**), Baarin (**Baqhariv**), Ongniut (**vUvgniqhut**), Naiman (**Naimav**), and Aokhan (**vAuqav**) tribal dialects. This group is also very homogeneous, allowing only a division to be made between a northern (Aru Khorchin-Baarin) and a southern (Ongniut-Naiman-Aokhan) subdialect.

(3) The Josotu group

This group comprises the Kharachin (**Qaraciv**) and Tümet (**Tuimat**) tribal dialects. Though occasionally described as a single entity, the Kharachin and Tümet tribal dialects seem to be well distinguishable from each other by a number of diagnostic features.

(4) The Ulan Tsab group

This group comprises the Chakhar (**Caqar**), Urat (**vUrat**), Darkhan (**Tarqav**), Muumingan (**Muumivgqhav**), Dörben Küüket (**Tuirbav Gaugat**), and Keshigten (**Gasigdav**) tribal dialects, of which the Keshigten tribal dialect is administratively connected with the Juu Uda group and has also been classified as a separate (sub)dialectal entity. The single most important member of this group is the Chakhar tribal dialect, whose speakers have historically an exceptional administrative status. From the linguistic point of view, the Chakhar tribal dialect is nevertheless closely associated with the rest of the Ulan Tsab group.

(5) The Shilingol group

This group comprises the Üdzümüchin (**vUiczumuciv**), Khuuchit (**Qaqhucit**), Abaga (**vAbaqhe**), Abaganar (**vAbaqhanar**), and Sönit (**Suinit**) tribal dialects, of which the Üdzümüchin tribal dialect is also spoken on the Outer Mongolian side.

In view of their demographically most important tribes, the Jerim, Josotu, and Ulan Tsab groups might also be termed the Khorchin, Kharachin, and Chakhar groups, respectively. The Juu Uda and Shilingol groups are, however, tribally more balanced, making it difficult to identify any specific tribe as dominant. Against all these Inner Mongolian groups, there are the Mongol dialects of Outer Mongolia:

(6) The Outer Mongolian group

This group comprises, at least, the Khalkha (**Qalqe**), Khotogoit (**Quduqhujit**), Darkhat (**Tarqat**), Tsongol (**Cuvgqhul**), Sartul (**Sartaqhul**), and Dariganga (**Tariqhavgqhe**)

tribal dialects. Khalkha itself, though relatively homogeneous, is normally divided into a northern and a southern subdialect, with the northern dialect forming the basis of the literary standard.

In a more general taxonomy, the six groups of Mongol dialects are often classified in terms of three larger entities, which may be identified as the northern, eastern, and central main dialects. In this framework, the northern main dialect may be defined as comprising the Outer Mongolian (Khalkha) group, as well as, possibly, the Shilingol group of Inner Mongolian dialects. The central main dialect is essentially identical with the Ulan Tsab (Chakhar) group, while the eastern main dialect corresponds to the Jerim (Khorchin), Juu Uda, and Josotu (Kharachin) groups. In a further simplification of this scheme it is perhaps possible to classify the northern (Khalkha) and central (Chakhar) main dialects as one entity, which stands against the eastern main dialect (Khorchin, Kharachin, and Juu Uda). It may, however, be questioned whether the Mongol dialects can, or even should, be described in binary terms, for the actual isoglosses form an extremely complicated non-binary network.

Many of the isoglosses dividing the Mongol dialects extend further to the neighbouring Mongolic languages: Buryat and Khamnigan Mongol in the north, Oirat in the west, and Ordos in the south, making it occasionally difficult to delimit the Mongol language against its closest relatives. This is also reflected by the conceptions of the Mongol speakers themselves. Ordos, in particular, is widely considered to be another (southern) main dialect of Mongol, with which it is currently united by a common literary language (Written Mongol) and administrative context (Inner Mongolia). Tsongol and Sartul, on the other hand, spoken at the Russo-Mongolian border, are conventionally classified as dialects of Buryat.

The taxonomical confusion is partly due to the arbitrary use of terms. The Mongol terms for the concept of 'dialect' (**vamav vayalqhu** 'oral accent' or **nuduq vayalqhu** 'local accent'), for instance, are often used without making a distinction between 'dialect' and 'language'. The Chinese term for 'ethnic group' or 'nationality' (*minzu*) and its Mongol counterpart (**vuivdusudav**) are even less specific and can be used without almost any regard to the linguistic realities. Therefore, the officially recognized 'Mongol' nationality (*Menggu zu*) in China covers also the speakers of Buryat and Oirat. Moreover, it also comprises populations that are at least synchronically non-Mongolic, such as the fully Tibetanized Henan Mongols in Qinghai. An extreme case is formed by the 'Mongols' of Yunnan, whose official status as 'Mongols' is based on the unverified claim that their male ancestors *may* have included (Middle) Mongol-speaking soldiers of the Yuan dynasty army.

The practical value of the criterion of mutual intelligibility for the classification of Mongol dialects and Mongolic languages is to some extent obscured by the presence of transitional phenomena. For instance, many forms of Oirat, including Kalmuck and the dialects of Sinkiang, are more or less incomprehensible to ordinary Mongol speakers, while other forms, notably the dialects spoken in Qinghai, are much closer to Mongol. The Oirat in both Mongolia (Kobdo) and Inner Mongolia (Alashan) are well integrated into the Mongol speech community through various degrees of bilingualism and diglossia. Some originally Buryat-speaking groups, notably the Bargut of northern Inner Mongolia, are currently also undergoing a language shift in favour of Mongol proper.

The degree of interdialectal intelligibility also depends on the extent to which any given speaker is exposed to other dialects. In this respect, there is a considerable difference between Outer and Inner Mongolia. The dialectally diversified Inner Mongolian Mongols are generally accustomed to communicating with speakers of other dialects. Through public media they are even exposed to the normative variety of Khalkha. The ordinary Khalkha speakers of Outer Mongolia, by contrast, have auditive experience only of their own native dialect, which surrounds them from all sides. The literary standard of Khalkha is also, unlike Written Mongol, dialect-specific. Not surprisingly, Khalkha speakers often have difficulties in understanding the dialects spoken on the Inner Mongolian side.

DATA AND SOURCES

Apart from G. J. Ramstedt, who focused on the Khalkha dialect and its diachrony, the first scholar to make a serious study of the dialectal diversity of the Mongol language was A. D. Rudnev (1911). Rudnev's published materials, containing texts, comparative notes, and a glossary, cover with varying depth most of the Inner Mongolian dialects (as well as Ordos). Ironically, the conclusion of Rudnev that 'the time has not yet come for a definitive solution of the problem concerning the classification of the Mongol dialects' is still valid, with surprisingly little progress having been made after him, especially in the field of general dialectal taxonomy.

Although the tribal and administrative framework of the Mongols of Inner Mongolia (Manchuria) was excellently described by Owen Lattimore (1935), the only monographic attempts to present a picture of the Inner Mongolian dialects after Rudnev seem to be those by B. X. Todaeva (1960, 1981–5, 1997) and Sechen (1998). The works of Todaeva, based on field materials from the 1950s, give a particularly systematic overview of all the relevant dialects, adding both grammatical and lexical substance to the picture presented by Rudnev. However, her materials still remain to be analysed in a more modern linguistic framework.

In spite of the scarcity of generalizing works, a considerable number of detail studies is available on the individual Mongol dialects and subdialects. In addition to the local Mongolian and Inner Mongolian publications, the dialectological treatments of Darkhat by G. D. Sanzheev (1931), Chakhar by Shirô Hattori (1951), Baarin by Chingeltei (1961), Khorchin by James Bosson and B. Unensechen (1962), Kharachin by Masayoshi Nomura (1950–1, 1957), Dariganga by András Róna-Tas (1960, 1961), and Üdzümüchin by György Kara (1962, 1963), may be mentioned. Most of these works focus on phonology, though some of them also supply grammatical and lexical material. The important monograph by Kara on Jarut folklore contains also a general survey of the dialectological situation in Inner Mongolia (Kara 1970: 268–78).

Important work on selected issues of Mongol phonology (umlaut and vowel reduction) has also been carried out by Hitoshi Kuribayashi (1985, 1988). More recently, comprehensive dialect monographs have started to be produced by native Inner Mongolian scholars. These include the works by Chaganhada (1995) on the Khorchin dialect, by Bayarmend Borjigin (1997) on the Baarin dialect, and by Mungungerel (1998) on the Naiman dialect of the Juu Uda group. Several other monographs are in preparation, including one on Chakhar by Borjigin Sechenbaatar (2003), and it may be presumed that they will stimulate an increased interest in the general taxonomical and chronological issues of Mongol dialectology.

Some aspects of the generational expansion of Mongol proper to populations originally speaking other Mongolic languages are dealt with in the phonological case study by Juha Janhunen (1988) of the current forms of speech of the Old Bargut. A similar case of transition among the originally Oirat-speaking Manchurian Öelet (also known as the Mannai-Öelet or Yeke Mingan) in Heilongjiang is discussed by Todaeva (1988). The transitional (though essentially Mongol proper) dialects of Tsongol and Sartul are discussed (in the context of Buryat) by Ts. B. Budaev (1965) and I. D. Buraev (1965). A brief survey of the linguistic situation among the Yunnan 'Mongols' is given by Mei W. Lee-Smith (1996).

PHONOLOGICAL TRENDS

There are several features of diachronic phonology which seem to be common to all Mongol dialects and which, therefore, may be assumed to have characterized their common protolanguage. This protolanguage, or *Proto-Mongol*, appears to have a depth of some centuries, and it must have been separated from Proto-Mongolic (with which it should not be confused) by several more centuries. There are marked differences in the speed of phonological evolution among the Mongol dialects, with some dialects still remaining in a state close to Proto-Mongol and others being distanced from it by a number of additional innovations. Altogether, the Mongol dialects offer a picture of considerable phonological diversity.

It is, however, difficult to find isoglosses that would be restricted *only* to the dialects of Mongol proper, with the exclusion of all other Mongolic languages and dialects. In most cases, the phenomena attested in Mongol are also present in one or more of the neighbouring entities, notably Ordos, Oirat, or Buryat, and in some cases even more distant parallels can be found in Dagur, Moghol, and the languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex. Also, phenomena generally present in Mongol can be occasionally absent in one or more Mongol dialects. This means that Proto-Mongol has to be defined in terms of a rather diffuse bundle of isoglosses. Some of the most important features involved include the following:

(*1*) The loss of initial **x*, e.g. (**xulaxan* >) ****xulaan*** 'red' > ****ulaan***. Although this development (like the diachronically somewhat earlier loss of medial ****x***) may well be described as Common Mongolic, it is transitional in the direction of Dagur, which basically retains initial **x*, but has lost it in the Hailar dialect, obviously because of interference from the neighbouring dialects of Mongol proper.

(*2*) The spirantization of **k* in all positions, e.g. (**köke* >) **kökö* 'blue' > **xöxö*. This development, with a varying degree of phonologization, is shared by Eastern Buryat, while in Western Buryat, Oirat, and Dagur it has contextual restrictions (being mainly limited to the position before original back vowels). Conspicuously, however, it is absent in both Ordos and Khamnigan Mongol, leaving these languages clearly outside of the context of Mongol proper.

(*3*) The merger of final **ng* and **n* into a single neutralized nasal, which is represented as *ng* (phonetically often transformed into diffuse vowel nasalization), e.g. **on* 'year' > *ong* vs. **ang* 'game' > *ang*. This development is absent in Ordos and Oirat, but it is shared by several other Mongolic languages, including Buryat and Khamnigan Mongol. The segmental identity of the neutralized nasal (*n* or *ng*) depends on the phonological configuration of each given idiom.

(*4*) Palatal breaking, e.g. **mingga/n* 'thousand' > **myangga/n*. This phenomenon is shared by Buryat and Dagur, but not by Oirat, Ordos, or Khamnigan Mongol. There is, however, a certain areal transition, for while palatal breaking is completely absent in Khamnigan Mongol, it is attested in Oirat and Ordos word-initially (original vowel anlaut) as well as after sibilant consonants, e.g. **imaa/n* 'goat' > **yamaa/n*, **sira* 'yellow' > **syara* (**shara*), suggesting a connection with prebreaking (which has a similar distribution) in cases like **mïka* 'meat' > **maxa*.

(*5*) The neutralization of the distinction between **A* and **U* in non-initial syllables, e.g. **usu/n* 'water' > **usa/n*. With the exception of the palatal and labial harmony, this development may be seen as the first stage in a series of neutralizations affecting the vowels of non-initial syllables. This stage is still preserved in Buryat, while Mongol proper and Oirat have generally proceeded further. On the other hand, no neutralization has taken place in Ordos and Khamnigan Mongol.

(*6*) The metathetic anticipation of third-syllable **i*, e.g. **ularil* 'turn' > **uliral*, (**toxori-* >) **toori-* 'to circle' > **toiro-*. This feature also seems to be connected with the general tendency of vowel neutralization in non-initial syllables. Common to Mongol proper and Oirat, it is absent in Ordos, Buryat, and Khamnigan Mongol.

(*7*) The loss of non-initial-syllable short (single) vowels, e.g. **tala* 'steppe' > *tal*, **arad* 'people' > *ard*. This is one of the few innovations which leave Tsongol and Sartul outside of the rest of Mongol proper, for these dialects still seem to preserve a contrast between a vowel segment and zero in cases like *tala* 'steppe' vs. *gal* 'fire'. There are indications that a similar contrast existed until recently also in some forms of actual Khalkha, though the general trend in both Mongol and Oirat has been to eliminate all short vowels of non-initial syllables. Phonetically, secondary vowel segments can be present (as indicated by the Khalkha Cyrillic orthography), but phonologically they are non-distinctive. A secondary contrast between zero and a distinctive schwa (°) seems to be developing in some Mongol dialects under specific morphological conditions, as in Khalkha *sawx* 'chopstick' vs. part. fut. *yaw°x* 'to go'.

(*8*) The monophonemization of long (double) vowels in non-initial syllables, e.g. **ulaan* 'red' > (*)*ulang*. This development, apparently shared by most Mongol dialects as well as Oirat, is an automatic consequence of the loss of the distinctive short vowels in the same position. As a result, there is a synchronic imbalance between the vowel systems of the initial and non-initial syllables, as the original long (double) vowels remain distinctive only in the initial syllable. A further source of imbalance is created by the diphthongoid sequences, which dialectally still retain their distinctivity as long vowel elements in non-initial syllables.

(*9*) The merger of the diphthongoid sequence **e(y)i* with the long (double) vowel **ii*, in non-initial syllables > *i*, e.g. **teime* 'so' > **tiime* > *tiim*, (**bexelei* >) **beelei* 'mitten/s' > **beelii* > *beeli*. In suffixes with vowel harmony, both **e(y)i* and **ö(y)i* are normally represented as **ee* > *e*, e.g. **köl* 'foot' : poss. **köl-tei* > Khalkha *xöl-te*. Although these developments have parallels in many Mongolic languages, the sequence **e(y)i* remains distinctive in Khamnigan Mongol and Dagur, thus marking a difference with regard to Mongol proper.

(*10*) The origination of a new contrast between final *ng* and *n*, e.g. **xan* 'prince' > *xang* vs. **xana* 'wall' > *xan*. Since this is also a consequence of the loss of the short vowels in non-initial syllables, no new contrast of this type is present in idioms which, like Buryat and Khamnigan Mongol, retain the original vowel segments. The development is present in Dagur, but it is absent in Ordos and Oirat, which retain the contrast between the original final **ng* and **n*.

(*11*) The origination of a contrast between *g* (velar stop) and *gh* (postvelar stop or velar fricative), e.g. **bag* 'band' > *bag* vs. **baga* 'small' > *bagh*. This contrast is basically parallel to that between the secondary final *n* and *ng*, but, owing to morphological analogy, it has spread to medial position also, e.g. abl. (*bag* :) *bag-aas* vs. (*bagh* :) *bagh-aas*. Unfortunately, the status of *gh* in Mongol dialects remains unclarified. Although *gh* seems to have existed as a distinctive segment in Proto-Mongol, it has (re)merged with *g* in several dialects and idiolects, especially on the Inner Mongolian side. The contrast is, however, present in Oirat.

In addition to the above general trends, which mainly delimit the Mongol language against its neighbours, there are phenomena characteristic of restricted groups of Mongol dialects, thus potentially providing a basis for an interdialectal classification. A comprehensive analysis of these phenomena and their distribution still remains to be carried out, but some of the better known features are listed below:

(*12*) The merger of short **ö* with **ü*, e.g. (**edür* >) **ödür* 'day' > **öder* > **üder* (> *üdr*). This development is well known from Eastern Buryat, Khamnigan Mongol, and Dagur, but it also occurs in Tsongol and Sartul, as well as, apparently, in some of the neighbouring northern Khalkha dialects. It is also present as a sporadic phenomenon in several Inner Mongolian dialects, notably in the Jerim, Juu Uda, and Josotu groups. Ultimately, it seems to be a question of a need to eliminate **ö* from the vowel system due to the effect of rotation (which tends to make the position of **ö* paradigmatically problematic). In a similar way, short **e* has merged with **i* in the Ulan Bator (sub)dialect of Khalkha, and very possibly also in some dialects on the Inner Mongolian side.

(*13*) The dissimilatory weakening of initial strong stops before a medial strong stop or fricative, e.g. **tata-* 'to draw' > **data-* (> *dat-*), **casu* (**casu/n*) 'snow' > **casa* > **jasa* (> *jas*). Attested in the Inner Mongolian dialects of the Ulan Tsab and Shilingol groups, the Ongniut-Naiman-Aokhan subdialect of the Juu Uda group, as well as in southern Khalkha and Ordos, this feature involves an areal innovation that links Ordos with the southern dialects of Mongol proper. Moreover, this innovation appears to be relatively old, since it has affected initial **k* before its (phonological) spirantization, e.g. **kökö* 'blue' > **gökö* > *göxö* (> *göx*).

(*14*) The deaffrication of **c* into *sh*, e.g. (**cino* >) **cono* 'wolf' > *shon*. This feature delimits rather unambiguously the Khorchin (Jerim) group of dialects against all other Inner and Outer Mongolian dialects of Mongol proper. There may nevertheless be an areal connection with the similar development in Buryat. In most Buryat dialects both **c* and **j* are deaffricated, but in Bargut (spoken immediately north of Khorchin) the deaffrication affects only **c*, which is also the case in Khorchin. As a sporadic phenomenon, the deaffrication of **c*, especially before **i*, has a wider distribution, extending also to Dagur.

(*15*) The merger of **s* with **d* or **t*. This feature is also attested in Buryat and Khamnigan Mongol, where syllable-final **s* is represented as **d*. The same phenomenon, but apparently as a separate innovation, seems to be characteristic of at least some subdialects of Tümet, e.g. (**ulus* >) **uls* 'state' > *ûld*. More diagnostically, a complete paradigmatic merger of **s* with **t* (in all positions) has taken place in the Jalait-Dörbet dialect of the Jerim group, e.g. **sara* 'moon; month' > *tar*, (**bos-* :) **boso-* 'to rise' > *bot-*. In this dialect, the paradigmatic position of **s* has apparently been taken over by **sh* (< **sh* & **c*), e.g. (**casu* >) **shas* > *sat*.

(*16*) The simplication of the cluster **ngg* to *ng*, e.g. **monggol* 'Mongol' > **mongol* (> *mongl*). This feature is characteristic of several Inner Mongolian dialects, but its

phonological relevance remains disputable. In principle, it could be a question of the expansion of the new distinctive *ng* (< **n* & **ng*) from the final to the medial position. However, all the relevant dialects seem to preserve the cluster *ngg* as distinctive in final position, e.g. (**mingga* >) *myangg* 'thousand' vs. *xang* 'king'. Moreover, since no simplification has taken place in the structurally similar clusters **mb *nd *nj* (nasal plus weak stop), it appears best to analyse the phonetically observed medial *ng* [ŋ] as a variant of the cluster *ngg*.

SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Among all the phonological isoglosses uniting, separating, and intersecting the dialects of Mongol proper there are two that have a particularly profound overall paradigmatic effect. These two isoglosses are those of palatalization and umlaut, and whatever is generally said about the possibilities of a binary classification in Mongol dialectology, they divide the Mongol dialects into two relatively well-defined groups that may be termed the *palatalization dialects* and the *umlaut dialects*. Basically, it is a question of where the synchronic distinctions based on the feature of palatalness are located in the phonological system. In the palatalization dialects these distinctions are mainly connected with consonantal contrasts, while in the umlaut dialects they are contained in the vowel system.

In terms of conventional classification, the palatalization dialects correspond to the northern (Khalkha) and central (Chakhar) main dialects, while the umlaut dialects correspond to the eastern main dialect (Khorchin, Kharachin, and Juu Uda). Since the eastern main dialect has both geographically and demographically a dominant position in Inner Mongolia, the phenomenon of umlaut may also be regarded as a characteristically Inner Mongolian feature, while the phenomenon of palatalization is focused on Outer Mongolia. Both phenomena have, however, parallels outside of the context of Mongol proper.

In Proto-Mongol (as already in Proto-Mongolic) palatalness was an inherent (primary) property of two groups of segments: the front vowels **e *i *ö *ü*, on the one hand, and the palatal consonants and glide **c *j *sh *y*, on the other. Among the front vowels, the position of **i* (< **i* & **ï*) was exceptional, in that it was able to occur in both front-vocalic and back-vocalic words. Among the palatal consonants, **sh* was a secondary phoneme, which initially had distributional restrictions. All the palatal consonants had the restriction of being unable to occur syllable-finally. There were, however, no restrictions concerning the combining of palatal vowels and palatal consonants in a single word.

In the palatalization dialects, as exemplified by Khalkha (Table 7.2), the Proto-Mongol consonant system was profoundly changed with the origination of a complete series of palatalized consonants, which contain the feature of palatalness as a secondary articulation. Apart from palatal breaking, palatalized consonants were produced by two developments, both of which involve the vowel **i*: vowel contraction, as in (**kixag* >) **kiyag* 'reed' > *xyaag*; and vowel reduction, as in **gobi* 'desert' > *goby* (> *gowy*). Breaking and contraction seem to have been interconnected, in that both yielded palatalized consonants for the syllable-initial (prevocalic) position. Vowel reduction, on the other hand, yielded palatalized consonants for the syllable-final position. Obviously, the vowel **i* in non-initial syllables was first qualitatively reduced to an indifferent reduced vowel preceded by a palatalized consonant which, when the vowel was lost, became phonemic, e.g. **mori* (: **mori/n*) 'horse' > **morye* > *mory*.

Importantly, palatal breaking had a reverse effect on the original palatal stops (sibilant affricates) **c *j*, which in the palatalization dialects underwent dentalization before

vowels other than **i*, e.g. **cag* 'time' > *tsag*, **jam* 'road' > *dzam*. Before **i*, including cases of breaking, the segments **c *j* remain phonetically palatal, but in the synchronic system they have become incorporated into the palatalized series, e.g. **cida-* 'to be able' > **cyada-* > *c(y)ad-*, **jira* (: **jira/n*) 'sixty' > **jyara-* > *j(y)ar*. The palatal continuant **sh* did not undergo dentalization, but paradigmatically it has merged with the palatalized reflex of **s* produced by palatal breaking in cases like **sira* 'yellow' > **syara* > *shar*.

The phenomenon of consonant palatalization is shared by Buryat and Dagur. Unlike in these languages, however, palatalized consonants in Mongol proper are generally not distinctive in original front-vocalic words, a restriction that seems to be due to the merger of **i* (the ultimate source of palatalization) and **e* in non-initial syllables already before the phonemization of the palatalized consonants. This merger is also attested (though perhaps not fully completed) in Ordos, e.g. **beri* 'daughter-in-law' > Ordos *bere* > Mongol *ber*, **üliger* 'tale' > Ordos *üliger* ~ *üleger* > Mongol *ülgr*, **üniye* (: **üniye/n*) 'cow' > Ordos *ünee* > Mongol *üne*. The only palatalized consonants that synchronically occur in front-vocalic words are the segments *c j sh y*, which thus still manifest their original status as inherently palatal (rather than secondarily palatalized) consonants, cf. e.g. **cidör* 'hobble' > **cyödör* > *cödr* (dialectally also > *cüdr*, *shüdr*), **küci* (: **küci/n*) 'power' > *xüc* (dialectally > *xüsh*).

In the umlaut dialects of Mongol proper, the segments *c j sh y* fully retain their status as inherently palatal (not palatalized) consonants. The segments *c j sh* are systematically opposed to the dentals *t d s*, but there are no dental (dentalized) affricates of the type *ts dz*. The consonant system of these dialects, as perhaps best exemplified by the dialects of the Juu Uda group (Table 8.1), is therefore still synchronically more or less identical with that of Proto-Mongolic.

In difference from Proto-Mongolic, the synchronic system in the umlaut dialects contains the Common Mongolic marginal phonemes *p k w*, to which *f* and possibly *lh* have been added in some subdialects or idiolects. The modern velar fricative *x* (< **k*) and nasal *ng* (< final **n*) are also new phonemes. There is no certain information concerning the distribution and status of the postvelar segment *gh* in the umlaut dialects, but it may well exist as a separate phoneme for some speakers.

Slight dialectal variations in this system are caused by dialect-specific innovations, including the developments **c* > *sh* in the Jerim group and **s* > *t* (as well as **sh* > *s*) in the Jalait-Dörbet dialect. The dialects of the Josotu group, especially Kharachin, are known to exhibit the Mandarin type of differentiation between palatal (before *i*) and retroflex (before other vowels) realizations of *c j sh*. This difference, adopted directly from Chinese, is, however, not phonemic in native Mongol words, and the segments *c j*

TABLE 8.1 JUU UDA CONSONANTS

p	*t*	*c*	*k*
b	*d*	*j*	*g*
	s	*sh*	*x*
m	*n*		*ng*
	l		
	r		
w		*y*	

sh may still, even when pronounced as retroflexes, be phonologically classified as palatals.

Whatever the dialectal details, the general picture is that the more than thirty consonant phonemes of the palatalization dialects constitute a much larger selection of paradigmatic resources than the less than twenty consonant phonemes of the umlaut dialects. This difference is counterbalanced by the fact that the umlaut dialects have a richer vowel system, which, most importantly, contains the secondary palatal vowels *ä* [æ ɛ] and *ö* [œ ø]. The origin of these vowels is connected with the phenomenon of umlaut, according to which the original back vowels **a* **o* of the initial syllable were fronted under the impact of a subsequently lost second-syllable **i*, e.g. **tabi* (: *tabi/n*) 'fifty' > *täb* (> *täw*), **mori* (: *mori/n*) 'horse' > *mör*. In other words, the umlaut vowels bear the same distinctive load as the syllable-final palatalized consonants in the palatalization dialects.

The phenomenon of umlaut was also active in the diphthongoid sequences ending in **i*, but in these cases the resulting palatal vowels are phonologically long (double), e.g. **a(y)il* 'camp' > *ääl*, **no(y)ir* 'sleep' > *nöör*. In non-initial syllables, the long palatal vowels (like all long vowels) yield synchronically short (single) segments, e.g. **dalai* 'sea' > **dalää* > *dalä*, **oroi* 'top' > **oröö* > *orö*. Dialectally, in the Josotu and Juu Uda groups, an umlaut vowel of the second syllable can also regressively influence the vowel of the first syllable (double umlaut), cf. e.g. Jerim *dalä* vs. Juu Uda *dälä*, Jerim *orö* vs. Juu Uda *örö*.

Although umlaut itself is a simple process, its paradigmatic impact is complicated by many additional factors, because of which the actual vowel systems of the umlaut dialects vary considerably. One complicating factor is vowel rotation, because of which the original front vowels **ö* **ü* have in the umlaut dialects the fully velarized values [o u], while the original back vowels **o* **u* have the lowered values [ɔ ʊ] (accompanied by a varying degree of pharyngealization). Possibly for this very reason, the umlaut counterpart of **u* has generally merged with that of **o*, e.g. **kubi* 'share' > *xöb* (> *xöw*) (possibly through **xobi*). The diphthongoid sequences **u(y)i* and **ü(y)i*, however, yield the distinctive long umlaut vowel *üü* [y:], e.g. **ku(y)ika* 'skin; peel' > *xüüx*, **ü(y)ile* 'deed' > *üül*, though the sequences *wii* and *ii* are also attested dialectally, e.g. **u(y)ila-* 'deed' > *wiil-* ~ *üül-*, **kü(y)iten* 'cold' > *xiitng* (possibly through **xwiitng*).

The monophthongization of the diphthongoid sequences **a(y)i* **o(y)i* **u(y)i* **ü(y)i*, as well as, theoretically, **ö(y)i*, together with the even more widespread elimination of the sequence **e(y)i*, means that the umlaut dialects, unlike the palatalization dialects, have synchronically only short (single) and long (double) vowels, but no diphthongoid sequences. The paradigm of long vowels is, however, larger than the paradigm of short vowels, since the long vowel *üü* has no short counterpart. Although this imbalance has analogies in Buryat (long *öö* with no short counterpart) and Ulan Bator Khalkha (long *ee* with no short counterpart), its phonological implications remain unclear. Possibly, it means that the long vowels (with a larger paradigm) should be understood as more basic (less marked) than the short vowels (with a smaller paradigm). In any case, the imbalance suggests that the vowel system of the umlaut dialects is unstable and potentially open to restructuring. One possible way of balancing the system would be the emergence of a short *ü* as a distinctive segment.

Disregarding the paradigmatic imbalance between short and long vowels, and focusing only on the qualitative distinctions, the vowel system of the umlaut dialects, as exemplified by the Juu Uda group (Table 8.2), comprises ideally ten distinctive qualities, which may be compared with the only seven qualities of Khalkha (Table 7.1).

TABLE 8.2 JUU UDA VOWELS

ü	*ů*	*u*	*i*
ö	*o*	*ó*	*e*
ä			*a*

In the general context of Mongolic, the umlaut dialects of Mongol proper are unique, in that they combine the effects of rotation and umlaut in a single system. Thus, the new umlaut vowels **ö *ü* are synchronically distinct not only from the rotated values of the original back vowels **o* > *o* resp. **u* > *ů*, but also from those of the original front vowels **ö* > *ó* resp. **ü* > *u*, cf. e.g. *xön* 'sheep' < ***koni* (: ***koni/n*) vs. *xól* 'foot' < ***köl* vs. *xor* 'poison' < ***kor*, *jüül* 'sort' < ***jü(y)il* vs. *juung* 'left' < ***jexün* vs. *jůůr* 'on the way' < ***jaxura*. This is a substantial difference compared with Oirat, which also has umlaut, but which merges the umlaut vowels with the original (non-rotated) front vowels.

It seems that the rather intricate phonetic distinctions between the vowels *o ó ů u* are easily open to various dialectal or idiolectal mergers and reinterpretations, though the details remain to be investigated. The vowel **ö* > *ó*, in particular, is likely to be absent in the synchronic system of some umlaut dialects due to its merger with either **ü* or **e* (whose rotational value is dialectally accompanied by roundedness). Under such conditions, the vowels *u ů o* (including their long counterparts) may be dialectally regrouped to a set of rounded (non-pharyngealized) back vowels with three degrees of opening, contrasting systematically with the original unrounded vowels *i e a* and the secondary umlaut vowels *ü ö ä*.

A major problem in the diachronic phonology of the umlaut dialects concerns the status of breaking. While the umlaut vowels primarily bear the distinctive load that in the palatalization dialects is borne by syllable-final palatalized consonants, they also occur in the place of the broken and contracted vowels of the palatalization dialects. In practice, it is always a question of the umlaut vowel *ä*, e.g. ***biraxu* 'calf' > *bäru* vs. Khalkha *byaru*, ***uliyasu* (: ***uliyasu/n*) 'poplar' > *ůläs* ~ *ůlas* vs. Khalkha *ulyas*. Thus, in addition to its basic function as the marker of the regressive influence of **i* on a preceding **a*, the umlaut vowel *ä* also indicates the regressive influence of **a* on a preceding **i*. In the latter case, the vocalic palatalness corresponds to the feature of syllable-initial (prevocalic) consonantal palatalization in the palatalization dialects.

The most likely explanation of the dialectal correspondences is that palatal breaking was, indeed, a Proto-Mongol feature, which was originally also present in the ancestral forms of the umlaut dialects. This is, in particular, suggested by the cases of initial breaking (vowel anlaut) of the type ***imaa/n* 'goat' > ***yamaa/n*, which are present in all Mongol dialects. However, postconsonantal breaking may initially have existed at the phonetic level only, without involving phonemic palatalization in the consonant system. Umlaut must also have been a phonetic phenomenon until it became phonological with the reduction and loss of all short vowels in non-initial syllables. Obviously, as soon as the umlaut vowels became phonemized, they offered a point of identification for the palatalized sequences produced by breaking and contraction.

Because of their dual origin, the umlaut vowels are sometimes (though in practice very rarely) diachronically ambiguous, for they can imply both actual umlaut and palatal breaking, as in *xärů* 'answer' < ***karixu* (umlaut, cf. Khalkha *xaryu*) and 'rimfrost' < ***kiraxu* (breaking, cf. Khalkha *xyaru*). In most cases, however, the umlaut dialects and

the palatalization dialects are in a transparent one-to-one correspondence, which allows speakers of both types of Mongol to communicate with each other. The position of the central main dialect (especially Chakhar) in this framework remains to be worked out; there are indications that this dialect, though basically featuring the phenomenon of consonant palatalization, may nevertheless have vocalic distinctions reminiscent of the umlaut dialects.

MORPHOLOGY

Morphologically, all Mongol dialects are largely congruent with the patterns exhibited by the Khalkha literary language. The literary standard of Modern Written Mongol, as used in Inner Mongolia, also basically incorporates the Mongol type of morphological structure, as is evident from such crucial sections of morphology as the systems of case endings, verbal suffixes, and pronominal declension. The Mongolic language closest to Mongol proper in the morphological respect is Ordos, which for this reason is particularly well positioned for being included within the cultural and educational framework offered by Written Mongol.

There are more differences against the other neighbouring languages. The apparently most diagnostic morphological feature of Mongol proper and Ordos is the absence of verbal predicative endings. Since predicative endings (based on the pronominal nominatives) are present in Buryat, Khamnigan Mongol, Dagur, and Oirat, their absence in Mongol and Ordos may actually involve an innovation, perhaps connected with the influence of Manchu and Chinese. (It should be noted, though, that the personal endings in Buryat, Khamnigan Mongol, Dagur, and Oirat are also an areal feature shared with neighbouring non-Mongolic languages.)

Another diagnostic morphological feature of Mongol proper is its system of finite temporal-aspectual forms, which synchronically includes finitely used participles. In particular, the use of the perfective participle as an unmarked (plain) past tense form, e.g. Khalkha *yaw-sng* '[he] went' < **yabu-gsan*, marks a clear difference against Buryat and Khamnigan Mongol, in which this function is filled by the imperfective participle, e.g. Khamnigan Mongol *yab-oo* id. < **yabu.xa*. Importantly, the Sartul and Tsongol dialects conform with Mongol proper in this respect. On the other hand, Dagur, which also uses the perfective participle in the function of a finite past tense, differs from Mongol proper in many other respects, including, for instance, the functions of the terminative form (past tense in Mongol proper vs. present-future tense in Dagur).

There are also minor morphological differences among the Mongol dialects. These are due to occasional archaisms, such as, for instance, the preservation of the original comitative case (> *-lă*) in some Inner Mongolian dialects of the Juu Uda and Josotu groups (as also in Ordos), or innovations, which are particularly numerous in the system of converbs. It is more difficult to establish what kind of functional differences, if any, there are in the use of the morphological forms in the various dialects. It may well be, though the matter remains to be investigated, that such differences exist in, for instance, the modal and aspectual details of the original finite forms of verbal conjugation (especially the terminative, confirmative, and resultative, all which have mainly a past tense reference with a possibly dialectally varying modal and aspectual content).

The most easily accessible morphological differences are those connected with the phonological shapes of morphological markers. Perhaps the most important such difference involves the accusative marker, which in Khalkha invariably contains

a diachronically secondary final *g* (of unknown origin), but which in the Inner Mongolian dialects often lacks this element, appearing in the shapes *-i* (after consonant stems) or */g-i* (after vowel stems), e.g. *gar* 'hand' : acc. *gar-i*, *culu* 'stone' : acc. *culu/g-i*. Some dialects, notably Jalait-Dörbet, seem to know only the primary suffix variant, while others, like Khorchin and Chakhar (as well as Ordos), have both variants. The details concerning the use of the two variants vary among the dialects, and remain to be clarified.

Another phonologically conditioned morphological difference involves the shape of the genitive ending after original nasal stems. In Khalkha, the genitive ending in these cases is **-ii* > *-i*, while in most Inner Mongolian dialects (and Ordos) it appears as (*)*-Ai* > *-ä*, e.g. *adů* (: *adůn-*) 'herd of horses' : gen. *adů/n-ä* vs. Khalkha *adu/n-i*. For this isogloss, it appears to be Khalkha that is innovative. Incidentally, some other suffixes containing the diachronic sequence **Ai* also appear in a harmonically invariant shape with *ä* in the umlaut dialects, cf. e.g. *ger* 'house' : poss. *ger-tä* vs. Khalkha *ger-te* (< **ger-tei*), *ire-* 'to come' : res. *ir-jä* vs. Khalkha *ir-je* (< **ire-jAi*, invariant also in Khalkha).

LEXICON

The lexical resources of the Mongol language are generally well reflected in the lexicological works on Written Mongol and Cyrillic Khalkha. Owing to the dominant position of these literary languages their vocabulary is, in principle, available to all Mongol speakers. Moreover, because of the historical depth of Written Mongol, it is difficult to point out Common Mongolic lexical items that would be definitely absent in Mongol proper. By contrast, it is considerably easier to specify the lexical peculiarities of the other Mongolic languages, as opposed to Mongol proper.

The lexically independent position of Mongol proper is perhaps best demonstrated by Common Mongolic words that, although shared by all Mongolic languages, show language-specific phonological irregularities. One such word is ***xün*** (Cyrillic Khalkha **хүн**) 'person' < **küün* < **küxün*, which in all Mongol dialects shows an irregular shortening of the contracted long vowel. It is true, this vowel shortening is also observed in Ordos (*kün*) and most forms of Buryat (*xün*), but it is absent in Khamnigan Mongol (*kuun*), Dagur (*kuu* ~ *xuu*) and Oirat (*küün* ~ *kümn* < **kümün* < ****küpün***, Written Mongol **guimuv**, modern **guiv**).

More commonly, such irregularities divide the Mongol dialects into two groups, with Khalkha as a whole belonging to one group together with part of the Inner Mongolian dialects. A typical example is **shönö* 'night' < **sinö*, which occurs in this innovative (metathetic and broken) shape in Khalkha (Cyrillic **шөнө**) and Jalait-Dörbet (*shun*), as well as in some of the Shilingol and Ulan Tsab dialects (*shön*), while most of the other Inner Mongolian dialects preserve direct traces of the original shape **söni* (> *són* ~ *sun*), which is also the shape observed in Ordos (*söni* ~ *sönö*), Oirat (*söön* ~ *sööd*), Buryat (*hüni*), Khamnigan Mongol (*huni*), and Dagur (*suny*). A different dialectal distribution is exhibited by ****ungsi-*** 'to read' > Khalkha and Shilingol *unsh-* (Cyrillic **унши-**) against Khorchin *omsh-*, Jalait-Dörbet and Josotu *onsh-*, Ulan Tsab *umsh-*, with the Juu Uda group being split between the Khorchin and Josotu types. In this case, Ordos (*omshi-*) goes together with the Khorchin (and Juu Uda) group.

Although the different basis of second-language knowledge inevitably means that many everyday words for new concepts are taken from Chinese on the Inner Mongolian side, while Russian is the main source of lexical borrowing in Outer Mongolia, the

differences concerning the choice of vocabulary are generally small among the Mongol dialects, and they practically never extend to items of basic vocabulary. Native speakers nevertheless quote words that are supposed to be dialect-specific, e.g. Khorchin *guur-* < **güür-* 'to comprehend' (Modern Written Mongol **gujur-**) against the more common *oilgh-* ~ *öölg-* < **o(y)i.lga-* (Written Mongol **vujilqha-**, Cyrillic Khalkha **oilga-**). It remains the task of future research to assess the credibility of such information, and to clarify what the actual interdialectal lexical relationships are.

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CHAPTER NINE

ORDOS

Stefan Georg

Ordos (more properly Urdus) is spoken in the southernmost part of Inner Mongolia, south of the Yellow River and north of the Great Wall. Its territory borders on the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region in the south and Shaanxi province in the southeast. Apart from Chinese, the linguistic neighbours of Ordos include the Urat and Tümet dialects of Mongol proper to the north and northeast, respectively. To the northwest, Ordos is bordered by Alashan Öelet, a subvariety of Oirat. Traditionally, the Ordos territory is divided into seven banners, namely Right Wing: *Dalad, Wang, Junggar* in the northeast, as well as Left Wing: *Kanggin* (NW), *Otog* (SW), *Üüsin* (SE), and *Jasag* (E), the first six of which were set up in 1649, following the submission of the Ordos clans to the Manchu state in 1635, and the last one being cut out of *Üüsin* in 1736 to form the administrative unit known as the Inner Mongolian league of *Ike Juu* (**Yagae Juu**).

The current number of Ordos speakers is unknown, since the Ordos Mongols are not distinguished from the rest of the Monggol nationality in official Chinese censuses. A field survey made in the mid-1950s (Todaeva) established, however, a figure of approximately 64,000 Ordos Mongols. The present population must be larger, though linguistic assimilation (by both Chinese and Mongol proper) may have reduced the percentage of native language speakers. A possible estimate for the present day might, then, be less than 100,000 speakers.

Ordos is not written in any form that would reflect its dialectal peculiarities. The modern standardized variety of Written Mongol is used in the region, as elsewhere in Inner Mongolia, alongside, of course, Chinese. However, the authors of some important Written Mongol literary documents were of Ordos provenance (such as Saghang Sechen, the author of 'Erdeni-yin Tobchi', possibly also Lubsandanjin, the author of 'Altan Tobchi'). Whether this fact is reflected to some degree in the language of their writings remains, however, to be investigated.

Although Ordos is generally not counted among the particularly 'archaic' members of the Mongolic family (like e.g. Dagur and Khamnigan Mongol), some historical retentions render Ordos data an important tool for a variety of issues in Mongolic comparative linguistics. Compared with the regular dialects of Mongol proper, Ordos is clearly different. It remains, however, a matter of opinion, whether Ordos should be regarded as a separate Mongolic language, or as a separate main dialect of Mongol proper. The official view, apparently also shared by most Ordos speakers themselves, is that it is part of the Mongol language.

The genetic and areal position of Ordos is also evident from its lexicon, which is overwhelmingly of Mongolic stock, continuing forms attested in Written Mongol and Middle Mongol mostly only with the expected phonetic changes. Owing to the role of Tibetan Buddhism among the speakers of Ordos, Tibetan loanwords are present, but their significance and sphere of use does not exceed that observed in other varieties of Eastern (or Central) Mongolic, where Tibetan cultural influence is likewise present. As elsewhere in

Inner Mongolia, lexical copies from Chinese do occur, but, again, their number and significance does not reduce the genuine Mongolic character of Ordos on the lexical level.

The Ordos territory is linguistically largely homogeneous. Minor differences between the subvarieties never stand in the way of mutual comprehensibility, nor do they impose any uncertainty on whether a given variety of speech is to be classified as Ordos or not. The present description is based on Antoine Mostaert's material, which was collected in the years 1906–26, most of the time in and around the town of Boro Balghasun, thus reflecting the southernmost varieties of Ordos, where the influence of Mongol proper is least felt. In a few instances, forms found in Todaeva (1985), have been cited (always marked N[orth] E[ast]), though it remains unclear whether the differences observed are due to dialectal variation, or whether they rather, given the time span separating the two scholars' field work, reflect diachronic developments.

DATA AND SOURCES

The Belgian missionary-linguist Antoine Mostaert, C.I.C.M., was for a long time alone responsible for most of the work done on Ordos. To him the field owes a huge text collection (Mostaert 1937) with French translations (Mostaert 1947) and a three-volume dictionary (Mostaert 1941–4), which is sometimes regarded as the most complete dictionary ever made of any Modern Mongolic language or dialect. He also prepared a morphological sketch of Ordos (contained in Mostaert 1937) and a very detailed phonetic study (Mostaert 1926–7), though he did not attempt to formulate the phonology of the language. Additionally, he published material on the ethnography of the Ordos Mongols (Mostaert 1934, 1956).

On the basis of Mostaert's materials, very brief comments on Ordos were presented by Nicholas Poppe (1964). Another short sketch of Ordos, based on actual field work (1955–6) was prepared by B. X. Todaeva (contained in Todaeva 1985; the accompanying volume of texts published in 1981 does not contain Ordos material). Ordos dialect data are also included in Rudnev (1911), not collected by the author himself and of limited reliability, as well as, apparently the first publication on this variety of Mongolic, in G. N. Potanin (1893). Among other publications purporting to describe Ordos, M. G. Soulié (1903) is a rather weak treatment of Written Mongol without actually dealing with Ordos dialect data, while A. N. J. Whymant (1926) is an equally unsatisfactory description of Khalkha only. Other missionary publications deserving mention are those by Joseph Kler (1935) and J. L. van Hecken (1975).

Recently, details of Ordos phonology and grammar have been treated by linguists (sometimes native speakers of Ordos) from Inner Mongolia, including Baatar (1990), Erdenimunghe (1986, 1990, 1991, 1992), Has-Erdeni (1959), and Serengnorbu (1986). Inner Mongolian scholars have also worked on the cultural heritage of the Ordos Mongols, as discussed by, for instance, Serengpungsug and Hatanbaatar (1990).

While based on the lect found in Mostaert's text publications, which form by far the largest Ordos text corpus available, the present chapter does not adopt the narrow phonetic transcription employed by Mostaert. Instead, a phonemic transcription, mostly following the phonological analysis of John C. Street (1966), is used.

SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

The southern dialect of Ordos has seven qualitative vowel phonemes (Table 9.1). Vowel length is distinctive, cf. e.g. *bura-* 'to swirl' vs. *buraa* 'foliage' vs. *buura-* 'to decrease'

TABLE 9.1 ORDOS VOWELS

u	*ü*	*i*
o	*ö*	*e*
	a	

vs. part. imperf. *buuraa* id. If the long vowels are analysed as monophonemic, the number of vowel phonemes rises to fourteen. As in other Mongolic languages, the long vowels arose historically through the elision of an intervocalic velar consonant (**x*) and subsequent vowel contraction.

The Common Mongolic diphthongs (diphthongoid sequences) are mostly realized as monofocal long vowels. The diphthongs containing an original back vowel yield palatal qualities: *ai* [ɛ:], *oi* [œ:], *ui* [y:]. Only *ui* seems to surface more often as [ui]. There are, however, strong reasons to maintain the notation of such front vowels as diphthongs. For one thing, the realizations [ɛ: œ: y:]., though phonetically palatal, remain phonologically velar and require the back variety of harmonizing suffixes. Also, nominal stems ending in a (diachronic) diphthong form a 'mixed' declension class: while the genitive suffix *-n* is directly added to the stem (as with nouns ending in a short vowel), other cases (e.g. the ablative) require the insertion of *g* between the stem and the suffix (as with stems ending in a long vowel). The diphthongs thus continue to form a natural class in Ordos, which should be acknowledged in the phonemic notation.

The surface vowel *ii* [i:] has two sources, **ei* and **ixi*, which are still distinguishable by their different behaviour as stem-final vowels. The diphthong *üi*, as in *üile* 'work', remains distinct from *ui* and tends, like the latter, to retain its original pronunciation. The diphthong *öi* is extremely rare, although some cases of a secondary *öi* (*-ö-i-*) at morpheme boundaries make it clear that it results in [œ:]. Other vowel sequences consist of a high vowel (or glide) plus a long vowel: *iee*, *iaa*, *ioo*, *uii*, *üii*, *üee*, *uaa* (the latter two sequences occur only after the consonant *k*). There are also *üe* and *ua*, of which the latter is confined to Chinese loanwords.

Unlike in many other Mongolic languages, Ordos vowels are usually not reduced in non-initial syllables, which adds to the archaic flavour of the language. This feature of Ordos is also connected with two very important properties of the vocalism: (1) the absence of palatal breaking, e.g. *biruu* 'calf' < **biraxu* (cf. Khalkha *byaru*), although cases of prebreaking assimilation do occur, e.g. *nüdü* 'eye' < **nidü/n*; and, even more diagnostically: (2) the regressive assimilation of initial-syllable **o* and **ö* into *u* and *ü* under the influence of second-syllable **u* resp. **ü*, e.g. *mudu* 'tree' < **modu/n*, *yusu* 'custom, habit' < **yosu/n*; note also the name *urdus* 'Ordos' < **ordu.s* 'royal tents'. Since initial-syllable **o* and **ö* remain intact before second-syllable **o* and **ö* (which often derive from **a* resp. **e* by labial attraction), Ordos allows the proper reconstruction of the labial vowels of non-initial syllables (**o *ö* vs. **u *ü*), which in most other Mongolic idioms (including all dialects of Mongol proper) have undergone significant reduction or neutralization, and which are also indistinguishable in the Mongol script (cf. Written Mongol **muduv**, **yusuv**, **vUrdus**).

The consonant system of Ordos, as used in native vocabulary, comprises fifteen phonemes (Table 9.2). Additionally, several other consonant sounds, including the segments *p* (strong labial stop), *f* (labial fricative), and *w* (labial glide), occur as marginal phonemes, largely restricted to the non-native layer of the Ordos lexicon.

TABLE 9.2 ORDOS CONSONANTS

	t	*c*	*k*
b	*d*	*j*	*g*
	s	*sh*	
m	*n*		*ng*
	l		
	r		
		y	

The basic division of the stops (including affricates) is between the strong (*fortes*) segments (*p*) *t c k* vs. the weak (*lenes*) segments *b d j g*. Phonetically, the strong stops are strongly aspirated, and the segments *t c* are in intervocalic position (as well as between a preceding non-homorganic consonant and a following vowel) further accompanied by preaspiration. In difference from Mongol proper, the strong velar *k* preserves its articulation as a stop in word-initial position in front-vocalic stems, whereas in back-vocalic stems, and in most other positions, a fricative [x], or sometimes an affricate [kx], is heard. The weak stops are characterized by lack of aspiration, rather than voicedness. For *b* and *g* (but not for *d* and *j*) fully voiced allophones do, however, occur, especially intervocalically or next to a nasal. Between vowels, both segments may further be weakened to the corresponding continuant sounds [β ɣ].

As in several southern dialects of Mongol proper, including Southern Khalkha, initial strong stops in Ordos lose their aspiration and merge with their weak counterparts when the following syllable (in the same stem) likewise begins with a strong segment, e.g. *data-* 'to draw' < **tata-*. The same effect is triggered by the sibilants *s sh* (which are also inherently strong, though they lack original weak counterparts), e.g. *jasu* 'snow' < **casu/n*. Unlike in some of the Mongol dialects concerned, where this process may still remain subphonemic, the deaspirated (weakened) strong segments have in Ordos developed into true weak phonemes.

WORD STRUCTURE

Ordos words invariably begin with the root morpheme, which may be modified by suffixes only. The latter may be subdivided into derivational suffixes, modifying the semantic content of the root, and desinential ones, operating on the morphosyntactic level.

Syllables may have one of the structures V (imp. *a-la* 'to kill'), VC, CV (*al-ba* 'tax'), or CVC (*bal* 'honey'). The vocalic nucleus can consist of a short (single) vowel (V), long (double) vowel (VV), or a diphthong. There are no word-initial (or syllable-initial) consonant clusters, and in loanwords (as from Sanskrit or Tibetan) such clusters are avoided by consonant elision or vowel addition, though most of the actual examples, like *lama* 'lama' (Written Mongol **blame**), suggest that the simplification took place already at the Common Mongolic level. Medial clusters of up to two consonants are fairly common both within morphemes and at morpheme boundaries, but the rules of syllabification divide them always between two syllables. Final clusters are rare and almost exclusively found in interjections.

Stress accent is nondistinctive, and falls phonetically on the initial syllable. However, in words with long vowels or diphthongs, the latter attract the accent to non-initial syllables,

e.g. *gar* 'hand' : dat. *garda* : instr. *garaar* : instr. refl. *garaaraan*. Generally, the Ordos accent is described as being much weaker than the heavily centralizing accent of Mongol proper. This is also the reason why the weakening (reduction or loss) of unaccented vowels typical of Mongol proper is absent in Ordos.

The morphophonology of the vowels is governed by the rules of vowel harmony, which allow only back or front vowels in a phonological word. In this context, the back vowels comprise *a o u* (with the corresponding long vowels) as well as the diphthongs *ai oi ui*, while the front vowels comprise *e ö ü* (with the corresponding long vowels) as well as the diphthongs *ei* (*öi*) *üi*. The vowel *i* is harmonically neutral. Exceptions from vowel harmony do occur in foreign words, but even then the principle is valid for any suffixes added, the vowel class being determined by the final syllable of the stem. The neutral vowel *i* may co-occur stem-internally with vowels of both classes, e.g. *sini.le-* 'to celebrate the New Year' vs. *sinta.ra-* 'to become dull'. The harmonic class of such words is determined by the non-neutral vowels. Stems which only contain *i* (with no non-neutral vowels) require front-vocalic suffixes.

In addition to palatal harmony, there is labial attraction, by which suffixes containing the low vowels *a e* show the rounded vowels *o ö* after stems containing *o* and *ö*, respectively. There are, thus, two harmonizing (archiphonemic) vowels occurring in suffixes: the low vowel *A*, realized as *a e o ö*, and the high vowel *U*, realized as *u ü*. Sometimes, most notably after a syllable containing the diphthong *oi*, both labialized and non-labialized variants are attested. For instance, the ablative of *nokoi* 'dog' can be either *nokoi/g-aas* or *nokoi/g-oos*. In this as well as in some other cases, the variation may be due to the fact that the harmonizing vowel historically goes back to **a* (**nokai*), though there are counter-examples. Labial attraction can also be blocked in sequences of high + low vowel, e.g. *bol-* 'to become' : conv. succ. *bol-kulaa*. On the other hand, there are forms like *oro-* 'to rain' : conc. *oro-togoi* 'to rain' (< **oro-tugai*), where even the high vowel of the suffix participates in labial attraction.

Some aspects of Ordos vowel harmony, like, for instance, the back-vocalic behaviour of the phonetically fronted (diachronic) diphthongs, lend support to the conjecture that the governing factor here is synchronically not really a front-back (palato-velar) opposition, but, rather, one based on some other feature, perhaps pharyngealization (normal vs. pharyngealized), as is the case in the rotated vowel systems of several dialects of Mongol proper. The issue remains to be studied in more detail.

When a stem-final or suffix-final vowel is immediately followed by a suffix-initial vowel, the resulting long crasis vowel usually maintains the quality of the latter. If, however, the stem-final vowel is short and the suffix begins with *i* or *ii*, the result is not crasis, but rather a diphthong, which surfaces as phonetically monophthongized, like the diachronic stem-internal diphthongs, as in *boro* 'grey' [proper name] + acc. *-iig* : *boroig* [borœ:g], *aka* 'elder brother' + gen. *-iin* : *akain* [axɛ:n].

There are only few phonotactic or morphophonological phenomena affecting the consonant phonemes. Most importantly, the velar nasal *ng* only occurs syllable-finally (and even then its contrast against *n* is rather limited). As in other Mongolic languages, the liquids *l r* are in native words usually restricted to non-initial contexts, though Chinese and Tibetan loanwords with initial *l* are by no means rare.

At suffix boundaries, subphonemic voicing assimilation can take place, by which, for instance, suffix-initial *b* may surface as [β]. Also, the Common Mongolic strengthening of suffix-initial *d j* (morphophonemically *D J*) into *t c* takes place after obstruent stems and can occasionally lead to minimal pairs, e.g. imp. *kuda.ldu* 'to sell' vs. dat. *kudal.tu* 'calumny'. What is noteworthy in Ordos is that stems ending in the consonants *n l r s*

are ambivalent. More specifically, the strengthening of *d* can be caused not only by stem-final *b d g s r* but also by *l*, while the strengthening of *j* can be caused by *n*. On the other hand, the strengthening of *d* can be absent after *s*, while the strengthening of *j* can be absent after *r*. All of this suggests that the rules of strengthening have become synchronically loose (or that there are problems in the phonetic data).

WORD FORMATION

Among morphologically definable parts of speech in Ordos, nominals and verbals stand out as the two basic categories, distinguishable by their morphological behaviour. Derivational processes may, however, convert nominals into verbals and vice versa. The status of suffixes as derivational or desinential (inflexional) can best be determined by considering their position in the chain of affixes. Derivational suffixes typically occur next to the root, while inflexional elements are added after them. Also, most word forms contain only one inflexional marker, while there may be several derivative suffixes, though there are exceptions, such as the double case forms (discussed later).

A great number of Common Mongolic derived words, as also known from Written Mongol, survive in Ordos with only the usual phonological changes. It is, however, difficult to evaluate the synchronic status of many of these words, as no special study with native consultants has been made concerning the productivity of Ordos derivation. In this respect, the most transparent category is formed by deverbal verbs, for which there can be no doubt that at least the most frequent valence-changing suffixes are fully productive. Below, the four basic categories of derived words are illustrated with only a few selected examples for each.

Denominal nouns: *.bci* [cover of], e.g. *jike* 'ear' : *jike.bci* 'ear-muff'; *-ci/n* [occupation], e.g. *koni* 'sheep' : *koni.ci* 'shepherd'; *.jin* [female animals], e.g. *guna* 'three year old animal' [male] : *guna. jin* id. [female].

Deverbal nouns: Abstract nouns are formed by several suffixes, including *.bUr/i*, e.g. *tail-* 'to explain' : *tail.buri* 'explanation'; *.g*, e.g. *bici-* 'to write' : *bici.g* 'writing, letter', *jori-* 'to intend' : *jori.g* 'intention'; *.l*, e.g. *jarla-* 'to spread news' : *jarla.l* 'news, proclamation'; *.lAng*, e.g. *jirga-* 'to be happy' : *jirga.lang* 'happiness'. The imperfective participle marker *-AA* also yields fully lexicalized nouns, e.g. *sana-* 'to think' : *san.aa* 'thought'; with the further possibility of forming actor nouns (fully nominalized agentive participles) with the extended suffix *.AA.ci* [doing occupationally], e.g. *bici-* 'to write' : *bic.eeci* 'scribe'.

Denominal verbs: *.cilA-* [to make like, to be occupied with], e.g. *bool* 'slave' : *bool.cilo-* 'to take as slave', *ail* 'family, settlement' : *ail.cila-* 'to visit', *yusu* 'rule, law' : *yusu.cila-* 'to act according to the law'; *.lA-* [general verbalizer], e.g. *muu* 'bad' : *muu.la-* 'to do/say bad things; to slander, to mistreat', *terigüün* 'head' : *terigüü.le-* 'to be first'.

Deverbal verbs: *.gdA-* [passive verbs, from vowel stems], e.g. *üji-* 'to see' : pass. *üji.gde-* 'to be seen'; *-DA-* [passive verbs, from consonant stems], e.g. *ab-* 'to take' : pass. *ab.ta-* 'to be taken', *ol-* 'to find' : pass. *ol.do-* 'to be found'; *.(G)UUl-* [causative verbs], e.g. *üji-* 'to see' : caus. *üj.üül-* 'to make see, to show', *ab-* 'to take' : caus. *ab.kuul-* 'to let take'; other causative-suffixes are *.AA-*, as in *nura-* 'to collapse' : caus. *nur.aa-* 'to demolish', *.GA-*, as in *bol-* 'to become' : caus. *bol.go-* 'to make', and *.lgA-*, as in *suu-* 'to sit' : caus. *suu.lga-* 'to set', *bai-* 'to be' : caus. *bai.lga-* 'to let be, to create'; *.ldU-* [reciprocal verbs], e.g. *ala-* 'to kill' : rec. *ala.ldu-* 'to kill each other'; *.lci-* [cooperative verbs], e.g. *barkira-* 'to shout' : coop. *barkira.lci-* id. (together with others).

An example of multiple derivation is: [nominal root] *dabkur* 'double' : [denominal verb] *dabkur.la-* 'to double' : [causative verb] *dabkur.l.uul-* 'to cause to double', to

which theoretically a further verbal suffix (e.g. passive) and a final nominalizer could be added.

NUMBER AND CASE

Nominal words may bear markers for number, case and possession. There is no morphological distinction between substantival and adjectival nouns. Plural is distinguished from the unmarked singular by a considerable variety of suffixes. As in most other Mongolic languages, these tend to be optional and lexically determined, for which reason plural may still be considered to remain a derivational category.

The plural suffixes attested in Ordos include: *.nAr*, *.d*, *.s*, *.UUd*, *.UUs*, *.nUUd*, *.nUUs*, *.cUUd*. Of these, *.nAr* is used with nouns designating humans or other rational beings. It may thus also be found on the plural personal pronouns. The suffix *.d* is used on nouns ending in one of the consonants *n l r*, which are replaced by the suffix, e.g. *ejin* 'prince' : pl. *eji.d*, *düsimel* 'minister' : pl. *düsime.d*, *üker* 'bovine' : pl. *üke.d*. The suffix *.s* is used on vowel stems, e.g. *nere* 'name' : pl. *nere.s*. The suffixes *.UUd* and *.UUs*, containing a connective vowel and *.d* or *.s*, respectively, can be added to any stem ending in a consonant (including *n l r*).

The suffixes *.nUUd* and *.nUUs* contain the additional segment *n*, which may simply represent the final consonant of nasal stems, but which might perhaps also be identified with the archaic pluralizer *.n*, still found in Ordos in a few isolated examples, including clan names like *gakai* 'pig': pl. *gaka.n* [as clan name]. Possessive adjectives in *.tai* also have the special plural *.tan*. The suffix *.cUUd*, finally, forms collectives, representing a class of (mostly human) individuals, rather than an accidental group of single entities, e.g. *bayan* 'rich' : pl. *baya.cuud*, *galka* 'Khalkha' : pl. *galka.cuud*. Plural markers may also be accumulated to add emphasis to the notion of plurality, e.g. *.nAr.UUd*, *.d.UUd*, *.d.UUs*.

The case paradigm in Ordos comprises eight suffixally marked cases: genitive, accusative, dative, ablative, instrumental, comitative, possessive, and directive (Table 9.3). The allomorphy of the case endings follows rules closely reminiscent of Mongol proper. Thus, both vowel stems (V) and consonant stems (C) take basically identical sets of suffixes, with only the dative (morphophonologically *-DU*) showing a separate allomorph for obstruent stems (O). The dative ending can dialectally also appear as (NE) *-d* (*-D*). The accusative, ablative, and instrumental endings, which contain a long vowel, require the presence of the connecting consonant *g* after stems ending in a long

TABLE 9.3 ORDOS CASE MARKERS

	V/C	O	N	VV/Ng	Vi
gen.	*-(i)in*		*-(A)i*	*/g-iin*	*-n*
acc.	*-(i)i/g*		*-ii*	*/g-ii/g*	
dat.	*-dU*	*-tU*			
abl.	*-AAs*			*/g-AAs*	
instr.	*-AAr*			*/g-AAr*	
com.	*-lAA*				
poss.	*-tAi*				
dir.	*-RUU*				

vowel (VV), a diphthong (Vi), or a velar nasal (Ng). The same is true of the genitive ending, except that it has the simple allomorph *-n* after diphthong stems. The directive ending (morphophonologically *-RUU*, basically realized as *-rUU*) has a special variant (*-lUU*) used after vowel stems as well as consonant stems ending in the segments *n* and (due to liquid dissimilation) *r*.

Further complications are connected with the genitive and accusative endings, which after stems ending in a stable *n* have the variants gen. *-(A)i* and acc. *-ii*. With other consonant stems, the final *g* of the accusative is optional (*-ii* ~ *-ii/g*). Stems ending in an unstable */n* use the nasal stem as a genitive, e.g. *mori* 'horse' : gen. *mori-n*. Although originally the nasal segment is not a case ending, it may synchronically be analysed as such on the analogy of the diphthong stems, e.g. *gakai* 'pig' : gen. *gakai-n*. Otherwise, the unstable */n* appears in the dative, ablative, comitative, and possessive forms, e.g. acc. *mor-iig* : dat. *mori/n-du* : abl. *mori/n-aas* : instr. *mori-aar* : com. *mori/n-laa* : poss. *mori/n-toi*.

Functionally, the unmarked nominative is the case of the subject as well as the direct indefinite object, e.g. *cinggis kaan minggan aba ködölgöji*. . . 'Chinggis Khan sent one thousand hunters and. . . '. The direct definite object is indicated by the accusative: *cimbu lama-ig jalaba* 'he invited Chimbu Lama'. The genitive indicates concrete or metaphorical possession: *dargu-in eme* 'Dargu's wife'; *tenger-iin kele* 'language of heaven'. It is also required by most postpositions.

The dative (dative-locative) has the widest range of functions. Its locative functions comprise the (static) location of items and processes, e.g. *eljigen jiketei kaan cagaan balgasun-du suuji baiji* 'the donkey-eared king lived in Chaghan Balghasun'; as well as the (dynamic) goal of motion, e.g. *juu-kung-buu kaani urdu-du orojii* 'Juu-Kung-Buu entered the Khan's palace'. The ablative, on the other hand, denotes the source of motion, e.g. *tengeri/n-ees jasu unana* 'snow falls from the sky'. Both local cases are also used for temporal reference, cf. e.g. (dat.) *erte nege cag-tu* 'once upon a time', (abl.) *tere üdür-ees koisinain* 'after that day'.

On a more abstract relational level, the dative denotes recipient, e.g. (pronominal example) *ci nada olji ög* 'find [it] for me!'; and also the agent of passive constructions, e.g. (dat. refl.) *ere-de-en alagdasan* 'she has been killed by her husband'. The ablative indicates the basis of comparison, while a similar construction with a reduplicated adjectival noun conveys the meaning 'extremely', e.g. *ündür-ees ündür, öbösön-öös bogoni* 'extremely tall [literally: 'high from high'], [yet] shorter than grass'.

The instrumental is used in the expected meaning, indicating an instrument or means of an action, e.g. *sük-eer jabci-* 'to cut with an axe', while the comitative indicates a co-subject: *cinggis gitad-laa dailalciba* 'Chinggis fought with the Chinese'. Generally, there is no functional difference between the comitative and the possessive, except that the latter form is also used in the possessive construction, e.g. *gagcakan nege törösön küüken-tei baisan* '[they] had only one daughter'.

The directive is more widely used in Ordos than in most other Modern Mongolic languages and dialects, and may therefore be considered a regular member of the case paradigm. As opposed to the dative, it is used to describe the entity towards which a motion is directed, without implying that this point is actually reached ('in the direction of'), e.g. *ger-lüü* 'towards the house', *tere-lüü* 'in that direction'.

Apart from the actual case paradigm, Ordos has also the marginal Common Mongolic terminative case, which appears with the non-harmonizing ending *-cee*. This form is used to indicate either the point of reference in comparisons (of size, height, etc.) or the point up to which a motion or a circumstance extends, e.g. *ter goliin usu öbödög-cee bainaa* 'the water in that river reaches up to the knees'; *küni-cee ündür* 'as tall as a man'.

Another form, a kind of comparative case with the ending *-DUrUUn*, is occasionally, though rarely, used instead of the ablative in comparative constructions to express the basis of comparison: (pronominal example) *nada-duruun bayan bain* 'he is richer than me'.

Finally, as in other Mongolic languages, the negative particle *-güei* (or *=güei*) 'without', when added after nouns, is functionally very close to a privative case marker. It corresponds to the possessive *-tAi* in all contexts, cf. e.g. *bi ekener-tei bain* 'I am married' (literally: 'I have a wife') vs. *bi ekener-güei bain* 'I am unmarried' (literally: 'I do not have a wife'). It has, however, no harmonic variants.

To a limited degree, two different case endings may be combined to form double cases. Among the more commonly found combinations are: genitive + locative 'at someone's (place)', e.g. *bags-iin-du* 'at the teacher's'; genitive + directive, e.g. *noyon-oi-luu* 'towards the prince's (palace)'; locative + ablative, e.g. *ger-t-ees* 'from the house'. A kind of double declension is also present in the suffix complex *-dA-ki*, as in *goto-da-ki ger* 'a house located in the city', which involves the nominativizing suffix *-ki* added to the variant dative case ending *-da*(-).

NUMERALS

The cardinal numerals for the basic digits have the shapes: 1 *nige/n* ~ *nege/n*, 2 *koyor*, 3 *gurba/n*, 4 *dörbö/n*, 5 *tabu/n*, 6 *jurgaa/n*, 7 *doloo/n*, 8 *naima/n*, 9 *yisü/n*. The numerals for the corresponding decades are: 10 *arba/n*, 20 *kori/n*, 30 *guci/n*, 40 *döci/n*, 50 *tabi/n*, 60 *jira/n*, 70 *dala/n*, 80 *naya/n*, 90 *yire/n*; while the numerals expressing the powers of ten are: 100 *juu/n*, 1,000 *mingga/n*, 10,000 *tüme/n*. All of these items (with the exception of 2 *koyor*) end in the unstable */n*, which appears not only in their declension, but also for conjoining tens and digits, e.g. 11 *arban nige/n*, 75 *dalan tabu/n*. The basic (nominative) forms, as used, for example in counting, have no final nasal.

Higher numerals are copied from Tibetan: 100,000 *bum*, 1,000,000 *saya*, 10,000,000 *jiba* ~ *siba*, 100,000,000 *dongshuur*. The use of these borrowed numerals is mostly confined to Buddhist contexts.

Ordinal numerals are formed by the suffix *.dugaar*, which does not harmonize in Ordos, suggesting that it may synchronically be a question of a compound construction, e.g. *nige.dugaar* (perhaps *nige+dugaar*) 'first', *koyor.dugaar* (*koyor+dugaar*) 'second', *gurba.dugaar* (*gurba+dugaar*) 'third'. Other numeral derivatives include the delimitatives in *.kAn*, e.g. *gurba.kan* 'only three', the collectives in *.UUl*, e.g. *gurb.uul* 'three together', and the multiplicatives in */n.tai*, e.g. *gurban.tai* 'three times'; cf. also lexicalized derivatives such as *gurba.da-* 'to do three times', *gurba.ljin* 'triangle' : *gurba.lji.la-* 'to do three together'.

PRONOUNS

Pronominal paradigms differ from those of regular nouns mainly by the presence of a certain degree of suppletivism, which is most salient in the personal pronouns (Table 9.4).

There are no true third person pronouns; instead, if emphasis is needed, the demonstrative pronouns *en/e* 'this' and *ter/e* 'that' are used. The corresponding oblique stems are *üün-* or *enüün-* and *tüün-* or *terüün-*. Exceptional formations are present in the genitive and accusative, which can optionally lack the case endings *-ii* resp. *-ii/g*. Thus, for instance, *ene* can have the accusative variants *enüüniig*, *enüünii*, *enüün*, *üüniig*, *üünii*, or *üün*, of which *enüünii*, *enüün*, *üünii*, and *üün*, can also function as genitives. The

TABLE 9.4 ORDOS PERSONAL PRONOUNS

			1p.			2p.	
sg.	nom.		*bi*			*ci*	
	gen.		*mini*			*cini*	
	acc.			*namai/g*			*camai/g*
	dat.	*nada*		*namaidu*	*camadu*		*camaidu*
	abl.	*nadaas*			*camaas*		
	instr.	*nadaar*		*namaigaar*	*camaar*		*camaigaar*
	com.	*nadalaa*		*namailaa*	*camalaa*		*camailaa*
	poss.	*nadatai*			*camatai*		
		excl.		incl.			
pl.	nom.		*bida*			*ta*	
	gen.	*mani*		*bidani*		*tani*	
	acc.		*manii/g*			*tanii/g*	
	obl.		*man-*			*tan-*	

instrumental forms are also special, in that they incorporate the connective consonant *g*: *(en)üüng-geer* vs. *t(er)üüng-geer.*

The plural demonstratives, also used as replacements for the plural third person pronoun, are *ede* : *eden-* 'these' and *tede* : *teden-* 'those'. Their plural meaning may be further reinforced by the addition of separate plural suffixes, such as *-nUUd*, *-nUUs.*

The basic interrogative pronouns are: *ken* 'who', *yüü/n* 'what', *yamar* 'what kind of'. Other related pronominal words include: *kejee* 'when', *gecineen* 'how much', *kaa* 'where'. The reflexive pronoun is the Common Mongolic *öör-* : gen. *öör-iin* 'one's own' : refl. *öör-öön* 'by oneself', or also *öös-* (< ***öxesü/n***) : refl. *öös-öön*, etc.

POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

The genitive forms of the personal pronouns may be used as prenominal possessive pronouns, but it is more common to use postnominally their shortened forms, which have acquired, by and large, the status of possessive suffixes (Table 9.5).

As far as the first and second person possessive forms are concerned, the grammaticalization of the postnominal personal pronoun genitives into true possessive suffixes is best understood as being still uncompleted in Ordos. The postnominal pronominal elements should therefore perhaps be viewed as clitics, especially since the plural possessive markers do not seem to follow the rules of vowel harmony (*=min* : *=cin* : *=man* : *=tan*). On the other hand, there is obligatory agreement between the possessive markers and a pronominal referent. There is no corrresponding system of predicative personal endings in Ordos.

The third person (singular and plural) possessive marker (< ***-ni*** < ***ini***) has a special position, in that it has no surviving counterpart in the system of independent pronominal roots. The variant *-n/i* is used with most case forms, including the unmarked nominative, e.g. *bagsi* 'teacher' : px 3p. *bagsi-ni* ~ *bagsi-n* 'his/her/their teacher'. In combination with the accusative ending, the third person possessive suffix yields the complex *-ii-n*, e.g. acc. px 3p. *bags-ii-n*, while after the genitive ending the variant *-iin* is used, e.g. gen. px 3p. *bags-iin-iin* 'of his/her/their teacher'.

TABLE 9.5 ORDOS POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

	sg.		pl.
1p.	*-min*		*-man*
2p.	*-cin*		*-tan*
3p.		*-n/i, -iin*	

TABLE 9.6 ORDOS IMPERATIVE MARKERS

	VV	marker	variant
prec.	*/g*	*-AA*	
vol.		*-y*	*-y-AA*
vol. sg.		*-y-An*	*-y-in*
conc.		*-tUgAi*	
perm.		*-gA*	*/g-AA*
des.	*/g*	*-AAsAi*	
dub.	*/g*	*-UUjAi*	*-UUjin*

Ordos has also the Common Mongolic reflexive declension, which indicates that the entity expressed by the governed noun is in a (concrete or metaphorical) possessive relation with the subject. The reflexive marker is *-AAn,* added with few complications directly to the case endings. The resulting suffix complexes, as used for vowel stems, are: acc. *-iig-AAn*, gen. *-iin-AAn*, dat. *-D-AAn*, abl. */g-AAs-AAn*, instr. */g-AAr-AAn*, com. (formally com. + instr.) *-lAA-r-AAn*, poss. *-tAi/g-AAn*, dir. *-RUU/g-AAn.* The plain reflexive form (without a case ending) functions as the accusative for consonant stems, e.g. *em* 'medicine' : refl. *em-een*, and as the genitive for stems ending in a stable *n*, e.g. *kaan* 'emperor' : refl. *kaan-aan.* In the latter stem class, then, the reflexive accusative and genitive forms coincide. Examples of reflexive forms: (refl.) *aka köl-öön uguaasan* 'the elder brother washed his feet'; (dat. refl.) *eke küüke-d-een kaikura-güei* 'the mother does not care for her child'; (abl. refl.) *bida ger nutug-aas-aan garci üdür udabaa* 'we departed from our home long ago'.

IMPERATIVES

Apart from the basic unmarked imperative, Ordos preserves the following Common Mongolic forms of the imperative sphere: precative, voluntative, concessive, permissive, desiderative, and dubitative (Table 9.6). Some of these have optional variants; notably, the voluntative (*-y*), and permissive (*-gA*), can add an emphatic long vowel (*-AA*), formally identical with the precative suffix. Also, the voluntative in Ordos appears with two variants: the basic voluntative (*-y* or *-y-AA*) and the special singular voluntative (*-y-An* or *-y-in*). The precative, desiderative and dubitative suffixes require the addition of the connective consonant *g* after stems ending in a long vowel or a diphthong (VV).

As in other Mongolic languages, the imperatives show a certain sensibility to the category of person, which is otherwise not grammaticalized in Ordos verbal morphology. The basic imperative and the precative indicate an order or command directed at the

second person, e.g. imp. *ire-Ø* or prec. *ir-ee* '[you] come!'. Marginally, the basic imperative may also be found with third person reference, as in *aduu mal-cin jujaara-Ø* 'may your [sg.] horse and cattle herds grow!'.

The voluntatives are used in reference to the first person. The basic voluntative (*-y* or *-y-AA*) can refer to both a singular and a plural subject, and expresses a firm determination to do something. Functionally, it is very close to a future tense, e.g. *ide-y* 'I/we want to eat; I am/we are determined to eat; I/we shall eat'. The expanded optative (*-y-An* or *-y-in*) refers only to a singular subject, and expresses a strong real or irreal wish to do something, e.g. *bi nege sine malaga olji ab/u-yan* 'I wish to buy a new hat; I wish I could buy a new hat!'. This form can be further reinforced by the postposed particles *=ci* or *=do*, as in *bi camadu keleji ög/ö-yön=ci* 'if only I had told you! [implying that I did not]'.

The rest of the imperative forms are used in reference to a third person subject, though they may occasionally also refer to the second person. The concessive, permissive, and desiderative indicate various degrees of wish or willingness, e.g. conc. [hope] *bicige boroon orotugai* (~ *orotogoi*) 'may it not rain!'; perm. [permission] *kelege* 'let him speak, may he speak'. Finally, the dubitative is used to describe possible future events, with the connotation that they are undesirable consequences of present behaviour or negligence, e.g. *nokoi kaj-uujai* 'let the dog not bite!', *garaa kalaa/g-uujai, gecee* 'you might burn your hand, pay attention!'.

PARTICIPLES

Ordos preserves the Common Mongolic futuritive, imperfective, perfective, and habitive participles, as well as the almost completely deverbalized agentive participle (Table 9.7). The corresponding negative forms contain the postpositionally (suffixally or enclitically) used negative particle *ügüei* in various stages of phonological reduction (*-ügüei*, *-güei*, *-üei*, also *-ügüee*, *-güee*, *-üee* or *-ügüii*, *-güii*, *-üii*).

As in other Mongolic languages, the participles are polyfunctional forms with both verbal and nominal characteristics. Their nominal character consists in the fact that they may bear case endings, a strategy which is exploited for the formation of complex predications. Their main verbal feature, on the other hand, is their ability to take adverbal modifiers (objects, adverbials). In Ordos, however, they can also form independent sentential predications, i.e., they can function as finite verbs. The latter functional range sharply separates them from converbs. It is true, predicatively used participles can be accompanied by a copula.

Taking the perfective participle as an example, the syntactic roles of the participles may be illustrated as follows: (1) attributive (adnominal), *yabu-san kün* 'the man who

TABLE 9.7 ORDOS PARTICIPLE MARKERS

	VV		neg.
part. fut.		*-kU*	*-k(U-g)-üei*
imperf.	*/g*	*-AA*	*-AA-ügüei*
perf.		*-sAn*	*-sAng-güei*
hab.		*-DAg*	*-D-ügüei*
ag.		*-gci*	

has come'; (2) predicative (finite), *kün yabusan* (*bain*) 'the man has come'; (3) objective, (acc.) *küni yabu-san-iig bi üjisen* 'I saw that the man came' (literally: 'I saw the man's coming'); (4) adverbial (quasiconverbial), (dat.) *küni yabu-san-du bi untaba* 'I was sleeping when the man came (literally: 'at the man's coming').

In Ordos, the imperfective participle refers mainly to the present tense, thus functioning as a kind of present participle, e.g. (attributive) *güi/g-ee tuulai* 'a running rabbit'; (predicative) *ös abku cag boloo-ügüei* 'the time to take revenge has not yet come'. The perfective participle, by contrast, refers to past and completed actions, e.g. (attributive) *tere gurban sara dotoro gar-san küüked* 'the children born during those three months'; (predicative) *üge keleji cida-san-güee* 'he could not say a word'.

The futuritive participle has a wide range of functions, among them future reference. In predicative function, it is often followed by the copular element *-im* ~ *-yum* (< *yum* 'thing, fact; it is a fact'), e.g. *temeendu yabu-ku-im* 'I will go looking for the camels'. Most frequently, however, the futuritive participle has the function of a general action noun, e.g. *alaga jodo-ku bicigiin surguul* 'striking the palm, [that is] the school of letters' (i.e. 'pupils must be punished', proverb); (abl.) *bi üji-k-ees idesen bain* 'apart from seeing it, I also ate it'. The habitive participle, also used with *-im* ~ *-yum*, denotes habitual actions: *mini ene kürgenii ta teneg geji kele-deg* 'you keep calling this son-in-law of mine stupid'; *ene kün ide-deg yum bisi* 'this is not something people eat' (with substantival *yum*).

Other deverbal nominal suffixes, which form derivatives somewhat reminiscent of participles, include *.mtAgAi*, *.mAgAi*, *.mAi*, *.ngkai*, denoting a penchant to do something, e.g. *aim-tagai kün* 'fearful person'; *dusun bara.mai deng* 'a lamp which consumes much oil'; as well as *.si* (*nomen possibilitatis*), e.g. *yabu.si-ügüei* 'impossible to go'.

CONVERBS

Ordos has a considerable number of productive converbial forms, including the Common Mongolic modal, imperfective, perfective, conditional, concessive, terminative, and contemporal converbs. It also has the petrified quasiconverbial constructions functioning as the abtemporal, final, and successive converbs. Some of the suffixes concerned have several optional or dialectal variants (Table 9.8). A feature specific to Ordos is the form that may be termed the precedentive converb, also known as the *converbum rei prius*

TABLE 9.8 ORDOS CONVERB MARKERS

	VV	marker	variant
conv. mod.		*-n*	
imperf.		*-Ci*	NE *-Cii*
perf.	*/g*	*-AAd*	
cond. (1)		*-bAl*	*-bAl-AA*
cond. (2)	*/g*	*-UUn/i*	*-ngg-UUn/i*
conc.		*-bAA*	*-bAci*, NE *-bc*
term.		*-tAr*	*-tAl*
contemp.		*-mAgcA*	*-mAgci*
abtemp.		*-s-AAr*	
fin.		*-k-AAr*	
succ.		*-kU-lAA*	*-kU-lAA-r*
preced.		*-mAA/n*	*-mAA(n)-jin*

agendae (Mostaert) in *-mAA/n* or *-mAA(n)-jin*. Another Ordos idiosyncracy is present in the suffix *-UUn/i* or *-ngg-UUn/i*, used in the function of a conditional converb.

As a functional class, the Ordos converbs may best be described in negative terms. Unlike finite forms and participles, they are never used as finite predicates, and unlike participles (but like finite forms), they are never used attributively. Their use is thus confined to dependent predications, which most often precede a finite predication (expressed by either a finite form or a predicatively used participle).

The first three converbs are used for straightforward clause chaining, with an increasing degree of temporal distance between the converbial form and its headword. Thus, the modal converb is often close in function to an adverbial clause: *bi cida-n yada-n kiiy* 'I will do what I can' (literally: 'being able, not being able'). The imperfective converb chains predications that are either simultaneous or temporally close enough to each other to constitute a coherent chain of actions: *öglööni bos-ci ündür mudundaaraan gar-ci. . .* '(he) rose in the morning, climbed his high tree and. . .'; together with the auxiliary verb *bai-* 'to be', it is used to form the progressive construction: *kara budaa ide-ji bai-ji karada-ji bain* 'he has been eating plain millet and (now) he is sick'. The perfective converb, finally, may imply a greater (logical or temporal) separation of the conjoined predications: *bagbaakai cino deilseni üj-eed, cinondu kelebe. . .* 'the bat saw that the wolf had won, and said to the wolf. . . '.

The two different suffixes forming conditional converbs (*-bAl* or *-bAl-AA* resp. *-UUn/i* or *-ngg-UUn/i*) are apparently more or less synonymous. Additionally, though more marginally (mainly in fixed phrases), Ordos preserves the older conditional gerund in *-bAAsU* (< **-ba+axasu*). All these forms tend to have conditional meaning ('if') when the following finite verb has a non-past temporal reference, as in *tandu gal bai/g-uun, nada ög* 'if you have a light (fire), give (it) to me!'. With past reference of the main verb, they have a temporal meaning ('when'), close to that of the successive converb. The concessive converb expresses a concessive relationship ('although'), e.g. *kiilee ge-beci, kiisen yum ügüee* 'although he says/said that he did (it), he has not done a thing'.

Most of the remaining converbs have a temporal function, e.g. conv. term. ('up to, until') *öngörö-tör saruul bailaa* 'he was (mentally) healthy up to the moment he died'; conv. contemp. ('immediately when') *gerteen kari-magca nadad bicig ilgee* 'right after arriving home, send me a letter!'; conv. abtemp. ('after, since') *bi budaagaan ide-seer yabuyaa* 'I will go after having eaten', *yabu-saar arban negen üdür bolji* 'eleven days have passed since he left'; conv. succ. ('when, after') *olood sura-kulaa, jurgaan akani kelebe* 'after he had found and interrogated (them), the six brothers said'. The successive and precedentive converbs may be found with a conditional meaning as well, e.g. conv. succ. ('if') *ci ese ire-külee, bi icikü-güee* 'if you don't come, I won't go'; conv. preced. ('only if, only after') *ci kiideleen büteeji ab-maajin. . .* 'only after having completed all your tasks. . .'. The final gerund indicates purpose, as in conv. fin. ('in order to') *cai uu-k-aar irelee* 'he has come (in order) to drink tea'.

FINITE INDICATIVE FORMS

Ordos has four finite indicative temporal-aspectual forms, which correspond to the Common Mongolic durative, terminative, confirmative, and resultative forms (Table 9.9). The durative and terminative markers have variants with or without a final long vowel. From the point of view of the morphological system it is interesting to note that the resultative marker is identical with the marker of the imperfective converb (both *-Ci*).

TABLE 9.9 ORDOS FINITE TENSE-ASPECT MARKERS

	function	marker	variant
dur.	present	*-n*	*-n-AA*
term.	past basic	*-b*	*-b-AA*
conf.	past perfect	*-lAA*	
res.	past verified	*-Ci*	

At least formally, then, though perhaps not functionally, the systems of converbs and finite forms overlap on this point, with a single suffix forming both finite and non-finite predicates.

The durative in Ordos is used with present time reference: *mede-nee* 'he knows', *uila-naa* 'he is weeping'. To underline the progressive *Aktionsart*, the progressive construction is also frequently (but not obligatorily) used, e.g. *suu-ji bai-n* 'he is sitting'.

The other three finite forms all refer to the past tense, but they have functional differences. The terminative may be viewed as the basic form, which expresses any past action or process, while the resultative carries the additional information that the speaker is sure (knows well, has no doubts) that the predication is true, cf. e.g. [question, unverified] *yabu-b=uu* (with the question particle *=UU*) 'did he go?; has he gone?' vs. [answer, verified] *yabu-ji* 'he went; he did go; he has gone'. The confirmative, finally, is close to a true perfect in that it describes a past action or process of which the consequences are still relevant for the moment of speaking: *ire-lee* 'he has come (and is now here)', *ter gerteen kari-laa* 'he went back home (and is now there)'. As in Mongol proper, it may also (with first person reference) be used to express the firm intent of the speaker to do something: *bi yabu-laa* 'I am just about to go' (literally: 'I have gone').

SYNTAX

Throughout Ordos syntax, the head-final word order is observed. Thus, for instance, adjectival nouns, numerals, genitive attributes and pronominal specifiers precede their nominal headwords, e.g. *tere nege minggan saikan mori* 'those one thousand beautiful horses'. Also, subordinate clauses (both converbial and participial) are placed before the finite main clause. The constituents of a complex noun phrase do not agree in case or number, only the head being marked, e.g. (abl.) *tere nege minggan saikan morin-oos*. A corollary of these principles is the strictly observed SOV-order of sentential constituents. An indirect object precedes a direct object, as in *ter nadad bicig biciji* 'he wrote me a letter'.

Since the syntactic alignment of Ordos is nominative, the subjects of both intransitive and transitive predications are treated as unmarked (in the nominative case), while direct definite objects are treated as marked (in the accusative case). Indefinite objects are, however, unmarked, as in *nege mori* [indefinite] *abci, keleji: ci ene mor-iig* [definite] *unaad*. . . 'he took a horse and said: sit on this horse and. . .'.

The normal method of forming complex predications is to use converbs and participles, which link embedded and chained clauses with the main clause. There are virtually no subordinating conjunctions. Converbial clauses may be used for the simple co-ordination of equivalent predications, or they may indicate temporal, conditional, concessive or purposive subordination. The two most frequent functions of participial clauses are relativization (adnominal use), e.g. (part. perf.) *manggusiig ala-san baatur* 'the hero who

has killed the demon', and the formation of complement clauses (adverbal use), e.g. (part. perf. acc. px 3p.) *cinggis koyuuliin ala-san-ii-n üjeed* 'Chinggis saw that he [another person] had killed both of them and. . .'.

Interrogative sentences, other than those containing an interrogative word (wh-questions), are marked by the interrogative particle *=UU*, which may be analysed as a clitic. The interrogative particle is added to the final verb (finite form or participle) of the main clause, e.g. (term. interr.) *shara ünege yabukuin üji-b=üü* 'did you see the yellow fox run?'.

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CHAPTER TEN

OIRAT

Ágnes Birtalan

The ethnonym Oirat (*Oyirad*, Written Mongol **vUjirat**, Spoken Oirat *Öörd*) covers several groups of Western Mongols, originally probably belonging to the tribal confederation of the *Hoi-yin Irgen* 'Forest People', who until the thirteenth century lived south and southwest of Lake Baikal. After Chinggis Khan's eldest son Jochi attacked the 'Forest People' (in 1206–7), the ancient Oirat moved to the steppes of the Altai region and adopted a fully nomadic way of life. In the fifteenth century their descendants emerged as a growing political power known as the Oirat Confederation. Under the rule of Toghon (*c.*1416–40) and his son Esen (1440–55) the Oirat expanded their territory from the Altai to the Ili (*Yili*) valley, claiming themselves to be the legitimate heirs of Chinggis Khan's empire.

The Oirat reached their height of power under the rule of Ghaldan Boshokhtu (1670–97) and his successors Tsewangrabdan (1697–1727) and Ghaldantseren (1727–45), when the so-called Junghar (**Jaguv Qhar** 'Left Hand') Khanate was established in the Ili region, subsequently known as Jungaria (Dzungaria). Like the Eastern and Southern Mongols, the Oirat were ultimately subjugated by the Manchu, whose empire expanded to Jungaria in the middle of the eighteenth century. As a consequence of their complex political history, the Oirat are today dispersed over various regions, including not only Jungaria and Western Mongolia, but also Manchuria and the Kukunor region in Amdo (Qinghai). The Kalmuck in the Volga region also represent an Oirat diaspora group, though they have long functioned as a separate entity both politically and linguistically.

The ethnonym Oirat is often used in the combination *Dörben Oirat* (**Tuirbav vUjirat**), i.e. the 'Four Oirat', a somewhat vague concept which seems to have covered a different set of tribes at different times. Major tribes comprised by the 'Four Oirat' include the Torghut, Dörbet, Öelet, and Khoshut, but smaller tribes, such as the Khoit were also involved. In parallel with their common political history, all these tribes came to be comprised by a distinct and relatively uniform type of speech, which may be referred to as the Oirat language. As a manifestation of this linguistic uniformity, the Oirat monk Zaya Pandita *Oqtorghoin Dalai* (1599–1662) created in 1648 on the basis of the Mongol alphabet the so-called 'Clear Script' (*todo bicig* or *todorxoi üzüg*), upon which a new supradialectal written language, Written Oirat, was built. Linguistically, Written Oirat may be viewed as a more or less accurate normalization of the speech of the Western Mongols as it was in the mid-seventeenth century.

In the years 1650–62, Zaya Pandita and his followers translated into Written Oirat more than 200 Tibetan Buddhist scripts, including the *Altan Gerel* 'the Golden Light' and the *Medeetei medee-ügeyiki ilghaqci kemeekü sudur*, the equivalent of the Written Mongol 'Ocean of Stories' (*vUiligar uv Talai*). Secular works about Tibetan medicine were also translated, and the Written Mongol block print version of the Geser Epos was transliterated into the 'Clear Script'. Additionally, primary documents from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including the biography of Zaya Pandita and several

histories of Oirat and Kalmuck khans, were also compiled. In spite of its subsequent decline, Written Oirat has been in use until recent times, though in official and educational functions it has been by and large replaced by Written Mongol (in China) and Cyrillic Khalkha (in Mongolia).

At the oral level, the Oirat language comprises a number of dialects, which are traditionally identified on a tribal basis. The most important tribal dialects of Oirat are: Bayit (*Bayd*), Dörbet (*Dörwd*), Jakhachin (*Zaxcn*), Khoton (*Xotn*), Khoshut (*Xoshud*), Minggat (*Mingghd*), Öelet (*Ööld*), Torghut (*Torghud*), and Uryankhai (*Urangka*). Most of these are today spoken in the Kobdo and Ubsu aimaks of Mongolia, where the number of Oirat is estimated to be *c.*150,000 people. Further to the east in Mongolia there are other Oirat-related groups, which, however, have replaced their language by Khalkha. The main dialects on the Chinese side are Torghut and Khoshut, spoken by less than 130,000 people in northern Sinkiang (Bortala, Hoboksar, Tarbagatai, and Bayangol).

The numerically less significant Kukunor Oirat, also known as the 'Deed Mongols', are mainly of Khoshut origin, while the Manchurian Oirat represent traces of a relocated Öelet population. A section of Kalmuck who rejoined the rest of the Oirat in Jungaria in 1771 are today known as the 'New Torghut' (*Shin Torghud*). An Oirat dialect is also spoken by the so-called Sart Kalmuck, descendants of Öelet and Torghut who in 1880 emigrated from Jungaria to what is now Kyrgyzstan (Chelpek and Börü Bashi, east of Issyk Köl). Another Oirat dialect is spoken in Alashan (*Alshan*) League, western Inner Mongolia.

DATA AND SOURCES

There exists a vast literature on the history of the Oirat. A few titles relevant to the understanding of the ethnic and linguistic situation include those by I. Ya. Zlatkin (1964), S. A. Halkovic (1985), Hidehiro Okada (1987), and Junko Miyawaki (1990). The present state of the Jungarian Oirat is surveyed by Krystyna Chabros (1993).

The Oirat language has been studied in two rather different contexts: the philological context of Written Oirat and the linguistic context of the spoken dialects. The work on Written Oirat, as reviewed by J. R. Krueger (1975), has typically focused on analysing the documents extant in the 'Clear Script'. As examples of the many large and small text editions, the publication of an Oirat letter by Joseph Fletcher (1970) and the recent work on a Buddhist manuscript by N. S. Yaxontova (1999) may be mentioned. A major source of information for textological and lexicological studies is the citation dictionary of Krueger (1978–84).

Grammatical works on Written Oirat are less numerous, but a rather detailed analysis of the seventeenth-century Oirat language is given by Yaxontova (1996), from whom many of the examples in the present chapter are taken. Yaxontova (1997), like the earlier work of Pentti Aalto (1964), offers a more concise treatment of the language. Many of the early grammars of 'Kalmuck', notably that of A. A. Bobrovnikov (1849), are basically also descriptions of Written Oirat.

The first materials on Oirat spoken dialects, mainly word lists and phrases, were recorded and published by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century scholars, including Nicolaes Witsen, Ph. J. von Strahlenberg, and P. S. Pallas. The actual foundation of the field was layed by G. J. Ramstedt, whose 'Kalmuck' dictionary (1935) contains data also from the Jungarian Oirat (Öelet). More recently, specifically Oirat dictionaries (without Kalmuck) have been published by Tsoloo (1988), Luntu (1998), and Choijingjab and Gereltu (1998). Oirat folklore was collected already by B. Ya. Vladimircov (1926). Later

text collections and folklore publications include those by Choijingjab *et al.* (1986) and György Kara (1987, cf. also Kara 1959).

On the grammatical side, several descriptions of the individual Oirat dialects, notably the monographs by Tsoloo (1965) and Wandui (1965), have been published in Mongolia. Selected dialectological topics are also treated in the papers of Luwsanbaldan (1967) and Sambuudorj (1998), as well as in the collective work edited by Sainbulag and Bulagha (1997). Recently, the study of Oirat dialects and folklore in Mongolia has been continued in the framework of a joint expedition of the Mongolian and Hungarian Academies of Sciences. Most of the materials collected by this expedition remain still unpublished.

In the present chapter, Written Oirat (WO) and Spoken Oirat (SO) are discussed in parallel. Diachronically, Written Oirat is best understood as a kind of Proto-Oirat, not far from Proto-Mongol (the ancestor of the dialects of Mongol proper), nor from the western dialects of late Middle Mongol. Spoken Oirat, by contrast, is a distinct and innovative group of modern dialects, taxonomically clearly separate from both Written Oirat and the modern dialects of Mongol proper. On the other hand, although no study of the issue has been made, the individual Oirat dialects are likely to be mutually close enough to allow intelligibility without difficulty. For the present purpose, Spoken Oirat, from which Kalmuck is excluded, may therefore be treated as a more or less uniform language.

SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Unlike the Written Mongol orthography, the 'Clear Script' is phonemically adequate. Special letters, positional variants, and diacritic symbols are used to express features such as vowel quality, vowel length, and obstruent strength. It is true, some Written Mongol conventions, such as the use of a zero-value consonantal initial (v) before initial vowels, are retained in the 'Clear Script', but generally the written image can be automatically represented in terms of an unambiguous Romanized transcription (rather than a transliteration). Since this is also the conventional approach in Written Oirat studies, it will be followed below.

As far as vowel qualities are concerned, Written Oirat preserves the Middle Mongol system of the seven nuclear vowels *a e o ö u ü i.* Spoken Oirat (Table 10.1) has additionally the low front vowel *ä*, which is mainly the product of palatal umlaut, e.g. SO *xär* 'alien' < **kari.* Other original back vowels are also palatalized before an **i* of the following syllable, e.g. SO *mör/n* 'horse' < **mori/n*, SO *xüw* ~ *xöw* 'share' < **kubi.* Importantly, the vowel qualities in Oirat do not show any tendency of rotation. Breaking is also rare, observed only after palatal consonants and restricted only to Spoken Oirat, cf. e.g. **nigta* 'dense' > WO *niqta* > SO *nigt*, **cidör* 'hobble/s' > WO *cidür* > SO *cidr* ~ *cödr* ~ *cüdr.* On the other hand, Common Mongolic cases of prebreaking are present also in Written Oirat, e.g. **mika/n* 'meat' > WO *maxa/n* > SO *max/n*, **nidü/n* 'eye' > WO *nüdü/n* > SO *nüd/n*, also *nid/n.*

TABLE 10.1 SPOKEN OIRAT VOWELS

u	*ü*	*i*
o	*ö*	*e*
a		*ä*

In the initial syllable, all vowel qualities can occur as distinctively long (double). The long vowels are of a contractive origin. Secondary long front vowels were produced by palatal umlaut, e.g. **toxori-* 'to go around' > WO *toori-* > SO *töör-*. Diphthongoid sequences of the type **V(y)i* contain an orthographical hiatus (*y*) in Written Oirat, but in Spoken Oirat they are realized as long palatal vowels. Dialectally, diphthongoid pronunciation is also possible because of the influence of dialects of the Khalkha type, e.g. **ka(y)i-* 'to look for' > WO *qayi-* > SO *xää-* ~ *xai-*. The sequences **a(x)u* and **e(x)ü* are preserved in Written Oirat as *ou* resp. *öü*, while in Spoken Oirat they have been monophthongized, cf. e.g. **axula* 'mountain' > WO *oula* > SO *uul*, **tere* 'that' : obl. **texün-* > WO *töün-* > SO *tüün-*.

The short vowels of non-initial syllables are preserved as full segments in Written Oirat, but in Spoken Oirat (like in Kalmuck and Mongol proper) they have been reduced or lost, probably for reasons connected with the prosodic (accentual) patterns of the language. The reduced vowels, even when they are phonetically present, are probably best interpreted as non-phonemic, though the dialectal situation remains somewhat unclear. Correspondingly, the long vowels of non-initial syllables, as still observed in Written Oirat, are in Spoken Oirat manifested as what may be analysed as short (single) vowels, e.g. **imaa/n* 'goat' > WO *yamaa/n* > SO *yama/n*. Sequences of the types **V(y)i* and **A(x)U* preserve their diphthongoid character in Written Oirat, but in Spoken Oirat they are represented as monophthongs, e.g. **tologo(y)i* 'head' > WO *tologhoi* > SO *tolgha* ~ *tolxa*, **köbexün* 'son' > WO *köböü/n* > SO *köwü/n*. Other sequences of two originally different vowels are represented as long monophthongs in Written Oirat, e.g. *tariya/n* 'field' > WO *taraa/n* > SO *tara/n*, cf. also **biraxu* 'calf' > WO *bürüü* > SO *bürü*.

The vowel qualities in non-initial syllables are governed by vowel harmony. In Written Oirat, vowel harmony affects both short and long vowels, but in Spoken Oirat, because of the loss of the original short vowels as distinctive segments, only the shortened reflexes of the original long vowels are affected. An important difference between Written Oirat and Spoken Oirat is that the former has both palatal and labial harmony, while the latter has only palatal harmony, as in **jiluxa* 'rein/s' > WO *joloo* > SO *jola*. In Written Oirat, exceptions from vowel harmony are present in loanwords, e.g. WO *gelong* 'monk' (from Tibetan). In Spoken Oirat, exceptions are also conditioned by palatal umlaut, which has introduced front vowels into originally back-vocalic words. Harmonizing suffixes follow the original harmonic class of the stem, e.g. SO *ääl* 'camp' : instr. *ääl-ar* < **a(y)il-aar*, SO *öört-* 'to come closer' : caus. *öört.ul-*.

Apart from the low unrounded vowels **a* **e*, labial harmony in Written Oirat affects occasionally also the high rounded vowels **u* **ü* of non-initial syllables, e.g. **modu/n* 'tree; wood' > WO *modu/n* ~ *modo/n*, **mörgül* 'praying' > WO *mörgül* ~ *mörgöl*. Otherwise, the combinations of vowels occuring within a single word in Written Oirat follow the Proto-Mongolic and Common Mongolic patterns, cf. e.g. WO *yasu/n* 'bone', *ghurba/n* 'three', **temür* > *tömür* 'iron', *nüke/n* 'hole'. The vowel **i* is harmonically neutral, cf. e.g. WO *ghuci/n* 'thirty', *ceriq* 'army', *shidar* 'close', *shine* 'new', *shikür* 'umbrella', *shiroi* 'earth'.

In the consonant system, the only notable difference between Middle Mongol and Written Oirat is that the contrast between the front velars **k* **g* and the back velars (uvulars) **q* **gh* is more unambiguously phonemic in the latter. In particular, the front velars *k g* can freely occur before back vowels, as in **takiya* (Middle Mongol *taqiya*) 'fowl' > WO *takaa* > SO *taka*. In Spoken Oirat, the back velars are realized as fricatives, for which reason they are conventionally transcribed as *x gh* also for Written Oirat,

TABLE 10.2 SPOKEN OIRAT CONSONANTS

p	*t*	*ty*		*k*
	ts		*c*	
b	*d*	*dy*		*g*
			j	
	s		*sh*	*x*
w	*z*			*gh*
m	*n*	*ny*		*ng*
	l	*ly*		
	r	*ry*		
			y	

e.g. **aka* 'elder brother' > WO *axa* > SO *ax*. Since the vowels of non-initial syllables are still preserved in Written Oirat, the contrast between *k g* vs. *x gh* is not possible in syllable-final position. Instead, the Written Oirat syllable-final occurrences of **g* (both front and back) are rendered with a special letter, conventionally transcribed as *q*, e.g. **kereg* 'necessity' > WO *kereq*, (**nitug* >) **nutug* 'homeland' > WO *nutuq*.

The Spoken Oirat consonant system (Table 10.2) shows several additional developments. Most importantly, the original sibilant obstruents **s *c *j* have been divided into two series: the palatals *sh c j* (before **i*) vs. the dentals *s ts *dz* (before other vowels). In Spoken Oirat, the weak dental affricate **dz* has further developed into the continuant sound [z] (as in Buryat). Although Written Oirat shows no evidence of these developments, its two affricate letters (**c cz**) are conventionally transcribed as if they represented three separate phonemes (*c j z*). It may be noted, however, that no such convention is applied to the weak labial stop **b*, which is always transcribed as Written Oirat *b*, although in Spoken Oirat it is represented as *w* (labial spirant or glide) in intervocalic position.

Spoken Oirat also has a set of secondary non-affricate palatal consonants (*ty dy ny ly ry*), which represent the palatalized reflexes of the corresponding dentals (**t *d *n *l *r*) under the influence of a following **i*, as in **u(x)uli* 'sparrow owl' > SO *uuly*. For reasons not fully understood, but often apparently connected with the length of the preceding vowel, palatal umlaut was not active in these cases.

Phonetically, the weak stops and affricates (*b d dy j g*) in Spoken Oirat are most commonly realized as voiceless and unaspirated, though voiced realizations are also observed. The spirantized dental sibilant *z* is always voiced. The corresponding strong segments (*p t ts ty c k*) are normally also pronounced without aspiration, though aspirated realizations are common in the dialects spoken in the vicinity of Khalkha (Altai Oirat). Other Khalkha consonantal features spreading into Oirat include the dialectal restoration of the affricate pronunciation of the weak sibilant (*z* > *dz*) and the occasional spirantization of the strong front velar stop (*k* > *x*). It should be noted that morphological analogy in suffixes has generally levelled the distinction between *x gh* vs. *k g* in favour of *x gh*, as in the futuritive participle marker **-kU* > SO *-x*, e.g. **ala-ku* 'to kill' > WO *ala-xu* > SO *al-x* vs. **kele-kü* 'to say' > WO *kele-kü* > SO *kel-x*. For the same reason, the connective consonant appearing between two (originally long) vowels at suffix boundaries is in Spoken Oirat synchronically always *gh*.

In a few lexical items, Oirat differs from Mongol proper with regard to the treatment of the Proto-Mongolic medial velar spirant **x* (< **x* & **p*). The word **dexel* 'garment'

(> Mongol proper *deel*), for instance, is represented as (**depel* >) WO *debel* > SO *dewl*. The stem **erexü* ~ **erüxü* 'jaw' (> Mongol proper *erüü* > *erü*) appears as **erügü/n* > WO *örgön* > SO *örgn*, while the word **möger.sü/n* 'cartilage' (> Mongol proper *mögrs/n*) appears as **möxer.sü/n* > WO *möörsü/n* > SO *möörs/n*. Such variation is apparently partly connected with Pre-Proto-Mongolic dialectal differences, but it may also be due to other factors (reading pronunciations of Written Mongol, secondary sporadic developments).

WORD FORMATION

Oirat retains the basic derivational and inflectional difference between nouns and verbs. Adjectives are formally not differentiated from other nominal parts of speech, cf. e.g. SO *sääxn* 'beautiful; one who is beautiful; being beautiful' > 'beauty' : abl. *sääxn-as* 'from (the) beautiful (one); from (the) beauty'. The system of derivation follows the Common Mongolic pattern and may be illustrated as follows:

Denominal nouns: WO *.bci* > SO *.wc* [cover of], e.g. **xuruxu* > **xuruu* (normally **xurugu/n* > WO *xurughu/n*) : WO *xuruu.bci* 'thimble', SO *cik/n* 'ear' : *cik.wc* 'ear muff/s'; WO *.bUr* > SO *.wr* [moderative], e.g. WO *xara* 'black' : *xara.bur* > SO *xar.wr* 'blackish'; WO *.ci* ~ *.ci/n* > SO *.c* ~ *.c/n* [occupation], e.g. WO *em* 'medicine' : *em.ci* > SO *em.c* 'physician', WO *buu* 'gun' : *buu.ci/n* > SO *buu.c* 'gunman'; *.KAn* > SO *.Kn* [diminutive], e.g. WO *ghaqca* 'sole' : *ghaqca.xan* > SO *ghaghts.xn* 'only one', WO *öndör* 'tall' : *öndör.kön* 'rather tall'.

Deverbal nouns: WO *.dAl* > SO *.dl* [action noun], e.g. WO *yabu-* 'to go' > 'to act' : *yabu.dal* > SO *yaw.dl* 'action; manner'; WO *.lAng* > SO *.lng* [id.], e.g. *zobo-* 'to suffer' : *zobo.long* > SO *zow.lng* 'suffering'; WO SO *.l*, e.g. WO *sedki-* 'to think' : *sedki.l* > SO *setk.l* 'thought'; SO *.ml* [*nomen descriptivum*], e.g. SO *güü-* 'to run' : *güü.ml* 'running'; WO *.UUr* > SO *.Ur* ~ (by liquid dissimilation) WO *.UUl* > SO *.Ul* [instrument, object of action], e.g. WO *tülki-* 'to push' : *tülki.üür* > SO *tülk.ür* 'key', WO *bari-* 'to hold' : *bari.uul* > SO *bär.ül* 'handle'.

Denominal verbs: WO *.dA-* > SO *.d-* [essive-translative], e.g. WO *yeke* 'big; much' : *yeke.de-* > SO *ik.d-* 'to be(come) (too) much'; WO *.ji-* > SO *.z-* ~ *.j-*, e.g. WO *namur* 'autumn' : *namur.ji-* > SO *namr.z-* 'to live in autumn camp'; WO *.lA-* > SO *.l-*, e.g. WO *tusa* 'benefit' : *tusa.la-* > SO *tus.l-* 'to help'; WO *.shi-* > SO *.sh-*, e.g. WO *aldar* 'fame; name': *aldar.shi-* > SO *aldr.sh-* 'to be(come) famous'.

Deverbal verbs: The causative suffixes appear as WO *.lGA-* > SO *.lG-* (after a long vowel element) ~ WO *.GA-* > SO *.G-* (after *l r*) ~ WO *.KA-* > SO *.K-* (after *b d s*) ~ WO *i.Ul-* > SO *.Ul-* (for stems ending in *i*) ~ WO */O.Ul-* > SO *.Ul-* (for stems ending in a vowel other than *i*) ~ WO */A.A-* > SO *.A-* (for certain lexically determined vowel stems), e.g. WO *sou-* 'to sit' : caus. *sou.lgha-* 'to cause to sit', SO *güü-* 'to run' : caus. *güü.lg-* 'to make run', WO *ghar-* 'to come/go out' : caus. *ghar.gha-* 'to take out', WO *bos-* 'to rise' : caus. *bos.xo-* 'to raise', WO *üze-* 'to see' : caus. *üzö.ül-* 'to show', SO *öört-* 'to come closer' : caus. *öört.ul-* 'to draw closer', WO *xura-* 'to come together' : caus. *xura.a-* 'to collect'. Passives are formed by WO *.qdA-* > SO *.gd-* ~ *.kd-* (after vowels) ~ WO *.dA-* > SO *.d-* (after *l*) ~ WO *.tA-* > SO *.t-* (after consonants other than *l*), e.g. WO *sana-* 'to think' : pass. *sana.qda-* > SO *san.kd-*, WO *ol-* 'to find' : pass. *ol.do-* > SO *ol.d-*, WO *sonos-* 'to hear' : pass. *sonos.to-* > SO *sons.t-*. Other Common Mongolic voice suffixes are WO *.lcA-* > SO *.lts-* for cooperatives, WO *.ldA-* > SO *.ld-* for reciprocatives, and SO *.tsGA-* for pluritatives, e.g. WO *bayas-* 'to be happy' : coop. *bayas/u.lca-*, SO

üz- 'to see' : coop. *üz.lts-* (lexicalized meaning:) 'to compete with one another', WO *bulaa-* 'to take away' : recipr. *bulaa.lda-*, SO *cashk-* 'to chirrup' : recipr. *cashk.ld-*, SO *suu-* 'to sit' : plurit. *suu.tsgha-*. An aspectual feature is expressed by the iterative suffix SO *.lz-* (rhythmic action), e.g. SO *derw.lz-* 'to wave'.

NUMBER AND CASE

Plural is marked by a variety of lexically and/or phonologically determined suffixes, the most productive of which is WO *.noghoud* ~ *.nughuud* (without vowel harmony) > SO *.nUd* (mostly with vowel harmony, added to stems ending in a vowel or *n*, more rarely other consonants), e.g. WO *xaan* 'emperor' : pl. *xaan.noghoud*, *kümün* 'person' : pl. *kümün.noghoud*, SO *culu/n* 'stone' : pl. *culu.nud*, *ööms/n* 'sock' : pl. *ööms.nüd*, *törl* 'relative' : pl. *törl.nud*. Related markers are WO *.OUd* ~ *.UUd* > SO *.Ud* (added to consonant stems) and WO *.mOUd* (colloquial) > SO *.mUd* (sometimes without vowel harmony, added to stems ending in *x l r*), e.g. WO *bicig* 'scripture' : pl. *bicig.öüd*, *nom* 'book' : pl. *nom.uud*, *ger* 'tent' : pl. *ger.möüd* > SO *ger.müd*, *uul* 'mountain' : *uul.mud*, *sewgr* 'maiden' : pl. *sewgr.mud*. The markers WO *.ciud* > SO *.cUd* ~ *.cUl* and WO *.nar* (often without vowel harmony) > SO *.nr* denote groups of persons or personified beings, e.g. WO *mongghol* 'Mongol' : pl. *mongghol.ciud*, SO *zaluu* 'young' : pl. *zaluu.cud* 'youth', *köksh/n* 'old' : pl. *köksh.cül*, WO *tenggeri* 'god' : pl. *tenggeri.nar*, SO *ax* 'elder brother' : pl. *ax.nr*.

Less productive plural markers include *.s* (after original vowel stems) and *.d* (replacing a final consonant, but secondarily also used with original vowel stems), e.g. WO *mese* 'weapon' : pl. *mese.s*, SO *yadu* 'poor' : pl. *yadu.s*, *baxn* 'pillar (of tent)' : *baxn.s*, WO *mergen* 'sage' : pl. *merge.d*, SO *xaan* 'emperor' : pl. *xaa.d*, *burxn* 'buddha' : pl. *burx.d*, *yamaa/n* 'goat' : pl. *yamaa.d*, *ner* 'name' : pl. *ner.d* (replacing original **nere.s*), note also *noxa* 'dog' : pl. *nox.d* (replacing original **noka.n*). The denominal suffix WO *.ci/n* > SO *.c/n* has the plural form WO *.ci.d* > SO *.c.d*, e.g. WO *shobou.ci/n* 'falconer' : pl. *shobou.ci.d*. Plural marking is never obligatory and is normally absent after numerals and quantifiers, e.g. WO *xamuq burxan* 'all the buddhas'. On the other hand, double plural marking is commonly attested, often with WO *.moud* > SO *.mUd* as the second suffix, e.g. WO *nökür* 'friend' : pl. *nökü.d* : double pl. *nökü.d.moud*, SO *lam* 'lama' : pl. *lam.nr* : double pl. *lam.nr.mud*.

The basic nominal case paradigm in Oirat comprises the genitive, accusative, dative, ablative, instrumental, comitative, and possessive cases (Table 10.3, WO > SO). The shapes of the case endings in Written Oirat show a strong influence of Written Mongol. Colloquial forms identical with Spoken Oirat appear occasionally in late texts. In both Written and Spoken Oirat, most case endings have variants depending on whether the stem ends in an original obstruent (O), nasal (N), other consonant (C), single vowel (V), or double vowel (VV).

The unmarked basic form (nominative) functions in the sentence as a subject, indefinite (or unspecific) object, adnominal attribute, and nominal predicate. In enumerations of two or more syntactically equal nouns, only the last noun is marked for case, while the others remain unmarked, e.g. WO (pl. dat.) *xamuq burxan kigeed bodhi sadw.nar-tu mürügümüi* '[I] pray to all buddhas and bodhisattvas'. Stems ending in the unstable */n* normally lose this segment in the unmarked form when used as an object, but retain it in other functions, e.g. **usu/n* 'water' > SO *usn* : *us*. The segment is also lost in the marked accusative, instrumental, and possessive cases. In the ablative, a semantic differentiation

TABLE 10.3 OIRAT CASE MARKERS

	C	O	N	V	VV
gen.	*/i-yin* > *-än*		*-i* > *-ä*	*-yin* > *-in*	*-yin* > */gh-in*
acc.	*/y-i(gi)* > *-ig*				*/gh-i* > *-g*
dat.	*-dU* > *-d*	*-tU* > *-t*			
abl.	*eece* > *-As*				> */gh-As*
instr.	*-yeer* > *-Ar*			(-)*beer* > *-Ar*	> */gh-Ar*
com.	*-lUGAA* > *-lA*				
poss.	*-tAi* > *-tA*				

seems to have taken place in some dialects between the stems with and without the unstable */n*.

The genitive ending in Written Oirat is *-i* (written jointly with the stem) or *ni* (written separately) after stems ending in *n* (and */n*), e.g. WO gen. *köböün-i* ~ *köböün ni nökö.d-töi* 'with the son's friends'. After vowels the ending is *-yin*, and after consonants *-iyin*, e.g. WO *eke-yin nere* 'mother's name', *cidkür-iyin cerig* 'the army of the devil', *orcilong-iyin kürdü* 'the wheel of samsara'. Diphthongoid sequences ending in *i* merge with the genitive ending, e.g. WO *toulai* 'hare' : *toula-yin eber* 'the horns of hare'. In Spoken Oirat, the genitive ending is *-A* or (Dörbet) *-ä* (without vowel harmony) after stems ending in *n*, e.g. SO (Dörbet), *narn-ä gerel* 'the shine of the sun', *temen-ä noosn* 'the wool of a camel'; *-An* or (Dörbet) *-än* after other original consonant stems, e.g. SO (Dörbet) *ger-än üüdn* 'the door of the tent'; *-in* ~ *-An* after secondary consonant stems (originally ending in a short vowel), e.g. SO *bugh-in* ~ *bugh-an ars* 'the skin of a deer'; and */gh-in* after (original long) vowels, e.g. SO *ködä/gh-in* 'of the countryside'. The genitive is often required by postpositions, e.g. WO *xaan-i dergede* 'beside the emperor', *amin-i tölöö* 'for life'.

The accusative ending appears in the shapes WO *-i* ~ *-igi* after consonants or short vowels, *-yi* ~ *-yigi* after short vowels, and */gh-i* after long vowels or *ng*, e.g. WO acc. *xoni-i* 'sheep', *xura-i* 'rain', *aba-yigi* 'father', *yertüncü-i* ~ *yertüncü-yi* ~ *yertüncü-yigi* 'world', *amughulang-i* 'peace', *tolghoo/gh-i* 'head', *yadou/gh-i* 'poor'. In Spoken Oirat, the ending is invariably *-ig* after consonants and *-g* after (original long) vowels, e.g. SO acc. *ken-ig* 'whom', *noxa-g* 'dog'.

The dative (dative-locative) is marked by WO *-dU* > SO *-d* after original sonorant stems and WO *-tU* > SO *-t* after original obstruent stems (including stems ending in *r*), e.g. WO dat. *aqshin-du* 'in a moment', *yadou.noghoud-tu* 'to the poor', SO *ken-d* 'to whom', *dörwd.t* 'to/among the Dörbet'. Apart from its basic adverbial functions, the dative expresses the agent of passive predicates, e.g. WO dat. + pass. conv. mod. *zobo-long-du daru.qda-n* 'being pressed by suffering'.

The ablative has in Written Oirat the invariable marker *eece*, used for both front-vocalic and back-vocalic stems and always written separately from the stem, e.g. WO abl. *aman eece* 'from the mouth'. The corresponding colloquial ending is WO *-ees* (with the change **c* > *s*) > SO *-As* (after consonants) ~ */gh-As* (after vowels), e.g. SO *ar-as* 'from behind; from the north'. Stems ending in the unstable */n* have dialectally yielded the secondary suffix variant */n-As* > *-nAs*, which can also be used inetymologically to express a semantic difference, as in SO (Dörbet) *öör-as* 'from a close distance' vs. *öör-nas* 'from recent times'. One of the functions of the ablative is to express the reference

point of comparison, e.g. WO *ene okin tenggeriyin okin eece mashi yeke ghayixamshiqtai bainam* 'this girl is much more beautiful than a heavenly maiden'.

The instrumental is marked by the likewise harmonically invariable ending WO (-) *beer* (after vowels, often written separately from the nominal stem) ~ *-yeer* (after consonants), e.g. *selme-beer* 'with the help of a sword', *dura beer* 'with love', *modun-yeer* '[made] of wood'. The corresponding colloquial ending is WO *-AAr* > SO *-Ar* (after consonants) ~ */gh-Ar* (after vowels), e.g. WO *zam xaalgh-aar* 'along the way', SO *kürä/gh-är* 'in the monastery', *bara/gh-ar* 'by the silhouette'. A special variant in Written Oirat with no counterpart in the spoken language is *-VVr*, e.g. WO *kümün* 'person' : instr. *küm-üür* (or *kümü-ür*).

The comitative is marked by WO *-lughaa* (after back-vocalic stems) ~ *-lügee* (after front-vocalic stems) > colloquial *-lAA* > SO *-lA*, and is most often used in combination with postpositions, such as *adali* 'similar (to)', *selte* 'together (with)', *xamtu* id., *shidar* 'apart (from)', *sacuu* 'equal (to)', e.g. *tenggeri-lügee adali* 'similar to a god', *sumnus-lughaa selte* 'together with a demon'. Since it expresses an action in which two agents take part on an equal footing, the comitative is frequently used with cooperative verbs, e.g. com. + coop. part. hab. *shumnus-lughaa temce.ldü-deg* '[he] fights with demons'. In Spoken Oirat, the harmonically alternating ending *-lA* (< **-lUxA*) is often replaced by the invariant shape *-lä* (< **-lUxAi*), e.g. SO *ken-lä* 'with whom', *yuun-lä* 'with what'.

Because of the preservation of the comitative case in active use, the possessive case in WO *-tAi* (with four harmonic variants: *-tai* ~ *-tei* ~ *-toi* ~ *-töi*) > SO *-tA* ~ *-tä* is relatively rare in the function of an unambiguous adverbial case form. More often, it is attested in its original function as a denominal derivative category, e.g. WO *ölz.töi* 'happy; with happiness', SO *nidn.te* ~ *nidn.tä* 'having eyes, with eyes'. In its derivative function, the possessive form can also appear with the alternative suffix WO *.tU* > *.t*, e.g. WO *xoro* 'poison' : der. poss. *xoro.tu* > SO *xor.t* 'poisonous'. The corresponding plural ends in WO *.tAn* > SO *.tn*, e.g. SO *önr* 'large family' : *önr.tn* 'those having large families'.

Two less frequent case-like forms are the directive in SO *-Ur* (after consonants) ~ *gh/-Ur* (after vowels) and the terminative in WO *-cagha* > colloquial *-cai* > SO *-tsA*, e.g. SO dir. *ghol-ur* 'towards the river', *ger-ür* 'towards the tent', term. *öbdg-tsä* '(up) to the knees; knee-deep'. The directive function can also be expressed by the endings WO *-AAr* > SO *-Ar* (identical with the instrumental) ~ WO *-DAAr* (apparently dative + instrumental) ~ SO *-Ad*, e.g. WO *balghasu-daar* 'towards the town', SO *gal-ad* 'in the direction of the fire'.

Double declension is rare in Written Oirat, with the exception of the regular inflected forms of possessive derivatives, e.g. WO poss. pl. dat. *kücü.tei.noghoud-tu* 'for the powerful ones'. In Spoken Oirat, double declension is more frequent, both in colloquial speech and folkloric texts. Apart from the inflected forms of possessive derivatives, partial case paradigms can be built on the dative (dative + ablative) and the genitive (genitive + dative, ablative, comitative, possessive, directive), e.g. SO gen. dat. *ax-an-d* 'at the brother's place', dat. abl. refl. *ger-t-äs-än* 'from (their own) home', poss. acc. *emäl.tä-g* 'the one with a saddle'.

NUMERALS

The Common Mongolic numerals appear in Oirat as follows (WO > SO): 1 *nigen* > *nig/n* ~ *neg/n*, 2 *xoyor* > *xoyr*, 3 *ghurba/n* > *ghurw/n*, 4 *dörbö/n* > *dörw/n*, 5 *tabu/n* > *taw/n*, 6 *zurghaa/n* > *zurgha/n*, 7 *doloo/n* > *dola/n*, 8 *nayima/n* > *nääm/n*, 9 *yesü/n* > *yüs/n*, 10 *arba/n* > *arw/n*, 20 *xori/n* > *xör/n*, 30 *ghuci/n* > *ghuc/n*, 40 *döci/n* > *döc/n*, 50 *tabi/n* > *täw/n*, 60 *jira/n* > *jir/n*, 70 *dala/n* > *dal/n*, 80 *naya/n* > *nay/n*, 90 *yere/n* > *yir/n*, 100 *zuu/n* >

zuu/n, 1,000 *minggha/n* > *minggh/n*, 10,000 *tüme/n* > *tüm/n*. For higher numbers, the Tibetan loanwords *gbum* > *bum/n* 'hundred thousand', *saya* > *say* 'million', *byewa* 'ten millions', *dungshuur* 'hundred millions', *ter gbum* > *tirbum* 'milliard', *kraq kriq* 'hundred milliards', *yeke kraq kriq* 'trillion', are used. Intermediate numerals are formed by addition and multiplication, e.g. 12 *arwn xoyr*, 200 *xoyr zuu/n*.

Ordinals are derived in Written Oirat by the suffix *.dUGAAr*, e.g. WO *nige.dügeer* 'first', *nayima.dughaar* 'eighth'. The same formative in Spoken Oirat is at least in some dialects used enclitically with no vowel harmony (and apparently with no vowel reduction), cf. e.g. (Jakhachin) *dörw=dughar sara* 'the fourth month'. More commonly, Spoken Oirat has the typically Oirat ordinal suffix *.dkc*, which is often attached to an irregular stem variant, e.g. SO *ghuru.dkc* 'third', *dörä.dkc* 'fourth'. Written Oirat retains the archaic ordinals in *.tAGAAr* for the numerals 3 to 5: WO *ghu.taghaar* 'third', *dö.tögöör* 'fourth', *tab.taghaar* 'fifth'.

Oirat also has the Common Mongolic collectives in WO *.OUlA/n* > *.UUlA/n* > SO *.Ul/n*, the distributives in WO *.VVd* > SO *.Ad*, and the multiplicatives in WO */n.tA* > SO */n.t*, e.g. coll. WO *dörb.öüle/n* 'four together', dat. *axa düü dol.oula-du* 'to all the seven brothers', SO *ghurw.ul/n* 'three together', *dörw.ül/n* ~ *dör.ül/n* 'four together'; distr. WO *ghurb.aad* > SO *ghurw.ad* 'by threes', WO *tab.uud* > SO *taw.ad* 'by fives', WO *dol.ood* > SO *dol.ad* 'by sevens'; multipl. WO *nigen.te* > SO *nign.t* 'once', WO *ghurban.ta* 'three times'. Exceptional formations are present in SO coll. *xoy.urn* 'two together', WO distr. *nij.eed* > SO *nej.ed* 'one by one', WO *xosh.ood* > SO *xosh.ad* 'by twos'. Examples of lexicalized numeral derivatives are SO *gu.n.n* : *gu.n.jn* 'three-year-old male : female cattle', *dö.n.n* : *dö.n.jn* 'four-year-old male : female cattle'.

PRONOUNS

The Oirat system of personal pronouns (Table 10.4, WO > SO) shows few idiosyncracies. Most notably, Spoken Oirat (but not yet Written Oirat) has developed the special nominative *maa.nr* for the first person plural exclusive stem. More rarely, the form SO *maa.nus* is used in the same function. The corresponding oblique stem is normally SO *man-*, though *maan-* and *maa.nr-* also occur. The oblique stem of the first person singular pronoun is normally SO *nad-* (except in the accusative), though SO *nam-* is also attested, e.g. SO com. *nad-lä* ~ *nam-lä*.

The function of the third person pronouns is generally filled by the demonstratives, but Written Oirat also sporadically expresses the third person (both singular and plural)

TABLE 10.4 OIRAT PERSONAL PRONOUNS

		1p.		2p.
sg.	nom.	*bi* > *bii*		*ci* > *cii*
	gen.	*mini* > *mini*		*cini* > *cini*
	acc.	*namai* > *namäg*		*cimai* > *camäg*
	obl.	*nada-* > *nad-*		*cima-* > *cam-*
		excl.	incl.	
pl.	nom.	> *maanr*	*bidan* > *bid*	*ta* > *taa*
	obl.	*man-* > *man-*	*bidan-* > *bidn-*	*tan-* > *tan-*

by the oblique stem *ima* of the original third person singular pronoun (**i* : **ima-*), e.g. WO *ghaqca cini amini aburaqsan bolun ima doloulayin amini doroyitoulxu boloqsan* 'I saved only your life and I destroyed the life of those seven (others)'.

The basic demonstrative pronouns are (WO > SO) *ene* > *en* : obl. *öün-* > *(en)üü/n-* : pl. *ede* > *ed* : obl. *eden-* > *edn-* 'this : these' vs. *tere* > *ter* : obl. *töün-* > *t(er)üü/n-* : pl. *tede* > *ted* : obl. *teden-* > *tedn-* 'that : those'. The case declension follows the regular nominal pattern. Special colloquial forms attested occasionally in Written Oirat include WO instr. *öü/g-eer* 'by this' vs. *töü/g-eer* 'by that', cf. the regular WO inst. *öün-yeer* vs. *töün-yeer*. Related demonstrative derivatives are WO *ödüi* 'this much' vs. *tödüi* 'that much', *ende* 'here' vs. *tende* 'there', *eyi-* 'to do like this' vs. *teyi-* 'to do like that' : conv. mod. *eyin* 'thus' vs. *teyin* 'so', *eyimi* 'this kind of' vs. *teyimi* 'that kind of' (all with regular Spoken Oirat reflexes).

The basic interrogative pronouns are (WO > SO) *ken* > *ken* 'who', *you/n* > *yuu/n* 'what', *ali* > *äl* ~ *älk* 'which'. Related interrogative words include *kezee* > *keze* 'when', *kedüi* ~ *kedüü* > *kedn* ~ *kedü* 'how much; how many', *xamigha* ~ *xamighaa* > *xamaa* 'where', *yamaaru* > *yamr/n* 'what kind of'. The interrogatives often function as indefinite pronouns, especially in Written Oirat. The indefinite function can also be expressed by repeating an interrogative pronoun, or by juxtaposing two different interrogative pronouns, e.g. WO *xamighaa xamighaa* 'somewhere', *ali ken* 'somebody; anyone'. In Spoken Oirat, the indefinite function is often emphasized by the particle *bolwc* ~ *bolwcgn* (formally the concessive converb of *bol-* 'to become'), e.g. *kezee bolwcgn* 'any time, whenever'.

The reflexive pronoun has the shape WO *öbör* 'oneself', colloquially also *eber*. The most commonly attested form is refl. *öbör-öön* ~ *eber-een* ~ *eber-yeen* > SO *ewr-än* '(by) oneself', e.g. WO *ci eber-yeen od* 'you, go yourself!'. The reflexive pronoun can sometimes replace the subject (of any person), e.g. WO *ebereen nücügün xocorji* '(he him)self stayed naked'.

POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

Possessive suffixes, derived from the enclitically used genitive forms of the personal pronouns, are actively used in Spoken Oirat (Table 10.5). The third person suffix shows dialectal variation, with the variant *-i* prevailing in the Torghut and Uryankhai dialects and the variant *-n* in the Dörbet dialect. Examples: *mör/n* 'horse' : px sg. 1p. *mör-m* : 3p. (Torghut) *mör-i*, *ax* 'elder brother' : px sg. 2p. *ax-cn* : pl. 2p. *ax-tn*.

Instead of the fully grammaticalized possessive suffixes, Written Oirat uses the separately written pronominal genitives, which can either precede or follow their nominal headword. The third person singular pronominal genitive *inu* also survives in Written Oirat as a syntactic particle (> SO *-n*), which most often stands after the subject.

TABLE 10.5 SPOKEN OIRAT POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

	sg.		pl.
1p.	*-m*		*-mdn*
2p.	*-cn*		*-tn*
3p.		*-i* ~ *-n*	

The reflexive marker in Written Oirat has the shape *-been* after vowels and *-yeen* after consonants, with the additional colloquial variants *-AAn* and *-GAAn*. The same variants are used after the case endings (depending on the final segment of the ending) except in the dative, which has the complex suffix *-DAAn*. The basic reflexive form functions as an accusative or genitive, though these functions can also be expressed by the complex suffix *-you-ghaan* > *-yuu-ghaan*. In Spoken Oirat, the reflexive marker is *-An* after consonants and */gh-An* after (original long) vowels. In the genitive, the final *n* of the marker is dropped, yielding the complex suffix *-in-a* ~ *-An-A* after consonants and */gh-in-a* ~ */gh-in-ä* after vowels.

FINITE VERBAL FORMS

In Oirat (as in Buryat), the verbal forms of the imperative and indicative spheres show rather many mutual affinities. Most notably, both categories can (with certain limitations) be combined with the predicative personal endings. Also, some imperative forms can have temporal functions close to those of the indicative sphere. Morphologically, the finite paradigm is rich and comprises some ten imperative and five indicative forms (Table 10.6, WO > SO). Even so, the finite paradigm is complemented by predicatively used participles for additional temporal-aspectual distinctions. Most of the finite forms are Common Mongolic, but there are also a few specifically Western Mongolic forms.

The unmarked stem of the verb functions as the basic imperative for the second person singular and expresses a strict demand or categorical order, e.g. WO *ci selmebeer cabciji ala* 'kill [him] by striking [him] with your sword!', SO *axnrin säänin shulun ääld* 'tell me quickly (who is) the best of the brothers!'. In Spoken Oirat, the basic imperative is often used when addressing people younger than the speaker. Phonologically, the basic imperative can be modified by adding an emphatically lengthened inetymological final vowel (*-A*).

A polite request directed at the second person plural is expressed by the benedictive, e.g. WO *ghazaa mör inu bügüdeer üzü-qtün* 'all (of you), please look at the tracks

TABLE 10.6 OIRAT FINITE VERBAL MARKERS

	person	marker	
prec.	2p.	> *-i-*	+vx
vol.	1p. pl.	*-yA(A)* > *-yA* ~ *-i*	
opt.	1p. sg.	*-sU* > *-sU*	(+vx)
opt. exp.	1p.	*-sUGAi* ~ *-sai* > *-sä*	
ben.	2p. pl.	*-qtun* ~ *-qtAn* > *-tn* ~ *-tng*	
prescr.	2p.	*-AArAi* > */gh-Arä*	
conc.	1/3p.	*-tUGAi* > *-tKä*	
perm.	3p.	*-gii* > *-g*	
dub.	1-3p.	*-OUzAi* > *-wUz* ~ *-wzä*	+vx
pot.	1-3p.	> *-mz*	
narr.	1-3p.	*-mUi*	
dur.	1-3p.	*-nAm* ~ *-nAi* ~ *-nAA* > *-n(A)*	+vx
term.	1-3p.	*-bA(i)* ~ *-bAA* > *-w(A)*	+vx
conf.	1-3p.	*-lAi* ~ *-lAA* > *-lA*	+vx
res.	1-3p.	*-Ci* > *-j(i)*	+vx

outside!', SO *eej, taa ir-tng* 'Mother, please come!'. In Spoken Oirat, the benedictive marker is often preceded by the pluritative suffix *.tsGA-*, e.g. SO *taanr suu.tsgha-tn* 'you [many], please take a seat!'. In the Jakhachin dialect both the benedictive and the basic unmarked imperative can be followed by the enclitic particle *=juu*, which moderates the request or command, e.g. (Jakhachin) imp. *yob=juu* 'please go', ben. *yob-tn=juu* 'please go (all of you)'. Still other shades of polite request or instruction directed at the second person (singular or plural) are expressed by the prescriptive and (in Spoken Oirat only) the precative, e.g. (prescr.) SO *caaghur naaghur ir-erä* '(please) come (both) over there and over here!', (prec. sg.) *alsin jayaghan bod-i-c* 'think about your future destiny!', (pl.) *taa uu/gh-i-t* 'you [many], please drink!'.

A wish, desire, or intended action of the first person plural is expressed by the voluntative, e.g. WO *bi zuzaan oyidu oro-yo* 'I wish to go/will go to a deep forest', *ödügee bidan xoyor naadu-yaa* 'now, let the two of us play!', SO *eej, tand baralx-i* 'I wish to meet/I will meet you, Mother'. In Spoken Oirat, the voluntative can be followed by the interrogative particle *=uu*, suggesting that it is functionally close to an indicative future tense form, e.g. *mandlin säär deer uuldz-y= uu* 'shall/may we meet in Mandal gully?'. A temporal function (future tense) with a modal connotation (wish or intention) is also involved in the optative, which normally refers to the first person singular, e.g. WO *modu buu unugha, bi öböröön buu-su* 'do not cut the tree, I will myself come down', SO *bi oda taanrt kel-sü* 'I will tell you now', (in an auxiliary construction:) *bi keläd ög-sü* 'I will tell you' (or: 'I am going to tell you'). The optative can also take the first person singular personal ending, e.g. opt. vx sg. 1p. *ög-sü-w* 'I will give (it to you)' (or: 'let me give it to you!').

A request or instruction directed at the third person (singular and plural) is expressed by the concessive and permissive, e.g. SO (conc.) *ax gertä xär-txä* 'let (our) elder brother return home!', perm. *kel-g* 'he may say; let him say!'. In Written Oirat, the concessive is mainly attested in the auxiliary form conc. *bol-tughai* (of *bol-* 'to become'), which is typically used after a futuritive participle, e.g. (part. fut. + conc.) *üyile buyannoghoudi edle-kü bol-tughai* 'let them obtain (good) deeds and merit!. This construction can also refer to the first person, as in WO *bi teyin ila-xu bol-tughai* 'let me win completely!'.

Oirat has also the dubitative and potential forms, of which the dubitative in *-OUzAi* > */gh-UzA* ~ *-zä* (also known as *dubitativus abhorrens*) expresses, in a negative sense, an undesirable action that will possibly take place, while the potential in *-mz* (also known as *dubitativus optans*, only in Spoken Oirat) expresses, in a positive sense, a desirable action that will possibly take place. Both forms can refer to all persons (both singular and plural), e.g. (dub.) WO *ende bidani araatan ala-xu bol-ouzai* '(it may happen that) a wild animal may kill us here', SO *namrin budnd töör-wüz* '(make sure you) do not get lost in the autumn fog!', (vx sg. 2p.) *ci geräsän gar-wzä-c* 'you should not go out of your yurt', (pot.) *towc, shilw xad-mz* 'I wonder if I should attach the button and the button-loop'.

The finite indicative forms represent the present (present-future) and past tense ranges. In the present tense range, the principal form in Written Oirat is the narrative, which is not attested in Spoken Oirat, e.g. WO narr. *mürgü-müi* '[he] bows/will bow'. Written Oirat also preserves traces of the deductive, notably in the auxiliary ded. *bol/ u-yu* '[it] is'. In colloquial texts, as well as in Spoken Oirat, the present tense range is dominated by the durative, e.g. WO *töüni dergede ülü od-nam* '[I] will not go to him', SO *kökök shuwun jirgi-n* 'the cuckoo chatters/will chatter', *cikindki subsär shangn-nä* '[she] will be rewarded with a pearl for [her] ear(ring)', (vx sg. 1p.) *bi mangdr yom-nä-w* 'I am going to leave tomorrow', (2p.) *malar yuugha ki-nä-c* 'what will you do with your cattle?'.

In the past tense range, Oirat preserves the terminative, confirmative, and resultative forms in active use. The terminative expresses completed action and is the most frequent past tense form in Written Oirat, e.g. *bi xolo eece irebei* 'I came from far away', SO (term. interr. vx pl. 2) *ocxiin üzw=üü-t* 'did you (many) see him come?'. In Spoken Oirat, the terminative is often accompanied by the enclitic particle *=l*, e.g. SO *düünr tüündän irw=l* 'the younger brothers came to him'. The confirmative typically refers to a recently completed action witnessed by the subject, e.g. WO *edgekü em öqci edegeelei* 'giving [him] a curing medicine, [I] have cured him', SO conf. vx sg. 1p. *un-la-w* 'I have (just) ridden (a horse)'. A past action not observed by the subject is expressed by the resultative, e.g. WO *törö-ji* '[he] was born', *ghar-ci* '[he] came out', SO *engk+tör aawtä, enggn+ulan eejtä, erk+darx xattä genn+ulan baatr gej yow-ji* 'there lived a hero, called Pure Red, whose father was Calm Power, whose mother was Peaceful Red, and whose wife was Powerful Târa Mother'.

PARTICIPLES

Oirat preserves the full Common Mongolic set of participles, though only the futuritive, perfective, and habitive participles are used actively in all the regular participial functions. The imperfective and agentive participles have only limited verbal use, though both are well attested as derivational forms in nominal functions (deverbal nouns).

The most frequently used participial form is the futuritive participle in WO *-xu(i)* ~ *-kü(i)* > SO *-x*, which occurs both in substantival (subject, object) and adjectival (attribute, predicate) functions, e.g. [subject] WO (with the particle *cu* 'also') *nere asaq-xui cu mashi cuxaq* 'the asking of a name is also very rare', SO *cinenin san-x burutä* 'your thinking is wrong'; [object] (part. fut. acc.) WO *ebecinyeer ebedci kebte-küi-gi köböün üzeed* . . . 'having seen [her] lying suffering of an illness, the boy . . .', SO *xargld-x-ig ünnkär martla* 'I really forgot the meeting (with you)'; [attribute] WO *kündülen üyiled-küi amitannoghoud* 'living beings acting with respect'. In predicative usage, the futuritive participle is often (but not always) accompanied by an auxiliary verb (which can itself be in the same form), e.g. SO *kezedän baralx-x bol-x* 'once I will come to an audience'. With the dative case ending, the futuritive participle functions as a quasiconverb expressing the temporal circumstances of the main action, e.g. (part. fut. dat.) *bär-x-d büläп, xar-x-d kiitn – ükrin ewr* '(it is) warm when touched, (and) cold when seen – the horns of an ox' (riddle).

The perfective participle in WO *-qsAn* > SO *-sn* (in folkloric texts also *-ksn*) occurs most often in the attributive function, e.g. WO *müreni ekindü sou-qsan kümünnoghoud* 'the men who (had) lived at the source of the river', SO *kezeni uu-sn kiitn xar ärx* 'the cool milk brandy that [I] drank/had drunk long ago'. In inflected forms it also has objective and adverbial (quasiconverbial) uses, e.g. WO part. perf. dat. *shinjile-qsen-dü* 'when [he] studied [it]', (part. perf. acc.) *eke mou zayaatani orondu unuqsan-i üzeed* . . . '[he] saw that (his) mother had fallen to the place (reserved) for those with a bad destiny and . . .'. As a nominal predicate (with or without a copula), the perfective participle functions as a past tense form (completed action), e.g. WO *augha kücünlughaa tögösüqsen nigen xaan bayi-qsan* '(there) was an emperor who was in possession of great power'.

The habitive participle in WO *-dAq* > SO *-dg* has mainly attributive and predicative uses, e.g. [attribute] WO *zou-daq doqshin* 'a biting beast; a beast that frequently bites', [predicate] *mini nökür xamuq yumayigi yoqtobeer ögüüle-deq* 'my husband likes to say everything allegorically'. Since this form is temporally neutral, any temporal distinctions

have to be expressed in the copula, e.g. SO (part. hab. + term.) *amr mend jol-dg bol-wa* '[he] met with them (repeatedly) in peace and health'.

The verbal uses of the imperfective participle in WO *-AA* > SO *-A* (after vowels */gh-A*) are extremely rare in Written Oirat, being confined to fixed phrases of the type WO > *ir-ee ödüi* 'future' (literally: 'that has not yet come'). In Spoken Oirat, the form is more common, but is mainly used in the negative construction with *=goo* (negative past tense). When used with the auxiliary *bol-*, the imperfective participle expresses possibility, e.g. SO *jindj yow-a bol-w=uu* 'was/is it possible to go far away?'.

The agentive participle appears in Oirat with both of its Common Mongolic suffix variants. The form (1) in WO *-AAci* > SO *-Ac* (after vowels */gh-Ac*) forms fully nominalized and lexicalized actor nouns, e.g. WO *zura-* 'to paint' : part. ag. *zur-aaci* 'painter'. The same is true of the form (2) in WO *-qci* > SO *-kc*, but at least in Written Oirat this form is occasionally attested in a verbal function, e.g. [nominal] WO *axa.la-* 'to lead' (literally: 'to act as elder brother') : part. ag. *axala-qci* 'leader', SO *ösk-* 'to grow' : part. ag. *ösk-kc* '(a person) who makes (something) grow', [verbal] WO *maxa ideqci noxoi* 'a dog that eats meat'.

CONVERBS

For the indication of subordinated predicates, Oirat has some ten converbial forms (Table 10.7, WO > SO). Rather exceptionally in the general Mongolic context, the perfective converb can in Spoken Oirat also occur as a finite predicate with no actual finite verb following. Otherwise, the converbs are used in their Common Mongolic functions.

The modal and imperfective converbs are often functionally more or less indistinguishable from each other, since both indicate an action that takes place simultaneously with (or shortly before) the main action, cf. e.g. (conv. mod.) WO *alixa xabsuru-n sögödci* 'joining (his) palms, [he] knelt and . . .', SO *arc-n, seksr-n täwna* 'cleaning and shaking [it], he puts [it] down', conv. imperf. WO *uyila-ji xaribai* '[he] left crying', SO *näärl-j suu-j jirghwa* 'living (and) celebrating, [we] were happy'. The perfective converb, by contrast, indicates an action that has clearly been completed before the main action, e.g. WO *tedeni üz-eed eyin kemen asaqbai* '[he] saw them and then asked', SO *tsamtsicn ir-äd ümsärä* 'come and put on your shirt!', (with a modal auxiliary) *bicg sons-od öglä*

TABLE 10.7 OIRAT CONVERB MARKERS

	marker	meaning
conv. mod.	*-n* > *-n*	'by way of'
imperf.	*-Ji* > *-J*	'while'
perf.	*-AAd* ~ *-VVd* > */gh-Ad*	'and then; after'
cond.	*-bAAsu* > *-wAs* ~ *-ws* ~ *-wl*	'if; when'
conc.	*-bA(A)cu* ~ *-bAci* > *-wc* ~ *-(w)Uc*	'although'
term.	*-tAlA* > *-tl*	'until'
contemp.	*-mAqcA* > *-mgts*	'as soon as'
abtemp.	*-qsAAr* > *-sAr*	'since; and then'
intent.	*-KAi* ~ *-KAA*	'in order to'
succ.	> *-xlAr*	'as soon as'

'they listened to the document'. The finite use of the perfective converb is particularly common in combination with the negative particle *=UgO*, e.g. SO *önän jowlng üzäd=ügö* '[he] has not experienced that kind of suffering'.

More specific temporal relations are expressed by the terminative, contemporal, and abtemporal converbs, e.g. (conv. term.) WO *yasunyeen cayi-tala soun* 'sitting (there) until his bones turned white', SO *önggin ghar-tl jülgj=wän* '[I am] polishing [it] until its colour appears'; (conv. contemp.) WO *ayiladxa-maqca ghadanaki doloon kümün ireed* 'as soon as he reported [it], the seven persons who were outside arrived'; (conv. abtemp.) WO *ghasalangdu daruqdan uyila-qsaar* [. . .] *gharbai* 'being pressed by sorrow, he cried [. . .] and went out'; SO *buughinan biltäg burghul-sar irdg* 'he often comes waving the barrel of his gun'. In Spoken Oirat, functions close to the contemporal converb can also be expressed by the successive converb in *-xlAr* (formally part. fut. com. instr.), as well as by two interrelated forms marked by the suffixes *-nggUt* resp. *-nggA*. Another feature of Spoken Oirat is that the terminative converb can take the possessive suffixes to express the subject, e.g. SO (conv. term. px sg. 1p.) *namäg yow-tl-m end suujä* 'until I left [he] was sitting here'.

The Common Mongolic conditional converb in WO *-bAAsU* > SO *-wAs* (~ *-bAs*) is relatively rare in Oirat, e.g. WO *törö-böösü* 'if [there] is born', SO *ghurwn jamar yab-bas* 'if [he] goes along the three ways'. More commonly, conditionality is expressed in Written Oirat by the quasiconverbial forms in *-KU-lAA* (formally part. fut. com.) ~ *-KU-nAA* (possibly part. fut. refl.), while in Spoken Oirat the suffix *-wl* (of the Khalkha type) is used, e.g. WO *xubcastai bol-xunaa xaani dergede irekü bölögee* 'if [I] had clothes, [I] would go to the emperor', SO *emeel bää-wl jandn* 'if there is a saddle, (it is made of) sandal wood'. In the Jakhachin dialect, the complex suffixes *-j-m* ~ *-j-gle-m* ~ *-j-gle-ym* (apparently from res. *-ji* + conf. *ge-le* 'have said' + the copulas *yum* or *mön*) are used in the same function, often with personal endings, e.g. (px sg. 2p.) *ci yow-jgleym-c* (< **yow-ji+ge-le+yum=ci*) 'if you were to go'.

The concessive converb in *-bAcu* ~ *-bAAcU* ~ *-bAci* > SO *-wc* ~ *-(w)Uc* has in Spoken Oirat often the expanded suffix *-wcg* ~ *-(w)Ucg* (with the final **=cu* > *=ci* 'also, even', replaced by the typically Oirat particle *=ci.g/n* id.), e.g. WO *axa dolon jil yelbi sura-baci ese medebei* 'although the elder brother learned magic for seven years, [he] did not (get to) know [it]', SO *caasn nimgn bol-wucg, nomin degtr* 'although the paper is thin, it is the book of the teaching', (Dörbet) *sons-uc es sons-uc xama=güü* 'whether you listen or do not listen, it does not matter'.

The intentional converb (with an analogy in Buryat) seems to be attested only in Written Oirat, e.g. WO *bughu al[a]-xai odlai* '[he] went to hunt deer', *ecige eke xoyori eri-kei irebei* '[he] came (in order) to look for (his) father and mother'.

PREDICATIVE PERSONAL ENDINGS

One of the most diagnostic differences between Oirat and Mongol proper is that the former has, like other Western and Northern Mongolic languages, personal predicative endings, derived from the corresponding pronominal nominatives. The personal endings are only marginally attested in Written Oirat, indicating that they are a relatively recent innovation. On the other hand, the personal endings are disappearing in the modern Oirat dialects spoken in the vicinity of Khalkha, and for the most part their use may synchronically be characterized as facultative. The same is true of the possessive suffixes which can occasionally indicate the subject person of subordinated predicates (as in the terminative converb).

TABLE 10.8 SPOKEN OIRAT PREDICATIVE PERSONAL ENDINGS

	sg.		pl.
1p.	*-w*		*-wdn*
2p.	*-c*		*-t*
3p.		-Ø	

The Spoken Oirat personal endings (Table 10.8) can appear after all finite indicative forms, certain imperative forms, as well as finitely used participles and nouns. The only form in which the personal endings (for the second person only) are obligatory is the precative. In the finite indicative paradigm (as in the durative and terminative), the personal endings are always attached to the suffix variant containing a vowel. Example of a full personal paradigm: *id-* 'to eat' : dur. sg. 1p. *id-nä-w* : 2p. *id-nä-c* : 3p. *id-n(ä)* : pl. 1p. *id-nä-wdn* : 2p. *id-nä-t.*

SYNTAX

Oirat follows the Common Mongolic pattern of sentence structure with a subject-object-verb (SOV) basic word order. Since clauses are linked with each other with the help of converbs and participles, conjunctions are largely superfluous. There are, nevertheless, a few copulative conjunctions well known also from other Mongolic languages, notably WO SO *ba* 'and', WO *kigeed* id. (formally conv. perf. **ki-xed* of **ki-* 'to do'). Generally, the syntactic structure of Written Oirat is more complex than that of Spoken Oirat, and certain relatively complicated features like the passive are more common in Written Oirat. Written Oirat also incorporates considerable syntactic influence of Written Mongol.

Negation is expressed by a selection of Common Mongolic negative particles, used either prepositionally or postpostionally. Prepositional particles are WO *buu* ~ *bü*, SO *bitkä* ~ *bicke* ~ *bicge* ~ *bice* 'do not' (prohibition of imperative forms), WO *ülü* > SO *ül* (for finite forms and participles of the present tense range), and WO *ese* > SO *es* (especially for finite indicative forms of the past tense range), e.g. SO (neg. imp.) *setkl=c bitkä ebdr* 'do not break your heart!', WO (neg. part. fut.) *sayin kümün ügebeen ülü urbu-xu* 'a good person does not betray his words', (neg. term.) *ene zamdur ese ire-bei* '[she] did not come on this way', SO (neg. part. hab.) *cerigtän es moril-dg bilü* '[he] did not go to his army'. Postpositional particles are WO *busu* ~ *bishi* > SO *b(i)sh* > *=w(i)sh* (negation of nominal identity) and SO *ugä* ~ *uga* ~ *=UgO* ~ *=goo* ~ *=güü* (negative noun), e.g. SO *xol=c bish, öörxn* '[it is] not at all far away, [it is] close', part. hab. neg. *jewr-dg=goo* 'stainless' (literally: 'that does not rust').

Other syntactic particles include *=lAA* ~ *=l* (logical emphasis), *=c* (nominal emphasis), *=dAA* (predicative emphasis), *=shuu* (id.), *=UU* ~ *yUU* ~ *=ii* (interrogation), *=w* ~ *=b* (corrogation). In addition, the enclitically used pronominal genitives and/or possessive suffixes of the second and third person singular WO *cinu* : *inu* > *-cn* : *-n* are used in a variety of roles not yet fully understood (topicalization, determination).

LEXICON

The basic vocabulary of Oirat does not differ substantially from other Mongolic languages. As in the case of Written Mongol and Mongol proper, the translation of Buddhist

texts introduced a large number of Uighur, Tibetan, and Sanskrit technical loanwords into Oirat, especially into Written Oirat. However, relatively many Buddhist terms were translated word by word into native Oirat, cf. e.g. WO *altani züreken* 'Golden Heart' (Sanskrit *Suvarṇagarbha*), WO *xaani xarshi* 'imperial palace, settlement' (for Sanskrit *Râjagṛha*, Written Mongol **Radzagriqe**).

Unlike most other Mongolic languages, Spoken Oirat has been rather heavily influenced by the Turkic languages of Jungaria and Western Mongolia, especially Kazakh, Kirghiz, and Uighur. Some populations today speaking Oirat, notably the Khoton, had originally a Turkic language, while other Turkic populations, such as the Tuva-related Altai Uryankhai, are bilingual in Oirat. Because of these contacts, Spoken Oirat has in its non-basic vocabulary several lexical idiosyncracies, many (though not all) of which have Turkic connections, cf. e.g. *örün* 'morning' (Khalkha **öglöö**), *asghn* 'evening' (Khalkha **oroi**), *xashg* 'spoon' (Khalkha **xalbaga**), *kiilg* 'shirt' (also *tsamts* = Khalkha **tsamts**), *term* 'wall of the yurt' (Khalkha **xana**), *gharac* ~ *xaraac* (from *ghar-* 'to go out') 'smokehole' (Khalkha **toono**), *ulyr* 'ptarmigan' (Khalkha **xoilog**).

As an interesting sociolinguistic phenomenon it may be mentioned that the Oirat have traditionally had a special kind of women's language, called SO *berlsn üg* 'words for daughters-in-law', today only used by a diminishing number of old women. The principal differences between the Oirat women's language and regular dialectal speech are lexical. In some cases it is a question of lexical replacement because of taboo, e.g. *xäärxn* 'the sacred one' for *moghä* 'snake', *täägh n* 'hound' for *noxa* 'dog'. In other cases, synonyms are used for no immediately obvious reason, cf. e.g. *baran* 'dark' for *xar* 'black', *änggr* 'reddish' for *shar* 'yellow', *xad* 'rock' for *culu* 'stone', [phrase example:] *ciirg bään=ii-t* 'are you strong' for *sään bään=uu* 'are you well' (as a greeting in the sense 'how do you do?'). Also, the initial consonant of certain words is changed to *y*, e.g. *shaghä* > *yaghä* 'ankle bone', *tend* > *yend* 'there', *shaar* 'tea' (originally 'grounds of tea leaves') > *yaar* (instead of *tsää* 'tea').

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

KALMUCK

Uwe Bläsing

The Kalmuck (Kalmyk) language (*xalymg keln*) is a Western Mongolic language spoken mainly in the Kalmuck Republic (Republic of Kalmykia), the former Kalmuck ASSR, which since 1992 forms a sovereign entity within the Russian Federation. Outside of the republic, Kalmuck is spoken in several other parts of Russia, including, in particular, the provinces (*oblast'*) of Astrakhan, Rostov, Volgograd, and Orenburg, and the region (*krai*) of Stavropol'. A small number of people identified as Kalmuck also live in the Issyk Köl region of Kyrgyzstan. The total Kalmuck population in the Russian Federation, according to the census of 1989, is about 165,800 people, most of whom (146,300) live in the Kalmuck Republic. A large proportion of the Kalmuck have, however, lost the native language in favour of Russian, and it is unclear whether the recent political changes can revert the ongoing process of linguistic assimilation.

In the ethnic and linguistic sense the Kalmuck belong to the larger context of the Oirat (Torghut, Dörbet, Öelet, Khoshut). More specifically, they descend from those Oirat tribes (mostly Torghut and Dörbet) which were forced to emigrate from their original homeland in Jungaria in 1616 because of internal political pressure. They migrated westwards and settled along the Lower Volga and the Caspian Sea, submitting to Russian suzerainty. Much ink has been spilled about the etymology of the ethnonym Kalmuck (*xalymg*), but according to one of the most convincing hypotheses it is connected with the Mongolic stem **kali-* 'to fly away, to soar; to flow over' (+ the suffix **.mag*), implying that the Kalmuck were 'people who flew away from their country', i.e. emigrants from Jungaria. However, after their relations with the Russians worsened in the eighteenth century, part of the Kalmuck population returned in 1771 to Jungaria, where they re-entered the composition of the rest of the Oirat.

From 1648 till approximately 1918–24 the Kalmuck used the Oirat 'Clear Script' (*tod bicg*), created by the Buddhist monk Zaya Pandita (1599–1662) by adding new letters and diacritics to the Mongol (Uighur-Mongol) script, as used for Written Mongol and known to the Kalmuck as the 'Original Script' (*xudm bicg*). Since 1918, except for a short period between 1931 and 1938, when a Roman orthography was used, Kalmuck has been written in the Cyrillic alphabet. Several Cyrillic orthographies have been in use, with the current official variety including a number of special letters also used in the Cyrillic orthographies of Khalkha and/or Buryat. The Kalmuck literary language has an official norm, used in native language education in the Republic of Kalmykia, though much of the administration in the republic takes place in Russian.

There are two main dialects in Kalmuck. Dörbet is mostly spoken in the west of the Kalmuck Republic, while Torghut prevails in the east. The subdialects spoken by the Orenburg and Ural Kalmuck also belong to the Torghut dialect. Busawa or Don Kalmuck is a mixture of Dörbet and Torghut. The modern literary language is mainly based on the Torghut dialect, though it incorporates a large number of concessions to Dörbet. The dialectal differences are generally small, and standard Kalmuck, even in its modern form,

retains a considerable degree of mutual intelligibility with regard to the Oirat dialects spoken in China.

The main argument for recognizing Kalmuck as a separate language, at least in the political sense, is its special history in the context of Russia. Especially in the modern standard language, the strong Russian impact is reflected by the presence of a large number of Russian loanwords. In all other respects the Kalmuck lexicon coincides by and large with Common Mongolic. Like other Mongolic languages, Kalmuck therefore also has borrowings from Sanskrit and Tibetan (especially in the older religious vocabulary), as well as from Chinese (mainly indirectly) and, of course, Turkic. Occasional Persian and Arabic words have mainly entered the language via the intermediation of Turkic. Most of these foreign elements are well known also from other Mongolic languages.

DATA AND SOURCES

Kalmuck is a well-documented language with rich sources on all fields, as summarized by Nicholas Poppe (1955) and D. A. Pavlov (1984). As the first general description of the language, the classic work by Władysław Kotwicz (1929) has to be mentioned, followed by G. D. Sanzheev (1940). Modern works of a more normative character include those by D. A. Pavlov (1963, 1968) on phonology, B. B. Badmaev (1966) on morphology, P. C. Bitkeev *et al.* (1983) on phonology and morphology, as well as U. U. Ochirov (1964) and G. C. Pyurbeev (1977–9) on syntax. Brief grammatical sketches in collective works include Udo Posch (1964), B. X. Todaeva (1968), and G. C. Pyurbeev (1997). Specialized topics of morphology and morphosyntax are discussed by Pentti Aalto and Armas Salonen (1945) and Uwe Bläsing (1984), while J. C. Street (1962) is an important contribution to the phonological analysis of Kalmuck.

The Kalmuck lexicon is documented in several large works. The most comprehensive scientific dictionary, based on a wide range of dialects and containing also grammatical information, is that by G. J. Ramstedt (1935, Kalmuck–German), indexed by John R. Krueger (1961). Modern normative dictionaries of literary Kalmuck include those published under the editorship of B. D. Muniev (1977, Kalmuck–Russian) and I. K. Ilishkin (1964, Russian–Kalmuck). Another practical work is A. Bormanshinov and G. Zagadinov (1963, Kalmuck–English).

The diachrony of Kalmuck is likewise discussed in a considerable number of general and specialized publications. Gerhard Doerfer (1965) provides a presentation of relevant Western philological material, while the overall history of the Kalmuck language is summarized by Pavel Poucha (1967) and C.-D. Nominxanov (1975). Johannes Benzing (1985) gives an encyclopaedic treatment of Kalmuck synchrony and diachrony, including also dialectology. The foreign lexical elements in Kalmuck are analysed by Krueger (1966, 1968, Sanskrit and Tibetan), V. I. Rassadin (1983, Turkic), and K. H. Menges (1966, Russian). The evolution of the modern literary language under the impact of increasing bilingualism in Russian is discussed by I. K. Ilishkin (1972).

SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Kalmuck has eight short vowel phonemes: the two low vowels *a ä*, the three mid-high vowels *o ö e*, and the three high vowels *u ü i* (Table 11.1). There are virtually no symptoms of vowel rotation, except that the high rounded back vowel *u* can be pronounced with a slightly lower tongue position than the high front vowels *ü i*. The front vowels *ä ö ü* are frequently of a metaphonic origin (palatal umlaut), as in *mörn* 'horse' < **mori/n*,

TABLE 11.1 KALMUCK VOWELS

u	*ü*	*i*
o	*ö*	*e*
a		*ä*

TABLE 11.2 KALMUCK CONSONANTS

p	*t*	*ty*		*k*
	ts		*c*	
b	*d*	*dy*		*g*
			j	
	s		*sh*	*x*
w	*z*			*gh*
m	*n*	*ny*		*ng*
	l	*ly*		
	r	*ry*		
		y		

but the segments *ö ü* can also represent the corresponding original front vowels **ö *ü*, as in *mör* 'trace' < **mör*.

All vowel qualities have long (or doubled) counterparts: *aa ää oo öö ee uu üü ii*. The opposition between short and long vowels is, however, valid only for the initial syllable. In non-initial syllables, original short vowels disappear, or are strongly reduced (retaining no phonemically relevant qualitative oppositions), e.g. pl. *ek.nr* 'mothers' < **eke.ner*. Correspondingly, original long (contracted) vowels are shortened in non-initial syllables, e.g. com. *böö-lä* 'shaman' < **böö-lää* < **böxe-lüxei*. This situation is correctly reflected by the present-day orthography, in which original short vowels are represented by single letters in the initial syllable and by zero in non-initial syllables, while original long vowels are represented by doubled letters in the initial syllable and by single letters in non-initial syllables, e.g. **eknr**, **böölä**.

The Kalmuck consonant system has some 26 regular members (Table 11.2). Additionally, there are a number of marginal consonant phonemes and orthographical segments, notably **f** (*f*), **zh** (*zh*), and **shh** (*shch*), used only in Russian loanwords.

An important feature of the consonant system, which links Kalmuck with the rest of the Oirat complex, is the presence of the palatal consonants *ty dy ny ly ry*, which represent the original dentals **t *d *n *l *r*, palatalized under the influence of **i* in cases where no umlaut has taken place, as in *uutyxn* 'rather small' < **uyitakan*. As in the current orthographies of Khalkha and Buryat, palatalization is orthographically indicated by using the Cyrillic sign of palatalization, or also, especially in the position before *i* or *ü*, by using separate vowel letters (**ї** after the dentals vs. **і** after the palatals). Like Khalkha, Kalmuck also has an opposition between the dental and palatal (alveopalatal) reflexes of the original sibilant obstruents **c *j *s*. In these cases, the palatals *c j sh* are orthographically distinguished from the dentals *ts z s* by using separate basic letters.

Another important development is the uvularization and spirantization of the original velar stops **k *g* before velar vowels into *x gh* (orthographically **x h**), as in

xörn '20' < **kori/n*, *ghurwn* '3' < **gurba/n*. Due to umlaut and vowel reduction, the segments *x gh* can contrast with the corresponding synchronic stops *k g*. A phonetic spirantization is also characteristic of the weak dental sibilant obstruent (orthographically **z**), though both the corresponding palatal segment *j* and the strong segments *ts c* continue to be pronounced as affricates.

The official Cyrillic orthography of Kalmuck is not in all respects phonemic. An important deviation is, for instance, involved in the orthography of certain monosyllabic words. A long vowel in monosyllabic words with no final consonant, or in words ending in one of the consonants *l r n*, is orthographically shortened, cf. e.g. **jun** for both *zuun* (< **jaxu/n*) 'hundred' and *zun* (< **jun*) 'summer'. The length is, however, restored when a suffix is attached to the word, e.g. **bu** : **buug** for *buu* 'rifle' : acc. *buu-g*, **sän** : **sääxn** for *sään* 'good' : *sää.xn* 'pretty'. Also, as in Khalkha and Buryat, recent Russian loanwords retain the original Russian orthography irrespective of what their phonemic shape in the oral language is. All such items will below be cited in boldface.

WORD STRUCTURE

In so far as the loss of all short vowels in non-initial syllables is accepted as a phonological reality, Kalmuck (like Mongol proper) is a language with exceptionally complicated medial and final consonant clusters. Phonetically, these clusters can have a syllabified structure, manifested in the presence of syllabic consonants and/or non-distinctive vocalic elements, e.g. *kö.dl.msh* 'labour'. The accent (expiratory stress) tends to fall on the last segmentally distinctive vowel of the word. In non-initial syllables, such a vowel normally represents a diachronic long vowel (originally a contracted double vowel), e.g. *shulun* 'fast' < **shuluun* < **siluxun*.

The vowels of non-initial syllables are also affected by the palato-velar vowel harmony, according to which a Kalmuck word can normally only contain either back vowels or front vowels. Since the original short vowels of non-initial syllables are lost, vowel harmony is synchronically valid only for the diachronic long vowels. The harmonically alternating pairs are *u a* (back) vs. *ü ä* (front), e.g. *ükr* 'cow' : abl. *ükr-äs* : dir. *ükr-ür* vs. *uul* 'mountain' : abl. *uul-as* : dir. *uul-ur*. The vowel **i* is originally neutral, and its synchronic reflexes can occur with both back and front vowels, cf. e.g. *onyg.ta* 'attentive' < **onig.tai*. A long **ii* is, however, treated as a front vowel, and it can condition the appearance of a palatal variant after a velar stem, e.g. *awgh* 'uncle' : gen. + gen. *awgh-in-ä* 'of the uncle's', *aaw* 'father' : gen. + instr. *aaw-in-är* 'like one of the father's'.

Another morphophonological phenomenon conditioned by vowels is the adding of the connective consonant *gh* < **g* between two diachronic long vowels (synchronically a stem-final long vowel and a suffix-initial short vowel), e.g. *düü* (orthographically **dü**) 'younger brother' : abl. *düü/gh-äs*. Kalmuck also preserves the alternation of the stem-final unstable **/n* with zero in nominal stems, e.g. *yama/n* 'goat' : *yama.c* 'goatherd'. In the nominal declension, the nasal is preserved in the nominative case, but it is lost in the indefinite, accusative, instrumental, and possessive cases, e.g. nom. *yaman* : indef. *yama* : acc. *yama-g* : instr. *yama/gh-ar* : poss. *yama-ta*. Stems ending in a stable **n*, e.g. *xaan* 'emperor' < **kaxan*, have no similar alternation. Owing to the loss of the final short vowels, there are also stems with a secondary final *n*, e.g. *xun* 'swan' < **kuna*. Since Kalmuck, unlike many other Mongolic languages, preserves the distinction between final **n* and **ng*, the primary (stable or unstable) and secondary occurrences of stem-final *n* are phonemically identical. The three stem types are, however, morphophonologically

distinct. Stems ending in the velar nasal **ng* show the alternation of *ng* (prepausally and before a suffix-initial consonant) with *ngg* (before a suffix-initial vowel).

WORD FORMATION

Kalmuck has the following formally (morphologically and/or syntactically) distinguishable parts of speech: nouns, pronouns, numerals, postpositions, adverbs, verbs, conjunctions, particles, and interjections. A formal difference between substantives and adjectives does not exist. Word formation takes place mainly by Common Mongolic derivative suffixes, many of which are not synchronically productive. The most important derivative suffixes are listed below.

Denominal nouns: *.c* (< **.ci*) [occupations], e.g. *ghosn* 'boots' : *ghos.c* 'bootmaker', *xön* 'sheep' : *xöö.c* 'shepherd', **politik** 'politics' : **politik**.*c* 'politician'; *.gcn* (< **.gcin*) [colour of female animals], e.g. *ulan* 'red' : *ula.gcn* id. (e.g. cow), *xar* 'black' : *xar.gcn* id. (e.g. horse); *.lg* or (after back vowels) *.lyg* (< **.lig*) [having, containing], e.g. *tsetsg* 'flower' : *tsetsg.lg* 'park', *max/n* 'meat' : *max.lyg* 'fleshy, fat'; *.s/n* (< **.sU/n*) [substantival nouns, non-productive], e.g. *dään* 'war' : *dää.s/n* 'enemy', *el.s/n* 'sand'; *.wc* (< **.bci*) [cover of], e.g. *nüd/n* 'eye/s' : *nüd.wc* 'cover for eyes', *salyk/n* 'wind' : *salyk.wc* 'ventilation flap'; *.wr* (< **.bir* ~ **.bUr*) [moderative adjectival nouns, non-productive], e.g. *sään* 'good' : *sää.wr* (< **sayi.bur*) 'rather good', *tsaghan* 'white' : *tsagha.wr* (< **cagaxa.bir*) 'whitish'; *.xn* or (after front-vocalic stems) *.kn* (< **.kAn*) [moderatives, diminutives, and feminines], e.g. *muu* 'bad' : *muu.xn* 'rather bad', *jööln* 'soft' : *jööl.xn* 'rather soft', *noyn* 'king' : *noy.xn* 'queen'.

Deverbal nouns: *.dl* (< **.dAl*), e.g. *bää-* 'to be' : *bää.dl* 'life, existence, nature', *yow-* 'to go, to act' : *yow.dl* 'walk, deed'; *.dn* (< **.dUn*), e.g. *inä-* 'to laugh' : *inä.dn* 'laughter', *xanya-* 'to cough' : *xanya.dn* 'cough'; *.g* (< **.g*), e.g. *bic-* 'to write' : *bic.g* 'letter', *id-* 'to eat' : *id.g* 'cattle fodder'; *.l* (< **.l*), e.g. *tör-* 'to be born' : *tör.l* 'family relationship', *üz.gd-* 'to be seen' : *üz.gd.l* 'phenomenon'; *.lng* (< **.lAng*), e.g. *zow-* 'to suffer' : *zow.lng* 'pain, suffering', *orc-* 'to turn' : *orc.lng* 'world, universe'; *.lt* (< **.ltA*), e.g. *damsh-* 'to get used to' : *damsh.lt* 'practice', *dar-* 'to press' : *dar.lt* 'press, pressure'; *.m* (< **.m*), e.g. *ishk-* 'to walk' : *ishk.m* 'step', *tox-* 'to saddle' : *tox.m* 'saddle cloth'; *.mg* (< **.mAg*), e.g. *üür-* 'to grind' : *üür.mg* 'fine-grained', *xuur-* 'to deceive' : *xuur.mg* 'forgery'; *.ml* (< **.mAl*), e.g. *bic-* 'to write' : *bic.ml* 'manuscript'; *.ts* (< **.cA*), e.g. *bär-* 'to give' : *bär.ts* 'gift to a clergyman', *zar-* 'to use as a agricultural labourer' : *zar.ts* 'servant, agricultural labourer'; *.U* (< **.xU*), e.g. *xär-* 'to return' : *xärü* 'return, answer', *or-* 'to enter' : *or.u* 'profit'; *.Ul* (< **.xUl*), e.g. *nek-* 'to persecute' : *nek.ül* 'persecution', *xar-* 'to look at' : *xar.ul* 'watch'; *.Un* (< **.xUn*), e.g. *xal-* 'to become hot' : *xal.un* 'hot', *ser-* 'to be awake' : *serün* 'awake'; *.Ur* (< **.xUr*), e.g. *tülk-* 'to bump into' : *tülk.ür* 'key', *xad-* 'to mow' : *xad.ur* 'sickle'; *.wr* (< **-bUrI*), e.g. *kötl-* 'to lead' : *kötl.wr* 'instruction, introduction', *küünd-* 'to talk' : *küünd.wr* 'conversation'. Two of the Common Mongolic participle formatives also yield fully nominalized derivatives: (part. imperf.) *.An* (< **-xA/n*), e.g. *id-* 'to eat' : *id.än* 'food, meal', *san-* 'think' : *san.an* 'idea'; (part. ag.) *.Ac* or (after an original long vowel) *.ghAc* (< **-xAcI*), e.g. *umsh-* 'read' : *umsh.ac* 'reader', *kötl-* 'to lead' : *kötl.äc* 'leader', *üüdä-* 'to create' : *üüdä.ghäc* 'creator'. The basic action noun, which can be formed from every verbal stem, has the ending *.lghn* (< **.l.gA/n*), e.g. *saa-* 'to milk' : *saa.lghn* 'milking', *songs-* 'to hear' : *songs.lghn* 'hearing'.

Denominal verbs: *.d-* (< **.dA-* or **.d-*), e.g. *duun* 'voice' : *duu.d-* (< **daxu.da-*) 'to call', *örgn* 'large, wide' : *örg.d-* (< **örge.d-*) 'to become large'; *.j-* (< **.ji-*), e.g. *bayn*

'rich' : *bay.j-* 'to become rich'; *.l-* or (with assimilation after a nasal consonant) *.n-* (< **.lA-*), e.g. *duun* 'song, voice' : *duu.l-* 'to sing', *sam* 'comb' : *sam.l-* ~ *sam.n-* 'to comb', *em* 'medicine' : *em.n-* 'to cure'; *.r-* or (with dissimilation after stems containing *r*) *.l-* (for translative verbs), e.g. *kök* 'green' : *kök.r-* 'to become green', *shar* 'yellow' : *shar.l-* 'to become yellow'; *.rx-* or (after front-vocalic stems) *.rk-* (< **.rkA-*), e.g. *dääsn* 'enemy' : *dääs.rx-* 'to show one's military power', *ezn* 'lord, master' : *ez.rk-* 'to behave like a lord'; *.s-* (< **.sA-*), e.g. *tsää* 'tea' : *tsää.s-* 'to want to drink tea'; *.sh-* (< **.si-*), e.g. *aldr* 'fame' : *aldr.sh-* 'to become famous'; *.t-* (< **.tA-*), e.g. *kir* 'dirt' : *kir.t-* 'to become dirty'; *.tr-* (< **.tUrA-*), e.g. *solnggh* 'rainbow' : *solnggh.tr-* 'to shine like a rainbow'; *.ts-* (< **.cA-*), e.g. *shatr* 'chess' : *shatr.ts-* 'to be a chessplayer'.

Deverbal verbs: *.lgh-* (< **.l.gA-*) [causatives from stems ending in a diacronic long vowel], e.g. *suu-* 'to sit down' : *suu.lgh-* 'to set'; *.Ul-* (< **.xUl-*) [causatives from stems ending in a diacronic short vowel], e.g. *xal-* 'to become hot' : *xal.ul-* 'to heat'; *.A-* (< **.xA-*) [id.], e.g. *üld-* 'to remain' : *üld.ä-* (< **ülde.xe-*) 'to leave'; *.gha-* or (after front-vocalic stems) *.gä-* (< **.gA-*) [causatives from stems with an original final liquid], e.g. *sur-* 'to learn; to ask' : *sur.gh-* 'to teach'; *.xA-* (< **.kA-*) [causatives from stems with an original final obstruent], e.g. *bos-* 'to stand up, to rise' : *bos.x-* 'to erect'; *.gd-* (< **.gdA-*) [passives from both primary and secondary vowel stems], e.g. *aw-* 'to take' : *aw.gd-* 'to be taken' (replacing the original **ab.ta-*); *.d-* (< **.dA-*) [passives from both primary and secondary liquid stems], e.g. *al-* 'to kill' : *al.d-* 'to be killed' (replacing the original **ala.gda-*), *ol-* 'to find' : *ol.d-* ~ *ol.gd-* 'to be found'; *.t-* (< **.tA-*) [passives from original obstruent stems], e.g. *ög-* 'to give' : *ög.t-* ~ *ög.gd-* 'to be given'; *.ld-* (< **-ldU-*) [reciprocals], e.g. *al-* 'to kill' : *al.ld-* 'to kill each other'; *.lts-* (< **-lcA-*) [cooperatives], e.g. *umsh-* 'to read' : *umsh.lts-* 'to read together, to help with reading'; *-tsxA-* (< **-cAgA-*) [pluritatives or verbal plurals], e.g. *ke-* 'to do' : *ke.tsxä-* : imp. pl. *ke.tsxä-tn* 'do!' (of many people). All the above-mentioned types of deverbal verb are fully productive and may be classified as manifestations of the category of verbal voice (*genera verbi*). In some cases, several alternative suffixes are used in a single function, but with different meanings, e.g. *songs-* 'to hear' : caus. *songs.ul-* 'to make one hear' ~ *songs.x-* 'to inform of' ~ *songs.x.a-* 'to announce'.

Apart from the suffixally formed verbal derivatives, Kalmuck has a large number of verbal compounds. These complexes, typically consisting of the imperfective converb of a semantic main verb + a conjugated form of an auxiliary or modal verb, are used to express different *Aktionsarten*. Some of the most important types of verbal compound include: *-j+bää-* (conv. imperf. + *bää-* 'to be') > *.jA-* [the progressive construction], e.g. *uu-j bää-* ~ *uu.jä-* 'to be drinking'; *-j+bol-* (conv. imperf. + *bol-* 'to become') [possibilitatives], e.g. *tanas yum sur.j bol.xiy* 'may I ask you something?'; *-j+üz-* (conv. imperf. + *üz-* 'to see') [trying to do something], e.g. *en ügmüdig niilwrärny salgh.j üztn* 'try to split up these words into their syllables!'; *-j+ir-* (conv. imperf. + *ir-* 'to come') [movement towards the speaker], e.g. **poctalyon** *bicig aw.c ir.w* 'the post-boy brought a letter'; *-j+ork-* > *.ck-* (conv. imperf. + *ork-* 'to throw') [perfectives from transitive verbs], e.g. *shiin kiighän täw.j ork.w* 'the car tyre has completely lost its air'; *-j+od-* (conv. imperf. + *od-* 'to go') [perfectives from intransitive verbs], e.g. *tsasn xääl.j od.w* 'the snow has completely melted'; *-j+ög-* (conv. imperf. + *ög-* 'to give') [doing something for the benefit of somebody else], e.g. (dur.) *bic.j ög.nä* '[he] writes down (for someone else)'.

NUMBER AND CASE

Kalmuck preserves most of the Common Mongolic plural and collective suffixes. Their use depends not only on the stem-final sound, but also on the semantics of the nominal stem to which they are attached. The plural markers are: *.s* (< **.s*), on original vowel

stems, e.g. *ghaxa* 'pig' : pl. *ghaxa.s*; *.d* (< **.d*), on original consonant stems ending in *n l r* (which are lost before the plural suffix), e.g. *colu/n* 'stone' : pl. *colu.d*, *nökr* 'friend' : pl. *nök.d*; *.Ud* (< **.VxUd*), on original consonant-stems, especially those ending in *g*, e.g. *xalymg* 'Kalmuck' : pl. *xalymg.ud*; *.mUd* (< **.nUxUd*), on both original and secondary consonant stems, e.g. *ger* 'house' : pl. *ger.müd*, *con* (< **cino*) 'wolf' : pl. *con.mud*; *.nr* (< **.nAr*), on stems ending in a diachronic single vowel and denoting human beings, e.g. *ek* (< **eke*) 'mother' : pl. *ek.nr*, *bagsh* (< **bagsi*) 'teacher' : pl. *bagsh.nr*. The various plural suffixes can also be combined, as in *orn* 'country' : pl. *or.d.ud*, *bickn* 'small, young' : pl. *bick.d.üd*, *düü* 'younger brother' : pl. *düü.nr.müd*. Examples of alternating plural suffixes are: *ghalu* 'goose' : pl. *ghalu.d* (normative) ~ *ghalu.s*; *terz* 'window' : pl. *terz.s* ~ *terz.müd*.

Suffixal complexes that may be classified more specifically as collective markers include: *.cUd* (< **.cixUd*), denoting groups of human beings, e.g. *bagh* 'small' : coll. *bagh.cud* 'young people', *ik* 'big' : pl. *ik.cüd* 'adults'; and *.tn* (< **.tAn*, originally the plural of the possessive adjectives in **.tU*, **.tAi*), e.g. *äm/n* 'life' : *äm.tn* 'living beings; animal/s', *turu/n* 'hoof' : *turu.tn* 'ungulate animal/s'.

The regular nominal paradigm of Kalmuck comprises the following suffixally marked cases: genitive, accusative, dative, ablative, instrumental, comitative, possessive, and directive. There is no neutralization between the genitive and the accusative. An additional case-like form is the terminative, which is, however, rare. The allomorphy of the case endings follows the normal Common Mongolic patterns (Table 11.3), with partly different suffix variants used for original single-vowel and consonant stems (V/C), obstruent stems (O), nasal stems (N), and double-vowel stems (VV). A minor idiosyncracy is also shown by those double-vowel stems which are synchronically monosyllabic (#CVV).

The unmarked nominal stem functions as a nominative, which is used as the citation form in dictionaries, e.g. *ger* 'house', *mörn* 'horse'. In the sentence, the nominative is the form of the subject and the indefinite object. For stems ending in an unstable */n* it is possible to speak of a separate *indefinite* case (form of the indefinite object), which, unlike the nominative (form of the subject) has no final nasal, e.g. nom. *maxn* 'meat' : indef. *max*, as in *max shar-* 'to roast meat'.

The genitive ending has the basic shape *-n* (used after original double-vowel stems), which most often appears with a preceding connective vowel *i* (after original single-vowel and consonant stems), e.g. *taka* 'hen' : gen. *taka-n*, **shkol** 'school' : gen. **shkol-***in*,

TABLE 11.3 KALMUCK CASE MARKERS

	V/C	O	N	VV	#CVV
gen.	*-in*		[*n*]-*ä*	*-n*	*/gh-in*
acc.	*-ig*			*-g*	
dat.	*-d*	*-t*			
abl.	*-As*			*/gh-As*	
instr.	*-Ar*			*/gh-Ar*	
com.	*-lA*				
poss.	*-tA*				
dir.	*-Ur*			*/gh-Ur*	
term.	*-tsA*				

teeg 'steppe' : gen. *teeg-in*. After monosyllabic double-vowel stems, the connective consonant *gh* is present, e.g. *düü* 'younger brother' : gen. *düü/gh-in*. After original nasal stems the suffix variant *-A* (< **-Ai*) is used, e.g. *mod/n* 'tree' : gen. *modn-a*, *xön* (< **koni/n*) 'sheep' : gen. *xöön-ä* (< **konin-ai*), cf. *xun* 'swan' (< **kuna*) : gen. *xun-i-n* (< **kuna/y-in*). The variant *-A* is also sometimes used instead of *-in* to indicate a semantic difference, as in *ükr-ä maxn* 'beef' vs. *ükr-in maxn* 'the meat of the cow'. Another variant, attested sporadically after nasal stems, is *-i* (< **-ii*), e.g. *asxn-i bushmud* 'evening dress'; **shkol***in zun-i amrlt* 'summer vacation of school'.

The accusative ending is *-g* (after original double-vowel stems) or, with a connective vowel, *-ig* (after original single-vowel and consonant stems), e.g. *taka* 'hen' : acc. *taka-g*, *yama/n* 'goat' : acc. *yama-g*, *mal* 'cattle' : acc. *mal-ig*.

The dative (dative-locative) ending is *-d* (after both vowel and consonant stems) or *-t* (after obstruent stems), e.g. *mör/n* 'horse' : dat. *mörn-d*, *nökr* 'friend' : dat. *nökr-t*.

The ablative and the instrumental have the endings *-As* and *-Ar* or (after double-vowel stems) */gh-As* and */gh-Ar*, respectively, e.g. *us/n* 'water' : abl. *usn-as*, *noxa* 'dog' : abl. *noxa/gh-as*, *ghar* 'hand' : instr. *ghar-ar*, *ghos/n* 'boots' : instr. *ghos-ar*, *tögä* 'wheel' : instr. *tögä/gh-är*. The former case forms modal adverbs, e.g. *sään* 'good' : instr. *sään-är* 'well', while the latter (ablative-comparative) is used in the comparative construction, e.g. (pronominal example) *ter man-as öndr* 'he is higher than me'.

In the comitative sphere, Kalmuck has both the primary comitative case in *-lA* (< **-lUxA.i*) and the secondary possessive (sociative) case in *-tA* (< **-tAi*), e.g. *ek* 'mother' : com. *ek-lä*, *küükn* 'girl' : com. *küükn-lä*, *ger* 'house' : poss. *ger-tä*, *kerm* 'squirrel' : poss. *kerm-tä*. The element *.tA* is also used in its original function as a derivative suffix, deriving possessive adjectival nouns, e.g. *mör.tä küün* 'a man with a horse', *xoyr niilwr.tä ügmüd* 'bisyllabic words', cf. also the construction of the type *suulgh.ta üsn* 'a bucket of milk' (literally: 'milk with a bucket'), *shil.tä ärk* 'a bottle of vodka' (literally: 'vodka with a bottle'). The opposite meaning (the privative construction) is expressed by the negative noun *uga* 'without', which can also occur as a suffix in the shape *.go*, e.g. *ger uga küün* > *ger.go küün* 'unmarried man' (literally: 'man without a house') vs. *ger.tä küün* 'married man' (literally: 'man with a house').

The directive ending is *-Ur* (after single-vowel or consonant stems) or */gh-Ur* (after double-vowel stems). Its basic function is the indication of direction towards, e.g. *balghs/n* 'city' : dir. *balghsn-ur* 'towards the city, in the direction of the city'. In the modern language, the directive is increasingly less common, being replaced by constructions with the postposition *tal* '(to the) side (of)', as in *bagsh* **shkol** *tal yowj yowna* 'the teacher is going in the direction of the school'. The Common Mongolic prosecutive with the ending *-A/gh-Ur* appears in a number of petrified spatial adverbs, e.g. *tendäghür* 'along there'.

The terminative (or limitative) has the ending *-tsA* (< **-cAi*), e.g. *belküs/n* 'belt' : term. *belküs-tsä* 'up to the level with the belt'. This case form is normally used with nouns denoting body parts, as in *badm küzü-tsä usnd orj öömw* 'Badma bathed in the water up to the chin'.

Examples of complete paradigms (without the terminative): *baghn* (< **bagana*) 'pillar' : gen. *baghn-in* : acc. *baghn-ig* : dat. *baghn-d* : abl. *baghn-as* : instr. *baghn-ar* : com. *baghn-la* : poss. *baghn-ta* : dir. *baghn-ur*; *ger* (< **ger*) 'house' : gen. *ger-in* : acc. *ger-ig* : dat. *ger-t* : abl. *ger-äs* : instr. *ger-är* : com. *ger-lä* : poss. *ger-tä* : dir. *ger-ür*; *ang* (< **ang*) 'game' : gen. *ang/g-in* : acc. *ang/g-ig* : dat. *ang-d* : abl. *ang/g-as* : instr. *ang/g-ar* : com. *ang-la* : poss. *ang-ta* : dir. *ang/g-ur*; *mös/n* 'ice' (< **mösü/n*) : indef. *mös* : gen. *mösn-ä* : acc. *mös-ig* : dat. *mösn-d* : abl. *mös-äs* : instr. *mös-är* : com. *mösn-lä* : poss. *mös-tä* : dir. *mösn-ür*;

xaranda 'pencil' (from Russian) : gen. *xaranda-n* : acc. *xaranda-g* : dat. *xaranda-d* : abl. *xaranda/gh-as* : instr. *xaranda/gh-ar* : com. *xaranda-la* : poss. *xaranda-ta* : dir. *xaranda/gh-ur*; *temä/n* (< **temexe/n*) 'camel' : indef. *temä* : gen. *temän-ä* : acc. *temä-g* : dat. *temän-d* : abl. *temän-äs* : instr. *temä/gh-är* : com. *temän-lä* : poss. *temä-tä* : dir. *temän-ür*.

Examples of double declension in Kalmuck are most commonly based on the genitive and the possessive, both of which can be extended by the markers of any other case (especially the dative, ablative, instrumental, or directive), e.g. *köwü/n* 'son' : gen. abl. *köwün-ä/gh-äs* 'from the son's' : poss. dat. *köwü-tä-d* 'to the one with a son'. The complex marker of the double genitive of nasal stems has the shape *-A/gh-in*, e.g. gen. gen. *köwün-ä/gh-in* 'of the son's'. The combination of dative with the ablative is also found, though mainly in fixed expressions, e.g. dat. abl. *ger-t-äs* 'from home', *ghar-t-as-* (with possessive suffixes) 'out of the hand of'.

NUMERALS

The original native cardinal numerals for the basic digits are: 1 *neg/n*, 2 *xoyr*, 3 *ghurw/n*, 4 *dörw/n*, 5 *taw/n*, 6 *zurgha/n*, 7 *dola/n*, 8 *nääm/n*, 9 *yis/n*; for the tens: 10 *arw/n*, 20 *xör/n*, 30 *ghuc/n*, 40 *döc/n*, 50 *täw/n*, 60 *jir/n*, 70 *dal/n*, 80 *nay/n*, 90 *yir/n*; and for the powers of ten: 100 *zuu/n*, 1,000 *minggh/n*, 10,000 *tüm/n*. For the higher powers of ten, the older language used the Tibetan borrowings 100,000 *bum*, 1,000,000 *say*, 10,000,000 *juwa*, and 100,000,000 *dungshur*. Owing to the influence of Russian, the modern system of counting includes the new borrowing 1,000,000 (*neg*) **million**, as well as loan translations of the type 10,000 *arwn mingghn* (10 x 1,000), 100,000 *zuun mingghn* (100 x 1,000).

The behaviour of the unstable */n* in numeral stems follows the Common Mongolic pattern. In complex numerals, the former component preserves the final nasal, e.g. 11 *arwn negn*, 300 *ghurwn zuun*. In the stem 1 *neg/n*, however, the final nasal is dropped in attributive position, e.g. 1,267 *neg mingghn xoyr zuun jirn dolan*, similarly: *neg* **kilogramm** *ödmg* 'one kilo bread'. Sometimes *neg* is used like an indefinite article, e.g. *neg küün* 'a man'. In the nominal declension of the numerals, the behaviour of the final nasal shows occasional differences as compared with regular nouns, cf. 1 *negn* : gen. *negn-ä* : acc. *neg-ig* : dat. *negn-d* : abl. *negn-äs* ~ *neg-äs* : instr. *neg-är* : com. *negn-lä* : poss. *neg-tä* ~ *negn-tä* : dir. *negn-ür* ~ *neg-ür*. Numeral genitives are used to express fractions, e.g. *dörwn-ä ghurwn* 'three fourths'; *arwn-a dolan* 'seven tenths', etc. Numerals can also be combined with the possessive suffixes, e.g. px sg. 2p. *neg-cn* 'one of you', *olna neg-ny* 'one of the many'.

The ordinals are derived from the cardinals by the suffix *.dgc* (perhaps incorporating the agentive participle marker *-gc*), before which the stem-final nasal is dropped: *neg.dgc* 'first', *xoyr.dgc* 'second', *ghurw.dgc* 'third', *dörw.dgc* 'fourth', *taw.dgc* 'fifth', *zurgha.dgc* 'sixth', *dola.dgc* 'seventh', *nääm.dgc* 'eighth', *yis.dgc* 'ninth', *arw.dgc* 'tenth', etc. The suffix *.dgc* is also found with some pronominal stems like *kedü.dgc* 'which in order' ('how-manieth'), *edü.dgc* 'this in order' ('so-manieth'). The Common Mongolic ordinal marker *.dwAr* (< **.duxar*) is used in the more specialized expressions *neg.dwär* 'firstly', *xoyr.dwar* 'secondly', *ghurw.dwar* 'thirdly', *dörw.dwär* 'fourthly', etc.

Other numeral categories include the multiplicatives, distributives, collectives, and delimitatives. The multiplicatives are formed by the suffix *.t* (< **.tA*), before which the stem-final nasal is dropped in the numeral for 1 but preserved otherwise: *neg.t* 'once', *xoyr.t* 'twice', *ghurwn.t* 'three times', etc. An alternative construction, especially common with higher numerals, involves the use of the multiplicative particles (converbial forms

of *däk-* 'to repeat') conv. imperf. *däk-j* or conv. mod. *däk-n*, e.g. *neg däkj* 'once', *xoyr däkj* or *xoyr däkn* 'twice', *ghurw däkj* 'three times', cf. also *ol däkj*, *kesg däkj*, *kesg däkn* 'many times'.

The distributives are formed by the suffixes *.Ad* (< **.xAd*), *.AghAd*, e.g. *ghurw.ad* ~ *ghurw.aghad* 'by threes', *dörw.äd* ~ *dörw.äghäd* 'by fours', etc. The distributives for 1 and 2 have exceptional roots: *nej.äd* ~ *nej.äghäd* 'one and one', *xosgh.ad* ~ *xosgh.aghad* 'by twos'.

The collectives are formed by the suffixes *.Uln* (< **.xUlA/n*), *.lUln*, *.Urn*, before which the stem-final nasal is dropped: *xoyr.uln* ~ *xoy.urn* 'two together, both', *ghurw.uln* ~ *ghurw.luln* 'three together, *dörw.üln* 'four together', *taw.uln* 'five together', *zurgh.uln* ~ *zurgha.luln* 'six together', *dola.luln* 'seven together', *nääm.üln* 'eight together', *yis.üln* 'nine together', *arw.uln* 'ten together'. Most of the collective numerals are relatively infrequent in the modern literary language.

Both the basic numeral stems (without the stem-final nasal) and the collective derivatives can be extended by the element *.xn* (< **.kAn*), yielding delimitatives: *neg.xn* 'only one', *xoyr.xn* 'only two', *ghurw.xn* 'only three', *dörw.xn* 'only four', etc.; *ghurw.ul.xn* 'only three together', *dörw.ül.xn* 'only four together', *taw.ul.xn* 'only five together', etc.; cf. also *ghants.xn* 'only, the only one', *kedü.xn* 'only how many, only some'.

General quantifiers include: *oln* (< **olan*) 'many', as in *oln jil* 'many years'; *tsöön* (< **cöxen*) 'few', as in *tsöön küün* 'few people'; *dala* (< **dalai* 'ocean') 'very many, innumerable', as in *dala yumn* 'very many things'; *kesg* (< **keseg* 'piece') 'some, several', as in *kesg zuun* **traktor** 'several hundred tractors'; *zärm* (< **jarim*) 'a number of', as in *zärm.s-ny* 'a number of them'; *öräl* (< **örüxel*) 'half', as in *öräl tsää* 'half a teabrick'; *öräsn* (< **örüxesü/n*) 'one of a pair', as in *öräsn ghosn* 'one boot'; *dundur* (< **dumda-xur*) 'one half', as in *küs dundur* 'one and a half', *xoyr dundur* 'two and a half'. Approximate numbers are expressed by the postpositional particles *shaxu* (< **sikaxu*) 'about', *ghar* (< **gar-*) 'over', e.g. *arw shaxu* 'approximately ten', *zuu ghar* 'more than a hundred'.

PRONOUNS

Kalmuck preserves the stems and stem variants of the Common Mongolic personal pronouns with relatively minor changes (Table 11.4). The most important innovations are the new plural stems 1p. *madn* : 2p. *tadn*, formed after the pattern of 1p. pl. incl. *bidn*. The functional opposition between the original exclusive and inclusive categories is

TABLE 11.4 KALMUCK PERSONAL PRONOUNS

			1p.		2p.	
sg.	nom.		*bi*		*ci*	
	gen.		*mini*		*cini*	
	acc.		*namag*		*camag*	
	obl.		*nan-*		*cam-*	
		(excl.)		(incl.)		
pl.	nom.		*madn*	*bidn*	*ta*	*tadn*
	gen.	*mana*	*madna*	*bidnä*	*tana*	*tadna*
	obl	*mana-*	*madn-*	*bidn-*	*tan-*	*tadn-*

synchronically lost, and in the standard language the use of the stem *bidn* seems to be restricted to the nominative. In the second person, the suffixally formed plural *taa.nr* is also attested, serving to make a distinction with regard to the basic stem *ta* : *tan-*, which in honorific use can refer to a single person.

The demonstrative pronouns, which are also used in the function of third person personal pronouns, are *en* 'this' : obl. *enü/n-* or *üü/n-* : pl. *edn* vs. *ter* 'that' : obl. *terü/n-* or *tüü/n-*: pl. *tedn*. Correlative pronominal words include *end* 'here' vs. *tend* 'there' and (with double declension) abl. *end-äs* 'from here' vs. *tend-äs* 'from there'; *iim* 'like this' (< **eyimü*) vs. *tiim* 'like that' (< **teyimü*). The corresponding verbal derivatives are: *iig-* 'to do in this way' vs. *tiig-* 'to do in that way', e.g. *en ködlmshig iig-j kex kergtä* 'this work has to be done in this way', *iig-wcn yumn bolxgo* 'even if [you] do so, it will not bring [you] anything', *tiig-xlä* 'if it is so, in that case'; cf. also caus. *iig.ül-* vs. *tiig.ül-* 'to let someone do in this/that way'.

The interrogative pronouns and their basic derivatives are: *ken* : pl. *ked* 'who' : *kedü* (< **kedüi*) 'how much' : obl. *kedü/n-* : *kezä* (< **kejexe*) 'when'; *yuun* (< **yaxun*) 'what' : obl. *yuu/n-*; *yamr* (< **yamar*) ~ *yamaran* 'what kind of'; *aly* (< **ali*) or *alyk* 'which, what kind of' : dat. *alyd* 'where'; *xama* (< **kamaxa*) 'where' : *xamaran* 'where to'. The interrogative verb is: *yagh-* (< **yaxa+ki-*) 'to do what' : conv. perf. *yagh-ad* 'why'. Examples: *en kenä dewtrw* 'whose book is this?'; *en yamr* ~ *yamaran küün* 'what kind of person is he?'; *kedü tsag bolj* ~ *yamaran tsag bolj* 'what's the time?'; *yamr shin zängg bäänä* 'is their any news?'; *degtr alyd bäänä* 'where is the book?'; *alydas irwc* 'from where did you come?'; *etskcn kezä irxmb* 'when will your father arrive?'; *yuu kexär bäänäc* 'what are you going to do?'; *yaghad es irwc* 'why didn't you come?'.

Indefinite pronouns are formed from the corresponding interrogative pronouns by adding *bolw cign* ~ *bolwcn* ~ *cign* ~ *=cn*, e.g. *kedü bolw cign* 'however much, any number', *kezä bolw cign* ~ *kezä bolwcn* 'whatever time'. When such complexes are inflected, the case endings are attached to *cign* ~ *=cn*, e.g. *ken bolw cign* 'whoever' : gen. *ken bolw cign-ä* 'whosever': dat. *ken bolw cign-d* 'to whomever', etc.

The Common Mongolic reflexive pronoun appears in Kalmuck as *ewr-* (< **öber-*) : refl. *ewr-än* 'oneself' : gen. *ewr-ä* 'one's own' : obl. *ewrä-*. The same function can be expressed by the ordinary noun *biy* (< **beye*) 'body' : pl. *biy.s*, always combined with a reflexive or possessive suffix, e.g. refl. *biy-än* 'oneself' : px. sg. 1p. *biy-m* 'myself' : 2p. *biy-cn* 'yourself' : 3p. *biy-ny* 'him/herself' : pl. px. pl. 2p. *biy.s-tn* 'yourselves' : dat. px. sg. 2p. *biy-d-cn* 'to yourself', etc. Examples: (refl.) *ewr-än mednäw* 'I know it myself'; (gen.) *tadn ewr-ä degträn awtn* 'take your own books!'; (instr. refl.) *ewrägh/-är-n bääx* 'to live in one's own way'. The reflexive pronouns are not used very frequently, since the reflexive relationship is generally expressed by the reflexive forms of nominal declension.

POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

The regular genitive forms of the personal pronouns inherently function as possessive pronouns: sg. 1p. *mini* 'my' : 2p. *cini* 'thy' : pl. 1p. *mana* ~ *madna* ~ *bidna* 'our' : 2p. *tana* ~ *tadna* 'your'. The same is true of the genitive forms of the demonstrative pronouns, as used in reference to the third person: sg. *üünä*, *tüünä* 'his/her' : pl. *ednä*, *tednä* 'their'. The possessive pronouns can take case endings (double declension), e.g. sg. 2p. gen. acc. *cini-g*, as well as the substantivizing derivative suffix *.xn*, e.g. *tana.xn* 'all the yours'.

As in several other Mongolic languages, the pronominal genitives can also be used enclitically after nouns, yielding a set of possessive suffixes. In Kalmuck the possessive

TABLE 11.5 KALMUCK POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

	sg.	pl.
1p.	*-m*	*-mdn*
2p.	*-cn*	*-tn*
3p.	*-ny*	

suffixes are based on the set sg. 1p. **+mini* : 2.p. **+cini* : pl. 1p. **+madna* : 2p. **+tana*. In the third person, the Common Mongolic suffix **-ni* (< **+ini*) is used (Table 11.5).

In the normal case, the possessive suffixes are added to the nominal stem without any morphophonological complications, e.g. *ger* 'house' : px. sg. 1p. *ger-m* : 2p. *ger-cn* : 3p. *ger-ny* : pl. 1p. *ger-mdn* : 2p. *ger-tn*. Nouns ending in an unstable */n* lose, however, this segment before those possessive suffixes (sg. pl. 1/3p.) which begin with a nasal, e.g. *köwü/n* 'son' : px. sg. 1p. *köwü-m* : 2p. *köwün-cn* : 3p. *köwü-ny* : pl. 1p. *köwü-mdn* : 2p. *köwün-tn*. The genitive *-n* as well as the accusative *-g* are also lost before the possessive suffixes, but the loss is facultative in the genitive, meaning that it is possible to construct a fully distinctive possessive set for the genitive, while the accusative set is inherently ambiguous (syncretic) and can also represent the genitive, e.g. gen. px. sg. 1p. *ger-in-m* : 2p. *ger-in-cn* : 3p. *ger-in-ny* : pl. 1p. *ger-in-mdn* : 2p. *ger-in-tn*; acc. and gen. px. sg. 1p. *ger-i-m* : 2p. *ger-i-cn* : 3p. *ger-i-ny* : pl. 1p. *ger-i-mdn* : 2p. *ger-i-tn*. The genitive *-n* can also appear in the possessive declension of nasal stems, e.g. *ghos/n* 'boot/s' : gen. *ghosn-a* : px. sg. 1p. *ghosn-a(-n)m* : 2p. *ghosn-a(-n)-cn* : 3p. *ghosn-a(-n)-ny* : pl. 1p. *ghosn-a(-n)-mdn* : 2p. *ghosn-a(-n)-tn*. The accusative *-g*, on the other hand, is exceptionally preserved in the shape */gh-i-* (with a connective vowel) after double vowel stems, e.g. *taka* 'hen' : acc. *taka-g* : px. sg. 1p. *taka/gh-i-m* : 2p. *taka/gh-i-cn* : 3p. *taka/gh-i-ny*; similarly *yama/n* 'goat' : acc. *yama-g* : px. sg. 1p. *yama/gh-i-m* : 2p. *yama/gh-i-cn* : 3p. *yama/gh-i-ny*, etc. There are no complications in the possessive declension of the other case forms.

The possessive suffixes may also be attached to pronominal words, including the personal pronouns, e.g. *bi-cn* 'me (of yours)', *ter-tn* 'that person (of yours)', *end-cn* 'here (with you)'. With regular nouns, the use of the possessive suffixes is not obligatory, for the possessive relationship can also be expressed syntactically (by using the possessive pronouns), e.g. *ner* 'name' : *mini ner* ~ *mini ner-m* ~ *ner-m* 'my name'.

The Common Mongolic reflexive (reflexive-possessive) suffix (**-xA/n*) has in Kalmuck the shape *-An* (after original single-vowel and consonant stems) or */gh-An* (after double-vowel stems), before which a stem-final */n* is regularly lost, e.g. *mör/n* 'horse' : refl. *mör-än*, *köwü/n* 'son' : refl. *köwü/gh-än*. The reflexive case paradigm is irregular and includes three different variants of the reflexive marker: the normal variant *(-gh)-An* in the basic form (used as an accusative) as well as in the genitive, dative, and possessive cases; the abbreviated variant *-n* in the ablative, instrumental, and directive; and the extended variant *-r-n* (generalized from the instrumental) in the comitative (formally comitative + instrumental), e.g. *ax* 'elder brother' : refl. *ax-an* : gen. *ax-in-an* : dat. *ax-d-an* : abl. *ax-as-n* : instr. *ax-ar-n* : com. *ax-la-r-n* : poss. *ax-ta/gh-an* : dir. *ax-ur-n*. The pattern varies dialectally, however.

IMPERATIVES

The basic imperative for the second person has no suffix and coincides with the stem of the verb, e.g. *ir* 'come!', *uu* 'drink!'. Additionally, Kalmuck has several other

TABLE 11.6 KALMUCK IMPERATIVE MARKERS

	V/C	VV	vx
prec.	*-i-*	*/gh-i-*	sg. pl. 2p.
vol.	*-iy*	*-y*	
opt.	*-s*		sg. pl. 1p.
opt. exp.	*-s-A*		
ben.	*-tn*		
conc.	*-txA*		
perm.	*-g*		
dub.	*-wzA*	*-(w)UzA*	
pot.	*-mzA*		

Common Mongolic forms of the imperative sphere, some of which take personal endings (Table 11.6).

The unmarked imperative refers mainly to the singular, e.g. *öndgn bääxlä, arwn öndg aw* 'if there are any eggs, buy ten eggs!'. The function of the corresponding plural is filled by the benedictive in *-tn* (irregularly from **-gtUn*), e.g. ben. *ir-tn* '(you many) come!', also with the pluritative suffix, e.g. plurit. ben. *ir.tsxä-tn* id. A more polite command is expressed by the precative in *(/gh)-i-*, which is always used with the personal endings of the second person: sg. *(/gh)-i-c* : pl. *(/gh)-i-t*, e.g. (sg.) *bi örün örlä bosad, nür gharan ughanaw; ci bas tigäd bos-i-c* 'early in the morning I stand up and I wash my face and my hands; would you please stand up in this way too!'; (pl.) *nanta xalymgaghar küünd-i-t* 'please speak to me [literally: 'with me'] in Kalmuck'; *suu/gh-i-t* 'please sit down'.

A spontaneous desire of the first person is expressed by the voluntative in *(-i)y* (< **-yA*), e.g. *tsää uu-y* 'let us drink tea!'; *yow-iy* 'let us go!'. Another form referring to the first person is the simple optative in *-s* (<**-sU*), which can also take personal endings: sg. *-s-w* : pl. *-s-wdn* ~ *-s-widn* ~ *-sU-widn*, e.g. *bi* **gazet***d zurgud zurj beld-s-w* 'I would like to draw (and prepare) pictures for the newspaper'; *surghulyan säänär sur-s-widn* 'we like to learn our lessons well'. The related suffix of the expanded optative in *-s-A* (< **-sU-xAi*) is used for all persons (both singular and plural, without personal endings) and expresses an unachievable (resigned) wish, e.g. *ir-sä* 'if only he would come!'.

The imperative of the third person (singular and plural) is expressed by the concessive in *-txA* (< **-tUgAi*), e.g. *umsh-txa* 'he/they should read; he/they must read'; *keln uls xoorndk inygllt mend bol-txa* 'long live friendship among peoples!'; *arshan bol-txa* 'bon appetit!'. The permissive (also called jussive) in *-g* (< **-g*) may be described as an optative of the third person, e.g. *yowx durta bolxla, yow-g* 'if he likes to go, he may/should go'; *mal xälä-g* 'let him look for the cattle!'.

Finally, there are the dubitative and potential forms, attested also elsewhere in Oirat, but rather rarely used in modern Kalmuck, e.g. dub. *ir-wzä* 'I am afraid [he] will come [but I wish that he would not]' vs. pot. *ir-mzä* 'I wish [he] would come [and perhaps he will]'. The dubitative can also be combined with negation (fear of the possibility of non-action), as in *ter irl-go bää-wüzä gighäd ääjänäw* 'I am afraid that he will not come [but I wish that he would]'.

PARTICIPLES

Kalmuck has in active use the Common Mongolic futuritive, perfective, and habitive participles, all of which can occur (a) adnominally (as attributes), e.g. (part. perf.) *ir-sn küün* 'the

man who has come'; (b) substantivally (as action nouns or actor nouns), i.e. (acc.) *ir-s-ig küündl-tn* 'honour him who has come'; (c) adverbally (before an auxiliary verb), e.g. *ir-sn bol-, ir-sn bää-* 'to have come'; and (d) finitely (as nominal predicates), e.g. *küün ir-sn* 'the man has come'. In addition, there are occasional examples of the imperfective participle, which, however, differs from the others in that it is not used substantivally (except in lexicalized cases, which synchronically function as ordinary nouns).

The futuritive participle in *-x* (< **-kU*) acts as the citation form in dictionaries. It has a dimension of modality and expresses an action which will, can, or should take place in the future, e.g. [adnominal] *ir-x küün* 'a/the man who will/should come'; [adnominal] *xalymgar umsh-x degtrmüd* 'books that can be read in Kalmuck'; [adverbial] *gertän ir-x boluw* 'I shall have to come home'. The complex *-j-A-x* < *-j+bää-x*, which is formally the futuritive participle of the progressive construction, is used in the function of a present (durative) participle, e.g. *ednä ke-jä-x ködlmsh sään* 'the work they are doing is good'; *üz-jä-x küükdt ner ögtn* 'give names to the girls who can be seen [on the picture]!'.

The perfective participle in *-sn* (< **-gsAn*) expresses the static effect of an action which took place in the past, e.g. *ük-sn* '[someone] who has died', i.e. 'dead'; [finite] *mana noxa ük-sn* 'our dog has died', i.e. 'is dead'; [adnominal] *siwrt namrar or-sn tsasn xawr kürtl kewtnä* 'in Siberia, the snow that has fallen in autumn lies till spring'; [substantival acc.] *bagshin kel-s-ig surghulycnr onygan täwj songstsxaw* 'the students listened with attention to what the teacher said'; [substantival dat. px 3p.] *kel-sn-d-ny xanww* 'I am grateful for what he has said'; [adverbal] *dörwn jilä bolzgar sungghagd-sn bäänä* 'he is [one] elected for four years'; **kolxoz** *ködlmshän duus-sn,* **kolxoznik***üd toot-saghan ke-sn* 'the kolkhoz has finished its work, (and) the kolkhoz-workers have settled their accounts'.

The perfective participle suffix occurs also in combination with the copular particle *mön* '(is) that (very same)', yielding *-sn mön* > *-s-mn.* This construction expresses an objective statement, e.g. **XVII** *zuun jilin öräl kürtl xalymg uls deeräs dorakshan bicdg mongghl bicg edljä-s-mn* 'till the middle of the seventeenth century the Kalmuck used the Mongol script, which was written from top to bottom'.

The habitive participle in *-dg* (< **-dAg*) refers to the present tense and is used for general assertions, e.g. [adnominal] *mal al-dg ger* 'the house where cattle is slaughtered', i.e. 'slaughterhouse'; [adnominal] *mini suu-dg* **part** 'the schoolbench in which I sit'; [substantival refl.] *ter tämk tat-dg-an xayj* 'he stopped smoking'. Like the perfective participle, the habitive participle is often used to express an objective statement in combination with the copular particle *mön*, yielding *-dg mön* > *-d-mn*, e.g. *xalymg keln mongghl örk bülin kelnä tood or-d-mn* 'the Kalmuck language belongs to the Mongolic language family'.

The imperfective participle in *-A* or (after diachronic double-vowel stems) */gh-A* (< **-xA*) denotes an action which started in the past and is still going on in the present, e.g. [adnominal] *mini umsh-a degtr* 'the book that I have been reading'; [finite] *badm* **traktorist** *ködl-ä* 'Badma works (and has already been working) as a tractor driver'. In the predicative function this participle mostly appears in the third person.

In finite predicative usage, all participles can be combined with the copulas *bilä* (< **bü-lexe.i*) 'was' and *san-j* (< **a-gsan+a-ji*) 'was (long ago)', expressing the past tense with various additional modal connotations, e.g. part. fut. [conditional] *ir-x bilä* 'he would have come'; part. perf. [pluperfect] *ir-sn bilä* 'he had come'; part. perf. *ir-sn san-j* '(it is said that) he had come long ago'; part. hab. *ir-dg bilä* 'he used to come'; part. imperf. *ir-ä bilä* 'he has still been coming'.

The periphrastic combinations of the participles with the copular verbs *bää-* 'to be' and *bol-* 'to be; to become' (adverbial use) express various modifications of the nature of

an action (*Aktionsart*), e.g. [inchoative] *anja asxn bolghn xojghra tal ir-dg bol-w* 'Anja started to come to Khojghar every evening'; *kiitn bol-a bäänä bol-w xawr öörxn* 'it is still (becoming) cold, but spring is drawing near'; [necessive] *gertän ir-x bol-uw* 'it was time for me to go home'.

CONVERBS

The converbial structures in Kalmuck, as in many other Mongolic languages, may be divided into three types: (a) units with a synchronically opaque morphological structure (actual converbs); (b) units involving synchronically transparent case forms of substantivally used participles (quasiconverbs); and (c) combinations of finite verb forms with modal particles. Of the relevant Common Mongolic structures, Kalmuck preserves the modal, imperfective, perfective, conditional, concessive, terminative, abtemporal, final, and successive converbs (Table 11.7).

The modal converb in *-n* (< **-n*) is relatively unusual in Kalmuck. It connects two verbs into a close unit, with the former verb modifying the latter, e.g. *suu-n untw* 'he fell asleep (in a) sitting (position)'. Two equal predicates are connected by the imperfective and perfective converbs. The imperfective (or copulative) converb in *-j* (< **-jU*) or (after stem-final **b *g *r*) *-c* (< **-cU*) puts the predicates in a more concrete or special relation towards each other, e.g. *küükd inäld-j xääkrldw* 'the girls shouted laughing', while the perfective (or disjunctive) converb in *(-gh)-Ad* involves no such relationship, e.g. *salykn ködläd toosn gharad bääw* 'the wind was blowing, and dust rose'. The perfective converb often implies a chronological sequence, e.g. *saglr* **magazi***ghän xaaghad ger talan gharw* 'Saglar closed the store, and (then) went home'.

The conditional converb ('if') has normally the marker *-wl* (< **-bA+*ele*), but the more archaic variant *-wAs* (< **-bA+a-xasu*) is also attested, though very rarely, e.g. *surghuly sur-was güündny kürc surxmn* 'if one has to learn, one has to learn till perfection'. The concessive converb ('although') occurs both with the synthetic marker *-wcn* and with the original analytic complex *-w+cign* (< **bA+cigi-ni*), e.g. *xalymg xön muu noosta bol-wcn ik max ik öök ögnä* 'although the Kalmuck sheep has bad wool, it gives a lot of meat and fat'; *xurta bol-w cign zug dulan ödr* 'although it is rainy, it is still a warm day'.

The terminative converb in *-tl* (< **-tAlA*) expresses temporal subordination ('until; while') and can take the possessive and reflexive suffixes, e.g. (px 3p.) *showug nisj*

TABLE 11.7 KALMUCK CONVERB MARKERS

	VV	V/C	O
conv. mod.		*-n*	
imperf.		*-j*	*-c*
perf.	*/gh*	*-Ad*	
cond.		*-wl*	
conc.		*-w+cign* > *-wcn*	
term.		*-tl*	
abtemp.		*-s-Ar*	
fin.		*-x-Ar*	
succ.		*-x-lA*	

yow-tl-ny xaa- 'to hit the bird while it is flying'. Its subject can also be indicated by the accusative case, e.g. *nam-ag ir-tl enünd suuja* 'stay here until I come!'. A temporal or causal subordination ('since; because') is involved in the abtemporal converb in *-s-Ar* (< part. perf. instr. **-gsA-xAr*), e.g. *tör-sär* 'since he was born'; *söö xarngghu bol-sar bi töörüw* 'because the night was dark, I got lost'.

The final converb in *-x-Ar* and the successive converb in *-x-lA* are synchronically transparent case forms of the futuritive participle (< instr. **-kU-xAr* : com. **-kU-lUxA.i*). Both can have a subject in the accusative. The final converb expresses purpose ('in order to'), e.g. *us uu-xar irww* 'I came in order to drink water', or also, in combination with *bää-* 'to be', intention ('to be going to'), e.g. *cama-g ger aw-xar bäänä gij songslaw* 'I heard you are going to get married'. The successive converb expresses progression of actions ('as soon as'), *cama-g ir-xlä bi kinod odnaw* 'as soon as you come, I will go to the cinema'; also with the possessive and reflexive suffixes, e.g. px sg. 1p. *-x-lA-m* : refl. *x-lA-r-n*. The same function ('as soon as') can be expressed by the construction *-m+ tsatsu*, which functions as a complex converbial marker and can take the possessive suffixes, e.g. *ör tsää-m tsatsu bidn gharad yowuwdn* 'as soon as it dawned, we went away'; (px sg. 2p.) *ir-m tsatsu-cn* 'as soon as you come'.

FINITE INDICATIVE FORMS

Modern Kalmuck has four simple finite indicative temporal-aspectual forms and one commonly used complex form (Table 11.8). Apart from these, all participles as well as a number of copular particles (*mön, bilä, sanj*) can occupy the finite predicative position.

The only simple finite form of the present tense range is the durative in *-nA* (< **-nA-i*), which also functions as a future. Because of the temporal ambiguity of this form, the actual present tense can also be expressed by the durative of the progressive construction in *-j-A-nA* ~ *-c-A-nA* (< *-C+bää-nä*). Additionally, a general present tense is expressed by the predicatively used habitive participle, e.g. *cikn xudlc, nüdn ünc, gij xalymgud keldg* 'the Kalmuck say: the ear is a liar, the eye is a truth-teller'. Correspondingly, the predicatively used futuritive participle can be used to indicate the future tense, e.g. *bi ger talan bicg bic-x-w* 'I shall write a letter home'.

In the past tense range, Kalmuck has three forms: the terminative in *-w* (< **-bA*), the confirmative in *-lA* (< **-lUxA.i*), and the resultative in *-j* ~ *-c* (< **-CU*). The terminative expresses a narrative past, while the confirmative often has the function of a pluperfect. The resultative has a dimension of evidentiality and is particularly common in fairytales. Various aspects of the past tense can also be expressed by the predicatively used perfective and imperfective participles.

TABLE 11.8 KALMUCK FINITE TENSE-ASPECT MARKERS

	function	V/C	O
dur.	present-future	*-nA*	
progr. dur.	actual present	*-j-A-nA*	*-c-A-nA*
term.	narrative past	*-w*	
conf.	pluperfect	*-lA*	
res.	evidential past	*-j*	*-c*

TABLE 11.9 KALMUCK PREDICATIVE PERSONAL ENDINGS

	sg.		pl.
1p.	*-w/-b*		*-wdn/-dn*
2p.	*-c*		*-t*
3p.		*-Ø*	

PREDICATIVE PERSONAL ENDINGS

All finite predicates, including regular nouns used as predicates, can take personal endings, which derive from the enclitically used basic (nominative) forms of the personal pronouns (Table 11.9). There are no special endings for the third person. The endings of the first person participate in a morphophonological alternation, according to which the suffix-initial *-w*(-) is merged with a preceding nasal into *-m-b* or *-m-Ø-*.

In a phrase without a copula, the personal endings are attached to the predicative noun, e.g. (sg. 1p.) (*bi*) *xalymg-w* 'I am a Kalmuck'; (pl. 1p.) *bagshnr-wdn* 'we are teachers'; cf. (sg. 3p.) *ter xalymg-Ø* 'he is a Kalmuck'. In the past tense, the past copular particle *bilä* 'was' can be used, e.g. *saglrin amrlghna ödr bilä* 'it was Saglar's resting day'.

In combination with the finite tense-aspect markers, the personal endings yield: dur. sg. 1p. *-nA-w* : 2p. *-nA-c* : pl. 1p. *-nA-wdn* : 2p. *-nA-t*; term. sg. 1p. *-w-w* ~ *-u-w* : 2p. *-w-c* ~ *-u-c* : pl. 1p. *-w-wdn* ~ *-u-wdn* : 2p. *-w-t* ~ *-u-t*; conf. sg. 1p. *-lA-w* : 2p. *-lA-c* : pl. 1p. *-lA-wdn* : 2p. *-lA-t*; res. sg. 1p. *-j-w* ~ *-c-w* : 2p. *-j-c* ~ *-c-c* : pl. 1p. *-j-wdn* ~ *-c-wdn* : 2p. *-j-t* ~ *-c-t*. All plural forms can incorporate the pluritative suffix *.tsxA-* (verbal plural), which immediately precedes the tense-aspect markers, e.g. plurit. dur. pl. 1p. *.tsxA-nA-wdn* : 2p. *.tsxA-nA-t*. In the synthetic durative of the progressive construction, the plural derivative is synchronically 'infixed' after the progressive marker: progr. dur. pl. 1p. *-C-A.tsxA-nA-wdn* : 2p. *-C-A.tsxA-nA-t* (< *-C+bää.tsxA-nA-*).

The corresponding personal forms of the predicatively used participles have the complex endings: part. fut. sg. 1p. *-x-w* : 2p. *-x-c* : pl. 1p. *-x-wdn* : 2p. *-x-t*; part. perf. sg. 1p. *-sm-b* : 2p. *-sn-c* : pl. 1p. *-sm-dn* : 2p. *-sn-t*; part. imperf. sg. 1p. *-A-w* : 2p. *-A-c* : pl. 1p. *-A-wdn* : 2p. *-A-t*; part. hab. sg. 1p. *-dg-w* ~ *-d-w* ~ *-d-uw* : 2p. *-dg-c* : pl. 1p. *-dg-wdn* : 2p. *-dg-t*. Again, the plural forms can be accompanied by the derivative suffix *.tsxA-*, e.g. part. perf. pl. 1p. *.tsxA-sm-dn* : 2p. *.tsxA-sn-t*.

A special modal form is created by combining the futuritive participle with the copular particle *mön* > *-mn*, followed by the personal endings. The resulting paradigm functions as a necessive (or debitative), expressing a moral or ethical obligation ('should'). The complex synthetic endings are: sg. 1p. *-x-m-b* : 2p. *-x-m-c* : 3p. *-x-mn* : pl. 1. *-x-m-dn* : 2p. *-x-m-t* : 3p. *-x-mn*. Examples: *örm üs aw-x-m-b* 'I should buy cream and milk'; *ir-x-mn bilä* 'he should have come'.

SYNTAX

There are no major syntactic differences between Kalmuck and the other mainstream Mongolic languages, including Mongol proper. The discussion below will only focus on two random issues: postpositional phrases and negation.

The *postpositions* in Kalmuck may be divided into four groups: (a) etymologically obscure (primary) postpositions, e.g. *met* 'like'; (b) postpositions of nominal origin,

e.g. *tal* 'in the direction of' < 'side, direction'; (c) postpositions of adverbial origin, e.g. *deer* 'above'; and (d) postpositions of converbial origin, e.g. (conv. term.) *kür-tl* 'until'. Depending on their structure as well as their semantic function (spatial, temporal, causal, final, or comparative), postpositions can be combined with several nominal case forms. The genitive is typically required by many spatial-temporal and causal postpositions, e.g. *ard* 'behind', *dund* 'in the middle of', *ömn* 'in front of; before', *öör* 'near by, at', *ghaza* 'outside of', *tölä* 'for the benefit of; because of; instead of', *tursh* ~ (instr.) *tursh-ar* 'during, throughout', *tusk* ~ (instr.) *tusk-ar* 'about; regarding'. There are, however, many postpositions of this type that can equally well be combined with the nominative, e.g. *deer* 'on; above', *dor* 'under', *dotr* 'in; inside of', *ghatts* 'on the other side of', *ööd* 'upwards along', *shidr* 'near to', (instr.) *ucr-ar* 'because of', *xöön* 'after', (dat.) *zaag-t* 'between'. Only a few postpositions are combined with the ablative, e.g. (conv. mod.) *aw-n* 'beginning with', or the comitative, e.g. *ädl* 'similar to'.

As in other Mongolic languages, certain postpositions resemble case markers, in that they can take possessive or reflexive suffixes, e.g. [inessive] refl. *ger+dotr-an* 'in one's own house', [superessive] px sg. 1p. *ger+deer-m* 'on my house', [subessive] px sg. 1p. *ger+dor-m* 'under my house'. Some postpositions are ambivalent in this respect, cf. e.g. [directive] px sg. 1p. *ger+tal-m* ~ *ger-i-m tal* 'in the direction of my house'.

For *negation*, Kalmuck employs several Common Mongolic negative particles. All imperative forms with the exception of the dubitative are negated by the prepositional prohibitive particle *bicä* (irregularly from **bi-tügei*), e.g. *ir-* 'to come' : neg. imp. *bicä ir* : prec. sg. 2p. *bicä ir-i-c* : ben. *bicä ir-tn* : vol. *bicä ir-iy* : conc. *bicä ir-txä* : perm. *bicä ir-g*. Most converbs and adnominally used participles are negated by the prepositional particle *es* (< **ese*), e.g. conv. imperf. *es ir-j* : perf. *es ir-äd* : cond. *es ir-wäs* : conc. *es ir-wcn* : succ. *es ir-xlä* : part. fut. *es ir-x* : perf. *es ir-sn* : hab. *es ir-dg*. Predicative participles are, however, negated by the postpositional particle (privative noun) *+uga* > *-go* (or *=go*), e.g. pred. part. fut. neg. *ir-x-go* : perf. *ir-sn+uga* : imperf. *ir-ä-go* : hab. *ir-dg+uga* > *ir-d-go*. The particle *-go* is also used to negate the dubitative, e.g. dub. *ir-wzA* : neg. *ir-wz-go*. A fourth negative particle is *bish* (< **bisi*), which basically negates identity, e.g. *en degtr mini bish* 'this book is not mine'.

Exceptional constructions are used to negate the finite temporal-aspectual forms. Only the resultative is regularly negated by the particle *-go*, e.g. res. neg. *ir-j-go*. The durative and terminative can be combined with the particle *es*, but the resulting constructions have an interrogative function: neg. interr. dur. *es ir-nä* : term. *es ir-w*. The normal negative counterpart of the durative is expressed by the futuritive participle in combination with the particle *bish*, e.g. dur. *ir-nä* : neg. *ir-x+bish* > *ir-x-sh*. The terminative, on the other hand, is negated by the negated predicative form of the perfective participle, e.g. term. *ir-w* : neg. *ir-sn+uga*. There is also a construction consisting of the perfective converb in combination with the particle *+uga*, which serves as the negation of the confirmative, e.g. conf. *ir-lä* : neg. *ir-äd+uga*. Finally, the modal converb has an exceptional negation, based on the deverbal nominal derivative in *.l* in combination with the particle *+uga*: conv. mod. *ir-n* : neg. *ir.l+uga*.

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CHAPTER TWELVE

MOGHOL

Michael Weiers

The Mongolic language known to Mongolists as Moghol, is called by the Mongols of Afghanistan *mogholii* (*mogholî*) 'Mongolian', from Persian-Arabic *moghol* 'Mongol'. The speakers of Moghol also refer to themselves as the Moghol people. Moghol is therefore the term for both the language and the people of the Mongols of Afghanistan. Moghol developed from the language spoken by the Mongols who during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were garrisoned in the west, i.e. at first in the territories of the Khwarizm-Shah state, conquered in 1220 by Chinggis Khan. The Khwarizm-Shah state became a part of the Ilkhanid state in the middle of the thirteenth century. This Mongol-ruled state included the territory of modern Afghanistan. As far as we know, the garrison Mongols who remained in the west never again had any contact with their kinsmen in Mongolia.

Historically, the Moghol have also been known by the ethnonym Nigudari (*Nigûdârî*), a name connected with an actual historical person, Nigudari (originally perhaps Tegüder) Oghlan, who served in the Mongol army in the latter half of the thirteenth century. Although the Nigudari seem to have incorporated a variety of ethnic elements of predominantly non-Mongol origin, their common language came to be Mongol, and they may therefore be regarded as the linguistic ancestors of the Moghol. There is, incidentally, another ethnic group in Afghanistan, the Iranian-speaking Hazara (*Hazâra*), who are often also claimed to descend from the Mongols. There is little evidence of this, and, in any case, they seem to have no connection with the historical Mongols of Chinggis Khan.

The actual history of the Moghol is nearly unknown. Until the end of the nineteenth century local groups of the Moghol are known to have lived in different parts of Afghanistan, including the provinces of Kandahar in the south, Ghor in the centre, and Herat in the northwest. In the middle of the twentieth century, their last remnants were confined to parts of Herat Province. Ethnic correlations existed with the Iranian (Tajik) and Pashtunian neighbours. The physiognomy of the modern Moghol therefore reflects strong local (Iranian) influences. Owing to their linguistic environment, the modern Moghol language is also strongly influenced by the neighbouring languages, especially Tajik-Persian (Dari).

Of the roughly 3,000 ethnic Moghol who still lived in Herat in the 1960s and early 1970s, very few were able to speak or understand Moghol. While the Moghol in the 1930s were still able to remember their tribal affiliations, such knowledge has subsequently been lost. Most of the Moghol in the 1970s had already become monolingual speakers of Iranian (Tajik, Dari), and the Moghol language was rapidly becoming extinct. The situation at the present time is unknown.

DATA AND SOURCES

The history of Moghol studies until the 1970s has been summarized by Michael Weiers (1972: 11–13). Altogether the linguistic field material on Moghol covers a period of

*c.*140 years, which reveals very little about the evolution of the language and its genuine cultural background. The first lexical notes on the Moghol language were published in 1838 by the British officer R. Leech, whose material was some decades later analysed and corrected by H. C. von der Gabelentz and H. Fleischer. Leech was followed by another British traveller, W. R. H. Merk, whose notes on Moghol from the 1880s were, however, published only in 1910.

The first professional Mongolist to study Moghol was G. J. Ramstedt, whose work with two informants on the Russian side of the border resulted in a publication (Ramstedt 1905) that was to remain the main source on Moghol for more than half a century. It is true, Louis [Lajos] Ligeti visited the Moghol in 1936–7, but he published his first report on the journey only much later (Ligeti 1955a). Most of his materials remain unpublished until the present day. Ligeti (1955b) prepared, however, a study of the Moghol materials of Leech. A similar analysis of Merk's notes has been published by Weiers (1971).

The next wave of fieldwork took place in the 1950s, when, most importantly, Shinobu Iwamura and H. F. Schurmann visited the Moghol and noted down information concerning their ethnic position and language. Their materials (Iwamura and Schurmann 1954) later served as the basis for a secondary analysis by L. D. Shagdarov and A. M. Kazanceva (1968). Schurmann's work resulted in a general ethnological monograph on the Mongols of Afghanistan (Schurmann 1962), a topic also touched upon by A. A. Motamedi (1956). Finally, following a visit to the Moghol by Shirô Hattori in 1961, the last attempt to record the Moghol language was made by the German Afghanistan expedition in 1969–72. The field materials collected and published by Weiers (1972, 1974) include texts, a vocabulary, and a descriptive grammar.

A major result of the German expedition was that fresh written documents of Moghol in Arabic script became available, as published by Walther Heissig (1974) and discussed in detail by Weiers (1973; 1975a, 1992). Before this, written material on Moghol had only been published by Iwamura (1961), as also reviewed by S. S. S. Homam (1972). Unfortunately, the history and circumstances of the transmission of the Moghol written material are not known in detail. Most of the manuscripts published in facsimile by Iwamura and Heissig are likely to be copies of older texts. This material contains Moghol–Persian vocabularies, treatises of Moghol grammar, Islamic texts and commentaries written in Arabic, Persian, and Moghol, as well as poetry written mainly in Moghol, sometimes also in Persian and Arabic.

The Moghol written treatises and the extant samples of poetry are connected with names like Abd al-Qåder (Weiers 1975a: 11, 17, 19, 21, 1977a: 30–6), Abd al-Ghani, Abd Hay, Abd al-Hamid, and Nazir (Weiers 1977a: 30–6, 1992–3: 62 note 3). Valuable biographical information is available only for Abd al-Qåder (probably *c.*1905–33/34), as discussed by Heissig (1969), Homam (1970), and Weiers (1975a: 105). A variety of issues pertaining to the history and analysis of Moghol poetry have been discussed by Weiers (1977a, 1982, 1992–3).

The first overall survey of the Moghol language was prepared by Omeljan Pritsak (1964), followed only recently by another brief survey by Ye. A. Kuz'menkov (1997) as well as by a monographic treatment by Buhe (1996). Moghol has, however, offered material for specialized discussions on certain details with considerable relevance to general Mongolic studies. In particular, the question concerning the long vowels in Moghol has been discussed by Ligeti (1964) and Weiers (1970). Perhaps even more importantly, the influences of the Iranian linguistic environment make Moghol an interesting object for contact linguistics (Poucha 1961, Weiers 1973, 1975b, 1976ab, 1977b, 1978).

DIALECTS

Information on dialectal and subdialectal differences in Moghol was reported, but not substantially corroborated, by Ligeti. In the 1960s and 1970s such information was already unavailable. Regarding the tribal distribution and organization of the Moghol we find a short piece of written information on fol. 41v: 1–10 of the Buryabaf-Manuscript, published in facsimile by Heissig (1974: 401):

> Among the assemblage of the tribes of the Moghol there is a hundred of the Toquz. That is to say: the thirty three Moghol tribes are distributed into four hundreds. As the first, the hundred of the Keldar comprises the Nekudari, Cengizi, Barulås, Arghuni, Ilå'i, Lål'i, Jamilåni, An'i, and others. As the second, the hundred of the Toquz comprises the Xurdak-zåi, Kalån-zåi, Dah Mardah, Borghut, Orghuti, and others. As the third, the hundred of the Xalil consists of the Guzlek, Toghåi, Arulåt, and Oirât. As the fourth, the hundred of the Ucah consists of the Jaghatâi, Jalå'ir, Durmåni Juj'i known as Juk, Jå'otu, Manquti, and Bayån-quli known as Baiquli.

Even though this passage contains the most comprehensive native information about Moghol tribes, it unfortunately does not make any statements about their territorial distribution. It is therefore not possible to give any geographical data concerning the dialectal or subdialectal division of Moghol in relation to the tribes. As the Moghol very often moved from one village to another, it is also difficult to reconstruct the dialectal or subdialectal system on the basis of the tribal affiliations and geographical origins of the Moghol informants recorded by researchers. One can only state that there are inconsistencies in all Moghol data, which may point to diachronic or dialectal differentiation. Some of these inconsistencies concern phonology, as is the case in, for instance, *inodar* ~ *enaudur* 'today'; *uckodar* ~ *ockådur* ~ ***ushkurka*** ~ ***cikaudur*** 'yesterday'; *ukpang* ~ *uftang* ~ *okmang* ~ *otpang* 'bread'; *weda* ~ ***oidan*** ~ ***uidan*** 'door'; *gesal* ~ *gesån* ~ *guzhan* 'belly'; *kaita* ~ *kei* 'wind'. In other cases, a semantic difference is present, as in *shupturaghai* 'fish' ~ 'millet'.

It has to be emphasized that the spoken language, or Spoken Moghol, is not the only source of information on Moghol. Much more, and probably even more genuine, information can be obtained from the extant written materials. A presentation of the Moghol language based only on data transmitted orally would conceal many interesting features. For this reason, and in view of the circumstance that Buhe (1996) has already summarized, the data on Spoken Moghol, the present chapter will combine information from both spoken and written sources. The written material, or Written Moghol, will be presented in a transcription which corresponds to the elicited pronunciation of such material.

SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

The phonology of Moghol reveals a strong and unambiguous influence of Tajik. In particular, the phonotax of Moghol is, due to extensive borrowing from Persian and Arabic (Persian-Arabic vocabulary), extremely complex and heterogeneous. With the reservation that this complexity makes it difficult to distinguish between native and non-native segments in the paradigm, the systems of Moghol vowels and consonants can be presented as follows (Tables 12.1 and 12.2).

Moghol also has the diphthongs *ai au oi ui*, which synchronically may perhaps be analysed as monophonemic units, and which may occur in every position in a word.

TABLE 12.1 MOGHOL VOWELS

u	*i*
o	*e*
å	*a*

TABLE 12.2 MOGHOL CONSONANTS

p	*t*	*c*	*k*	*q*	
b	*d*	*j*	*g*		
f	*s*	*sh*	*x*		*h*
w	*z*	*zh*	*gh*		
m	*n*				
	l				
	r				
		y			

As far as the correspondences between the Moghol phonemes and the Arabic-Persian letters used for Written Moghol are concerned, information can be drawn from the pronunciation of written texts, as elicited from the last recorded Moghol speakers (1969–72). A comparison of their articulation with the earlier data on Spoken Moghol indicates that slight phonetic changes had taken place. These changes do not seem to have affected the phonemic system, however.

The actual phonemic and phonetic (IPA) values of the Written Moghol graphemes (here rendered in a conventional Romanization, as used for the Arabic alphabet) are, for the vowels: *fatḥa* = *a* [ʌ], *kasra* = *e i* [ɛ ɔ e ɪ], *ḍamma* = *o* [o]; in initial position: *alif* + *fatḥa* = *a* [a ɐ], *alif* + *kasra* = *e* [e ɛ], *alif* + *ya* = *i* [i], *alif* + *waw* = *u* [u ʉ wu], *alif* + *madda* = *å* [ɔ]; in medial and final position: *alif* after consonants = *å* [ɔ], *waw* after consonants = *u* [u ʊ], *ya* after consonants = *i* [i]. The values of the consonant letters are: **p** = *p b f* [p β f], **b** = *b* [b β], **m** = *m* [m], **f** = *f* [f], **w** = *w* [w]; **t ṭ** = *t* [t], **d** = *d t* [d t], **n** = *n* [n], **l** = *l* [l], **r** = *r* [r], **s t̲ (th) ṣ** = *s* [s θ], **z d̲ (dh) ḍ ẓ** = *z* [z], **č (ch)** = *c* [tʃ], **ǧ (j)** = *j* [dʒ], **š (sh)** = *sh* [ʃ], **ž (zh)** = *j zh* [dʒ ʒ], **y** = *y* [j], **k** = *k* [k], **g** = *g* [g], **ḫ (kh)** = *x h* [x ɦ], **ġ (gh)** = *gh g q* [ʁ g q], **q** = *q k* [q k ɢ], **h ḥ** = *h* [ɦ h].

WORD STRUCTURE

Owing to the very high percentage of the borrowed Persian or Persian-Arabic vocabulary, the word structure and prosodic features of Moghol exhibit a mixed and heterogeneous picture. The suprasegmental intonation of Spoken Moghol is very close to that of Persian Tajik. Moghol speakers using their language may therefore give someone who does not know Moghol the impression that they are communicating in Tajik.

Moghol has relatively few morphophonological alternations. As far as the juncture between stems and suffixes is concerned, verbal stems ending in a consonant add one of the connective vowels *u* or *o* before certain suffixes depending on phonotactic and/or morphological circumstances. Nouns ending in *h* drop this *h* before suffixes (before plural suffixes, for instance). In Written Moghol, all suffixes are written contiguously with the

preceding stem (or with a preceding connective vowel, if any). There are also a few elements written as prefixes.

Both Spoken Moghol and Written Moghol, as read from texts, reveal the existence of a strong high pitch. In single words this pitch is located mainly on the last syllable, seldom on the penult. In the narrative form of the finite conjugation the pitch is located on the final vowel of the stem, if the stem ends in a vowel or a diphthong, or on the connective vowel *u* or *o*, if the stem ends in a consonant, e.g. *ing-* 'to laugh', *inanambi* 'I am laughing'; *acar-* 'to bring', *acaronamda* 'we are bringing'. The other finite forms have the pitch on their respective temporal-aspectual suffixes, e.g. *inabobi* 'I laughed'; *acarlanud* 'they were bringing'. Within a clause the pitch height can extend its influence over the next three syllables, making them clitics, e.g. *ger mini be* or *ger=mini=be* '[it] is my house'.

PARTS OF SPEECH

Unlike other Mongolic languages, Moghol has, due to the impact of the Iranian influence, most of the 'classical' parts of speech known from Indo-European languages: substantives, verbs, adjectives, pronouns, prepositions, adverbs, and conjunctions. Substantives are morphologically marked for the categories of number and case. Verbs are characterized by the categories of person, number, tense-aspect, and mode. Adjectives are distinguished by the category of degree (comparison), borrowed from Iranian and marked by the Persian suffixes *.tar* for the comparative and *.tariin* for the superlative. Adjectives function syntactically as attributes or nominal predicates, and they are never marked for the categories of number and case. Many adjectives are borrowed from Iranian.

Pronouns, especially the personal pronouns, preserve their original suppletive declension. They have, nevertheless, borrowed one of the expressions of the possessor from Iranian and can therefore occur in the nominative case after a substantive followed by the *ezafe*, e.g. *ti tezuk-i ci be* 'this is your book'. Unlike most other Mongolic languages, Moghol also has relative clauses, introduced either by native pronouns or by a combination of native pronouns and Persian *kih*.

Etymologically, there are three kinds of prepositions in Moghol. The first type involves direct Iranian borrowings, while the second type comprises native words, like *tålah* 'for', *ul* 'until', or, in some cases, words of uncertain origin, like *sabar* 'for, to'. The third type is based on original case suffixes, such as the dative suffix *-du* and the ablative suffix */a-sah*, which have developed into prepositions under Iranian influence, as in abl. (suffixal) *cina-sah* or (prepositional) *sah ci* 'from you', dat. (suffixal) *cinan-du* or (prepositional) *du ci* 'for you'. Such use of suffixes as prepositions is facultative.

As in Iranian, Moghol substantives and adjectives can be used as adverbs. Certain words are synchronically always used in an adverbial function, e.g. *inaudur* 'today', *nidoni* 'last year', *endah* 'here', *maudu* 'so much', *qunah* 'then', *mitu* 'like'. Finally, Moghol has developed a large variety of conjunctions, both coordinating and subordinating. Some of these are Iranian borrowings, while others are of native origin, like the coordinating conjunctions *å* 'and', *tah* 'and', or the subordinating conjunction *sah* 'if'. The subordinating conjunctions are used to introduce temporal and other dependent clauses, not present in most other Mongolic languages (see the section on Syntax).

WORD FORMATION

Derivation in Moghol takes place by adding suffixes to stable primary stems. The suffixes of derivation are added mechanically; they do not produce changes in the

segmental structure of the stem. Unlike other Mongolic languages, Moghol does not have vowel harmony. Therefore, derivative suffixes, like most other suffixes, appear generally only in a single invariable shape. The most important factor lying behind the absence of vowel harmony is the diachronic change (neutralization) of the vowel **e* into *a* in all non-initial syllables. Also, the Moghol vowels *å o u i* can synchronically occur without any regular sequence.

In the following, the derivative suffixes are divided into four groups, depending on whether they form denominal nouns, deverbal nouns, denominal verbs, or deverbal verbs.

Denominal nouns: *.ci*, *.ji* and *.i* denote the actor, e.g. *qurugh* 'shadow' : *qurugh.ci* '[someone] who casts a shadow', *kelan* 'tongue, language' : *kelan.ji* 'parrot', *kul* 'foot' : *kul.i* 'walker'; *.cih* denotes persons who are in possession of, or in connection with, something, e.g. *anqas* 'thirst' : *anqas.cih* '[someone who is] thirsty'; *.i* forms abstract substantives from adjectives. e.g. *wuj* 'kind, friendly' : *wuj.i* 'kindness, friendliness'; *.kan* forms diminutives, e.g. *urah* 'heart' : *ura.kan* 'sweetheart' (with the stem-final *h* dropped); *.lik* forms abstract nouns, e.g. *bardah* 'slave' : *bardah.lik* 'slavery'; *.mi* forms abstract substantives from adjectives, e.g. *qara* 'black' : *qara.mi* 'malignity'; *.nghi* denotes places, e.g. *qara* 'black' : *qara.nghi* 'hell'; *.nghu* forms abstract ideas from adjectives of colour, e.g. *qara* 'black' : *qara.nghu* 'obscure, dark'; *.sh* forms nouns possessing the colour of the primary stem, e.g. *qarå* (*qara*) 'black' : *qarå.sh* 'charcoal'; *.sh* also indicates places containing what is denoted by the primary stem, e.g. *kuri* 'stone' : *kuri.sh* 'stony place'; *.tu* [possessor noun] denotes possession or containment, e.g. *osor* 'feather' : *osor.tu* 'feathered'; *.tur* expresses a comparison with what is denoted by the primary stem, e.g. *caqel* 'moon' : *caqel.tur* 'moonlike'; */o.xsh* (with the connective vowel *o* after stems ending in a consonant) forms nouns denoting direction (directive), e.g. *or* 'front, anterior' : *or/o.xsh* 'forward'.

Deverbal nouns: *.gh* forms substantives of what is denoted by the primary verbal stem, e.g. *eri-* 'to wish' : *eri.gh* 'wish'; *.gha* and *.h* have a similar function, e.g. *ål-* 'to find' : *ål.gha* 'finding', *sukka-* 'to insult' : *sukka.h* 'insult'; *.ji* forms substantives indicating tools, e.g. *ida-* 'to eat' : *ida.ji* 'cutlery'; *.kulang* forms adjectives, e.g. *ulas-* 'to become hungry' : *ulas.kulang* 'hungry'; */o.n* or */u.n* (with the connective vowel *u* or *o* after stems ending in a consonant) forms general deverbal substantives, e.g. *dilat-* 'to rain' : *dilat/u.n* 'rain'; *.q* forms substantives indicating receptacles or vessels, e.g. *ida-* 'to eat' : *ida.q* 'eating bowl'; *.zhi* indicates the place of action, e.g. *ida-* 'to eat' : *ida.zhi* 'place of eating'.

Denominal verbs: *.l-* for expressing the action of what is denoted by the primary nominal stem, with the final *n* of the nominal stem being dropped, e.g. *ceqin* 'ear' : *ceqi.l-* 'to hear'; *ebasun* 'grass, fodder' : *ebasu.l-* 'to feed, to drive to pasture'; *.ah-* with a similar function, e.g. *qaul* 'nude, naked' : *qaul.ah-* 'to undress, to take off clothes'; *.ih-* for expressing the reception of what is denoted by the primary stem, e.g. *murtaj* 'healthy; welfare' : *murtaj.ih-* 'to recover'. Many stems are used both as primary verbal stems and as primary nominal stems (nomina-verba or zero derivation), e.g. *anghas* 'smell' : *anghas-* 'to smell'; *nåt* 'play, dance' : *nåt-* 'to play, to dance'.

Deverbal verbs: *.cagha-* or *.cigha-* for actions performed by many actors (pluritative or verbal plural), e.g. *ki.cagha-ba-h* 'many did [it]', *unshi.cigha-ba-h* 'many recited'; *.da-* for passive verbs, e.g. *ål.da-ba-h* 'he has been found'; *.ga-* for factitive verbs, e.g. *dur.ga-ba-h* 'she made [it] burn'; *.gh-* for passive verbs, e.g. *ugha.gh-gha* '[it] has to be washed', *.gha-* for causative verbs, e.g. *dagil.gha-ba-h* 'he let [them] cook'; *.ghda-* for passive verbs, e.g. *kuli.ghda-ba-h* 'it has been fastened'; *.l* for causative verbs, e.g. *kur/u.l-gha* 'he has to let [him] arrive'; *.lår-* or *.lårå-* for inchoative verbs, e.g. *uilah.lår-ba-h* 'he began to weep', *ki.lårå-ba-h* 'he began to make'; *.lat-* for reflexive verbs, e.g. *ida.lat-tå* 'you two eat for yourself!'; *.qa-* for causative-factitive verbs, e.g. *bos.qa-xsah* 'erected'; *.ra-* for medial

verbs, e.g. *ida.ra-su* 'I have to gorge myself'. Sometimes more than one suffix can be attached to a primary stem, e.g. *ål.da.ghda-ba-h* 'he has been found', *bari.ghda.l-pa-h* 'he made [it] to be taken', *cai.l.gha-bå-bi* 'I was made enlightened'.

The Common Mongolic suffix **.b* of the intensifying adjectival construction also survives in Moghol. If the first syllable of the adjective begins with a consonant, the suffix has the shape *.b*, as in *ca.b caghå* 'completely white'; *qa.b qarå* 'completely black'. If the first syllable of the adjective begins with a vowel, the suffix appears as *.f*, as in *u.f ulån* 'completely red'. In view of this morphophonological alternation (*b* : *f*) the intensifying construction may perhaps also be viewed as a case of nominal compounding (or prefixation).

Apart from the system of derivation, Moghol has adopted one of the most characteristic features of the Persian-Tajik verbal system, viz. the compound verbs. In the Moghol version of this system the common Persian verbs with a general sense are replaced by their Moghol translations, e.g. *ki-* 'to do, to make' for Persian *kardan* id., *bål-* 'to become' for Persian *shodan* id., *bari-* 'to take' for Persian *gereftan* id. These verbs are preceded by a qualifying or distinguishing substantive, which is often a borrowing from Persian, as in *tåsir ki-* 'to effect' (Persian *tå'sir* 'impression'), *elhåq bål-* 'to reach' (Persian *elhåq* 'arriving'). There are also examples of loan translations, as in *cåsun bari-* 'to snow' from Persian *barf gereftan* id.

NUMBER AND CASE

The primary or secondary stem of words acting as substantives functions as the unmarked singular, while the category of the plural is indicated by special markers, which are probably best analysed as derivative suffixes. There are two main series of plural suffixes for substantives. The first series is of Mongolic origin: *.nud* (after consonants), *.d*, *.t*, *.s*, *.z* (after vowels; the stem-final consonants *h* and *n* are dropped before these suffixes), e.g. *buzagh.nud* 'frogs', *nudu.d* 'eyes'; *eki.t* 'heads', *aulå.s* 'mountains'; *qarantaghci.z* 'tyrants'. The second series is of Persian-Arabic origin and is mostly (but not only) used in connection with Persian-Arabic words: *.ån*, *.åt*, *.hå*, *.yåt* (after vowels), e.g. *cashm.ån* 'eyes', *jar.åt* 'ghazals', *urul.åt* 'lips', *qutuf.hå* 'slow steps', *gazhi.yåt* 'signs'. Additionally, there is a combined Persian and Moghol plural suffix: *.håt*, as in *cuqu.håt* 'realities'. The Arabic broken plural can also be found occasionally, e.g. *amåghel* 'Mongols' (sg. *moghol*), *malå'ek* 'angels' (sg. *malak*). To the Arabic plural, a Moghol plural suffix can be added: *malå'ek.at.*

Moghol has the following cases, most of which have a Common Mongolic background: nominative, genitive, accusative, dative, ablative, instrumental, comitative, and vocative. The case suffixes are added to the primary or secondary stem of substantives. The nominative is unmarked for stems ending in a consonant, a diphthong, or any of the vowels *å o i*, but stems ending in *a* and (sometimes) *u* show a final *h*, which may be analysed as a nominative suffix (*-h*). The other seven cases are all marked suffixally, though the dative and ablative suffixes can also occur as prepositions (Table 12.3). The case suffixes are generally the same for vowel stems and consonant stems, but in the ablative, consonant stems normally require the presence of an extra vowel segment (*/a-sa*, */a-sah*), which synchronically seems to function as a connective vowel.

As elsewhere in Mongolic, the dative also functions as a locative (dative-locative). More idiosyncratically, the Moghol comitative functions mainly as an instrumental, while the instrumental functions as a comitative (comitative-instrumental). The ablative has the variant ending *-dasa/h*, which diachronically involves double declension (dative-ablative).

TABLE 12.3 MOGHOL CASE MARKERS

	suffixal	prepositional
gen.	*-i, -ai*	
acc.	*-i, -'i*	
dat.	*-du, -do, -tu*	*du*
abl.	*-sa, -sah, -asa, -asah*	*sah*
instr.	*-ar*	
com.	*-la, -lah*	
voc.	*-å*	

The prepositional use of the dative and ablative suffixes reflects Iranian influence. The two structures are functionally equivalent, cf. e.g. dat. (suffixal) *ghal-du* or (prepositional) *du ghal* 'in the fire'. On the other hand, the Persian preposition *az* 'from' is sometimes used as an ablative suffix *-az*. The Persian *ezafe* construction often replaces the genitive, and the Moghol accusative (direct object) can be substituted by the Persian postposition *rå*. The case suffixes follow the plural markers and are connected with the latter in writing. Both the plural markers and the case suffixes can be followed by the reflexive suffix, which has the shapes *-ah* (after consonants), *-yah* (after diphthongs), *-tah* (after plural *-d*), or *-nah* (after vowels).

NUMERALS

The cardinal numerals, used as adjectives and substantives, are, for the first decade: 1 ***nikah*** ~ ***nika/n***, 2 *qeyår* ~ *qiar*, 3 ***ghorbån*** ~ *qurban*, 4 ***dorbån*** ~ ***durba/n***, 5 ***tåbun*** ~ *tabun*, 6 *åsun* ~ *essun* ~ *jurghan*, 7 *dålån*, 8 *sålån* ~ *arban-i qiar ushkan* 'of ten, two less', 9 *tåsån* ~ *arban-i nikan ushkan* 'of ten, one less', 10 *arbån* ~ *arban*. The numerals of the second decade are either 11 *arba+nika*, 12 *arban qiar*, etc. (10 + digit), or 11 *nik+arbån*, 12 *qey+arbån*, 13 *ghor+arbån*, 14 *dor+arbån*, 15 *tåb+arbån*, 16 *ås+arbån*, 17 *dål+arbån*, 18 *sål+arbån*, 19 *tås+arbån* (digit + 10), or also 18 *qorn-asa qiar ushkan* 'from twenty, two less' ~ *arban qiar durba* 'ten and twice four', 19 *qorin-asa nika ushkan* 'from twenty, one less'.

The other decades as well as hundreds and thousands are expressed as follows: 20 *n.å'emah* ~ *qori/n* ~ *qorn*, 30 *gh.å'emah* (first consonant of the digit + *å'emah*) ~ *qurban arban* (3x10), 40 *d.å'emah* ~ *qiar qori* (2x20), 50 *t.å'emah* ~ *tabun arban* (5x10) ~ *katai.kin-i nispa-ini* 'half of a hundred', 60 *ås.emah* (first syllable of the digit + *emah*) ~ *qurban qori* (3x20), 70 *dål.emah* ~ *qurban qori arban* (3x20 + 10), 80 *sål.emah* ~ *durban qori* (4x20), 90 *tås.emah* ~ *durban qori arban* (4x20 + 10) ~ *katai.kin-i arban kam* 'of a hundred, ten less', 100 *årin* ~ *katai* ~ *qatei*, 200 *qeyår årin* ~ *qiar katai*, etc., 1,000 *aryun* ~ *eryå* ~ *nik+aryun* ~ ***nik+arbun*** (with an orthographically conditioned variation *+aryun* ~ *+arbun*), 2,000 *qey+aryun* ~ *qey+arbun*, etc. Examples of other numerals are: 21 ***nikah tah nå'emah*** ~ ***nika+ta+nå'emah*** 'one and twenty', 101 ***årin tah nikah*** 'a hundred and one', 121 ***årin tah nikah tah nå'emah*** 'a hundred and one and twenty', 201 *qiar katai.ki nikan-i oda* 'to two hundred, one more'.

From the diachronic point of view, the most conspicuous feature of the Moghol numeral system is that it contains several Post-Proto-Mongolic innovations. The secondary items are: 6 *åsun* ~ *essun*, 8 *sålån*, 9 *tåsån*, 100 *årin* ~ *katai* ~ *qatei*, and 1,000

aryun ~ *eryå*, as well as *.å'emah* ~ *.emah* in the tens for 20–90. With the exception of the etymologically transparent *katai* or *qatei* < 'big' (from Persian-Arabic), these do not seem to have been recorded from oral Moghol. They might therefore involve literary creations and orthographical confusions, but even so they remain unexplained. The analytic expressions of the type 8 *arban-i qiar ushkan* and 9 *arban-i nikan ushkan* are probably loan translations, though they also suggest that the original numerals for 8 and 9 were falling into oblivion.

Ordinal numerals are formed by attaching the suffixes *.ah* and *.i* to the cardinal numerals. The former suffix forms ordinal adverbs, while the latter suffix forms ordinal nouns (adjectives or substantives): *ung* 'firstly' (exceptionally without the suffix *.ah*) : *ung.i* 'first', *qeyår.ah* 'secondly' : *qeyår.i* 'second'. Collective numerals are formed by the suffix *.lah*, before which the final consonant of the numeral stem is dropped: *qeyå.lah* 'both, two together', *nå'ema.lah* 'all twenty, twenty together'. Multiplicative numerals are formed by adding the suffix *tah* to the cardinal numerals, or by combining the numerals with *maud* 'so much' > 'times' : *nikah.tah* 'once', *qeyår maud* 'two times'. Examples of fractional numerals are: *doreb.ni* 'quarter', *orbo.ni* '[one] tenth'.

PRONOUNS

There are personal, demonstrative, interrogative, and reflexive pronouns. The personal pronouns are: sg. 1p. *bi*, 2p. *ci*, 3p. *i* ~ *ih* or *ti*, pl. 1p. incl. *bidah* ~ *bidat*, 1p. excl. *mån*, 2p. *tå* ~ *tåd* 'you', 3p. *tid* ~ *tit*. The oblique case forms involve suppletion (Table 12.4), but the suppletive forms can be replaced by simple declension (nominative of the pronoun + the case endings). In the dative and ablative cases, the case endings may also be used as prepositions placed before the nominative of the pronoun.

The basic demonstrative pronouns are: *inah* ~ *enah* 'this' : pl. *inat* ~ *enad* 'these'; *mun* ~ *munah* 'that' : pl. *munat* ~ *mutah* ~ *mutat* 'those', which have full declensional paradigms (Table 12.5). Additionally, there is *em* ~ *emmah* : pl. *emmas* 'such', for which no examples of oblique case forms are attested. Special forms, derivatives, and compounds based on the demonstrative pronouns include *enda* ~ *inda* 'here', *enakah* 'now', *enaudur* ~ *inaudur* 'today' ('this'+'day').

The genitive of the personal and demonstrative pronouns indicates the possessor. The possessive relationship can also be expressed by the Persian *ezafe* construction, e.g. *na't-i ti* 'his description', *uku-ku-sah-i ti* 'from his dying'. Alternatively, the nominative forms of the personal pronouns can be used as possessive suffixes, e.g. *yåbåsh-bi* 'my repose'. The possessive suffix for the third person has the shapes *-i* ~ *-e* ~ *-ini* ~ *-ne* ~ *-neh* ~ *-ni*, e.g. *kelan-ni* 'his language', *joznud-neh* 'its parts'. The fact that it is a question of suffixes is confirmed by the orthography of Written Moghol, in which the pronominal elements are written contiguously with the preceding nominal stem (or case form).

The interrogative pronouns are: *emah* ~ *imah* ~ *imas* 'what', *ken* ~ *kiyan* 'who' : gen. (poss.) *kenaiki* 'whose'. Related forms and other interrogative words include *emadu* ~ *imadu* ~ *emaji* ~ *imaji* ~ *emagalah* 'why', *emaula-* 'to do what', *ked* ~ *keddu* 'how much', *keja* 'when', *oshtin* 'how'. The reflexive pronouns are: *orin* 'self' : dat. refl. *orin-du-nah* 'for oneself', or also refl. *usa-nah* 'self'.

VERBAL FORMS

Moghol preserves a formal and functional distinction between the basic spheres of imperative, participial, converbial, and finite indicative forms. Many of these categories

TABLE 12.4 MOGHOL PERSONAL PRONOUNS

		1p.		2p.	3p.	
sg.	nom.	*bi*		*ci*	*i, ih, eh*	*ti*
	gen.	*mini, men*		*cini*	*ini, eni*	*teni*
		mennai		*cenai*	*ennai*	*tennai*
		nami				
	acc.	*nami*		*cemai*		
		meni		*ceni*	*enni*	*tenni*
				ce'i		*ti'i, te'i*
	dat.	*nandu*				*tindu, tendu*
		minandu		*cenandu*		*tinandu*
					enidu	
		bidu		*cidu*		*tidu*
		du bi		*du ci*		*du ti*
	abl.	*namasah*				
		minasah		*cinasah*	*ennasah*	*tinnasah*
				cinsah		
		bisah		*cisah*		*tisah*
		sah bi		*sah ci*		*sah ti*
	instr.	*namangar*		*cenangar*		*tinangar*
						tengar
						tenar
	com.	*bilah*				
		excl.	incl.			
pl.	nom.	*mån*	*bidah, bidat*	*tå, tåd*		*tid, tit*
	acc.		*bidani*	*tåni*		
			bidati	*tåti*		*titi*
			bida'i			
	gen.	*måni*	*bidani*	*tåni*		
			bidatai	*tådai, tåtai*		*tidai, titai*
	dat.		*bidandu*	*tåndu*		*tiddu*
			bidatu	*tåtu*		
			bidattu			*tittu*
						du tit
	abl.		*bidanasah*	*tånasah*		*tidasah*
						tidsah
			sah bidah			*sah tid*
	instr.		*bidar*	*tånar*		*tidar, titar*
			bidatar			

are, however, represented by a relatively small number of actual forms. As a special development, Moghol also has a kind of subjunctive modal paradigm.

The basic unmarked verbal stem functions as the simple imperative for the second person (both singular and plural), e.g. *bari* (*bari*-Ø) 'take!'. Other imperative forms have been restructured into what may be synchronically analysed as a separate imperative (or

TABLE 12.5 MOGHOL DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

		'this'		'that'
sg.	nom.	*inah*	*enah*	*mun, munah*
	gen.		*enai, enani*	*munnai*
	acc.		*eni*	*munni*
	dat.		*enandu, enatu*	*munandu, munadu*
				du munah
	abl.		*ennasah*	*munnasah*
			enadasa	
	instr.		*enangar*	*munangar*
pl.	nom.	*inat*	*enad*	*munat, mutah, mutat*
	gen.		*enati*	*munatai*
	acc.		*enati*	*munati, mutati*
	dat.		*enatu*	
				du munat
	abl.		*enadasah*	*munatsah*
	instr.		*enatar*	*munatar*

TABLE 12.6 MOGHOL NON-FINITE VERBAL MARKERS

			pl.
part.	fut.	*-ku*	
	perf.	*-xsan, -xsah*	*-xsad, -xsat, -xsaz, -xsanåt*
	ag.	*-xci*	*-xcid, -xcit, -xcis, -xciz, -xciyåt*
conv.	imperf.	*-zhi, -ci*	

necessive) personal conjugation, with each person marked by a distinct suffix (see the section on Predicative Personal Conjugation below).

The non-finite forms are represented by three participles and a single converb (Table 12.6). The participles are the futuritive participle in *-ku*, the perfective participle in *-xsan, -xsah*, and the agentive participle in *-xci*, while the only surviving converb is the imperfective converb in *-zhi* (after vowels) or *-ci* (after consonants). The suffixes of the perfective and agentive participles (beginning with a consonant cluster) require the presence of the connective vowel *u* or *o* after consonant stems. These two participles also have separate sets of plural forms.

The futuritive participle functions (1) as the canonical basic form (entry form) of verbs in dictionaries and word lists, (2) as an independent substantive (pl. *kuz*) 'some, somebody; person; being; existence', (3) as a verbal substantive, e.g. *ugha-ku* '(the) washing', and (4) as a verbal adjective corresponding to a relative clause. The perfective participle functions as *nomen patientis*, e.g. *etka-xsah* '(one that has been) cut' from *etka-* 'to cut', *åsrå-xsan* '(one that has been) saved' from *åsrå-* 'to save, to protect', pl. *jåru-xsa-t* 'envoys' from *jåru-* 'to send', *audål/o-xsan-åt* 'creatures' from *audål-* 'to create'. The agentive participle functions as *nomen agentis*, e.g. *orinzha-xci* 'selfish person' from *orinzha-* 'to be selfish', pl. *tålå-xci-z* 'those who are counting' from *tålå-* 'to count', *ida-xci-yåt* 'those who are eating, eaters' from *ida-* 'to eat'.

TABLE 12.7 MOGHOL FINITE TENSE-ASPECT MARKERS

		vx
narr.	[*-m* : *-n*]	I
dur.	*-na*, *-n*	II
term.	*-ba*, *-bå*, *-pa*, *-på*	III
conf.	*-la*, *-lå*	III
res.	*-zha*, *-zhå*, *-ca*, *-cå*	IV

The imperfective converb expresses either (1) an action performed simultaneously with the main action, e.g. *boz-ci ira-ba-h* 'he stood up and came', or (2) the manner in which the main action is performed, e.g. *uila-zhi ga-ba-h* 'he said weeping'. The converb is, however, not very commonly attested in the Moghol data.

In the finite indicative conjugation, Moghol has five suffixally marked temporal-aspectual forms (Table 12.7). The suffixes represent the Common Mongolic narrative, durative, terminative, confirmative, and resultative markers, though their synchronic functions in Moghol show idiosyncratic developments. All temporal-aspectual forms are conjugated in persons in fixed combinations with four sets of personal markers (I to IV). The terminative and resultative markers show an initial consonant alternation, with positionally conditioned variants for vowel stems (*-ba*, *-bå*, *-zha*, *-zhå*) and consonant stems (*-pa*, *-på*, *-ca*, *-cå*). The narrative and durative markers, on the other hand, require the presence of the connective vowel *u* or *o* after consonant stems.

The narrative marker *-m* : *-n* occupies morphologically a special position, in that it can also be analysed as being part of the personal endings. If this interpretation is adopted, the narrative turns out to have synchronically a zero marker (-Ø).

Functionally, the narrative forms a present tense (or aorist), e.g. *ida-* 'to eat' : narr. sg. 1p. *ida-m-bi* (or *ida-mbi*) 'I eat'. The durative, on the other hand, functions as a future (or present-future) tense, e.g. dur. sg. 1p. *ida-na-mbi* (or *ida-nam-bi*) 'I am going to eat, I will eat'. The remaining three forms also have mainly temporal functions, with the terminative functioning as an imperfect, the confirmative as a perfect, and the resultative as a pluperfect. The suffixes of these three forms show a systematic alternation between the two vowels *a* and *å*. Of these, *å* is used before the personal endings of the first person (all numbers), while *a* is used before endings of the other persons, e.g. term. sg. 1p. *ida-bå-bi* 'I ate' : sg. 2p. *ida-ba-ci* 'you ate' : conf. sg. 1p. *ida-lå-bi* 'I have eaten' : sg. 2p. *ida-la-ci* 'you have eaten' : pl. 1p. *ida-lå-bdah* 'we have eaten' : pl. 3p. *ida-la-nud* 'they have eaten' : res. sg. 1p. *ida-zhå-bi* 'I had eaten' : sg. 3p. *ida-zha-h* 'he had eaten'. Examples of a consonant stem: *acar-* 'to bring' : term. pl. 1p. *acar-på-bdah* 'we brought' : pl. 3p. *acar-pa-nud* 'they brought' : res. pl. 1p. *acar-cå-bdah* 'we had brought' : pl. 3p. *acar-ca-nud* 'they had brought'.

Sometimes more than one temporal-aspectual marker is attested in a single word. In such cases, the personal ending is attached to each suffix separately, suggesting that it may be a question of cliticization (or periphrastic conjugation), e.g. pass. caus. term. sg. 3p. + res. sg. 3p. *bari.ghda.l-pa-h=zha-h* 'he had caused [it] to be taken'.

The subjunctive conjungation is based on participles, to which the special subjunctive marker *-sa* (originally the marker of the conditional converb) is added, further followed by personal endings (III). Three different forms are attested, which may be described as the present, perfect, and passive perfect subjunctive. The present subjunctive incorporates the futuritive participle marker and has the complex ending *-ku-sa*, e.g. *ida-ku-sa-h*

'he would eat', though the simple ending *-qu* is also attested, e.g. *ida-qu-bi* 'I would eat'. The perfect subjunctive incorporates the perfective participle marker and has the ending *-xså-sa*, e.g. *ida-xså-sa-bi* 'I would have eaten'. The perfect passive subjunctive, finally, incorporates additionally the passive derivative suffix *.gh-* and has the ending *.gh-så-sa*, e.g. *ida.gh-så-sa-bi* 'I would have been eaten'.

PREDICATIVE PERSONAL ENDINGS

Like several other Modern Mongolic languages, Moghol has a system of predicative personal endings, which are attached to the finite forms after the temporal-aspectual (or modal) markers. A specific feature of Moghol is, however, that the personal endings are differentiated for three numbers: singular, dual, and plural. It is true, the system is not complete, in that the distinction between the dual and the plural is only made in the second and third persons (vowel alternation *å* : *u*).

Diachronically, the personal endings are a heterogeneous collection of pronominal elements, nominal number markers, and obscured verbal suffixes. Altogether there are five different sets (Table 12.8), the first of which (I) is combined with the narrative marker *-m* : *-n*, the second (II) with the durative marker *-na*, the third (III) with the terminative and confirmative markers *-ba* resp. *-la* (with variants), and the fourth (IV) with the resultative marker *-zha* (with variants). The third set is also used with the subjunctive marker *-sa*, while the imperative conjugation, with no modal suffix, uses a fifth set of personal endings (V).

It is obvious from the data that the five sets of personal endings are multiply interdependent both synchronically and diachronically. There is a particularly close connection between the first and second sets, and also between the third and fourth sets. The fifth set, consisting mainly of restructured rudiments of the original system of imperative markers, is most different from the others. In this set, the Common Mongolic optative (1p. sg. *-su* < **-sU*), permissive (3p. *-gha/h* < **-gV*), voluntative (1p. du. *-ya/h* : pl. *-yan* < **-yA/n*), and benedictive (2p. du. *-tå* : pl. *-tu* ~ *-tuna* < **-gtUn*) can be immediately identified.

SYNTAX

Like the intonation patterns, the sentence structure of the Moghol language, both spoken and written, has been intensively influenced by the Tajik-Persian linguistic environment.

TABLE 12.8 MOGHOL PREDICATIVE PERSONAL ENDINGS

		I	II	III	IV	V
sg.	1p.	*-m-bi*	[*-na*]*-m-bi*	*-bi*	*-bi*	*-su*
	2p.	*-n-ci*	[*-na*]*-n-ci*	*-ci*	*-n-ci*	*-h*
	3p.	*-m -Ø*	[*-na*]*-h*	*-h*	*-h*	*-gha/h*
du.	1p.	*-m-da/h*	[*-na*]*-m-da/h*	*-bda/h*	*-bda/h*	*-ya/h*
	2p.	*-n-tå*	[*-na*]*-n-tå*	*-tå*	*-n-tå*	*-tå*
	3p.	*-m-nåd*	[*-na*]*-nåd*	*-nåd*	*-nåd*	*-gha/h*
pl.	1p.	*-m-da/h*	[*-na*]*-m-da/h*	*-bda/h*	*-bda/h*	*-yan*
	2p.	*-n-tu*	[*-na*]*-n-tu*	*-tu*	*-n-tu*	*-tu*(*na*)
	3p.	*-m-nud*	[*-na*]*-nud*	*-nåd*	*-nud*	*-gha/h*

The normal word order is subject–object–predicate (SOV), with the predicate slot being filled by either a finite verb or a predicatively used noun. There is regular agreement between the subject and the predicate with regard to number and person. The normal sentence may, however, be altered in poetic language in accordance with the rules of Persian metres, rhymes, and rhythms, which also had to be observed by a Moghol poet. For instance, to achieve the correct emphasis, the finite verb can be placed at the beginning of the sentence (VSO), as in *å mida-m daidån deksh ti ku-ʾi kåfer bål/u-m* 'And God the Exalted knows this one who becomes an infidel.'

Another element of alien syntactic influence originates in the religious language derived from Arabic. Arabic elements, introduced by Moghol mullahs into their native language, have always been *farz* 'obligatory' for every Muslim in his religious life, and they have thus become effective also in the everyday life and language of the Moghol. The Persian-Arabic influence is responsible for the expression of hypotactic structures by using subordinate dependent clauses introduced by subordinating conjunctions and relative pronouns, non-existent in most other Mongolic languages. The subordinate clause can either precede or follow the main clause. The following *subordinating conjunctions* are attested:

(*1*) *oghlah* 'that' (functionally corresponding to Arabic *anna*), introduces a consecutive nominal dependent clause, e.g. *å ulah gah-gh/u-m oghlah yad-ni cidån-i be-h* 'and it should not be said that his hand is his strength';

(*2*) *ul* 'so that' (also 'until', cf. Mongolic **ulam* 'further, still more'), introduces a final dependent clause, e.g. *du maktab såu.l-gha-h ul sah ᶜaqå'ed tah awåmer wåcugh bol-ga-h* 'he should be placed in a school, so that he can be made aware of the articles of faith and the orders of communication';

(*3*) *munkeh* 'that' (from Moghol *mun* 'this' and Persian *keh* 'that'), introduces a consecutive dependent clause, e.g. '. . .*qunah munkeh ghar/u-m sah munah gaiti qoluc/o-xci* '. . .after he goes out of this world as a believer';

(*4*) *ul munkeh* 'until' (from *ul* and *munkeh*), introduces a terminal dependent clause, e.g. *wa esah jiji-zha-h sah ti ul munkeh oku-ba-h qoluc/o-xci ghar/u-xci bar oghlati tu eri-yi daidån dekh be-h* 'and he did not turn away from this until he died as a believer committing transgressions, so really he is under the volition of God the Exalted';

(*5*) *kull ghåt* 'when' (from Arabic *kull* 'all, every' and Moghol *ghåt* 'time'), introduces a temporal dependent clause, e.g. *kull ghåt kela-ba-h daidån deksh muså-i kela-ba-h te-ʾi du kelanni* 'when God the Exalted spoke to Moses, he spoke to him in his language';

(*6*) *ticur* 'as soon as' (from Moghol *ti* 'this' + *ucur* 'time'), introduces a successive dependent clause, e.g. *å mida-m oghla ti oshtin å-m ticur å-lgha-h ti-'i* 'and he knows how it is, as soon as he creates it';

(*7*) *sah* 'if' (identical with the subjunctive marker *-sa*, cf. similar forms in both Mongolic and Turkic), introduces a conditional dependent clause, e.g. *farz azhar sah ti nika-yah å-la-h å sah oroxshi lah be-la-h* 'Farz Azhar [must be recited] if he has been there himself alone, and if there has not been a precentor';

(*8*) *sin* 'even if, though', introduces a concessive dependent clause, e.g. *å lah ga-mdah oghlah ti mughatti-xsan be-h ti-du sin a-gha-h ghar/u-xci* 'and we do not say that he is one who is forever retained in it even if he becomes a transgressor';

(*9*) *mun agar sah* 'because' (from Moghol *mun* 'this' and Persian *agar* 'if', to which Moghol abl. *sah* 'from' is added), introduces a causal dependent clause, e.g. *å gaiti du kolkah joz-nud-neh moxdas be-h mun agar sah ti ᶜain-nud be-h* 'and the world is in all its parts created, because it consists of substances'.

Subordinate causal clauses can also be paraphrased in various ways. Two such paraphrases are *imah ga-zhi . . . ga-h . . .* 'saying what . . . one must say . . .' and *. . . ga-h eh be-h imah ga-la-h oghlah . . .* '. . . one must say it is what one had said that . . .', e.g. *imah ga-zhi du ti ga-h gaimahku-yi åyatur be-h* 'because in this [there] is the suspension of the attribute' (literally: '. . . saying what – in this – one must say – is the suspension of the attribute'), *å mun ga-h eh be-h imah ga-la-h oghlah daidån deksh mida-m lah ådål mida.gh mån* 'and this is, because God the Exalted knows not according to our knowledge' (literally: 'and this is – one must say it is what one had said – that God the Exalted knows not according to our knowledge').

Relative words introducing subordinate *relative clauses* include: *ti* 'which', e.g. *du kelan ti sifat bar ti-ᵓi be-h* 'by means of the speaking which is an attribute with him'; *imah* ~ *timah* (*ti+imah*) 'what, [the one] that, [he] who', e.g. *ti imah-du mida-na-h daidån* 'this, by what means God will know', *å timah såyar be-h* 'and that which is worthy of belief', *ådål timah dekr ki-ba-h* 'like he who mentioned it', *å timah ådåli-ne be-h* 'and that which is similar to it'; *ku* 'who', e.g. *har ku enni ura-sa-yah ga-ba-h mumen sådiq be-na-h* 'everybody who recited this from his heart will be a sincere believer'.

For the expression of *negation* Moghol uses the following negative particles of Common Mongolic origin, all of which are placed before, and in some cases prefixed to, the word to be negated: *ulah* ~ *ula-* ~ *ul-* ~ *lah* ~ *la-* 'not'; *ugai(-)* ~ *gai(-)* 'not, without'; *essah* ~ *essa* ~ *esah* ~ *sa-* 'not'. Additionally, the Persian preposition *bi* 'without' is used. The negation of nominal words, including nominal forms of verbs (participles), takes place with *bi, lah, ugai* ~ *gai*, e.g. *bi ci* 'without you', *bi jonun* 'without madness', *lah or/o.xsh-i lah quina.xsh-i* 'not the forward, not the backward', *lah nudun-du ugai cekin-du* 'to the one without eyes and without ears', *gai ådål* 'unlike'. In the finite conjugation, the particle *ulah* ~ *ula-* ~ *ul-* ~ *lah* ~ *la-* is used to negate the narrative and durative forms, e.g. *ulah bai-m ulah lula-na-h* 'he does not stay and he will not rotate', *ceni ula-uzha-na-mbi* 'I will not see you', *ul-årå-m* 'he does not enter', *lah anqas/u-m lah ulas/u-m* 'he is not hungry, nor thirsty', *la-mida-mbi* 'I do not know'. The negation of existence is expressed as *ugai+be-h* ~ *gai+be-h* 'it is not, there is not; does not exist' (with the copula *+be-h*). The other finite forms are negated by *bi, lah*, or *essah* ~ *essa* ~ *esah* ~ *sa-*, e.g. *bi dur-pa-ci* 'you did not burn', *lah be-la-h* 'has not been', *essah ida-ba-nud* 'they did not eat'; *sa-ira-zha-nci* 'you were not coming'. The prohibitive (negative imperative) is expressed by the (Mongolic) particle *bi(-)* or *be(-)*, e.g. *bi tus-gha* 'he must not touch'; *be-dur.ga-l.gha-tu* 'you must not allow him to get burned'.

LEXICON

The intensive language contact with the Iranian environment has particularly profoundly influenced the Moghol lexicon. More than 70 per cent of the words used in Moghol are of Persian-Arabic origin. The Moghol lexicon comprises, therefore, (1) native Mongolic words, (2) loanwords from Persian-Arabic, (3) 'Mogholizations' (Moghol adaptations) of foreign words, and (4) loan translations. A study of the early Moghol word lists beginning with Leech (1838) reveals relatively little of the development of the lexicon, though the variation observable in the material may reflect some diachronic or dialectal patterns (see the section on Dialects above).

Owing to the impact of the Islamic society, many ordinary words borrowed from Persian are used as technical terms even in everyday life, e.g. *namâz* 'devotional exercise of the prescribed prayer'. Some such terms have, however, been replaced by loan translations, e.g. *usunghar* for Persian *âbdast* 'ablution'. Similar loan translations have

been made for some special terms of Islamic theology, e.g. *unang coqu-hât* for Arabic *khaqâ'iq* 'truth, sincerity (as the essence of a thing)'. On the other hand, items of non-religious idiomatic usage have also been adopted by way of loan translation, e.g. *nur-sah-i* for Persian *az rû-yi* 'on account of' (literally: 'from the face of'), as in *nur-sah-i mart* 'on account of forgetting'.

Even verbal morphological patterns have occasionally been translated from Persian. An interesting example is offered by the documented use of the Moghol plain verbal stem *tom* 'to cut' as a past tense form in the sense 'he has cut', replacing the normal conjugated form term. sg. 3p. *tom/u-ba-h* 'he has cut'. The reason is that the Persian counterpart of Moghol *tom-* 'to cut' is *ciid*, which happens to function both as the general preterite stem of the verb and as the specific personal form sg. 3p. 'he has cut'.

Against this massive alien influence, there are examples which suggest that the Moghol in some cases may have tried to avoid Persian loanwords by using native paraphrases, e.g. *usun-i dotana.ki-ni* 'the one being inside the water' for Persian *morghâbi* 'duck', *usun-i nure.ki* 'the one being on the face of the water' for Persian *kashti* 'boat', *bughur-i sundun-i* 'tooth of the mouse' for Persian *berenj* 'rice'. The reasons underlying such paraphrases may be connected with some unknown social or cultural factors. Similar factors may underlie the 'Mogholized' shapes of certain loanwords, e.g. *mahtoi* 'moon' for Persian *mâh* id. (the native Moghol word is *caqel* or *ceqeldaur*).

Altogether, the remarkable impact of the non-Mongolic linguistic environment on Moghol lexicon and grammar (syntax, morphosyntax, and even morphological structures like the *ezafe* construction) make Moghol look like a true Inner Asian creole language, worthy of careful study in its areal setting.

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CHAPTER THIRTEEN

SHIRA YUGHUR

Hans Nugteren

The Shira Yughur belong to the linguistically heterogeneous Yughur (Yugur, Yugu) nationality of China, which consists of Mongolic, Turkic, Chinese, and perhaps Amdo Tibetan speakers. The Shira Yughur are not listed separately in the census data. Junast (1981) estimated their number at one third of the (then) total population of 9,000 Yughur, which would make them the second-smallest Mongolic-speaking people in China (after the Khamnigan). The Shira Yughur language is spoken in the central part of Gansu Province, northwestern China. Most speakers are found in Sunan Yughur Autonomous County, in the townships (communes) of Kangle, Hongshiwo, and Qinglong of Kangle District, the townships of Beitan and Dongtan of Huangcheng District, and in Dahe District. Some further speakers live in the adjoining Jiuquan County.

The ethnonym *Yughur*, or *Yoghor*, as used by the Yughur themselves, denotes the entire Yughur nationality. This also applies to the extended term *Shira Yughur* or *Shira Yoghor* 'Yellow Yughur', which corresponds to the term *Sarygh Yughur* of the Turkic-speaking Yughur. In the official classification the Mongolic-speaking Yughur are identified as the Eastern Yughur (*Dongbu Yugu* in Chinese), while the Turkic-speaking Yughur are referred to as the Western Yughur (*Xibu Yugu*). These terms have no equivalents in the Yughur languages. Diachronically, the name *Yughur* or *Yoghor* is a development of the ancient Turkic ethnonym *Uighur*, and, in view of this, the Yughur are in Western literature traditionally known as the 'Yellow Uighur'. There is, however, no evidence supporting the assumption that the Shira Yughur are Mongolized Turkic-speakers.

Another term, which specifically denotes the Shira Yughur language, is *Nggar* (also Anggar, Inggar), or *Nggar lar* (with *lar* 'speech, language'). Taxonomically, this language seems to hold an intermediate position between the central group of Mongolic (including Mongol proper, Oirat, and others) and the languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex (including Mongghul, Mangghuer, Bonan, and Santa). A number of innovations shared with the latter suggest that these are the closest relatives of Shira Yughur. At the same time, Shira Yughur retains several phonological and morphological features that have been lost in the other languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex.

DATA AND SOURCES

The first known Shira Yughur materials, about 200 words, were collected and published by the Russian explorer G. N. Potanin (edited by A. O. Ivanovskii) more than a century ago (Potanin 1893). Other short wordlists were compiled by C. G. E. Mannerheim (1911) and M. Hermanns (1951). The first actual linguist to visit the Shira Yughur was S. Ye. Malov, but his materials, edited by Władysław Kotwicz (1950), are also of a very limited scope. Malov (1957) worked more extensively on Sarygh Yughur, a language subsequently studied by E. R. Tenishev (1976) and also discussed by Kaare Thomsen (1959) and Reinhard F. Hahn (1998).

Information on Shira Yughur began to increase only with the Sino-Soviet expedition in the mid-1950s. The first major publication resulting from this work was a sketch of both Eastern and Western Yughur, written jointly by E. R. Tenishev and B. X. Todaeva (1966). Todaeva (1997) later published another brief synopsis of Shira Yughur. Chinese scholars also worked on the language, but because of political circumstances they had to postpone their publications until the 1980s. Junast (1981) then published a Shira Yughur grammar with vocabulary, while Bulchulu (1984) prepared a more elaborate vocabulary with etymological indications. Bulchulu and Jalsan also published a volume of Shira Yughur texts and everyday phrases (1988) as well as a comparative grammar (1990).

Little is known about the dialectal subdivision of Shira Yughur, but it is clear from the sources that there is some variety within the language, at least as far as phonetics is concerned. Bulchulu and Jalsan mention the Qinglong and Hongshiwo dialects and present a small list of undramatic phonetic differences, which mainly concern the vocalism. Materials collected by other authors cannot simply be attributed to either one of these dialects, and, therefore, it may be expected that a more careful investigation of other localities will yield further variants of the language. This will also make it possible to work on the diachrony of Shira Yughur. So far, most diachronic work on Shira Yughur has concerned the layers of the lexicon (Róna-Tas 1962, Nugteren and Roos 1996, 1998).

The Shira Yughur language is not written, nor is it used in any media or taught in schools. In the present chapter the language is nevertheless presented in a slightly standardized form. Most examples derive from the recent Chinese (Inner Mongolian) publications mentioned above. The materials of Junast have been partly reinterpreted and retranscribed to match the generally more detailed analysis of Bulchulu and Jalsan. Variant spellings have been left intact in so far as they seem to reflect actual dialectal or idiolectal differences (rather than merely different views or transcriptions of the same underlying pronunciation).

SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Shira Yughur has seven phonemic vowel qualities (Table 13.1), all of which also have long counterparts: *aa ee ii oo öö uu üü*. The long vowels are possibly best analysed as monophonemic. All vowels can occur in both the initial and non-initial syllables. There is no subsystem of reduced vowels. The number of diphthongs is hard to determine but it is possible that the only independent ones are *ai oi üi*. By contrast, both [øi] and [ui] seem to be variants of *oi*, while [əi] is a variant of *ai üi üü*. There are also variations of the type [ai ~ ei ~ ii] and [yi ~ y:].

Many monophthongs appear to be unstable as well, both in quality and in quantity. Long *ee oo öö* are often raised so that they merge with *ii uu üü*, respectively. Short *i* is typically pronounced as a mid-central vowel [ə], but it occasionally appears as [i] when following a palatal consonant. Similarly, short *ü* is usually pronounced as a central vowel [ʉ] except when following a palatal consonant. As a consequence, long *ii* and *üü* tend to

TABLE 13.1 SHIRA YUGHUR VOWELS

u	*ü*	*i*
o	*ö*	*e*
	a	

TABLE 13.2 SHIRA YUGHUR CONSONANTS

p	*t*	*c*	*k*	*q*
	ts			
b	*d*	*j*	*g*	*gh*
	dz			
	s	*sh*		*x*
w	*z*	*zh*		
m	*n*		*ng*	
	l			
	r			
		y		*h*

be shortened into [i] and [y], since the qualitative difference is sufficient to keep them separate from their short counterparts, e.g. *ciig* [tʃiːg ~ tʃig] 'moisture' vs. *cig* [tʃəg] 'achnatherum', *shiira* [ʃiːra ~ ʃira] 'leg' vs. *shira* [ʃəra ~ ʃra] 'yellow'. Many other long vowels have developed short forms or variants: *sala* (< **salaa*) 'branch', *derme* (< **deerme*) 'thief'.

The scarcity of oppositions which could really cause confusion may eventually contribute to the loss of distinctive vowel quantity. There are, nevertheless, some minimal pairs which can still illustrate the potential phonological importance of the quantitative correlation, cf. e.g. *tawin* 'fifty' vs. *taawin* 'five', *xana* 'where' vs. *xanaa-* 'to cough', *ula* 'sole' vs. *uula* 'mountain', *jun* 'summer' vs. *juun* 'hundred'.

The consonant system has twenty-five members (Table 13.2). Words recently adopted from Mandarin Chinese may additionally contain 'loan phonemes' corresponding to the Chinese retroflex affricates and fricatives (Pinyin **ch zh sh r**) and their alveopalatal counterparts (**q j x**). Chinese words which retain their original pronunciation will be cited in boldface.

As in the other Mongolic languages of the region, aspiration is the actual distinguishing feature between the strong obstruents *p t ts c k q* and the corresponding weak segments *b d dz j g gh*. This opposition mainly functions in initial position, e.g. *buu-* 'to descend' vs. *puu-* 'to tie up', *dere* 'pillow' vs. *tere* 'that', *gii-* 'to lose' vs. *kii* 'wind', *jiluu* 'rein' vs. *ciluu* 'stone'. The analysis proposed by Junast even suggests that most non-initial aspirates have lost their aspiration (as in Mongghul). The strong stops *k q* can, however, in medial position be preceded by a phase of preaspiration, while the corresponding weak stops *g gh* can occur with a fricative pronunciation, which is probably allophonic.

Speech sounds absent from the table include the following initial sequences, historically produced by the loss of a vowel: *h* + *n* is realized as a voiceless *n*, e.g. *hnii-* 'to laugh' < **hinie-*; *h* + *l* is realized as voiceless *l* or as a voiceless lateral fricative, e.g. *hlaan* 'red' < **hulaan*; *h* + *y* is realized as the 'ich-laut' [ç], e.g. *hyaa-* 'to tie up' < *hiyaa-* < **huya-*.

WORD STRUCTURE

The syllable structure of Shira Yughur involves a regular alternation of vowels and consonants, whereby the vowels can be short, long, or diphthongoid. The minimal syllable consists of a single vowel (V), which can be preceded and/or followed by a consonant (CV, VC, CVC). In initial position, clusters of two consonant segments (CCV, CCVC)

are also permitted. Not all consonants are allowed in all positions. For instance, strong (aspirated) obstruents and fricatives other than *s* are not allowed in final position. In most initial clusters, the first segment is a nasal or a fricative and the second an obstruent, e.g. *mba-* 'to swim' (< **xumba-*), *skii* 'felt' (< **isigei*), *hkü-* 'to die' (< **xükü-*). Other clusters usually have variants which preserve the original vowel, e.g. *cluu* ~ *ciluu* 'stone', *cna-* ~ *cina-* 'to cook', *tyagh* ~ *tiyagh* 'cane'.

Accent is probably non-distinctive and falls normally on the final syllable of a word. When suffixes are attached to a stem, the last syllable of the last suffix bears the accent. However, long vowels can attract the accent away from the final syllable, and accent also tends to flee the final syllable if it contains *i*, as in *xuucin* 'old', *belwisin* 'widow'.

Most morphophonological phenomena at the boundary between a stem and a suffix have to do with maintaining the ideal syllable structure of alternating vowels and consonants (CVCV). This is achieved by means of connective segments, which might also be termed *buffer* vowels and consonants. Examples are offered by the plural suffix */i-s* and the instrumental case ending */G-AAr*. Some other suffixes assimilate the stem vowel, e.g. *xalda-* 'to look' + causative *.Ul* > *xaldu.ul-*. Some suffixes have different consonantal variants depending on whether the stem ends in a sonorant or a (morphophonological) obstruent, cf. e.g. the dative in *-Di* (*-di* ~ *-ti*) and the imperfective converb in *-Ji* (*-ji* ~ *-ci*).

Vowel harmony, which is conventionally assumed to have been based on an original opposition between front vowels and back vowels, has considerably receded in Shira Yughur. Many stems still reveal the effect of former harmonic constraints, but owing to other developments, such as the palatalization of 'back' vowels by adjacent sounds, some stems have acquired an 'unharmonic' look, e.g. *jüra-* 'to mix' < **juura-*, *neiman* 'eight' < **naiman*. Synchronically vowel harmony, including labial harmony, does not put any restrictions on the vocalism of stems, but it continues to be active in some suffixes containing the low vowel *A*, which is represented by the set *a e o ö*. In many cases, however, the harmonic variant *ö* is replaced by *e*, and some suffixes only feature the variants *a e*, while yet others are completely invariable. Other deviations from the rules of vowel harmony are also common in the data, cf. e.g. refl. *cge-yaan* 'one's father' vs. com. refl. *xani-leen* 'with one's friend'. A number of suffixes contain a harmonically variable long *UU* (*uu üü*). The short high vowels of non-initial syllables have become harmonically marginalized, since they have largely merged into *i*. Only a few suffixes, such as the converb marker */G-AAdU*, contain a harmonically variable short *U*.

There are also sandhi phenomena active at word boundaries. Some of these have only a phonetic effect. For instance, initial and final *g gh* can be fricativized when occurring intervocalically. In the case of *b*, however, a similar fricativization results in a phonemic alternation with *w*. Also, some grammatical endings, notably *-Gi* of the futuritive participle and *-Ji* of the imperfective converb, can lose their final vowel before a vowel or a semivowel. In the data quoted below, these and other similar sandhi variants will be indicated by the apostrophe (').

WORD FORMATION

The Shira Yughur derivative suffixes are listed below under four basic categories. Within each category, the suffixes are arranged approximately in an order of decreasing frequency.

Denominal nouns: [possessive adjectival nouns] *.ti* (< **.tU*) 'with, having', e.g. *argha* 'ruse' : *argha.ti* 'crafty'; *.tii* (< **.tAi*) id., e.g. *jirghal* 'happiness' : *jirghal.tii* 'happy'; [the

privative construction] *.güi* (< *+*ügüi*) 'without, -less', e.g. *nere* 'name' : *nere.güi* 'nameless'; *.ci* [professions and occupations], e.g. *cimig* 'theft' : *cimig.ci* 'thief'; *.gA* [affective], e.g. *düü* 'younger brother' : *düü.ge* id. [affective], *.rKAG* 'abundant in', e.g. *qusu/n* 'water' : *qusu.rqagh* 'watery'.

Denominal verbs: A very frequent, and now perhaps the only productive, verbalizer is the suffix *.lA-* [from substantival nouns], e.g. *gilid* 'lock' : *gilid.le-* 'to lock'. Other suffixes include: *.dA-* [from substantival nouns], e.g. *shiwge* 'awl' : *shiwge.de-* 'to pierce with an awl'; *.d-* [from adjectival nouns], e.g. *olon* 'much' : *olo.d-* 'to become numerous'; *.ti-* [from adjectival nouns], e.g. *ghaltagh* 'filthy' : *ghaltagh.ti-* 'to become filthy'; *.rA-* [mainly from adjectival nouns], e.g. *hkö* 'blue' : *hkö.re-* 'to become blue'. Some nouns are made into verbs by means of the element *+gi-* which is strictly speaking not a suffix but the stem of the verb 'to do', e.g. *lar* 'speech' : *lar+ gi-* 'to speak', *cimig* 'theft' : *cimig +gi-* 'to steal'. This compound construction is, however, much less common than in some other languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex.

Deverbal nouns: *.mA* [adjectives], e.g. *sur-* 'to learn' : *sur.ma* 'experienced'; *.mA* [instruments], e.g. *algha-* 'to clean' : *algha.ma* 'mop'; *.mA* [professions], e.g. *döngge-* 'to support' : *döngge.me* 'midwife'; *.mA* [places], e.g. *uu-* 'to eat' : *xuula uu.ma* 'restaurant'; *.KAi* [adjectives], e.g. *hqara-* 'to break' : *hqara.qai* 'broken'; *.rAKAi* 'apt to', e.g. *honghi-* 'break wind' : *hongho.raqai* 'flatulent'; *.Ur* [instruments], e.g. *solo-* 'to close' : *solu.ur* (< **solo.ur*) 'stop (of a bottle)'. Common Mongolic suffixes for deverbal nouns that have become non-productive in Shira Yughur include **.xA* (the imperfective participle), as in *sana.a* 'thought'; ***.xA/n*** (id.), as in *tele.en* 'firewood'; **.xA.sU/n* as in *xala.asin* 'patch'; **.cA* as in *gebte.ce* 'lair', *nuu.ca* 'secret'; **.dAl* as in *hkü.del* 'death'; **.dU/n* as in *xanaa.din* 'cough'; ***.gAn*** as in *yaw.ghan* 'on foot'; ***.l*** as in *tani.l* 'acquaintance'; **.lAng* as in *jirgha.lang* 'joy'; **.lGA* as in *ere.lge* 'income', **.mAl* as in *gür.mel* 'braid'; ***.Un*** as in *xalu.un* 'warm'; and *.wir* ~ *.wur* (< ***.bUrî***) as in *hele.wir* 'remainder'.

Deverbal verbs: There is no morphological means for creating repetitives and iteratives. Only the so-called *genera verbi* listed below are formed with suffixes, which are: *.Ul-* [causative], e.g. *hani-* 'to go' : *hanu.ul-* (< **hani.ul-*) 'to make go'; *.lGA* [causative], e.g. *joqoi-* 'to sit down' : *joqoi.lgho-* 'to cause to sit'; *.GA-* [causative], e.g. *ghar-* 'to come out' : *ghar.gha-* 'to bring out'; *.GdA-* ~ *.GtA-* [passive], e.g. *eje-* 'to see' : *eje.gte-* 'to be seen'; *.ldi* [reciprocal], e.g. *xög-* 'to hit' : *xög/i.ldi-* 'to hit each other, to fight'; *.lcA* [cooperative], e.g. *ghadi-* 'to harvest' : *ghadi.lca-* 'to harvest together'. Of the several suffixes for the causative (transitive) category, only *.Ul* seems to be productive today.

Altogether, the number of productive derivative suffixes is not large. The two most commonly used suffixes are the versatile nominalizer *-mA* and the general verbalizer *-lA*, which are also used to adapt loanwords to the Shira Yughur inflexional system. Turkic verbal stems are borrowed as they are, but Chinese and Tibetan verbs have to receive a verbalizing suffix before they can take verbal suffixes, e.g. Chinese **kai tuolaji** 'to drive a tractor' → Shira Yughur **tuolaji kai***.la-* id., which can then be nominalized into **tuolaji kai***.la.ma* 'tractor driver'.

Although there is no morphological difference between substantival and adjectival nouns, there are some derivational phenomena that may be regarded as characteristic of adjectival nouns. Thus, they can be intensified by means of partial reduplication, e.g. *a.b aruun* 'very clean', and moderated by special (lexicalized and synchronically unpredictable) suffixes, e.g. moder. *hkö.btir* 'bluish'. The meaning of 'rather' can be expressed by means of the suffix *.shig*, as in *ene misgi muni qoqodi hdei.shig bai* 'this garment is rather small for my body (size)'.

NUMBER AND CASE

There is no agreement between an attributively used noun and its nominal headword. The headword of a nominal phrase can, however, take suffixes indicating number and/or case. Plural probably remains a derivational (rather than an inflexional) category, since it can be expressed by several alternative and lexically determined markers. It is true, Shira Yughur (like the other languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex) shows a tendency to develop a single productive (possibly inflexional) plural marker. Even so, plural marking occurs sparingly. It is normally absent after quantifiers, as well as on stems denoting objects which naturally appear as pairs, groups, or uncountable quantities, such as *nüdün* 'eye/s', *ghudisin* 'boot/s', *shdin* 'tooth/teeth', *hodin* 'star/s', *cüsin* 'blood'.

The single productive plural marker is **.s* > *.s* (after vowels) ~ */i.s* (after consonants), before which a stem-final *n* may be deleted. This marker is most frequently used on words denoting human beings, e.g. *küü.s* 'people', *mula.s* 'children', *cerig/i.s* 'soldiers'. But also other nouns, and even pronouns, may take it, e.g. *xainagh/i.s* 'yaks', *nag/i.s* 'trees', *örjö.s* 'things', *tere.s* 'they', *ta'je.s* 'yourselves'. Another plural ending is *.duud* (historically a double plural **-d.UUd*), which is found in a few 'elevated' words such as *niyon* 'lord' : pl. *niyo.duud*. The element **.nAr* survives only in some petrified items without a synchronic plural connotation, e.g. *hgha.nar* 'man'. Similarly, the ancient adjectival plural in **.tAn* survives in the word *am.tan* 'creature/s, animal/s'.

The case paradigm of Shira Yughur comprises the basic unmarked (nominative) form as well as the six suffixally marked Common Mongolic cases: genitive, accusative, dative, ablative, instrumental, and comitative. The genitive and accusative have, however, merged into a single connective (genitive-accusative) form with the exception of the singular first and second person pronouns, which base the two forms on different stem variants. Some case suffixes have separate variants for stems ending in a long (diachronically double) vowel or a diphthong (VV), a (morphophonological) obstruent (O), or a general consonant (C). Otherwise, all stem types follow the stems ending in a short vowel (V) (Table 13.3).

The connective (genitive-accusative) case shows formally the most variegated picture. After short-vowel stems it has the ending *-in*, which normally merges with the stem-final vowel into *i-in*, e.g. *dere* 'pillow' : conn. **dere-in* > *deri-in*, *bodo* 'deer' : conn. **bodo-in* > *bodi-in*. After long-vowel and diphthong stems the ending is *-n*, e.g. *soyoo* 'tusk' : conn. *soyoo-n*, *tologhoi* 'head' : conn. *tologhoi-n*. Consonant stems, on the other hand, take the ending *-i*, e.g. *xaan* 'emperor' : conn. *xaan-i*, pl. *mula.s* 'children' : conn. *mula.s-i*. Separate endings for vowel stems and consonant stems are also present in the instrumental. Moreover, stems ending in a short vowel can sometimes form the instrumental with the (original) simple ending *-Ar*, e.g. *nere* 'name' : instr. *nere-er*.

TABLE 13.3 SHIRA YUGHUR CASE MARKERS

	V	C	O	VV
conn.	*-in*	*-i*		*-n*
dat.	*-di*		*-ti*	
abl.	*-sA*			
instr.	*(/GA)-Ar*	*-AAr*		*/G-AAr*
com.	*-lA*			

Examples of complete paradigms: *mula* 'child' : conn. *muli-in* : dat. *mula-di* : abl. *mula-sa* : instr. *mula/gh-aar* : com. *mula-la*; *moori* 'horse' : conn. *moori-in* : dat. *moori-di* : abl. *moori-so* : instr. *mooro-or* : com. (unattested but probably:) **moori-la*; *qusun* 'water' : conn. *qusun-i* : dat. *qusun-di* : abl. *qusun-sa* : instr. *qusun-aar* : com. *qusun-la*; *köl* 'foot' : conn. *köl-i* : dat. *köl-di* : abl. *köl-se* ~ *köl-sö* : instr. *köl-eer* ~ *köl-öör* : com. *köl-le*; *ghajar* 'land' : conn. *ghajar-i* : dat. *ghajar-ti* : abl. *ghajar-sa* : instr. *ghajar-aar* : com. *ghajar-la*.

Functionally, the unmarked basic (nominative) form indicates the subject as well as the indefinite object, while the definite object as well as the possessor are indicated by the connective (genitive-accusative) form. The dative (dative-locative) also has the functions of a locative as well as a directive. Some petrified items have the dative suffix *-dA*, e.g. *nan-da* 'to me'. The archaic locative suffix *-A* survives in the relic form *ghajar-a* 'to the place'. The instrumental provides the only productive means for making (modal) adverbs from substantival or adjectival nouns, as in instr. *sain-aar* 'well', *cugh-aar* 'jointly', *ciij-eer* 'by heart', *yoghor-aar largi-* 'to speak Yughur'. However, most adverbs do not contain this suffix.

Comparative relations of adjectival nouns are expressed by a variety of case forms, notably ablative, genitive, and comitative. The ablative indicates the comparative degree, e.g. *tün-se shke* 'bigger than he' (literally: 'big from him'); *ün-se tere bagha nige sain bai* 'that one is a bit better than this one'. The superlative degree is expressed by constructions involving either the ablative or the genitive: *sain-sa sain* 'very good' (literally: 'better than good'), *moori-in sain* 'the best horse' (literally: 'the best of the horses'). Otherwise, the adverb *büdin* ~ *büdüün* '[the] most' can also be used: *büdüün shkiini keedi nastawa* 'how old is the oldest [of the family]?'. Comparison between two equals is expressed by the comitative, or by the postposition *shinggi* 'like': *tere danda-la sain bai* 'he is as good as I [am]'; *taliin göröösin htoro ci shinggi muuqain göröösin ügwei* 'among the wild animals there is no animal as ugly as you'.

There are some other forms which superficially look like cases but may be described differently. The 'locative' in *+biid'* and the 'directive' in *+iid'* seem to involve postpositions. The suffix *.tii* (**-tAi*), perhaps non-productive, does not combine with the possessive suffixes, and is more conveniently analysed as an adjectival suffix (for possessive adjectival nouns). The directive suffix *.üür* ~ (rarely) *.uur*, as in *qusun.üür* 'towards the water', (*ghada* :) *ghad.üür* ' towards the rock', is perhaps best analysed as an adverbial derivative suffix. The same suffix occurs in lexicalized items such as *ghadan.uur* 'outwards' and *duu/gh.uur* 'downwards'.

NUMERALS

The basic cardinal numerals are, for the digits: 1 *nege* ~ *nige*, 2 *ghuur*, 3 *ghurwan*, 4 *dörwen*, 5 *taawin*, 6 *jirghuun* ~ *jurghuun*, 7 *doloon*, 8 *naiman* ~ *neiman*, 9 *hyisin* ~ *shisin*; and for the tens: 10 *harwan*, 20 *xorin*, 30 *qucin*, 40 *döcin*, 50 *tawin*, 60 *jiran*, 70 *dalan*, 80 *nayan* ~ *neyan*, 90 *yeren*. The powers of ten are expressed as: 100 *juun*, 1,000 *mingghan*, 10,000 *temen*, 100,000 *harwan temen*, 1,000,000 *juun temen* ~ *sayi*, 10,000,000 *mingghan temen*, 100,000,000 *temen temen* ~ *dongsuur*. Further numerals are formed analytically, e.g. 11 *harwan nege*, 36 *qucin jirghuun*, 200 *ghuur juun*. All cardinal numerals can be declined like the common noun.

The ordinal numerals take the ending *.cAAr* (according to Bulchulu), e.g. *ghuur.caar* 'second', *ghurwan.caar* 'third', *dörwen.ceer* 'fourth'. In other data (Junast), the ordinal suffix is reported to be *.rjAr*, before which the final nasal *n* of the stem is dropped,

e.g. *nige.rjer* 'first', *doloo.rjor* 'seventh', *harwa.rjar* 'tenth'. Neither one of these suffixes seems to be found in other Mongolic languages.

Collective numerals are formed with the suffix *.la* (unharmonic), e.g. *ghuur.la* 'both', *ghurwan.la* 'the three of them'. By definition, there is no collective derivative from 1 *nege* ~ *nige*, but a related concept is expressed by instr. refl. *ghagca-ar-aan* 'on one's own'. The suffix *.la* cannot be a regular development of the Common Mongolic collective suffix *.(*x*)*ula* and may be due to a confusion with the comitative case ending. There are also approximative numerals ending in */G.AAd*, before which *n* is elided, e.g. *harw.aad* 'about ten', *juu/gh.aad* 'about one hundred'. More commonly, the approximatives are expressed analytically, e.g. *harwan jirge* 'about ten'. Distributives are formed either by reduplication, e.g. *ghuur ghuur ög* 'give two [to everyone]!', or by using the instrumental case, e.g. *küün würüdi ghurwan-aar ög* 'give three to each person!'.

PRONOUNS

The personal and demonstrative pronouns show an inflexion that is slightly different from the common noun, in that their case forms are based on stem variants which do not occur in isolation (Table 13.4). The most unpredictable paradigms are those of the singular personal pronouns, which have a genitive stem in *-n-* as well as an oblique stem in *-ma-*. In the first person singular pronoun, the dative form *nanda* (< **nama-da*) has become the base for the other case forms. The paradigms of the plural personal pronouns are much more regular (note the merger of the accusative and genitive cases), although they also have an oblique stem in *-n-*.

The first person plural shows (according to Junast) a distinction between exclusive and inclusive forms. Morphologically, the inclusive form *buda.s* is the plural of the exclusive stem *buda* (which itself is historically an inclusive formation). In the second person there is a similar derivative *ta.s* 'you [many]', which has a specifically plural function, as opposed to the polite singular use of the basic stem *ta* 'you [honoured one]'.

TABLE 13.4 SHIRA YUGHUR PERSONAL PRONOUNS

		1p.		2p.
sg.	nom.	*bi* ~ *bu*		*ci*
	gen.	*mini* ~ *muni*		*cini*
	acc.	*namiin* ~ *damiin*		*cimiin*
	dat.	*nanda* ~ *danda*		*cimadi*
	abl.	*nandasa* ~ *dandasa*		*cimasa*
	instr.	*nandaghaar* ~ *dandaghaar*		*cimaghaar*
	com.	*nandala* ~ *dandala*		*cimala*
		excl.	incl.	
pl.	nom.	*buda*	*budas*	*ta*
	conn.	*budani*	*budasi*	*tani*
	dat.	*budandi*	*budasti*	*tandi*
	abl.	*budansa*	*budassa*	*tansa*
	instr.	*budanaar*	*budasaar*	*tanaar* ~ *taghaar*
	com.	*budanla*	*budasla*	*tanla* ~ *tala*

The function of the third person pronouns is filled by the demonstratives *ene* 'this' and (more frequently) *tere* 'that', which have the oblique stems *ün-* resp. *tün-* (not attested in the other Gansu-Qinghai languages). The corresponding plurals are expressed by the secondary formations *ene.s* resp. *tere.s* 'they'. The declension of the demonstrative pronouns is otherwise regular, e.g. *tere* : conn. *tün-i* : dat. *tün-di* : abl. *tün-se* : instr. *tün-eer* : com. *tün-le*; pl. *tere.s* : conn. *tere.s-i* : dat. *tere.s-ti* : abl. *tere.s-se* : instr. *tere.s-eer* : com. *tere.s-le*.

A less frequent secondary personal pronoun is *ergen* 's/he' (< **irgen* 'people'). There are also numerous compound expressions with *cogh* 'all' and coll. *ghuur.la* > *ghula* 'two together' : *buda cogh* 'all of us'; *ta cogh* '[all of] you'; *ene cogh* ~ *tere cogh* ~ *ergen cogh* 'all of them'; *ene ghula* 'these two', *tere ghuurla* > *tere ghula* 'both; the two of them', etc. All of these have a regular nominal declension. A special formation is, however, present in *tughula* (< **ta+ghuur.la*) 'you two', which comes close to being a separate dual pronoun, as is also suggested by the fact that it has developed an oblique stem in *n*, e.g. conn. *tughulan-i*.

The reflexive pronoun *ejen* 'self' (< 'master') : pl. *eje.s* 'selves' can also be used in the personal function, referring to 'I' resp. 'we', perhaps mainly in reported speech. The reflexive function is, however, unambiguous in compounds with a preceding personal pronoun, in which case the reflexive pronoun takes the shape +*'jen* : pl. +*'jes*, as in *bu'jen* '(I) myself', *ci'jen* '(you) yourself', *ta'jen* '(you) yourself [polite]', *tere'jen* '(he) himself', *tere'jes* '(they) themselves'. In all of its occurrences, the reflexive pronoun is declined like the common noun.

The demonstratives *ene* 'this' and *tere* 'that', when appearing in the demonstrative function, have the plurals *ün/i.s* 'these' resp. *tün/i.s* 'those'. Other related derivatives include *ende* 'here' vs. *tende* 'there'; *iin* 'such, like this' vs. *tiin* 'such, like that'; *ömö* (*üme*) 'like this' vs. *tömö* (*tüme*) 'like that'; *üngeer* 'along this side' vs. *tüngeer* 'along that side'; *ünüin* 'of this side' vs. *türüin* 'of that side'; *ünüirüür* 'in this direction' vs. *türüirüür* 'in that direction'. Also related are the demonstrative verbs *inggi-* (*ing+gi-*) 'to do like this' vs. *tinggi-* (*ting+gi-*) 'to do like that', of which the converbs *inggiji*, *inggigee* 'thus' are the most frequent forms.

The interrogatives are represented by the Common Mongolic set of interrogative roots **ke-*, **kaa-*, **ya-*, and **ali*, from which are derived: *ken* 'who', *keedi* 'how much', *keden* 'how many', *kejee* 'when'; *xana* 'where', *xagshi* 'where to', *xanasa* 'where from'; *yaan* 'how', *yaandi* 'why', *yima* 'what', *yimar* 'what kind of'; *aali* 'which'. Also related are the interrogative verbs *yaagi-* (*yaa+gi-*) 'to do how' and *yimagi-* (*yima+gi-*) 'to do what'. Recent contractions are present in *yimal-* (< **yama bol-*) 'to happen how' and *xanad-* (< **kaana od-*) 'to go where'. There are also some analytic interrogative expressions, such as *yima ningwa* 'what kind of', *yima hcürti* 'why' (literally: 'by what reason').

Indefinite pronouns and related expressions, collected here for the reason of convenience rather than on the basis of any formal or logical coherence of the group, include: *ningwa* (< **nike+yama*) 'some', *ningwa cagh* 'sometimes', *göörö* (*güre*) 'other', as well as (placed after the noun) *bolghon* 'every', *büri* (*würü*) 'every', *cogh* (*cugh*) 'all', *örti* 'all', as in *kün würü*, *kün bolghon*, *amtan bolghon* 'everybody', *ghajar bürjü* 'everywhere'. The concept of 'any' is expressed by the particle *da*, as in *ken da* 'anyone; whoever', *kejee da* 'whenever', *yima da* 'anything; whatever'. Negative (connegative) pronouns like 'nobody', 'nothing', are formed by means of the interrogative pronouns + negation.

POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

Shira Yughur has a full possessive paradigm, based on the suffixed (or clitically used) genitive (connective) forms of the personal pronouns (Table 13.5). From the synchronic

TABLE 13.5 SHIRA YUGHUR POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

	sg.		pl.
1p.	*-mini*		*-mani*
2p.	*-cini*		*-tani*
3p.		*-ini, -ni*	

point of view it may be noted that the suffixes for sg. 1p. *-mini*, 2p. *-cini*, and pl. 2p. *-tani* are still more or less identical with the corresponding pronominal genitives. The suffixes for sg. & pl. 3p. *-(i)ni* and pl. 1p. *-mani* are, however, based on the genitives of the otherwise lost pronouns **i* 's/he' and **ba* 'we'.

Apart from the basic possessive paradigm, there is the reflexive (reflexive–possessive) suffix */y-AAn*, which refers to the subject of the verb, whichever grammatical person this may be, e.g. *baruun ghar-aan örgö* 'lift your right hand!'; *bu xwaacigh-aan jülghajigewe* 'I lost my bag'.

The third person possessive suffix as well as the reflexive suffix are amalgamated with the preceding case endings into complex synthetic endings containing a long vowel. In the possessive series the resulting vowel is *ii*, as in px 3p. conn. *-iini* (< *-i-ini*) : dat. *-Diini* (< *-Di-ini*) : abl. *-siini* (< *-sA-ini*) : com. *-liini* (< *-lA-ini*). In the reflexive series the vowel is *AA*, as in refl. dat. *-DAAn* (< *-DA-An*) : abl. *-sAAn* (< *-sA-An*) : com. *-lAAn* (< *-lA-An*). Only the instrumental preserves the fully agglutinative structure: instr. px 3p. */G-AAr-ni*, refl. */G-AAr-AAn*.

Syntactically, the third person possessive suffix may (but need not) follow a noun in the genitive, as in *hkön-i belezig-iini tanij' awsan bi ginii* 'he recognized the girl's ring'. It can also serve to delimit or define an object belonging to a larger group, as in *ene örjös htoro ningwas-ni muni wai, ningwas-ni muni aghiin bai* 'among these things some are mine and some are my brother's'. Finally, it can substantivize adjectival words and forms, as in *ene-ni keeni wai* 'whose is this one?'; *tere barmii-ni bu bodomasa sein bai* 'the one he made is better than I thought'.

IMPERATIVES

The imperative forms in Shira Yughur are often used in combination with the appropriate pronouns. The basic imperative form for the second person is expressed by the bare verbal stem, e.g. *ci ede* 'eat!'; *ci kükenseen nanda nege ög* 'give me one of your sons!'; *ci püti üüla* 'do not cry!'. Another possibility is the ending *-bar* (or *-war*), e.g. *ci tere kündi araki uulgha-war* 'give that person liquor to drink!'. This ending has no harmonic variants, as it derives from the independent stem *bar* (+*bar*) 'to do'. More rarely, the ending *-seyaan* is also used for the second person, e.g. *ci nanda ger xaaj' ög-seyaan* 'build a house for me!'.

In the first person, the Common Mongolic voluntative in *-ya* (without harmonic variants) is used. When referring to a singular subject, it often acts as a kind of immediate future tense, implying that the speaker will immediately start the described action, e.g. *xaruulj' ög-ya* 'I will give it back'; *tündi kele bar-ya, bi tüneer cimiin saaghuul-ya* 'I will tell him, I will have him wait for you'. When referring to a plural subject, it usually expresses a friendly encouragement or proposal, e.g. *buda* **dianying***di xaldala yawi-ya* 'let us go to see the film!'; *bu* **qi** *naadc' keiki we, ghuurla awaldi-ya* 'I am bad at playing

chess, let us wrestle together!'. When followed by the verb *gi-* 'to say' it conveys the notion of 'to want, to intend', as in *marghaashda urcagde ci yima uu-ya gwe* 'what do you want to eat tomorrow morning?'.

Two other forms of the imperative sphere have the endings *-sAA* and *-(a)see*, respectively. These are often hard to distinguish formally from each other, but, basically, *-sAA* is used for the first and second persons and may represent the Common Mongolic optative in **-sU(x)a(i)*, while *-(A)see*, is used for the second and third persons and seems to derive from the Common Mongolic desiderative in **-(x)AsAi* < **-(x)A-su(x)Ai*. Ultimately, then, both forms are likely to be based on the primary optative in **-sU*. Examples: *bi nige xalda-saa* 'let me take a look!'; *ci lomogh largi-see* '[please] tell a story!'; *ci püti tamiki soro-soo* '[please] do not smoke tobacco!'; *ci hirteshig seid-asee* 'get well soon!'.

Additionally, there is a kind of adhortative form, used only for the third person, which has the ending *-gane* or *-gani* (both the vocalism and the velar *g* are invariable), e.g. *tere xariji ere-gani* 'let him come back!'; *mulas naad-gani* 'let the children play'; *muni küken nagti püti hani-gane* 'my son must not go to the woods'. The precise background of this suffix is unclear, but it may contain the Common Mongolic permissive suffix **-gV*, combined with the third person possessive suffix **-ni*. (The fact that the form does not occur with the other possessive suffixes is apparently connected with the primary semantic restrictions of the permissive.)

PARTICIPLES

Shira Yughur preserves the Common Mongolic futuritive, perfective, and habitive participles. These forms are marked by the suffixes part. fut. *-Gi*, part. perf. *-(G)sAn*, and part. hab. *-dAG*. The futuritive participle suffix is realized as *-gi* ~ *-ghi* ~ *-ki* ~ *-qi* (< **-kU*), while the perfective participle ends in either *-GsAn* or *-sAn* (< **-gsAn*) without a predictable system. Apart from their predicative use in periphrastic tenses, these participles can be used both adnominally and as independent nominal headwords. A fourth participle has the marker *-mA* (which is also attested as a derivative suffix). This participle is usually preceded by its subject.

Examples of participles in adnominal use: *sarabci hda-ghsan küün* 'a person who wears glasses'; *cimiin orgho-san küün* 'a person who resembles you'; *yughurti tamaki soro-dogh küün olon bai* 'among the Yughur, smokers are many'; *ende cimiin mede-deg küün bii uu* 'is there anybody here who knows you?'; *shükür-ki hcür ügo waan* 'there's no reason to run'; *yaa-ghi düge kürc'wai* 'it's time to go' (literally: 'the time to go has arrived'); *ci adla-ma xooni* 'the sheep [that] you are herding'; *ci ghoyi-ma örjü ja ene wai* 'the thing you asked for is this'.

Examples of participles as independent nominal headwords in different declensional forms: (nom.) *bi araki li uuda-ghi ci li medenem uu* 'don't you know I don't drink liquor?'; (refl.) *ci angla-mi-yaan* [< **anglama-yaan*] *nanda largi* 'tell me what you heard!'; (px 3p.) *mula shked-gi-ini türgen bai* 'the growing of a child is fast'; (conn.) *hsüneer cörme hsa-ghi-in hkiini jaaj'wai* 'her mother taught [her] how to make curd from milk'; (dat.) *ejen odonon nagshi ere-gi-di nege andirga tuglaj'waan* 'when I came this way last year, I ran into a wolf'; (abl.) *ci oroo moori huni-ghi-sa li ayinam uu* 'aren't you afraid of riding wild horses?'; (instr.) *ya, ci largi-me-er barya* 'good, I shall do the way you said!'.

The Common Mongolic imperfective participle in **-xA* does not seem to be preserved in Shira Yughur in the participial function. It is, however, possible that a syncretic trace

of the imperfective participle marker survives in the Shira Yughur perfective converb marker */G-AA*, which at the same time probably also involves an irregular development of the Common Mongolic perfective converb in **-xAd*.

CONVERBS

The Shira Yughur converbial forms, mostly with a Common Mongolic background, include the following:

(*1*) The modal converb in */i-n* (with *i* representing the original connective vowel **U*). This form usually occurs in the reduplicated sequence */i-n & /i-n*, and it indicates a repeated action performed during the action of the main verb, e.g. *ci muni zaghalidi xalda-n xalda-n üleyaan bar* 'do your work while looking at my portrait!'; *noqoi quca-n quca-n ail torooj' wai* 'the dog circled around the tent, continuously barking'.

(*2*) The imperfective converb in *-ji* ~ (after obstruent stems) *-ci*. This converb serves most frequently to combine verbs, the second verb modifying the meaning of the first. There are many lexicalized combinations. Mostly there are no sentence parts between *-ji* and the following verb, though this is not an absolute rule, cf. e.g. *ci ölöngü piile-j' seiqan bamnaa* 'you play the flute beautifully'. The reduplicated form *-Ji & -Ji* expresses a repeated or continuous action which takes place before or during the action of the main verb, e.g. *hkiini üüla-j' üüla-j' milayaan xaighaa yawsan bi ginii* 'the mother went looking for her child, crying all the time'.

(*3*) The secondary converb in *-jwa* ~ (after obstruent stems) *-cwa*, which apparently derives from a combination of *-ji* (*-ci*) with conv. perf. *aw-aa* 'having taken' (*-J'+aw-aa*). This form expresses an action preceding that of the main verb, e.g. *soyooso nege ghargha-jwa tünse malta* 'take out one of your tusks and then dig'; *bu mooriyaan nege tang honi-jwa ereya* 'I'll ride my horse once and come back'.

(*4*) The perfective converb in */G-AA*. Since this marker is not a regular reflex of Common Mongolic **-xAd*, it may be relevant to note that a formally and functionally similar converb (in *-GA*) is also present in Sarygh Yughur. The form itself functions synchronically as a basic 'neutral' converb, which connects consecutive or simultaneous actions, e.g. *ci taladi ghar-aa olwur xaiwar* 'go out and look for some income!'; *tulugh xara namiin jura/gh-aa edele erenii* 'the bear is chasing me and is coming to eat me'; *jaluu hce/g-ee gerteen xari yida/gh-aa nege biyan küni gerti kür-ee gertiini hce/g-ee oro yida/gh-aa wesin talma gertiini na/gh-aa ghoyilgha ghoyi/gh-aa suusan bi ginii* 'the young man was ashamed and could not return to his own home, and he arrived at a rich man's house, and he was ashamed and could not enter his [the rich man's] house, and he lay down in a hut made of grass and begged'.

(*5*) The converb with zero ending, which diachronically may represent an abraded form of */G-AA*. This converb occurs in combination with some verbs, notably *shda-* 'can' and *yida-* 'cannot', e.g. *cini gerti ken niin saa-Ø shdadagh bi* 'who in your family can milk cows?'; *bi qutad lar largi-Ø shdanii* 'I can speak the Chinese language'; *ci tere uushiin örgö-Ø shdagh' uu* 'can you lift that grain?'; cf. also the above *xari-Ø yida/gh-aa* 'could not return', *oro-Ø yida/gh-aa* 'could not enter'. More rarely, the verbs *shda-* and *yida-* can also be combined with the imperfective converb, e.g. *tughula namiin alaj' yidaghu* 'you two cannot kill me'; *ci inggigee maltaj' shdadagh b' uu* 'can you dig this way?'

(*6*)The converb in */G-AAdU*. This may involve another irregular reflex of Common Mongolic **-xAd*. The functions of */G-AAdU* seem to be similar to those of */G-AA*, e.g. *ghaqai gerti oro/gh-oodu muni hsüni uuj' oghorc' wai* 'the pig entered the house and drank my milk'; *bu semeer gaamisti yawghaa'dmiin* **duizhang** *mede/g-eedü namiin usqanii* 'the team leader knows that I secretly went to town, and he will scold me'.

(*7*) The conditional converb in *-sA*. This is not a regular development of **-xAsU*, and it would therefore appear tempting to explain the suffix as being due to the influence of the Turkic conditional in *-sA*. However, the conditional converb has similar forms in the other Mongolic languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex. The conditional converb performs the usual conditional and temporal functions, e.g. *li yawisan mör ci xjaar yawi-sa mör tüürg' wam joo* 'if you walk by yourself a road you have not walked [before] you will get lost'.

(*8*) The concessive converb in *-sA+da*, formed from the conditional converb with the particle *da*, e.g. *xura yimar shike bol-so+da budas* **laodong***laya* 'however big the rainfall is, we shall work!'.

(*9*) The suppositive converb in *-war ~ -bar*. This rarely used form is close in function to the conditional converb, cf. e.g. *ejeni alaj' ab-bar maangghis kögshini darij' abci shdagh' waan* 'if you kill me [myself], you will be able to vanquish the old Mangus'. The origin of this form is unclear, though it is superficially reminiscent of the Common Mongolic 'colloquial' conditional converb in **-bAlA < *-bA+*ele*.

(*10*) The terminative converb in *-tAlA*, which describes an action with which the action of the main verb ends, e.g. *ci cad-tala ede, püti haramdzala* 'eat until you are satisfied, do not be polite!'; *ci ere-tele bu saaghighaa suuya* 'I will wait until you come'; *budas öör cai-tala larlaldiwa* 'we talked until dawn'.

(*11*) The contemporal converb in *-mAGci* (? < **-mAgcA*), which in Shira Yughur expresses an action that immediately precedes the action of the main verb, e.g. *shke bulid ghar-maghci düg kürci erej' wai* 'large clouds appeared and a rainstorm came'; *cina namiin jüg eje-megci shükürc' oghorc' wai* 'the wolf looked in my direction, and ran away'.

(*12*) The final converb in *-lA*, which indicates the goal of the main action. It always immediately precedes the main verb, which is usually either *ere-* 'to come' or *(o)d-*, *hani-*, *yawi-* 'to go', e.g. *tere kün yimagi-le erej' wai* 'that person has come to do what?'; *bu barisi ala-la yawiya* 'I will go and kill the tiger!'; *cini awa lomogh largidla bolso budas ciqin tal-la haniya* 'if your father is telling a story, let's go and listen!'.

(*13*) The converb in *-suudi*, as in *tünse tuulii la hnü-suudi xwaaraan sedelj' absan be ginii* 'then the hare laughed and split its nose'. This suffix is diachronically unclear, but it may contain the auxiliary *suu-* 'to be'.

Generally, there are no sharp semantic boundaries between some of the converbial forms. When a more precise temporal or causal relationship between the verbs in a sentence needs to be expressed, secondary forms (quasiconverbs) are used. Some of these are inflected forms of the participle in *-(G)sAn*, e.g. dat. *-(G)sAn-di* 'when' and instr. *-(G)sAn-AAr* 'while'; and others derive from the participles in *-Gi* and *-mA*, which may be combined with postpositions, e.g. *-mi-in hcürti, -mi-in hcüreer* 'because', *-Gi-sA xawarti, -Gi-in xawarti* 'before', *-mA-sA* 'since, because', *-mA-sA aarsa* 'after'. Many of these constructions are not stable in form.

Examples: *ci xuula uu-san-di ere* 'come when the food is eaten', i.e. 'come at dinnertime'; *teres nüüj' ere-sen-di bu daqi hdei wai* 'when they moved here I was still small';

ci ere-sen-di bu biyarlawa 'I was glad when you came'; *bu hgör adla-san-aar yig tomodogh be* 'I use to spin [wool] while herding the cows'; **changi** *jasin oro-ghi-sa xawarti janjij' oghorya* 'let us finish the threshing before it will snow!'; *xara na-ghi-in xawarti ereg' wai* 'he will come before darkness falls'; **jiefang***la-ma-sa aarsa budani ende xuula ghoyima ügüi bolj' wai* 'since the liberation we have not had beggars here'; *bu ene ghajar ere-me-se odoo ghuur jil bolwa* 'it is now two years since I came to this place'; *bi küüten qusun uu-ma-sa gedesin wedbe* 'because I drank cold water my belly aches'; *xura oro-mi-in hcüreer tergen l' erej' wai* 'because it is raining the car did not come'.

A special position is taken by the so-called abtemporal converb in *-(G)sAAr*, which diachronically is also a secondary formation, based on the instrumental form of the perfective participle. Synchronically it denotes an action which is completed immediately before, or which goes on during, the action of the main verb, e.g. *ci posc' ere-gseer misc' abb' uu* 'when you got up, did you get dressed?'; *naran ghar-saar solonggho hdagtaj' wai* 'when the sun came out, a rainbow appeared'. Occasionally, there is a causal relation between the two verbs, e.g. *wed-seer hküj' wai* '[he] died because of having been ill', *puu duun ghar-saar tulagh xara degereej' wai* 'when the rifle made a sound, the bear fell'.

FINITE INDICATIVE FORMS

Shira Yughur has a multitude of simple and periphrastic finite indicative forms. Apart from situating the action of the verb in time (tense), these also confer other (aspectual) connotations, some of which are still insufficiently understood. It is useful to make a distinction between the morphological structure (form) and the morphosyntactic status (function) of the suffixes and suffix complexes concerned (Table 13.6).

The functional terminology used here is meant to reflect the actual synchronic use of the forms in Shira Yughur. The periphrastic forms are mainly based on various participles and converbs, followed by an auxiliary. The auxiliaries used are *bai* 'to be' in the present tense sphere, and *suu-* 'to be' (< 'to sit') in the past tense sphere (as well as in some non-indicative forms). The auxiliary *bai* occurs in several alternative shapes (*be, bi, baan, baam, bamnaa*), all of which also have postvocalic sandhi variants beginning

TABLE 13.6 SHIRA YUGHUR FINITE TENSE-ASPECT MARKERS

marker	form	function
-nAi	dur.	present non-progressive
-jla wai, -dla wai	conv. imperf. *+la+bai*	present progressive
/G-AA wai	conv. perf. *+bai*	present continuous
-dAG bai	part. hab. *+bai*	present habitual
-wA	term.	past non-progressive (1)
-j' wai	conv. imperf. *+bai*	past non-progressive (2)
-jla suu-, -dla suu-	conv. imperf. *+la+suu-*	past progressive
/G-AA suu-	conv. perf. *+suu-*	past continuous
-(G)sAn bai	part. perf. *+bai*	perfect
-(G)sAn bi ginii	part. perf. *+bi+ginii*	narrative
-G' wai	part. fut. *+bai*	future
-lAA wai	conf. *+bai*	impending future

with *w* (*wai* etc.). There are no personal endings; the subject person is marked syntactically by the relevant personal pronoun.

(*1*) The present non-progressive form in *-nAi* is historically connected with the Common Mongolic durative in **-nAm*. It usually has the contracted shape *-nii*, but less frequently it also occurs as *-nA*, *-nAn*, or *-nAmnA*. Before the question particle *uu* all these shapes are replaced by yet another variant, *-nAm*. This form is typically used of verbs that are inherently not limited to one point in time, or whose grammatical subject is not the conscious actor. This includes most verbs describing involuntary mental and physical processes, such as *tani-* 'to know [a person]', *mede-* 'to know [a thing]', *shda-* 'to be able', *ayi-* 'to be afraid of', *tur-* 'to be hungry', *wed-* 'to be ill, to hurt', e.g. *mini aja tere küüni tani-nii* 'my father knows that person'; *bi qutad lar largi shda-nii* 'I can speak Chinese'; *tere küüdeen emele-nii* 'he is protective of his son'; *ta mula küse-nem uu* 'do you [pl.] want children'; *ene keeni wi, bu li mede-nii* 'whose this one is, I don't know'; *bu tere rgami* **yangzi**, *budughdiini biyarla-nii* 'I like the shape and colour of that box'; *muni baruun xaa wed-nii* 'my right arm hurts'; *ci daara-nam uu* 'are you cold?'; *pegge, telee-nii* 'ouch, it burns!'.

(*2*) The periphrastic present progressive form in *-jla wai* ~ *-dla wai* (after obstruent stems *-cla wai* ~ *-tla wai*) expresses specific concrete actions which are being consciously performed in the present, e.g. *bu picig xalda-jla we, ci yima gi-jla wi* 'I am reading a book, what are you doing?'; *moori shükür-tla wai* 'the horse is running'. The origin of the element *-dla* (*-tla*) is not quite clear, but it may be a phonetic simplification of *-jla* (*-cla*) < **-ji+la* (**-ci+la*).

(*3*) The periphrastic present continuous form in */G-AA wai* expresses present situations which have started in the past and have been going on for some time, e.g. *tere namiin alaya gij'bodo/gh-oo wai* 'he is planning to kill me'; *ci xana suu/gh-aa wi* 'where do you live?'; *mini awa wed-ee wai* 'my father is sick'; *tere wiyidi nege kün namiin saaghi/gh-aa wai* 'someone over there is waiting for me'. Unlike the progressive form, the continuous form can refer to specific actions that are not controlled or consciously performed by the grammatical subject.

(*4*) The periphrastic present habitual form in *-dAG bai* expresses habitual, repeated actions, characteristics, and abilities, rather than a specific single action, e.g. *bu niin da saa-dagh be* 'I (can) also milk cows'; *muni neredi tuya gi-deg be* 'my name is Tuya'; *tere igüjigi ende ere-deg be* 'he comes here often'; *xurgha keed'sara hkeen hkö-deg bi* 'how many months does a lamb suckle its mother?'; *ödriin bu jirghuun cegti pos-dogh be* 'every day I get up at six o'clock'. There is some functional overlapping with regard to the present non-progressive form, as the latter can also refer to repeated or habitual actions, e.g. *buda ödögshi bolghon* **shouyinji***di ciqin tal-nii* 'we listen to the radio every night'. The functional opposition is, however, illustrated by the following two sentences: *muu kün sein künse ayi-dagh bai* 'the bad person fears the good person' vs. *ci oroo moori hunighisa li ayi-nam uu* 'aren't you afraid of riding wild horses?'. The first sentence expresses a proverbial truth, while the second describes a general feature that is part of someone's character.

(*5*) The past non-progressive is peculiar in that it has two forms: the simple form in *-wA* (after plosives *-bA*), which derives from the Common Mongolic terminative in **-bA*, and the periphrastic form in *-j'wai* (after obstruents *-c'wai*), which is based on the imperfective converb in *-ji* (*-ci*) followed by the auxiliary *bai*. The simple form normally refers to the first person, e.g. *bi cini töleendi ere-we* 'I came for you'; *öndör bu amira-wa* 'today I rested'; *bu tuuliin jiljighan li eje-we* 'I did not see the young of the hare'; *bu*

misgiyaan miscwa ja hirtegiin xula uu-wa 'I put on my clothes and ate breakfast'. The periphrastic form, on the other hand, is used for the second and third persons, e.g. *bi cögdör cimiin xaisandi ci yawighaa'd-c'wai* 'when I was looking for you yesterday you had gone'; *miliin ghuurni* **dianying** *xalda-j'wai* 'two of the children have seen the film'; *tere gholdi qusun awila yawi-j'wai* 'he went to the river to fetch water'; *tere noqoisa ayi-j'wai* 'he was frightened by the dog'.

However, the first person may take *-j'wai* when the speaker is not the conscious performer of the action, e.g. *bu odoo wed-c'wai* 'I am [have become] ill now'; *ci misee suuma shini malaghaidi bu oyin li ab-c'wai* 'I did not notice the new hat you are wearing'. Similarly, the second and third persons may take *-wA* when the speaker is the object of, or a witness to, the action: *xwaartighi ghurwan namiin inggij'arghala-wa* 'before, three have tricked me this way'; *tere shükürci gharaa'd-ba* 'he came out running'; *budani saghligh juun hilüü xurghan töröö-we* 'our ewes brought forth over one hundred lambs'; *bi cögdör picig xaldaji suusandi küün ere-we* 'when I was reading a book yesterday, a man came'. Questions in the second and third persons may also take *-wA*, e.g. *ci muni memiin eje-w'uu* 'have you seen my mother?'; *meme-cini xana hani-wa* 'where did your mummy go?'; *ci yaandi üüla-wa* 'why have you been crying?'. Altogether, the use of the past non-progressive forms is best understood as an incipient stage in the grammaticalization of the category of perspective (as also attested in the other languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex).

(*6*) The periphrastic past progressive form in *-jla suu-* ~ *-dla suu-* (after obstruent stems *-cla suu-* ~ *-tla suu-*) expresses concrete actions that took place in the past. The auxiliary normally takes the past non-progressive ending *-wa* and appears as *suu-wa*, e.g. *bu muni xanisle larlaldi-jla suu-wa* 'I was chatting with my friends'; *cögdör ci yima bar-dla suu-wa* 'what were you doing yesterday?'.

(*7*) The periphrastic past continuous form in */G-AA suu-* expresses an action that took place continuously in the past. The auxiliary is again in the past non-progressive form, e.g. *onoon jundi bi xooni adla/gh-aa suu-wa* 'in the summer of this year I was herding sheep'.

(*8*) The periphrastic perfect in *-(G)sAn bai* denotes past actions of which the result is still present and irreversible, e.g. *bi xara baghasa shünandi suu-san be* 'I have lived in Sunan since I was very small'; *cimiin ja yimar dügedi ool-son bi* 'when were you born?'; *ci xana shiked-sen bi* 'where did you grow up?'; *cögdör ci teleen xög-sen b'uu* 'have you chopped firewood yesterday?'.

(*9*) The narrative (more exactly, narrative perfect) in *-(G)sAn bi gi-nii* involves another periphrastic construction, based on the perfect followed by the present non-progressive form of *gi-* 'to say'. It is typically used in tales, e.g. *urda cagti nege ghuur tologhoi suu-san bi ginii* 'once upon a time there was a couple'.

(*10*) The periphrastic future in *-G'wai* expresses actions that will take place in the future, e.g. *xura orowar wesin ghar-q'wai* 'if it rains, the grass will come up [grow]'; *ci kejee yawi-gh'wai* 'when will you go?'. When referring to the first person, the future is functionally synonymous with the voluntative and optative forms of the imperative paradigm. An alternative ending of the future is *-GU*, e.g. *odoo la cimiin ede-gü* 'now I will eat you up'; *bu püsegüiyaan degde suu-qu* 'I'll stay by my wife's side'; *ci ghudal kelese bu cini arasini xuulj'ab-qu* 'if you tell a lie, I will skin you'. The background of *-GU* (*-gü* ~ *-ghu* ~ *-kü* ~ *-qu*) is unclear, but it possibly contains a contraction of the auxiliary *bai* (or some other element), rather than a preservation of the original suffix vowel (**-kU*). In combination with the question particle *uu*, the future has the ending *-G'uu*, e.g. *cimiin keendi ög-k'uu* 'to whom shall I give you?'.

(*11*) The periphrastic impending future in *-lAA wai* denotes an action that is about to take place ('soon', 'nearly'), e.g. *bi yawi-laa we* 'I'll be going soon'; *naran gharc' ere-lee wai* 'the sun will come up shortly'; *xula hcal-laa w' uu* 'will the meal be cooked (ready) soon?'. Interestingly, the simple confirmative suffix *-lAA* (< **-lUxA*) does not seem to be attested in Shira Yughur without a following auxiliary.

The periphrastic forms also have conditionals, formed by replacing the auxiliary *bai* by conv. cond. *bol-so* 'if [it] is'. The resulting constructions are: progressive *-jla bolso*, continuous */G-AA bolso*, habitual *-dAG bolso*, non-progressive *-ji bolso*, perfect *-(G)sAn bolso*, future *-Gi bolso*, and impending *-lAA bolso*. Examples: *salqin xög-cla bolso budas* **chang** *yenlele yawiya* 'if the wind is blowing, let us go winnowing!'; **deng***i tuusin ügüi bolso, hami-laa bolso, tuusin nemeji düürge* 'if the lamp has no oil, if it will go out soon, add oil!; *ta tangghid öjig mede-deg bolso mini xaruun nige ongshij' ög* 'if you know the Tibetan script, please read my letter!'. The conditional perfect functions as an irrealis, e.g. *ci hirteshig posc' ere-sen bolso, cimadi hirtegiin xula uuqi cölöö suuqi taani* 'if you had got up a little earlier, you would have had time to eat breakfast'.

AUXILIARY VERBS

Apart from the fully grammaticalized temporal-aspectual constructions with the auxiliaries *+bai* and *+suu-*, Shira Yoghur has a large number of other auxiliary constructions, which may also be termed compound verbs. These are combinations of two verbs, of which the second, functioning as the auxiliary, narrows down the meaning of the first. Verbs requiring such specification are often inherently ambiguous with regard to some crucial parameter, such as directional or aspectual status, e.g. *xari-* 'to return', *nüü-* 'to move', *agsi-* 'to lend; to borrow', *hkü-* 'to be dying; to die; to be dead', *nda-* 'to fall asleep; to sleep', *tani-* 'to get to know; to know', *mis-* 'to put on; to wear (clothes)'. The auxiliaries able to add the required directional or aspectual content include typically such as *ere-* 'to come' vs. *od-* 'to go', *oro-* 'to enter, to come in' vs. *ghar-* 'to exit, to go out', and *ög-* 'to give' or *elge-* 'to send' vs. *ab-* 'to take'.

Many compound verbs are almost completely lexicalized, e.g. *xarij' ere-* 'to come back', *misc' ab-* 'to put on (clothes)', *agsij' ög-* 'to lend', *ghudaldaj' elge-* 'to sell' vs. *ghudaldaj' ab-* 'to buy'. Some combinations may, however, be regarded as manifestations of productive processes. In such combinations, the auxiliary occasionally merges with the preceding converb marker into a single complex suffix. Examples:

(*1*) The combination *-j' ab-* (imperfective converb + 'to take') indicates that the action is performed for the subject's benefit, although in some cases the original meaning still shines through, e.g. *mini nikidüli nembele-j' ab* 'wrap my fur-lined jacket around you!'. Similarly *-j' ög-* (imperfective converb + 'to give') indicates that the action is performed for someone else's benefit, e.g. *nanda largi-j' ög* 'tell me!'; *ci nanda misgi xala-j' ög* 'sew a garment for me!'.

(*2*) The combination *-j' oghor-* (imperfective converb + **ogor-* 'to throw') conveys a perfective or resultative notion. This is the most frequent and least marked expression of this type, and it is often used to soften imperatives, e.g. *ci muni tölööndi ene xaruun kürge-j' oghor* 'please deliver this letter for me!'; *daawsini nanda ög-j' oghorso bolq' waan* 'can you give me the salt?'; *ci muu seisi xana tal-j' oghorwa* 'where have you put the things?'. A very similar structure is *-j' elge-* (imperfective converb + 'to send'), e.g. *bu ndacurya giwe, ci* **deng***i piile-j' elge* 'I want to sleep, blow out the lamp!'; *nüür*

'ghwaama qusuni saji-j' elge 'throw away the bathwater!' (literally: 'face-washing water').

(*3*) The element *-cor-* (< **kocar-* 'to remain') has become a true suffix and seems to have absorbed the preceding imperfective converb ending (or zero ending?). It also has a perfective function, but it is only used when the action is not consciously performed by the grammatical subject, e.g. *bu nagta ödöri marta-corc' wai* 'I have forgotten the exact date'.

(*4*) Another perfective combination, or suffixal complex, is */G-AA'd-* (< perfective converb + *od-* 'to go'). It seems to be used with verbs of motion, e.g. *sajaqai soyoon awaa honis-ee'd-sen bi ginii* 'the magpie took the tusk and flew away'; *muni tergen shwar htoro oro/gh-oo'd-c' wai* 'my car has become stuck in the mud'.

(*5*) The verbs *oro-* ('to enter'), and *ghar-* ('to exit') are, in combination with various converbial forms, used to denote the beginning or end of the action, respectively, e.g. *hyisin cegti bu* **gongzuo***la-dla orodogh be* 'at nine o'clock I start working'; *danda ögme ölöön bar-ji gharwa* 'I have done the job that was given to me'. The verb *hkü-* ('to die'), on the other hand, intensifies the action of the preceding verb, e.g. *bu odoo megdegee hkünii* 'I am terribly busy now'.

SYNTAX

Two specific issues connected with Shira Yughur syntax are examined below: postpositions and negation.

The *postpositions* in Shira Yughur are a heterogeneous group of words expressing various spatial, temporal, or modal relationships. The majority of them are originally nouns, usually with a spatial meaning. These nouns often occur in fixed case forms, while the preceding noun is normally in the nominative or genitive case. Common Mongolic postpositions of nominal origin include: dat. *aarti* 'behind, after' (< **aru-du*), *ölmö* 'before, in front of' (< **emün-e*), *dere* 'on' : *deegeer* 'over' (< **dexer-e* : instr. *dee/g-eer*), *degde* 'at, near' (< **derge-de*), *duura* 'under' (< **doxur-a*), *dunda* 'in the middle of' (< **dum-da*), *ghadana* 'outside' (< **gadan-a*), *htoro* 'in, among' (< **dotar-a*), *juura* 'between' (< **jaxur-a*), *xoino* 'after' (< **koyin-a*), *tölöö* : dat. *tölööndi*, *töleendi* 'for [the benefit of]' (< **tölüxe/n* 'compensation'). More recent formations are: *biid'* 'at' : *wiigeer* 'along' (< dat. *bii-di* : instr. *bii/g-eer* from **beye* 'body'), *xwaar* 'before' (< **kabar* 'nose'), (nom. or conn. +) *jüg* ~ *jig* 'in the direction of' (< **jüg* 'direction'), (conn. +) dat. *hcür-ti* : instr. *hcür-eer* 'because of' (< **ucir* 'reason'), cf. also instr. *nere-er* 'in the capacity of' (< **nere* 'name'). Some postpositions are originally adverbs, e.g. (com. +) *xamti* 'together with' (< **kamtu*), while others are verbal forms, e.g. (conn. or com. +) *orgholduma*, *orghoson*, *orghuulaa* 'like', (nom. +) *woloo* 'because of', (nom. +) *gigee* 'for the sake of', (nom. +) *daghaghaa* 'along', (nom. +) *kürtele* 'until'. Further postpositions are: (conn. +) *cagh* 'as, like', (nom. +) *shinggi* 'as, like'.

Examples of phrases with postpositions: *geri aarti* 'behind the house'; *üdeen ölmö* 'before noon'; *ayigha shere dere we* 'the bowl is on the table'; *üdeni ghadana* 'outside the door'; *qusun htoro naad-* 'to play in the water'; *küken cgeyaan tölööndi* **gongzuo***laj' wai* 'the boy worked for his father'; *shere wiid' joqoi* 'sit at the table!'; *ünle orgholduma shike wai* 'he is as big as he'; *nudurghiin cagh ciluu* 'a stone as large as a fist'; *xawiri tenggeriin bulid shinggi cighaan* 'as white as a cloud of the spring sky'.

The expression of *negation* in Shira Yughur takes place by means of several Common Mongolic negative particles (only the particle **ese* seems to have been lost). Each verbal category is combined with one particular negative particle (Table 13.7). Moreover,

TABLE 13.7 SHIRA YUGHUR NEGATIVE PARTICLES

verbal category	particle	negated form
imperatives	*püti*	*püti* + imperative
participles	*li*	*li* + participle
converbs	*li*	*li* + converb
present non-progressive	*li*	*li* + *-nAi* (*-nii*)
present progressive	*ügüi*	*-j'ügüi*
present continuous	*ügüi*	*/G-AA ügüi*
present habitual	*li*	*li* + *-dAG bai*
past non-progressive (1)	*li*	*li* + *-wA*
past non-progressive (2)	*li*	*li* + *-j'wai*
perfect	*li*	*li* + *-(G)sAn bai*
future	[*pu*]*shi*	*-Gi-shi wai*
impending future	*ügüi*	*-lAA ügüi*

each negative particle has a fixed position, standing either before or after the verbal form it negates.

The postposited particle *ügüi* ~ *ügwei*, originally the Common Mongolic negative noun (< **ügei*), functions as the negation for three periphrastic forms: the present progressive and continuous, as well as the impending future, e.g. *bu odoo yima da gij' ügwei we* 'I have nothing to do now'. The likewise postposited *pushi* (< **bisi*) negates the identity of a noun, but it is also used in the abraded forms *-shi* or *-sh'* to negate the periphrastic future, e.g. *odoo li erese bi saaghighi-sh'we* 'if he does not come now, I will not wait [any longer]'. The same form can function as the negative counterpart of the present non-progressive in *-nAi*, e.g. *ci largimiin bi anglaghi-shi we* 'I do not understand what you said'; *ci namiin tanighi-sh'uu* 'don't you know me?'.

The preposited particle *püti* (cf. Common Mongolic **bütügei*) negates imperative forms, e.g. *püti hice* 'don't be ashamed!'; *ci püti tamiki sorosoo* 'do not smoke!'. Finally, the preposited particle *li* ~ *l'* (< **ülü*) negates all remaining verbal forms, including participles and converbs, as well as most finite forms based on them, e.g. *tere ja ariki l'uuqi kün bai* 'he is a person who will not drink liquor'; *malni hkügee, li amiraldaghaa suuj' wai* 'their livestock died, and they were not at ease'. In verbs formed with *+gi-*, the negative particles are placed directly before this element, e.g. *dzii+gi-* 'to be polite' > *dzii li gi-* 'to be impolite'; *küün(-i) dalda lar püti gi* 'don't talk about people behind their back!' (*lar+gi-* 'to talk').

LEXICON

The Mongolic lexicon of Shira Yughur contains words and phonetic variants with a 'Western Mongolic' flavour, e.g. *wiji* 'feeding bottle', *gha(di)sin* 'peg', *hücü* 'fur-lined coat', *xalaasin* 'patch'. Other features are shared with Mongghul, e.g. *ngghwaasin* 'wool', *göörö* (*güre*) 'other'. Some Mongolic words appear in unique forms, e.g. *labcigh* 'leaf' (< **nabcin*), *honis-* 'fly' (< **nis-*), *qusun* 'water' (< **usun*), *tal-* 'to put' (< **talbi-*). There are also some peculiar, apparently taboo-related descriptive expressions, e.g. *nag noqoi* 'squirrel' (literally: 'tree-dog'), *malaghaici* 'fox' (literally: 'hatter'), *tulugh xara* 'bear' (literally: 'hairy black').

Recent borrowings from standard Mandarin Chinese seem to be less numerous than in other Mongolic and Turkic languages of the region, although Chinese is used in schools. Loanwords from the local Northwestern Mandarin dialect include *biigi* 'quilt', *kui* 'hammer', *feinii* 'cement' (for standard Mandarin **beizi**, **chui**, **shuini**). The remaining foreign lexicon mainly consists of words of Turkic and Tibetan origin. The Turkic words derive partly from Sarygh Yughur and partly from other (unidentified) sources, e.g. *dad* 'rust', *hdei* 'small', *soghong* 'onion', *üü-* 'to praise'. The Tibetan words come from the local Amdo dialects, e.g. *shnüge* 'writing brush', *ghayarla-* 'to borrow', *zaghali* 'portrait'.

There are also quite a number of words of unknown or uncertain origin, part of which are common with Sarygh Yughur. Some of these belong to basic vocabulary, *hani-* 'to go', *lar* 'word', *bala* 'egg'. Other obscure items are shared with Mongghul, e.g. *jura-* 'to chase', *süis* 'two-year-old billy-goat'. Shira Yughur also shares some semantic and/or functional shifts with the other languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex, e.g. *ergen* (< **irgen* 'people') used as a third person pronoun, and *ejen* (< 'master') used as the reflexive pronoun.

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CHAPTER FOURTEEN

MONGGHUL

Stefan Georg

Mongghul, or Huzhu **Mongghul**, is, together with (Minhe) Mangghuer, generally referred to as 'Monguor' in the specialist literature. The Chinese nomenclature subsumes the two populations and their languages under the designation *Tu* or *Turen* 'Local People', and assigns only dialect status to the two varieties. Linguistically it is, however, clearly a question of two separate languages. The traditional name *Monguor*, which is nothing but a transformed shape of **monggol*, is, strictly speaking, not justified for Mongghul, since the syllable-final sound change **l* > *r* characterizes, apart from Mangghuer, only part of the dialects of the Mongghul language, notably the Naringhol (more exactly, *Narin ghuor*) dialect. The shape *Mongghul*, on the other hand, is based on the Halchighol (**Halqighul**) variant, which is territorially more widespread, has more speakers, and is the basis of a newly created literary language.

In more specific terms, the Mongghul speakers traditionally identify themselves as **Qighaan Mongghul** 'White Mongols', as opposed to **Hara Mongghul** 'Black Mongols', a name reserved for other Mongolic-speaking groups. To their Tibetan neighbours, the Mongghul and Mangghuer have been known as *hJahur* (Written Tibetan **rGya.Hor** 'Chinese Mongols') or *Karlung*. In earlier Western (especially Russian) literature, the generic name *Shirongol* was used, being applied to all the Mongolic groups of the Gansu-Qinghai region with the exception of the Shira Yughur and the Qinghai Oirat. Another traditional term is *Dolot* (with variants). The dialects of Mongghul are mainly labelled according to the river basins in which they are spoken, including the Halchighol and Naringhol, both of which are left tributaries of the Huangshui, which itself is a tributary of the Yellow River. Another dialect, of which little is known, is spoken along the Fulan Nuraghol, also a tributary of the Huangshui.

Administratively, Mongghul is mainly spoken in the Chinese province of Qinghai (until 1928 a part of Gansu), especially in Huzhu Tu Autonomous County, northeast of the provincial capital Xining. From here, the Mongghul population extends both westwards to Datong Hui and Tu Autonomous County, also in Qinghai, and eastwards to Tianzhu Tibetan Autonomous County, in (present-day) Gansu. Due to linguistic assimilation, there are very few Mongghul speakers left today in Datong, but the language is better preserved in both Huzhu and Tianzhu. There are indications that Mongghul, possibly in a special dialectal variety, has also been spoken (and is possibly still spoken) further north in what is now Menyuan Hui Autonomous County of Qinghai.

The current number of Mongghul speakers is not easy to determine. The 1990 census, which does not differentiate between Mongghul and Mangghuer speakers, gives a total of 191,624 members of the *Tu* nationality. This number includes at least 25,000 Mangghuer, as well as several thousand Qinghai Bonan and Wutun speakers, leaving perhaps a rough figure of 150,000 for Mongghul. Certainly, this can only be the number of *potential* speakers of the language, since information on the rate of first-language retention and/or linguistic assimilation is insufficient. The actual number of Mongghul speakers is likely

to be much below the total size of the ethnic population, and maybe as low as 50,000. Moreover, the number is probably decreasing, rather than increasing.

Even within Huzhu Tu Autonomous County, the majority of the local population is made up of Han Chinese, as well as Chinese-speaking Muslims (*Hui*). These, together with Amdo Tibetans, have exerted strong cultural and linguistic influence on Mongghul. As a result, Mongghul, like Mangghuer (and the other Mongolic languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex), has undergone considerable restructuring in its typological make-up. Loanwords from both Qinghai Mandarin and Amdo Tibetan abound in Mongghul. The sources of the Tibetan items vary, but most of them seem to derive from the so-called dPa.ri (*Hwari*) and sBra.nag (*Panaka*) dialects, spoken northeast and southeast of Huzhu, respectively.

Little is known about the early history of the Mongghul, but it seems safe to assume that the current Mongolic presence in Qinghai does not antedate the occupation of the region by Mongol troops in 1227. When the Yuan dynasty fell in 1368, the ancestors of the present-day Mongghul and Mangghuer, who apparently shared much of their history until premodern times, instead of following other Mongol groups back to the northern homeland beyond the Great Wall, declared themselves loyal to the Ming, and later to the Qing. From Ming times onward, they are known as borderguards in the vicinity of Lanzhou. The fact that they early adopted the lifestyle of sedentary agriculturalists is likely to have been instrumental in their ethnic, linguistic, and ideological separation from the traditional nomadic society of the Mongols.

The dominant religion of the Mongghul is Tibetan Buddhism, with which the ancestors of the Mongghul seem to have been in contact since Yuan times. The Mongghul spiritual centre is the dGon.lung (*Ergulong*) monastery, founded in Huzhu in 1604 and representing the dGe.lugs.pa ('Yellow Hat') School. Despite their relatively small number, the Mongghul have at times played important roles in the Buddhist clergy of the region, as well as of China at large. At least two incarnations of the lCang.skya Khutukhtu lineage were probably of Mongghul origin.

DATA AND SOURCES

Mongghul is the most extensively studied Mongolic language of the Gansu-Qinghai region. Its speakers are first mentioned by nineteenth-century travellers, such as Évariste-Régis Huc (1850) and N. M. Przheval'skii (1875). The first collection of linguistic data (word-lists and a short sample of phrases) of any kind of 'Monguor' is found in G. N. Potanin (1893), though his materials, deriving from the so-called Sanchuan region (more or less identical with the modern administrative entity of Minhe), apparently represent an early variant of Mangghuer, rather than Mongghul.

In the twentieth century, the Belgian missionary-linguists Antoine Mostaert and Albrecht de Smedt, of the C.I.C.M. (Scheut Society for Foreign Missions), laid the foundation of 'Monguor' linguistics by publishing a detailed account of phonetics (1929–31), a grammar (1945), and a large Monguor-French dictionary with etymological remarks (1933). All of these works are based on the Naringhol dialect of Mongghul, which thus for several decades became by far the best-known 'Monguor' dialect. More specifically, the data were mainly collected in the village of Alima Hangshar, southeast of the county centre of Huzhu. Mostaert (1931) also published a more general account of the Mongolic languages of the Gansu-Qinghai region. No texts were published, but a comprehensive historical and ethnographic study of the 'Monguor' was prepared by another Catholic missionary, Louis M. J. Schram, C. I. C. M. (1954–61).

Another perspective into Mongghul was opened by Dominik Schröder, SVD, also a missionary-linguist, who published two short collections of texts, this time from the Halchighol dialect (1959–70), a grammatical sketch (1964), as well as a detailed description of Mongghul religious life (1952–3). The largest extant body of Mongghul texts published so far, a fragment of the Geser Epos running over more than 12,000 lines, was also collected by Schröder in 1948, though it was published in facsimile only much later by Walther Heissig (1980). Only a small fraction of this text was translated by Schröder himself. The linguistic material of the text has been studied in detail by Masayoshi Kakudo (1988, 1996), who has also worked on other questions of Mongghul dialectology and synchronic grammar (Kakudo 1987, 1989, 1997).

The Sino-Soviet joint linguistic expedition of the 1950s resulted in the 'Monguor' grammar (with texts) of B. X. Todaeva (1973), mainly based on the Halchighol dialect, though containing comparative data from other dialects, including Mangghuer. A brief synopsis of the same material is given in Todaeva (1997). Also based on the Halchighol dialect are the short grammar by Junast (1981), the materials of Chuluu (1994), and the three volumes of data published in Inner Mongolia, containing a collection of sentences and texts by Chingeltei *et al.* (1986), a vocabulary by Hasbaatar (1985), and a comparative grammar by Chingeltei and Li Keyu (1988). Individual issues of Mongghul grammar have been dealt with in specialized papers by Chingeltei (1989) and others.

The Mongghul language, like the other Mongolic languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex, remains still largely unexplored in the diachronic framework. Apart from the comparative grammar of Chingeltei and Li Keyu, the most important diachronic contribution is the monograph by András Róna-Tas (1966) on the Tibetan loanwords in 'Monguor', a work that was preceded by two phonological papers by the same author (Róna-Tas 1960, 1962). More recently, the Turkic loanwords of 'Monguor' have been examined by Hans Nugteren (1998).

In the 1980s, a practical orthography was created for Mongghul on the basis of the Pinyin Romanization of Mandarin Chinese. The orthography has been used in over twenty publications, including school textbooks, folklore materials, and various pamphlets, as listed in Limusishiden and Kevin Stuart (1999). The single most important publication is the practical Mongghul–Chinese dictionary of Li Keyu (1988). The orthography has required the creation of an increasingly unified normative literary language, which is based on the Halchighol dialect, but with the incorporation of some typically Naringhol features. It is true, in spite of the tendency of normalization, there are still many inconsistencies in the actual application of the orthographical principles, as discussed by Kakudo (1990).

The following treatment of Mongghul uses, as far as possible, the notational conventions of the standard language for all data, though the imperfection of the current orthographical practice makes it impossible to follow any systematic norm. Unless otherwise specified, the data reflect the Halchighol dialect. Data from other dialects, including the Naringhol dialect, are also presented in the standard orthography, which should not obscure the fact that they may in other respects be incongruent with the principles of the current literary language.

SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Mongghul has five distinctive vowel qualities, which are orthographically rendered as **a e i o u** (Table 14.1). All the five qualities can also occur as long syllabic nuclei (double

TABLE 14.1 MONGGHUL VOWELS

u	**i**
o	**e**
a	

vowels), written as sequences of two identical vowel letters, e.g. **amu** 'life' vs. **aamu** 'millet', **bosi-** 'to rise' vs. **boosi** 'flea', **niki-** 'to weave' vs. **nikii** 'fur'.

The low vowel **a** (*a*) is mostly realized as [a], but it has a fronted allophone [æ] after the palatal consonants **q j x**, as in **qabsar** [tɕʰæbsar] 'gap'. The unrounded mid vowel **e** (*e*) surfaces (in all syllables) as a diphthongoid [ie] after the labial and dental consonants **b m d t n l**, and as a schwa-like centralized vowel [ə] after velars and **r**, cf. e.g. **beri** [pieri] 'wife' (also **beeri**), **mengu** [mieŋgu] 'silver', **dere** [tierə] 'pillow' (also **dire**), **te** [tʰie] 'that', **ne** [nie] 'this', **gule-** [kulie] 'to speak', **ken** [kʰən] 'who'. The high unrounded vowel **i** (*i*), too, surfaces mostly as a centralized [ə], but the realizations of **e** and **i** remain phonetically distinguishable. The genuine palatal quality [i] occurs only word-initially and after the palatal consonants **q j x y**, e.g. **qiree** [tɕʰire:] 'face', **jidaa** [dʑida:] 'lance' (also **jiidaa**), **xira** [ɕira] 'yellow', **ayil** [ajil] 'village'.

The rounded vowels **o u** (*o u*) are mostly stable, but **u** is fronted to [y] after palatals, as in **xuroo-** [ɕyro:] 'to wish' (also **xiroo-**). After the postvelar consonant **gh** the opposition between short **o** and **u** is neutralized in favour of a surface vowel [ʊ], intermediate in height between the qualities [o] and [u], but orthographically rendered as **u**. An additional marginal phoneme is the retroflex vowel [ɚ], which occurs in Chinese loanwords, e.g. (Chinese spelling:) **erliuzi** [ɚliu:dzə] 'lazybone'.

As is also the case in the other Mongolic languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex, the Proto-Mongolic background of the Mongghul vowels is not always easy to determine. The most stable vowels are **a *e*, which are mainly preserved as such, e.g. **ala-* > **ala-** 'to kill', **alda* > **alda** 'fathom', **bari-* > **bari-** 'to take'; **ger* > **ger** 'house', **bergen* > **bergen** 'sister-in-law'. Labialization of both **a* and **e* into **u** (*u*) is, however, often observed after a labial consonant, e.g. **baraxa-* > **buraa-** 'to finish'; **mede-* > **mude-** 'to know', **mergen* > **murgen** 'clever'.

The rounded vowels **o *ö *u *ü* are all represented as **o u** with no clear contextual preference, e.g. **boro* > **boro** ~ **buro** 'grey', **mori/n* > **mori** 'horse', **ol-* > **uli-** 'to find', **kota/n* > **kudu** 'house'; **öndür* > **undur** 'high', **bös* > **bos** 'cotton'; **uran* > **uran** 'dexterity', **udaxan* > **udaan** 'slow'; **kücü/n* > **kuji** 'power', **ükü-* > **fugu-** 'to die', **küli-* > **koli-** 'to tie'. In general, it seems that the reflexes of the original high vowels **u *ü* are more often than not high, while the development of the mid-high vowels **o *ö* is considerably more variegated. Irregular developments are present in **bol-* > **boli-** ~ **bali-** 'to ripen', **tobci* > **tebji** 'button', **jula* > **jila** 'lamp'. The distinction between **ö *ü* vs. **o *u* is occasionally revealed by the different behaviour of adjacent velar consonants, cf. e.g. **nökör* > **nukor** 'friend', **mukur* > **moghur** 'blunt'. An exceptional velarization has taken place in **ög-* > **ughu-** ~ **ghu-** 'to give'.

The high unrounded vowel **i* is basically represented as **i**, e.g. **ciki/n* > **qigi** 'ear', **imaxa/n* > **imaa** 'goat', **jida* > **jidaa** 'lance' (also **jiidaa**), **sira-* > **xiraa-** 'to roast'. There is no evidence of actual breaking in Mongghul, but prebreaking (or later regressive vowel assimilation with a similar effect) is attested in several items, e.g. **jiru-* > **juuri-** 'to write', **(x)ildü* > **uldi** 'sword', **mika/n* > **maha** 'meat'.

Most long vowels in Mongghul represent the result of contraction, i.e. the elision of the intervocalic velar spirant **x*, e.g. **naxad-* > **naadi-** 'to play', **temexe/n* > **timeen** 'camel', **toxa* > **too** 'number', **böxe* > **boo** 'shaman'. Some synchronic long vowels, however, have been claimed to continue original (primary) long vowels. In spite of suggested parallels elsewhere in Mongolic (Dagur and Moghol), the evidence remains inconclusive, and it is most likely a question of secondary lengthening of original short (single) vowels, as in **moodi** (also **moodu**) 'tree; wood' < **modu/n*. Although counterexamples exist, it deserves to be mentioned that unetymological lengths seem to occur particularly frequently before liquids, nasals and (sometimes) **s**, e.g. **daalii** 'shoulder' < **dalu*, **gireel** 'light' < **gerel*, **aamu** 'millet' < **amu/n*, **oosi-** 'to grow' < **ös-*, **aasar** 'building' < **asar*. On the other hand, Mongghul displays, in some cases, a short vowel instead of an expected length, as in **dire** 'above' < **dexere*, **qirag** 'strong' < **cixirag*, **ula** 'mountain' < **axula/n*.

A few examples of contracted vowels are reflected as diphthongoid sequences of two different vowel qualities. The synchronic paradigm of diphthongoid sequences occurring in native words comprises **ai au iu ui**, e.g. **sain** 'good' < **sayin*, **bau-** 'to descend' < **baxu-*, **niur** 'face' < **nixur*, **diu** 'younger brother' < **dexü*. The sequences **ia iau ua uai** are mainly present in Chinese loanwords, e.g. **liang** 'measure' : **liang.la-** 'to measure', **hua** 'picture' : **hua.la-** 'to draw (a picture)', though there are also occasional native examples, such as **guai-** 'to run' (Common Mongolic **güyü-*). The representation of the diphthongoid sequences in native words is often inconsistent, and cases of monophthongization are common, cf. e.g. **hghai** 'pig' < **gaka(y)i* vs. **dalii** 'sea' < **dala(y)i*, **huino** 'after' < **koyina* vs. **noor** 'sleep' < **noyir*, **kuiden** 'cold' < **küyiten* vs. **suuge** 'earring' < **süyike*. Many items are represented as dialectal doublets, e.g. **sau-** ~ **suu-** 'to sit' < **saxu-*, **niu-** ~ **nuu-** 'to hide' < **nixu-*. note also **jaliu** 'young' < **jalaxu*. The original sequence **e(y)i-* appears mostly as **ii** or **ee**, e.g. **kii** 'wind' < **kei*, **neele-** 'to join' < **neyile -*.

The Mongghul consonant inventory comprises twenty-five segments (Table 14.2). These may be divided into seven vertical series: the labials **p b f m w** (*p b f m w*), the dental non-sibilants **t d l n** (*t d l n*), the dental sibilants **c z s** (*ts dz s*), the retroflexes **ch zh sh r** (*tr dr sr r*), the palatals **q j x y** (*c j sh y*), the velars **k g ng h** (*k g ng x*), and the postvelar **gh** (*gh*). On the other hand, there are six horizontal classes: the strong obstruents **p t c ch q k**, the weak obstruents **b d z zh j g gh**, the fricatives **f s sh x h**, the liquids **l r**, the nasals **m n ng**, and the glides **w y**.

The segments **c z ch zh**, realized as affricates, occur mostly in Chinese and Tibetan loanwords, e.g. **cangku** 'storehouse', **zauha** 'hearth', **zandan** 'sandalwood', **chun** 'spring', **zhuxi** 'chairman'. Occasional examples are, however, also present in a few irregular Mongolic etyma, e.g. **cizida-** ~ **qisida-** 'to bleed' < **cisuda-*, **zinginee-** 'to make

TABLE 14.2 MONGGHUL CONSONANTS

p	**t**	**c**	**ch**	**q**	**k**	
b	**d**	**z**	**zh**	**j**	**g**	**gh**
f		**s**	**sh**	**x**	**h**	
	l		**r**			
m	**n**				**ng**	
w				**y**		

sound' < **senggene-*, **zongnaa** 'gadfly' (cf. Common Mongolic **sono*), **zhuzhuan ~ jujaan** 'thick' < **jujaxan*. In medial position, the segment **z** is relatively common also in native words, cf. e.g. **ghazar** 'bridle' < **kajaxar* vs. **ghajar** 'place' < **gajar*. The retroflex sibilant **sh** occurs in prevocalic position mainly in Chinese loanwords, in which it is often confused with the (alveo)palatal sibilant **x**, e.g. **shong ~ xong** 'pair'.

The contrast between the velar **g** and the postvelar (uvular) **gh** is only marginally relevant in Mongghul. The distinction is, however, consistently made in the modern orthography. Genuine minimal pairs do not seem to exist, but both sounds contrast, at least potentially, before the vowels **a o u**. Before **a**, the velar **g** normally only occurs in Chinese and Tibetan loanwords, e.g. **gang** 'steel' (from Chinese), **gaara** 'sugar' (from Tibetan), while native words have the postvelar **gh**. Before **o u**, native words have **g** if the vowel derives from **ö *ü*, and **gh** if the vowel derives from **o *u*. The vowels **e i** can only be preceded by **g**.

The diachronic relationship of **g** vs. **gh** is paralleled in the class of strong obstruents by that of **k** vs. **h**. Thus, original **k* is reflected as **k** before original front vowels, e.g. **kile** 'tongue; language' < **kele/n*, **kurgeen** 'son-in-law' < **kürgen*, **kungon** 'light (of weight)' < **könggen*. Before **i*, however, **k* has been palatalized into **q** (*c*), e.g. **qimusi** 'claw/s' < **kimusu/n*, **qiruu** 'saw' < **kirüge*, **Qidar** 'Chinese' < **kita-*. Before original back vowels, **k* is reflected as **h**, e.g. **hamdu** 'together' < **kamtu*, **huidu** 'behind' < **koyitu*, **huja** 'ram' < **kuca*. Since no opposition between a laryngeal [h] and a velar [x] has been reported from Mongghul, the segment **h** can phonetically freely vacillate between these values.

Another source of initial **h** is Proto-Mongolic **x*, which is preserved as a segment in Mongghul, e.g. **halgha** 'palm (of hand)' < **xalaga*, **haran ~ harwan** 'ten' < **xarba/n*. Before **i*, this segment has developed into **x**, as **xinee-** 'to smile' < **xiniye-*, while before rounded vowels it is represented as **f**, as in **funi-** 'to ride' < **xunu-*, **fulaan** 'red' < **xulaan*. Traditionally it has been assumed that the value **f** is a direct trace of the original labial quality of **x* < **p*, but this assumption is wrong. The fact that **f** is simply a combinatory development of **h** < **x* is illustrated, for instance, by the etymon **xilexü* 'much, more', which is reflected in the Mongghul dialects variously as either **xiliu* > **haliu** or **xiliu* > **xuliu* > **fuliu**. The latter shape shows that the development **x* > **f** took place only after the (apparently) late regressive assimilation of the following vowel.

An important taxonomic characteristic of both Mongghul and Mangghuer (and possibly of the Gansu-Qinghai complex, in general) is connected with the development of stop obstruents (including affricates). In initial position, the two classes of obstruents in Mongghul are phonetically distinguished by aspiration, the strong segments (*fortes*) being voiceless and aspirated, while the weak segments (*lenes*) are equally voiceless (or slightly voiced), but unaspirated. In medial position, however, the weak segments can be fully voiced and spirantized. The historical perturbations affecting the obstruents may be summarized as follows:

(1) If the original consonantal skeleton of a word involves a combination of a word-initial strong obstruent with a word-internal (syllable-initial, and most often intervocalic) strong obstruent, the latter segment is weakened into its weak counterpart, e.g. **tudargha** 'rice' < **tuturga*, **huja-** 'to bark' < **kuca-*.
(2) If the original consonantal skeleton involves a combination of a word-initial weak obstruent with a word-internal strong obstruent, the strength relationship weak + strong is reversed to strong + weak, e.g. **tijin** 'forty' < **döci/n*, **pujig** 'book' < **bicig*.
(3) If the original consonantal skeleton involves a combination of two weak obstruents, the strength relationship remains unchanged, e.g. **bughun** 'low' < **bogoni*.

The spirantized reflex of intervocalic **b* has normally developed into **w**, as in **taawun** 'five' < **tabu/n*, occasionally also into **y**, as in **tayin** 'fifty' < **tabi/n* (palatal environment), **yerle-** (also **urle-**) 'to grow horns' < **eberle-* (secondary initial position). There are also examples of the loss of internal **b*, as in **suuli-** < **sübele-* 'to thread', **deesi-** < **debis-* 'to spread', note also **kidee-** < **kebte-* 'to lie down'.

If aspiration is taken to be the relevant feature on which the distinction between the strong and weak obstruents is based, the situation in Mongghul can be reformulated as follows: Mongghul allows at most one aspirate consonant per stem, and only in initial position. As a parallel case, it may be noted that a similar principle is operative in Ordos and some southern Mongol dialects, but in these idioms the aspirate segment occupies the medial position. The assumption concerning the relevance of aspiration in Mongghul is supported by the fact that a zero anlaut (initial vowel) in words containing an original strong obstruent in medial position is reflected as a prothetic **h** in Mongghul, as in **haldan** 'gold' < **altan*. In these words, there was no original **x* in Proto-Mongolic; instead, the Mongghul **h** represents the 'aspirated' counterpart of the initial zero.

Another unusual diachronic process in Mongghul (though attested sporadically also elsewhere in Mongolic) is the occasional development of initial **n* into **l**, as in **labji** 'leaf' < **nabci*. In some cases, it seems to be a question of nasal dissimilation, as in **lom** 'scripture' < **nom*, **numu** ~ **lumu** 'bow' < **numu/n*. In normal cases, **n* is preserved as **n**, as in **nara** 'sun' < **nara/n*, **nige** 'one' < **nige/n*. Initial **l** is most often attested in Chinese and Tibetan loanwords, e.g. **lagxii** 'towel' (from Tibetan), but it also occurs because of initial vowel elision, as in **lii** 'not' < **ülü*.

The development of final **l* is one of the most salient differentiating characteristics between all varieties of 'Monguor'; it yields **l** in Halchighol Mongghul and **r** (with a variety of phonetic realizations, but mainly a retroflex approximant of the Chinese type) in the Naringhol dialect as well as in Mangghuer. Diagnostic examples are: **gal* 'fire', **köl* 'foot', **dexel* 'garment' > Halchighol **ghal**, **kol**, **deel** vs. Naringhol **ghar**, **kuor**, **deer** vs. Mangghuer **ghar**, **khuer**, **dier**.

WORD STRUCTURE

The word accent in Mongghul is strongly centralizing and falls invariably on the last syllable, a circumstance which has diachronically led to the frequent loss of initial-syllable vowels, or, sometimes, of whole initial syllables, as in **aduxula-* > **dulaa-** 'to tend cattle', **eljige* > **jige** 'donkey', **emüs-* > **mosi-** 'to dress', **unaga* > **nagha** 'foal'. This loss of vowels and syllables has had several important phonotactic consequences, one of them being that vowel harmony has collapsed, as is also the case in the other Mongolic languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex. Stem-internally, some restrictions governing the cooccurrence of vowels can still be discerned in Mongghul, but suffixes do not any longer conform to the harmonic class of the preceding stem. Synchronically, all suffixes have a fixed vocalism.

Another consequence of the loss of initial vowels and syllables has been that the consonant structures occurring in initial position have been greatly diversified. On the one hand, there are some individual consonants which have secondarily expanded their distribution to the initial position, notably **r** and **w**, as in **ire-* > **re-** 'to come', **ebüsü* > **wesi** 'grass'. On the other hand, there has appeared a considerable number of initial consonant clusters, a feature basically alien to Mongolic but well attested in Amdo Tibetan. In native Mongghul words, the first component of these clusters represents diachronically either the original initial consonant of the word, as in **sghal** 'beard' < **sakal*, or the first

TABLE 14.3 MONGGHUL INITIAL CLUSTERS

preinitials	clusters					
N		**nd**		**nj**	**ng**	**ngh**
		nt				
s	**sb**	**sd**	**sz**		**sg**	**sgh**
	sm					
sh	**shb**	**shd**	**shz**		**shg**	**shgh**
x				**xj**		
r		**rd**	**rz**		**rg**	**rgh**
	rm					
h					**hg**	**hgh**

component of an original medial cluster, as in **nghuasi** 'wool' < **unggasu/n*. Initial clusters are also common in Tibetan loanwords, such as **rgomba** 'temple'.

There are more than twenty different initial clusters attested in native Mongghul words (Table 14.3). In their synchronic system, the first component (the preinitial) is always either an archiphonemic nasal (**n**) or a continuant consonant (**s sh x r h**), while the second component (the initial) may be either a stop (**b d t z j g gh**) or a nasal (**m**). Tibetan loanwords increase the number of actual initial clusters considerably. From the phonological point of view, it should be noted that the orthographical system of the initial clusters, based mainly on the phonetic substance, involves several kinds of complementarity. In a more technical approach, the system could be reinterpreted in a variety of ways.

Examples of the initial clusters in native words: (nasal preinitial:) **ndee** 'here' < **ende*, **njasi** 'plough' < **anjisu/n*, **ngo** 'colour' < **öngge*, **nghusi** 'body wind' < **ungusu/n*, **ntiraa-** 'to sleep' < **untara-*; (**s** as preinitial:) **sbai** 'barley' < **arbai*, **sza-** 'to repair' < **jasa-*, **sgil** 'thought' < **sedkil*, **sghur** 'blind' < **sokor*, **smeen** 'monastery' < **süme/n*; (**sh** and **x** as preinitials:) **shbuzi** 'fibre' < **sirbüsün*, **shdi** 'tooth' < **sidün*, **shzin** 'nine' < **yisü/n*, **xjuur** 'origin' < **xijaxur*, **shge** 'big' < **xike*; (**r** as preinitial) **rdem** 'virtue' < **erdem*, **rzii-** 'to show one's teeth' < **irja(y)i-*, **rgon** 'wide' < **örgen*, **rmeen** 'scum on boiled milk' < **örüme/n*; (**h** as preinitial:) **hghai** 'pig' < **gakai*.

WORD FORMATION

Both nouns and verbs are derived from base nouns and verbs by means of suffixes. Since most of the Mongghul derivative suffixes have cognates in other Mongolic languages, and since many of the actual derivatives were also present already in Proto-Mongolic, it is not always easy to make a judgement of the productivity of the derivational categories. Some examples of the four main classes of derivation are listed below:

Denominal nouns: **.qi** (Naringhol also **.qin**) [occupation, involvement], e.g. **huni** 'sheep' : **huni.qi** 'shepherd', **nasba** 'ill' (from Tibetan) : **nasba.qi** 'a permanently ill person'; **.bqi** (Naringhol **.xji**) [cover of or for an object], e.g. **qigi** 'ear' : **qigi.bqi** 'cover for the ears'; **.han** ~ **.haan** [diminutive], e.g. **bee** 'body' (also **buye**) : **bee.haan** 'small body', also used with qualitative nouns to moderate the degree of the quality [moderative], e.g. **shge** 'big' : **shge.haan** 'rather big'; **.du** [possessive adjectival nouns], e.g. **kuji** 'strength' : **kuji.du** 'strong, possessing strength'; **.dii** (Naringhol **.dee**) [id.], formally identical with

the possessive case ending, e.g. **ula** 'mountain' : **ula.dii** 'mountainous'; the suffixes **.du** and **.dii** are used without any discernable difference in function, cf. e.g. **ama** 'mouth': **ama.du** ~ **ama.dii** 'having a mouth' > 'human being'.

Deverbal nouns: **.uur** [instruments], e.g. **kishgi-** 'to step' (also **gixgi-**) : **kishg.uur** 'stair/s', **.uuri** [abstract qualities], e.g. **xj.ee-** 'to be ashamed' : **xj.uuri** 'shy; shyness'; **.r** [instruments], e.g. **ghadi-** 'to mow' : **ghadi.r** 'sickle'; **.si** (Naringhol **.ze**) [instruments, products], e.g. **ghada-** 'to drive in' : **ghada.si** 'nail', **nimpu-** 'to spit' (also **numpu-**) : **nimpu.si** 'saliva'; **.g** [results], e.g. **budi-** 'to paint' : **budo.g** 'colour'; **.dal** (Naringhol **.dar**) [processes, results], e.g. **bagha-** 'to hit' : **bagha.dal** 'blow', **gi-** 'to do' : **gi.dal** 'action, deed'; **.long** [state], e.g. **qadi-** 'to eat one's fill' : **qadi.long** 'full, satiated'; often, this suffix is combined with the futuritive participle marker **-gu**, e.g. **losi-** 'to be hungry' : **losi-gu.long** 'hunger'; **.xi** [objects], e.g. **ide-** 'to eat' : **ide.xi** 'food'; **.ng** ~ **.ngii** [qualities], e.g. **diuri-** 'to be full' : **diuri.ngii** 'full'; **.mal** (Naringhol **.mar**) [resulting states], e.g. **guru-** 'to plait' : **gur.mel** ~ **gul.mal** 'plaited, plait'.

Denominal verbs: **.la-** [general verbalizer], e.g. **fuuda** 'sack' : **fuuda.la-** 'to put into a sack', **mori** 'horse' : **mori.la-** 'to ride', (Chinese **dafa** 'to send' :) **daafu.la-** 'to send', **dasba** 'faith' (from Tibetan) : **dasba.la-** 'to confess a faith'; **.da-** (Naringhol also **.de-**) [general verbalizer], e.g. **sumu** 'arrow' : **sumu.da-** 'to shoot arrows'; no generally predictable semantic difference between **.la-** and **.da-** is discernible, but, with some roots, both suffixes derive verbs with slightly different meanings, cf. e.g. **dau** 'voice, song' : **dau.la-** 'to sing' vs. **dau.da-** 'to call' (both probably lexicalized already in Proto-Mongolic); **.di-** [possession of quality, or change of state, mostly from adjectival nouns], e.g. **purge** 'difficult' : **purge.di-** 'to be/get difficult', **sulaa** 'loose' : **sulaa.di-** 'to be/get loose'; **.ja** [translative], e.g. **bayaan** 'rich' : **bayaan.ja-** 'to become rich'; **.raa-** [id.], e.g. **haujin** 'old' : **hauji.raa-** 'to get old'; **.qile-** [essive: 'to act or be like'], e.g. **mongghul. qile-** 'to act like a Mongghul, to speak Mongghul'; **+ki-** ~ **+gi-** [verbalizer, especially frequent on loanwords, including foreign verbal roots], e.g. (Chinese **paa** 'rake; to rake' :) **paa+gi-** 'to use a rake', (Chinese **laa** 'to carry away' :) **laa+ki-** 'to carry'.

Deverbal verbs: **.gha-** ~ (more frequently:) **.lgha-** (Naringhol **.rgha**) [causative], e.g. **uje-** 'to see' : **uje.lgha-** 'to make [somebody] see, to show', **sau-** 'to sit' : **sau.lgha-** 'to make/let [somebody] sit; to set', **bosi-** 'to stand up; to rise' : **bosi.lgha-** ~ **bosi.gha-** 'to make [somebody] stand up; to raise'; **.ldu-** ~ **.ldi-** ~ **.di-** (Naringhol **.rdi-**) [reciprocal], e.g. **turgu-** 'to push' : **turgu.ldu-** 'to push each other', [also used in a cooperative function:] **ala-** 'to kill' : **ala.di-** 'to kill together [with others]', **.qaghaa-** [pluritative], e.g. **yau-** 'to go' : **yau.qaghaa-** 'to go [of many subjects]'.

All the valence-changing deverbal suffixes are highly productive, but it is noteworthy that the Common Mongolic passive suffixes are absent in Mongghul (as well as in the other languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex with the exception of Shira Yughur). This may be another manifestation of Tibetan influence, since the neighbouring (morphologically ergative) Amdo Tibetan dialects do not have passives. However, Mongghul does not seem to show any further traces of actual ergativity.

NUMBER AND CASE

Nominal words (nouns and pronouns) in Mongghul take morphological (inflexional) suffixes for number, case, and possession (in this order). A morphologically distinct class of adjectives does not exist; adjectival words follow the regular nominal declension.

Apart from the plural, the singular is also marked by a special suffix, which has the shape **-nge** (= *ngge*, after vowel stems) or **-ge** (after consonant stems), deriving from the

numeral **nige** 'one'. Though not obligatory, this singular (singulative) marker is normally used in cases where singularity has to be emphasized, e.g. **bulee-nge xelalji honi-nge tuusan yuuguna** 'a boy went along, sad, driving a sheep'. Functionally, the singular marker is close to an indefinite article. In some cases, especially in combination with the preposited numeral **nige** 'one', it can also refer to a contextually definite (specific) object, as in **te yuuji nige ula-nge daaji iiguna** 'she went and crossed one [particular] mountain'.

The singular suffix can also occur in a second function that could perhaps be characterized as emphatic. In this function, the original singular reference seems to have been obscured. There is also a morphological difference, for while the singular suffix is normally placed immediately after the nominal stem, in the emphatic function it can follow clitically other nominal suffixes, including markers of case and possession. It is even compatible with inherently uncountable (mass) nouns, as in **tani aaguni sze-ni=nge jujaan** 'your daughter's hair is thick'.

For the plural, there are basically two alternative markers: **-sge** ~ **-sgi** ~ (Naringhol) **-hgi** (the latter shape being also common in the written language), and **-ngu** (= *-nggu*) ~ (more commonly:) **-ngu.la** (*-nggula*). No difference in function is discernible between these markers. A further number marker is **-mange**, which indicates a generic plural ('and other such things'), e.g. **dereni sgee.mange haaji iiguna** 'he covered himself with felt and some other stuff'. As in other Mongolic languages, countable nouns which are already determined by a numeral or quantifier are not marked for plurality, cf. e.g. **te ger-shdi ghoori yiizi yiina** 'there are two chairs in the room' (with **ghoori** 'two'); **xiree dira ahangi yan yiina** 'there are some cigarettes on the table' (with **ahangi** 'some').

The case paradigm in Mongghul comprises, apart from the unmarked nominative, seven suffixally marked cases, which may be identified as: connective, dative, locative, ablative, comitative, possessive, and directive (Table 14.4). In this system, the connective represents the syncretized merger of the original genitive and accusative cases. The dative, ablative, comitative, and possessive are likewise of Common Mongolic origin. The directive is shared with Mangghuer, while the locative has a somewhat uncertain cognate in Santa. Some of the case endings have slightly different shapes in the Naringhol dialect. The sources also differ on the vowel of the genitive, dative, and locative endings, which is written as **i** in the literary language, but which also appears as **e** [ə] in non-standardized materials. For the locative, a variant with **a** is also attested, though it is not easy to determine its dialectal status.

There is very little morphophonology in nominal stems preceding the case suffixes. However, the unstable */n* of Proto-Mongolic occasionally appears in some stems in the

TABLE 14.4 MONGGHUL CASE MARKERS

	function	marker	Naringhol
conn.	genitive-accusative	**-ni**	
dat.	dative-locative	**-di**	**-du**
abl.	ablative-comparative	**-sa**	**-za**
loc.	locative	**-ri**	
com.	comitative-instrumental	**-la**	**-ra**
poss.	comitative	**-dii**	
dir.	directive (rare)	**-ji**	

dative and ablative, e.g. **nara/n* > **nara** 'sun' : dat. **naran-de**, **terge/n* > **terge** 'cart' : dat. **tergen.de ~ terge-de** : **abl. tergen-se ~ terge-se**. Example of a regular paradigm: **imaa** 'goat' : conn. **imaa-ni** : dat. **imaa-di** : loc. **imaa-ri** : abl. **imaa-sa** : instr. **imaa-la** : poss. **imaa-dii** : dir. **imaa-ji**.

The nominative is the case used for subjects, direct unspecific objects, adnominal attributes and nominal predicates (with a copula), e.g. (subject) **te ghoori caagangzire qa yiina** '[there] is tea in these two cups', (object) **ndee ghal tuleewa** 'here [they] lit a fire', (attribute) **funige arasi** 'fox skin', (nominal predicate) **ne muni pujig wa** 'this is my book'.

The connective (genitive-accusative) marks, in its genitival function, various types of adnominal relationship, including possession, e.g. **aawa-ni ger** 'father's house'. In its accusative function, the connective indicates a direct specific (in most cases definite) object, e.g. **gan tenge Yinyii pujig-ni muxina** 'he is reading that English book'.

The dative (dative-locative) is typically used to denote the recipient with verbs of giving or transferring, e.g. **ne bayan kun Niima-di seeri ghuguna** 'the rich man will give Niima some money'. It also marks the possessor in the *habeo*-construction, e.g. **gan-di taawun bulee yiina** 'he has five children'. To indicate the location of an action in space or time, both the dative and the locative (proper) can be used, e.g. (dative of place) **bu nenge ayil-di shge ulesanni** 'I grew up in this village' (literally: 'I became big in this village'), (dative of time) **bu maghaxin-di lisge warinii** 'I do my work in the morning'; (locative of place) **buleengula malse-ri hamdarina** 'the children are skating on the ice', (locative of time) **te ghoordi muxigu sara-ri buleenge ireja** 'the two had a baby last month' (literally: 'a baby came to the two last month'). More rarely, some uses of the dative can also be replaced by the directive case.

The ablative indicates the source of a movement, or, in stative expressions, the spatial point of reference, e.g. **tehgi Gansuu-sa resana** 'they have come from Gansu', (pronominal example) **nderee-sa darong hulohaan waina** 'it is still rather far from here'. In the comparative construction, the ablative (ablative-comparative) is used to mark the base of comparison, e.g. (pronominal example) **bu qimi-sa ghoori nasi shge wa** 'I am two years older than you'.

The Proto-Mongolic instrumental has been lost in Mongghul, but its functions have been taken over by the comitative (comitative-instrumental), e.g. **budahgi tenge fulaan moodan-la naadinii** 'we are playing with that red ball'. The comitative is also used in its original function to denote co-subjects, e.g. **bu Dorijinsu-la naadinii** 'I am playing with Dorijinsu'. More rarely, the comitative function is expressed by the possessive case, based on the denominal derivative suffix of possessive adjectival nouns, cf. e.g. (poss. refl.) **mori daaha-dii-naa fugua xija** 'the horse died together with its foal'. In adnominal use, the possessive derivatives are common, but need not be analysed as case forms, e.g. **tash.dii ula** 'rocky mountain'.

Double declension is a marginal phenomenon in Mongghul. The only somewhat more common accumulation of two cases is the locative-ablative in **-ri-sa ~ -ra-sa**, as in **qi dunsinaa terge-ra-sa buulgha** 'unload your things from the cart!'.

NUMERALS

The 'literary' shapes of the cardinal numerals of the first decade are: 1 **nige**, 2 **ghoor ~ ghoori**, 3 **ghuran ~ ghuraan**, 4 **deeren ~ deeran**, 5 **tawun ~ taawun**, 6 **jirghoon ~ jirighun**, 7 **duloon ~ duluun**, 8 **naiman ~ niiman**, 9 **shzin**, 10 **harwan ~ haran**. The

corresponding decades are expressed as: 20 **hurin**, 30 **hujin**, 40 **tijin**, 50 **tayin**, 60 **jiran**, 70 **dalan**, 80 **nayan**, 90 **yerin ~ yiran**, **100 jong ~ jang**. The items for the higher powers of 10 are: 1,000 **menhen**, 10,000 **tumun**, 100,000 **mbun** (from Tibetan), 1,000,000 **sayaa** (likewise from Tibetan). The Naringhol dialect has slightly deviating shapes for 5 **taawen**, 7 **doloon**, 8 **neeman**, 9 **shzen**, 20 **horin**, 30 **hojin**, 40 **tejin**, 1,000 **minghen**, 10,000 **tumeen**, 100,000 **mben**. The intermediate numerals are formed by simply juxtaposing the items for the decades with those for the digits, e.g. 11 **haran nige**, 47 **tijin duloon**.

Diachronically, it may be noted that all the native numerals from 3 **ghuran ~ ghuraan** upwards preserve the original stem-final unstable **/n*. This segment is, however, not preserved in 1 **nige** < **nige/n ~ *nike/n*. In 100 **jong** < **jaxu/n*, apparently due to the secondary monosyllabicity of the stem, an exceptional development **/n > ng* has taken place. The items 2 **ghoor ~ ghoori**, 4 **deeran**, and 5 **taawun** are taxonomically important, since they presuppose original shapes different from the Common Mongolic ones: **koxar* instead of **koyar*, **derbe/n* instead of **dörbe/n*, and **ta(x)abu/n* instead of **tabu/n*. The origin of these special shapes remains unexplained, but they are shared (as far as documented) by all the Mongolic languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex.

Ordinal numerals are formed by the suffix **.dar ~ .dari**, before which the final nasal of the numeral stems is preserved, e.g. **deeran.dar/i**, 'fourth', **niiman.dar/i** 'eighth'. Other numeral derivatives include the diminutives in **.han** (with the final nasal preserved), e.g. **ghuraan.han** 'only three', and the collectives in **.la** (with the final nasal dropped), also used as distributives, e.g. **ghuraa.la** 'three together; by threes'. Simple juxtaposition of consecutive numerals results in an approximative meaning, e.g. **deeran tawun** 'about four or five'.

PRONOUNS

The personal pronouns (Table 14.5) show certain deviations from the usual patterns of nominal inflection. Most of these deviations, including phenomena such as heteroclisis and suppletion, are of Common Mongolic origin. There are, however, also some regionally more restricted secondary innovations peculiar to the languages of the Gansu–Qinghai complex, or even more specifically to Mongghul alone.

TABLE 14.5 MONGGHUL PERSONAL PRONOUNS

		1p.		2p.
sg.	nom.	**bu**	**ndaa**	**qi**
	gen.	**mu-ni**	**ndaa-ni**	**qi-ni**
	acc.	**ndaa**		**qimu**
	dat.	**ndaa**		**qimii**
	abl.	**ndaa-sa**		**qima-sa**
	com.	**ndaa-la**		**qimu-la**
	obl.	**ndaa-**		**qimi-**
pl.	nom.	**buda(sge)**	**ndaa(sge)**	**ta(sge)**
	gen.	**budasge-ni**	**ndaa(sge)-ni**	**ta(sge)-ni**
	acc.	**budasge-ni**	**ndaasge-ni**	**tasge-ni**
	obl.	**budas(ge)-**	**ndaas(ge)-**	**tas(ge)-**

Perhaps most importantly, the genitive is preserved as a distinct form in the declension of the singular pronouns, as well as, facultatively, in the second person plural. On the other hand, there is a tendency to merge the accusative and dative forms of the singular pronouns. In the first person singular, the dative form **ndaa** (< **nama-da*) is used as a new nominative, from which an entire paradigm, both singular and plural, can be formed. The second person singular stem follows more closely the Common Mongolic pattern, but shows irregular alternations in the final vowel of the oblique stem **qima-** : **qimu-** : **qimi-**.

The plural pronouns contain, though not obligatorily, a plural marker, which is most often **-sge** (in inflected forms occasionally shortened to **-s-**) or **-hgi**, but also **-ngula**. There is no distinction between an exclusive and an inclusive form in the first person plural; etymologically, the pronoun **buda** represents the inclusive stem (< **bida*).

Among the oblique forms of the personal pronouns, the directive is exceptionally based on the dative (double declension: dative-directive): sg. 1p. **ndaa-ji** : 2p. **qimi-ji** : pl. 1p. **budasge-di-ji ~ ndaasge-di-ji** : 2p. **tasge-di-ji**. A locative form, based on the genitive stem (genitive-locative), is only attested in the Naringhol dialect: sg. 1p. **mu-ni-ri** : 2p. **qi-ni-ri** : pl. 1p. **ndaa-ni-ri** : 2p. **ta-ni-ri**. Another feature of the Naringhol dialect is the use of the second person singular dative stem **qimii** also in the function of the accusative, and as the basis for the whole oblique paradigm: acc. dat. **qimii** : abl. **qimii-za ~ qimi-za** : com. **qimii-la**.

For the third person, the demonstrative pronouns **ne** 'this' : pl. **ne-sge** and **te** 'that' : pl. **te-sge** are generally used. However, the written language also makes frequent use of a special third person personal pronoun, which has the shape **gan** 'he, she'. This pronoun has regular cognates in Shira Yughur and Mangghuer, and it seems to derive from the Common Mongolic regular noun **irgen* 'people', though the details of the pronominalization process remain unclear. Possibly, it could have first developed into an indefinite pronoun ('somebody'). In earlier sources on Mongghul the word appears as **rgen ~ rgan**, glossed as '[the] other [one]'.

Morphologically, the demonstrative stems **ne** : **te** are inflected like nouns, except that they have the oblique stems **nen-** : **ten-** in all case forms other than the comitative. The directive forms are based on the corresponding datives. The full singular paradigm may be illustrated as: **te** : conn. **te-ni** : dat. **ten-di** : abl. **ten-sa** : com. **te-la** : poss. **ten-dii** : dat. dir. **ten-di-ji**. The plural forms have no idiosyncracies.

Other pronouns include the interrogatives **ken** 'who', **yaan** 'what', and **ali** 'which', all of which have a regular nominal paradigm. The function of a reflexive pronoun is filled by **njeen** (< **ejen* 'master'), e.g. **bu njeen honinaa daaldini** 'I will sell my sheep myself'.

POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

A third person possessor, with no differentiation between the singular and plural, may be marked on nouns by means of the Common Mongolic suffix **-ni**, which follows the case endings. The possessor itself is in the connective case, which, incidentally, also ends in **-ni**, e.g. (conn. + px 3p.) **tehgi-ni honi-ni meelaji yuuma** 'their sheep keep bleating', **te bayan kun-ni zanjin xjun-ni jiilaxjiiguna** 'the rich man's beautiful daughter is angry'.

The possessive suffix can also be attached to the connective case ending, which then may take the shape **-nii-**, as in (conn. px 3p., with the connective in the accusative function) **te te bawog deel-nii-ni xraijinguna** 'she burns the frog's clothes' (example taken from the written language). However, the possessive suffix does not seem to be

compatible with the predicative markers **-na** (objective) or **-ni** (subjective), indicating nominal predicates. Nominal predicates are, thus, unmarked for the category of possession, as in (pred. obj.) **ne budahgi-ni ayili-ni zhopen-na** 'this is a photograph of our village'.

For the marking of reflexive possession, with reference to the subject of the sentence, the reflexive marker **-naa** (sometimes shortened to **-na** in the literary language) is used, e.g. (dat. refl.) **qigulong bu aaga-de-naa gesnenge jurwa** 'last night I wrote a letter to my uncle'. The connective ending (in both the accusative and the genitive function) is omitted before the reflexive marker, e.g. **ne bawog bawog deelhgi-naa tiilisza** 'the frog took off its frog clothes'. The reflexive marker can also be attached to postpositions, e.g. **bu gesnen turo-naa jauxang da kede qigiji xjilghawa** 'I sent a few pictures in[side of] my letter'. Furthermore, a reflexive form can be preceded by the reflexive pronoun **njee-**, in which case the pronoun can also receive the reflexive marker, e.g. **njee-naa luusa-naa tani kudi geewa** 'I left my *own* mule in your house'.

Exceptionally, the reflexive marker can be attached to a noun that is not possessed by the grammatical subject, as in (abl. refl.) **teni hurire-sa-naa qisi gharaja** 'his fingers are bleeding' (literally: 'blood is coming out of his fingers'). This could superficially indicate an incipient conflation of the categories of direct and reflexive possession in Mongghul. Another possible interpretation – pending further investigation – is that it is not the syntactic subject, but, rather, the pragmatic topic, that controls the use of the reflexive marker in Mongghul.

FINITE VERBAL FORMS

In accordance with the Common Mongolic pattern, verbal forms in Mongghul can be divided into imperatives, participles, converbs, and finite indicative forms. Imperatives and finite indicative forms can only occur as predicates of main clauses. Participles can also be used as finite predicates, but their basic function is to modify nouns. Converbs indicate predications subordinate to that of the main clause.

Altogether, Mongghul has five suffixally marked finite forms (Table 14.6), three of which belong to the imperative (modal) sphere, while the other two are indicative (temporal-aspectual) forms. Additionally, there is the basic zero-marked imperative, indicating straight commands directed at the second person (both singular and plural), e.g. (sg.) **(qi) maha ide** '(you) eat meat!', (pl.) **tasge ndeexi re** 'you, come here!'. A wish or determination referring to the first person is expressed by the Common Mongolic voluntative in **-ya**, e.g. **bu qimu kile-ya** 'let me tell you!', **amadi sagha-ya** 'let us ask mother!'. For the third person, an innovative form in **-la(h)gi** is used, e.g. **te yausa, yau-lahgi** 'if he goes, let him go!'. The origin of the suffix **-la(h)gi** remains unclear, but it

TABLE 14.6 MONGGHUL FINITE VERBAL MARKERS

	function	marker
vol.	voluntative 1p.	**-ya**
	concessive 3p.	**-la(h)gi**
dub.	dubitative	**-gu(i)jee**
narr.	non-past tense	**-m**
term.	past tense	**-wa**

obviously consists of two elements, the first of which (**-la-**) is formally identical with the final converb marker (or also the Common Mongolic confirmative marker), while the second (**-hgi**) might represent the permissive marker *-*gV* otherwise unattested in Mongghul (but present in Mangghuer).

The last form of the imperative sphere is the dubitative, which seems to be connected with the Common Mongolic form with the same function, e.g. **nohui jau-gujee** 'the dog may bite!' (or: 'let it not happen that the dog bites!', 'I hope the dog will not bite').

The two finite indicative forms represent the Common Mongolic narrative and terminative. In Mongghul, these forms may be characterized as temporal. The narrative functions as a present tense and refers to actions occurring either at the time of speaking, actions going to occur in the immediate future, or general facts, e.g. **budangula ayildi xji-m** 'we are going to the village', 'we shall now go to the village', **tingere mude-m** 'heaven knows'. The terminative, correspondingly, expresses the past tense and refers to actions that have taken place before the moment of speaking, e.g. **te mori funiji re-wa** 'he came riding on horseback', **bu tene aabaneni tani-wa** 'I recognized his father'.

NON-FINITE VERBAL FORMS

The system of non-finite verbal forms in Mongghul (Table 14.7) comprises three participles and eight converbs, all of which have counterparts in other Mongolic languages. In particular, very similar systems are present in the other languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex (with the exception of Shira Yughur). The differences between the Halchighol and Naringhol dialects are confined to minor phonetic details.

The three participles are formally identical with the Common Mongolic futuritive, perfective, and agentive participles, respectively. The widest range of uses is characteristic of the futuritive participle, which in Mongghul basically represents the imperfective aspect. When used before a noun, this form functions as an adnominal attribute, e.g. **uro-gu ude** 'a door by which one enters', **qi fugu-gu oolija** 'it is time for you to die'. When used independently, it functions as a substantival head noun, which can take case endings. The accusative ending, for instance, indicates an embedded clause in object position, e.g. (Naringhol) **noyoon re-gu-ni bu yii mudem** 'I don't know when the prince will come'.

TABLE 14.7 MONGGHUL NON-FINITE VERBAL MARKERS

		function	marker	Naringhol
part.	fut.	imperfective	**-gu/n**	
	perf.	perfective	**-san**	**-zan**
	ag.	habitive	**-jin**	
conv.	mod.	modifying	**-n**	
	imperf.	anterior	**-ji**	
	perf.	anterior	**-aa**	
	cond.	temporal-conditional	**-sa**	**-za**
	conc.	concessive	**-sa=da**	**-za=da**
	term.	simultaneous	**-delaa**	
	fin.	final	**-la**	
	abtemp.	progressive	**-saar**	

Two quasiconverbial forms based on the futuritive participle, but synchronically already distanced from it, are the obscured reflexive dative in **-gun-da** and the comitative in **-gu-la ~ -gu-laa**. The former comes close in function to the final converb ('in order to'), e.g. **bu bazar uje-gun-da rewa** 'I have come to see the village', while the latter is identical with the Common Mongolic 'successive converb', e.g. **nara ghari-gu-la te kun rewa** 'as soon as the sun rose, that person came'.

The perfective participle is mainly used adnominally, e.g. **fugu-san kun** 'a dead person', (Naringhol) **bu honi-zan mori kujiduwa** 'the horse I rode was strong'. The same is true of the agentive participle, which functionally corresponds to the habitive aspect, e.g. **lisgesa ayi-jin kuun** 'a person who shies away from work'. Independent use is, however, also possible, though rare, e.g. (Naringhol) **ndaa dagha-jin oluona** '[those who] follow me are numerous'.

In the converbial system, the basic triplet is formed by the modal, imperfective, and perfective converbs. The modal converb encodes contents that may be seen as modifications or specifications of that of the main verb, with both actions taking place at the same time, e.g. **aama suulghani wari-n gharaa xjiwa** 'mother went out, holding the bucket'. Often, the modal converb is close in function to a mere adverb with verbal semantics, and its meaning can be intensified by reduplication, e.g. **ayi-n ayi-n xjiguna** 'he will go in full fear' (literally: 'fearing, fearing').

The imperfective and perfective converbs indicate usually, but not invariably, an action temporally preceding that of the main verb, e.g. (conv. imperf.) **bu ghari-ji lisge warwa** 'I went off and started to work', (conv. perf.) **qi morini fuy-aa ger dooro re** 'attach the horse and come into [literally: 'under'] the house!'. From such examples, it appears that the two forms are more or less synonymous, with little left of the original aspectual difference between them. Also without any obvious functional difference, the marker of the perfective converb is frequently expanded by the element **-nu**, e.g. **aama lantunaa urgu-a[a]-nu, ghajir baghala gharaa xjiwa** 'mother took the hammer and went to break stones'.

The conditional converb functions as a true conditional ('if') only when combined with a main predicate in a non-past form, e.g. **hura uro-sa budangula ayildi lii xjim** 'if it rains, we will not go to the village'. In combination with a past tense form it marks a temporal clause ('when'), e.g. (Naringhol) **hariji re-za kudi dexini wara geja** 'when they came back, there was a meal [waiting for them]'. When expanded by the particle **=da**, the conditional converb assumes the role of the concessive converb ('although'), e.g. **nohui huja-sa=da kuni lii juum** 'although the dog barks, it will not bite people'.

The terminative converb indicates an action that is performed at the same time as that of the main verb ('while'), but by a different subject, e.g. **bu ndee re-delaa te gharua xjiwa** 'while I was [on my way] coming here, he went off', **bu ide-delaa noyoon re-wa** 'while I was eating, the prince came'. A progressive action performed by the same subject as that of the main verb is expressed by the abtemporal converb (originally a quasiconverb), e.g. **kuu bulee qigharaa-saar yuuna** 'the boy keeps crying while walking'; also with an auxiliary, e.g. **ghada kii tuu-saar wa** 'outside the wind keeps blowing'. There are, however, also examples of subject change after the abtemporal converb, e.g. **nara gar-saar hura urona** 'when the sun rises, it rains'. The final converb, which indicates a goal or purpose, seems to be used in same-subject constructions only, e.g. **kuu bulee buruu yeri-la xjiwa** 'the boy went off to look for the calf', **aadee uje-la xjija** 'grandfather went to have a look'.

From the diachronic point of view, it may be noted that the conditional converb in **-sa** (*-sa*) and the final converb in **-la** (*-la*) are typical regional features of the Gansu-Qinghai

complex, though they very possibly have Common Mongolic connections. The form of the perfective converb in **-aa** (irregularly shortened from **-xAd*) and the functions of the abtemporal converb in **-saar** (< **-gsA-xAr*) are also likely to involve specific innovations which either areally or genetically unite Mongghul with the other languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex.

THE CATEGORY OF PERSPECTIVE

Another areal feature characteristic of Mongghul and some of its neighbours (notably Mangghuer and Bonan, as well as Amdo Tibetan) is the category of perspective (also known as 'evidentiality'). This is a discourse-related category in which finite predicates are divided into two formally distinct series, representing the so-called subjective and objective (or 'conjunct' and 'disjunct') perspectives. The distinction concerns copulas/existentials, finite indicative forms, and participles in finite use.

In Mongghul, the marking of the two perspectives is formally very consistent, in that the subjective forms all end in **-i**, while the objective forms end in **-a**. This pattern also embraces the copulas/existentials. It is therefore possible to speak simply of **i**-forms (subjective) and **a**-forms (objective), both of which are, in principle, opposed to forms unmarked for the category of perspective. In practice, the marking of perspective is obligatory in the copulas/existentials, since they have no corresponding unmarked forms. It is also obligatory in finitely used participles, since the unmarked participles cannot be used as finite predicates. In the finite indicative forms, perspective marking is optional.

In spite of its basic consistency, the system of perspective markers (Table 14.8) involves some formal complications. Most importantly, the indicative forms marked for perspective do not correspond materially to the unmarked narrative and terminative forms. Thus, the marker **-m** of the narrative is replaced by **-n-** in the corresponding perspective-marked forms, while the marker **-wa** of the terminative is replaced by **-j-**. The diachronic origin of the elements **-n-** and **-j-** is rather obvious, for they are likely to represent the Common Mongolic finite durative and resultative endings (**-nA-* and **-ji-*), which were secondarily adapted to the general pattern of the perspective-marked **i**-forms and **a**-forms. Alternatively, they might derive from a combination of the modal and imperfective converb markers (**-n* and **-ji*) with the copulas **ii** and **wa**.

In earlier treatments of Mongghul and other relevant languages of the Gansu-Qinghai region, the category of perspective was mostly misinterpreted as a system of personal agreement of verbs. Thus, we find **i**-forms and **a**-forms, like part. ag. subj. **sur-jin-i** of **sur-** 'to learn' and part. fut. obj. **xji-gu-a** of **xji-** 'to go', classified as 'first person' and

TABLE 14.8 MONGGHUL PERSPECTIVE MARKERS

	unmarked	subjective	objective
cop./exist.		**ii**	**wa**
exist. neg.		**gu-i**	**gu-a**
narr. (dur.)	**-m**	**-n-ii**	**-n-a**
term. (res.)	**-wa**	**-j-i**	**-j-a**
part. fut.	**-gu/n**	**-gu(n)-i**	**-gu(n)-a**
perf.	**-san**	**-san-i**	**-san-a**
ag.	**-jin**	**-jin-n-i**	**-jin-n-a**

'second and third person', respectively. Indeed, it is true that **i**-forms are most often used in reference to the first person, while **a**-forms are used in reference to the second or third person. However, both groups of forms can be found with all persons, as in (subjective with 2p. sg.) **qi xji-gun-i** 'you will go', (objective with 1p. sg.) **bu xji-gu-a** 'I will go'. One syntactic context in which **i**-forms are routinely used in reference to second person participants is formed by interrogative sentences, e.g. **shdaaghu yerla xjigun-i, qi anji xjigu-i** 'I am going to fetch firewood, where are you going?'.

The functional core of the differentiation between the subjective and objective perspectives may roughly be described as the declared presence or absence of complete knowledge concerning the content of the predication on the part of the speaker. The fact that speakers are prototypically aware of their own actions, including the motivations which led to them, accounts for the frequent use of subjective forms in combination with the first person. Even so, objective forms may also be used, for instance, when the speaker wishes to convey that s/he only at the moment of speaking realizes or remembers having carried out some particular action, e.g. **bu te pujigni mox-j-a, mox-j-a** 'this book, yes, I read it', cf. also the existentials in **ndaa seer ii** 'I have money (and I know it very well)' vs. **ndaa seer wa** 'I have indeed money (rather surprisingly for myself)'.

The speaker may also use objective forms of his/her own actions when they are unintentional or uncontrolled, e.g. **bu shdoo ool-j-a** 'I have become old (and I cannot do anything about it)'. An exact translation of a sentence like **bu xji-gu-a** 'I will go' would therefore be something like 'I will go willy-nilly', 'I will go, but it is not my decision to do so, I have to go'. Another possible interpretation would be 'I will perhaps go', adding a shade of uncertainty to the predication.

The use of subjective forms with a non-first-person reference is common in sentences containing a reproach, as in **qi ab-san-i** 'you did take it (contrary to what you assert yourself)', **qi shge dendergiinge-ii** 'you are a big idiot'. A subjective form may also indicate that the speaker regards him/herself as being in control of someone else's actions, e.g. **qi xji-gun-i** 'you will go (willy-nilly), I decide that you go, I order you to go'. In some cases the use of a subjective form is apparently conditioned by the presence of a first-person modifier to a non-first-person subject, as in **muni ama fulaan deelge mos-j-i** 'my mother wears a red dress'.

SYNTAX

The order of the basic constituents in Mongghul clauses follows a rather rigid subject–object–verb (SOV) pattern. Modifying elements always precede their heads, and sentences always end in a finite verb, while subordinate clauses end in a non-finite verbal form.

Negation and interrogation are expressed by particles. The negative particles precede the verb which they negate. Imperative forms are negated by **bii**, e.g. **mahani bii ide** 'do not eat [the] meat!', while for participles, converbs, and finite indicative forms, the particle **lii** (Naringhol **yii**) is used, e.g. (part. fut. obj.) **lii uro-gun-a** 'it will not rain', (conv. cond.) **qi teni lii durala-sa** 'if you do not like this'. Finite verbs can, however, also be negated by placing the negative existential subj. **gu-i** : obj. **gu-a** after them, e.g. **bu Gashijunni sgeja gu-i** 'I have not seen Gashijun'.

General questions are formed by means of the question particle **uu**, e.g. **ne pujig qini uu** 'is this book yours?'. This particle also appears in the cliticized shapes **=nuu** and (after copulas) **=yuu**, e.g. **tani beeri qidar ugo mudena=nuu** 'does your wife know Chinese?', **seen shdag ii=yuu, muu shdag ii=yuu** 'is it a good sign, [or] is it a bad sign?'.

A special type of syntactic bond exists between postpositions and their head words. Most postpositions can simply follow the unmarked nominal stem (nominative), but they can also govern one of several other cases. The most common postpositions (with the cases they govern) include: (nom. or conn. +) **dere** '[up]on', **dooro** 'under', **madu** 'as, like', **taada** 'near, beside', **xjaghaadi** 'on [top of]', **xjiidi** 'between'; (nom. or conn. or abl. +) **huino** 'behind, after', **turo** 'in[side of]'; (nom. or dat. +) **kurdelaa** 'until, up to'; (nom. or conn. or poss. +) **dali** 'like, as much as'; (conn. +) **ghada** 'outside of', **kamaandi** 'instead of', **sdaar** 'according to', **urondi** 'instead of'; (abl. +) **holo** 'far from', **mendi** 'apart from'; (poss. +) **hamdu** 'together with'. Although synchronically most postpositions may be regarded as invariant particles, some of them (originally nominal words with a case paradigm) may take case endings themselves, cf. e.g. (abl.) **tash dooro-sa** 'from under the stone'.

LEXICON

The lexicon of Mongghul contains, apart from an inherited stock of native Mongolic etyma, a considerable number of loanwords, especially from Tibetan. Tibetan loanwords have been entering the language for many centuries, and most of them show peculiarities of the surrounding Amdo Tibetan dialects. The Tibetan loanwords may also be seen as responsible for introducing to Mongghul (as well as to most of the other Mongolic languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex) new phonotactic patterns, including the initial clusters.

The Tibetan layer in the Mongghul lexicon is by no means limited to the religious sphere, but comprises terms for many other kinds of cultural and everyday concepts as well, e.g. **marghu** 'butter', **nangsaa** 'breakfast', **smanba ~ smambaa** '(medical) doctor'. There are even a few basic words borrowed from Tibetan. e.g. **yer** 'summer'. It may be noted that, because of secondary divergent phonological developments, many Tibetan loanwords in Mongghul are already formally different from the corresponding words in the local Amdo Tibetan dialects. The knowledge of Tibetan as a second language has probably never embraced more than a fraction of the Mongghul-speaking population.

The influence of Chinese on Mongghul is also of a considerable age and depth, though it is much more pronounced in Mangghuer. More recently, Chinese has largely replaced Tibetan as the main source of lexical innovation, especially in spheres relating to modern technology and urban life. The knowledge of Chinese, both local Qinghai Mandarin and standard Mandarin, seems to be spreading rapidly among the younger generation of Mongghul speakers.

There are also a few Turkic loanwords in Mongghul, notably **tash** 'stone', apparently received from an ancestor of the nearby Salar language. Additionally, part of the Mongghul lexicon still remains diachronically obscure and may derive from yet other, unknown languages. Even so, the bulk of all Mongghul words, especially in the realm of culture-independent basic vocabulary, but also in a field like agricultural terminology, has a Common Mongolic background. In many cases, it is only the drastically altered phonological shape of the words that makes them difficult to identify with their regular Mongolic cognates.

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CHAPTER FIFTEEN

MANGGHUER

Keith W. Slater

Mangghuer, or Minhe Mangghuer, is spoken in Minhe Hui and Tu Autonomous County, at the extreme eastern edge of China's Qinghai Province, just north of the Yellow River. Mangghuer has not usually been described as a language in its own right. Rather, it has been treated as one of the two main dialects of the ethnic 'language' spoken by the official 'Monguor' (*Tu*) nationality, the other dialect being (Huzhu) Mongghul, spoken mainly in Huzhu Tu Autonomous County, also in Qinghai. However, Mangghuer speakers and Mongghul speakers alike report that they are unable to understand each other. While no comprehensive study of the differences between these two linguistic systems has been undertaken, it is fairly clear that they are different enough to warrant independent treatment. Since the two speech communities are not geographically contiguous, this ought not to be surprising.

Mangghuer is spoken by approximately 25,000 people. There is a high degree of bilingualism; most Mangghuer speakers have at least some proficiency in the local Mandarin dialect, which is the language of much commerce and social interaction, as well as that of education. In folktale narratives, Mangghuer speakers use codeswitching as a quotative device; it thus appears that a Mangghuer audience may be expected to have significant competence in Qinghai Mandarin. Culturally, the Mangghuer are Buddhists of the Tibetan dGe.lugs.pa ('Yellow Hat') School, and there is evidence of a history of bilingualism in local forms of Tibetan. Additionally, many non-Mangghuer people of the region (Tibetans, Salar, Han and Hui Chinese) have some fluency in Mangghuer.

Owing to a long history of multilingualism, the results of language contact in Mangghuer, and in neighbouring languages, are profound. Indeed, the languages of this Gansu-Qinghai border region, which originate in four language families (Mongolic, Turkic, Sinitic, and Bodic), are all converging towards one common set of structural features. The region may well be considered a linguistic area, or *sprachbund*, and thus, it is often difficult (and probably ill-advised) to identify specific paths of borrowing, or of structural interference. Although a particular grammatical pattern may have originated in, for example, Tibetan, we cannot say with any certainty that it came into Mangghuer directly from Tibetan. Most of the local features are shared by languages from too many different families to allow for such conclusions.

Mangghuer core vocabulary and most of its morphosyntax are clearly of Mongolic origin; however, Mangghuer has essentially Sinitic phonology, as well as a large body of Sinitic loanwords in its lexicon. Mangghuer also exhibits many Sinitic structural patterns, as well as some patterns which probably originated in Tibetan. It is thus difficult to assign Mangghuer to a place within the Mongolic family. Some of the features which it shares with other Mongolic languages – such as, for example, the sound system which Mangghuer shares with Santa, or the category of perspective which it shares with Mongghul and (Qinghai) Bonan – may be due to shared innovation, but might just as likely be due to identical contact-induced changes, undergone independently. Such

features, which are extremely common in Mangghuer, cannot be used to argue for genetic affiliation, because they may not represent common inheritance.

The proportion of Chinese loanwords in Mangghuer varies depending on genre and style. In a word list based on folktale material, it is fairly high, approximately 35 per cent. However, the basic vocabulary, and therefore, the most frequently occurring items, are generally Mongolic. The text frequency of Chinese borrowings, as calculated from a corpus of four folktales (totalling over 1,400 words), was found to be only 15 per cent. Interestingly, in this corpus, no Tibetan loanwords could be identified, though many such words could certainly be found in religious discourse, and perhaps in other domains.

Very little sociolinguistic information is available for Mangghuer. Speakers report noticeable dialect differences, particularly in the areas of phonology and lexicon, but a systematic study has not yet been undertaken. Minhe County has recently been opened to foreign visitors, and it may be hoped that scholars from outside China will join those from within the country in investigating and describing the varieties of this neglected but very important language.

DATA AND SOURCES

Descriptions of 'Monguor' have generally focused on Mongghul, though some authors have commented on differences between Mongghul and Mangghuer. In particular, Chingeltei and Li Keyu (1988) and Junast (1981) give examples of Mangghuer constructions for comparison. The description of 'Monguor' by B. X. Todaeva (1973) also contains some relevant data. For the history, cultural heritage, and social setting of the Mangghuer, information is provided by Louis M. J. Schram (1954–61).

At present, there are only three published works devoted exclusively to the Mangghuer language. The monograph of the present author (Slater 2003) is a descriptive grammar and historical description. The paper by Zhu Yongzhong, Üjiyediin Chuluu, and Kevin Stuart (1995) presents a single folktale. Another paper by Zhu Yongzhong, Üjiyediin Chuluu, and Kevin Stuart (1999) deals with a grammatical and typological detail of Mangghuer, with comparative material quoted also from the other Mongolic languages of the Gansu-Qinghai region.

Research on the Gansu-Qinghai Sprachbund is only beginning, and not all of the participating languages and dialects have been adequately described. The language of greatest relevance for Mangghuer studies is the so-called Gangou 'creole', which is spoken in the immediate neighbourhood of Mangghuer, and which seems to share particularly many typological features with the latter. A preliminary survey of the Gangou 'creole' is contained in the paper by Zhu Yongzhong, Üjiyediin Chuluu, Keith Slater, and Kevin Stuart (1997), who also discuss some structural details of Mangghuer. Two other papers of relevance to Mangghuer are those by Charles N. Li (1986) on tones and Scott DeLancey (1992) on the evidential systems (category of perspective) in Tibetan.

The description presented below is based primarily on the author's own analysis of Mangghuer, developed through elicitation and analysis of a body of folktale narratives, which were recorded and transcribed by Zhu Yongzhong, a native speaker of Mangghuer. In the present description, any elicited examples are identified as such; all other examples are taken from folktale texts. The publication by Chen Zhaojun *et al.* (forthcoming) will present a large body of grammatically analysed Mangghuer folktales, including those from which the examples given in this chapter have been taken. Additional text materials can be found in Dpal-ldan-bkra-shis *et al.* (1996).

On the analogy of the recently created Mongghul literary language there exists an unofficial orthographical norm for Mangghuer also, based on the Pinyin Romanization of Mandarin Chinese. Because of its practical potential this orthography has been used in the linguistic and folkloristic publications of Mangghuer materials mentioned above. The first and so far only extant practical publication, intended also for native Mangghuer readers, is the folktale reader by Wang Xianzhen (2001). Following this incipient tradition, the Mangghuer data in the present description are quoted in the same Roman orthography.

SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

The reason why it is so convenient to write Mangghuer with an orthography based on the Mandarin Pinyin system is that the Mangghuer segmental inventory is almost identical to those of neighbouring Qinghai Mandarin dialects (and the Gangou 'creole').

Mangghuer has a five-vowel system (Table 15.1), comprising the single low vowel **a** (*a*), the non-low rounded vowels **o u** (*o u*), and the non-low unrounded vowels **e i** (*e i*). When following a voiceless consonant, the vowels **i u e** may optionally be devoiced; this most commonly occurs in unstressed syllables with a fricative onset and no coda consonant. There is no vowel harmony.

The consonant system comprises twenty-six phonemes (Table 15.2), which can be divided into six series according to their place of articulation: the labials (including dentilabials) **p b f m w** (*p b f m w*), the dentals (alveolars) **t d c z s n l** (*t d ts dz s n l*), the palatals (postalveolar laminals) **q j x y** (*c j sh y*), the retroflexes (postalveolar apicals) **ch zh sh r** (*tr dr sr r*), the velars **k g h ng** (*k g x ng*), and the uvulars (postvelars) **kh gh** (*q gh*). By manner of articulation, eight classes can be distinguished: the strong (aspirated) stops **p t k kh**, the weak (unaspirated) stops **b d g gh**, the strong (aspirated) affricates **c ch q**, the weak (unaspirated) affricates **z zh j**, the fricatives **f s sh x h**, the nasals **m n ng**, the liquids **l r**, and the glides **w y**.

TABLE 15.1 MANGGHUER VOWELS

u		**i**
o		**e**
	a	

TABLE 15.2 MANGGHUER CONSONANTS

p	**t**			**k**	**kh**
b	**d**			**g**	**gh**
	c	**ch**	**q**		
	z	**zh**	**j**		
f	**s**	**sh**	**x**	**h**	
m	**n**			**ng**	
	l	**r**			
w			**y**		

Originally, there was only one series of alveopalatal affricates (**c *j*), but these were differentiated into palatals (**q j**) and retroflexes (**ch zh**). The palatal and retroflex series probably appeared first in Chinese borrowings. However, they have also developed in native Mongolic roots. The original affricates became palatals when preceding any front vowel, and retroflexes when preceding any non-front vowel. A similar differentiation took place in the alveopalatal (sibilant) fricative (**sh*), which is represented either as a retroflex (**sh**) or as a palatal (**x**), although this split does not appear to have developed along exactly the same lines as did the splitting of the affricates; the retroflex **sh** appears in more Mongolic environments than the simple front/non-front vowel rule would predict.

Another secondary phoneme is **f**, which seems to have also been adopted primarily through loanwords. The uvular stops **kh gh**, on the other hand, occur only in native words, where they derive from positional variants of the Common Mongolic velar stops **k *g*. They are the only Mangghuer phonemes with no parallels in nearby Sinitic languages.

The retroflex liquid **r** is usually pronounced with some spirantization, and is thus, phonetically, a voiced counterpart to voiceless **sh**. This feature (as well as the frequent spirantization of high vowels and **y**) is shared with many neighbouring languages.

WORD STRUCTURE

Mangghuer syllable structure is nearly identical to that of neighbouring Mandarin dialects. In fact, some phonologically possible syllables which, for historical reasons, do not actually occur in Mandarin, also are not found in Mangghuer. For example, the syllable ***mong** (*mung*) is absent both in Mandarin and Mangghuer, which is one of the reasons why the ethnonym **Mangghuer** has the shape it has.

The Mangghuer syllable is of the type ((C)C)V(C). An onset cluster CC may consist only of an initial consonant plus a medial glide (*w y*, written as **u i**). A coda consonant may only be a final glide (*w y*, written as **u o i**), nasal (**n ng**), or retroflex liquid (**r**). Historically, Mongolic allowed several additional coda consonants. These have all been lost in Mangghuer (> Ø), except **l*, which became **r**, and **s*, which became the onset of a new syllable when a final vowel **i** was inserted.

Only a restricted set of vowels appear with coda glide consonants. The four allowed sequences are **ai** (*ay*), **ei** (*ey*), **ao** (*aw*), and **ou** (*ew*). There are no V V sequences (long or double vowels). All vowel distinctions are neutralized before the coda consonant **r**. Any V + **r** sequence within a syllable is realized as **er**, phonetically a retroflex schwa [ɚ].

With essentially Sinitic segmental phonology, Mangghuer has almost no morphophonemic alternation. One alternation which does occur, however, concerns the voluntative (first person imperative) suffix, which has three allomorphs: **-wa** following the segments **u o** (*u w*), **-ya** following the segments **a i** (*a i y*), and **-a** elsewhere, e.g. **yao-wa** 'let me walk!', **xi-ya** 'let me go!', **duoke-a** 'let me chop!'.

The suprasegmental feature of stress displays an interesting mixture of Mongolic and Sinitic characteristics. Stress consists primarily of high pitch, and appears on the final syllable of a root, or on the final one of any suffixes or enclitics added to a root. Word boundaries, then, can be identified on the basis of stress, a stressed syllable being the final syllable of a phonological word. In Chinese borrowings, however, stress behaviour is different. The basic rule seems to be that in a borrowed word, stress is assigned to any syllable which, in the donor language, had a tone pattern which included a high pitch. A Chinese borrowing, then, can have multiple stressed syllables, or it can have no stressed syllables at all, depending on its original tone pattern. A similar stress pattern has been described for (Gansu) Bonan (Li). There are no distinctive tones in Mangghuer.

PARTS OF SPEECH

As many as seventeen lexical categories can be identified in Mangghuer, each of which has unique morphosyntactic behaviour. These are listed below, with some of the unique morphosyntactic features of each.

The two basic parts of speech, as known also from other Mongolic languages, are: (1) *nouns*, which serve as head of a noun phrase; and (2) *verbs*, which bear finite or non-finite inflexional morphology. There are two classes of pronominal words: (3) *pronouns* (proper), which substitute for a noun phrase; and (4) the *demonstratives* **ni** 'this' and **ti** 'that' (which also function as demonstrative pronouns), used to modify a noun. Nouns can also be modified by (5) *adjectives*, which can bear the comparative suffix **.her**; and (6) *numerals*, which are (usually) positioned after the determiner in a noun phrase. Verbs can be modified by (7) *adverbs* of time or place, which are characterized by some freedom of movement, but usually appear first in a clause.

Two further parts of speech with a Common Mongolic background are: (8) *postpositions*, which follow a noun phrase or postpositional phrase; and (9) *quotative markers*, which follow quoted direct or indirect speech to indicate the end of the quotation; the quotative markers are **ge-** 'to say' (Mongolic, bears verbal morphology) and **di** (invariant, from Chinese). On the other hand, more area-specific features of Mangghuer are: (10) the *copula* **shi** (invariant, from Chinese), which optionally stands between nouns in equational clause; and (11) the *adjective modifier* **hudu** 'very', which appears before the adjective it modifies.

Finally, there are several parts of speech which may be generally characterized as particles. These include: (12) the *negators* **lai** 'not' and **bao** 'do not!', which precede the clausal main verb they negate; the negator **sai** 'not' also appears, very infrequently, only in perfective contexts; (13) the *resultative marker* **zou** 'thus, so' (from Chinese), which usually appears in second position in its clause; and (14) a number of *final particles*, which appear at the end of an utterance, usually following a finite verb. The (15) *grammatical number markers* **ge** (singular) and **si** (plural), which follow the noun they modify, may also be classified as particles. There are two kinds of conjunctions: (16) the *nominal conjunction* **dai** 'and', which conjoins two noun phrases; and (17) the *clausal conjunctions* **danang** 'after' and **zhi** 'after', which conjoin a finite clause with the following clause; an additional conjunction, **ma** 'and', is used in both nominal and clausal conjunctive functions.

WORD FORMATION

There are not many productive derivative suffixes in Mangghuer. A few Common Mongolic suffixes are, nevertheless, preserved; additionally, there are suffixes borrowed from Chinese. The most important derivative suffixes may be listed and illustrated as follows:

Denominal verbs: **.la-** (< Common Mongolic **.lA-*), e.g. **burer** 'calf' : **burer.la-** 'to calve'; **.ra-**, e.g. **asi** 'herd animals' : **asi.ra-** 'to raise (herd animals)'; **.li-**, e.g. **qijighe** 'flower' : **qijighe.li-** 'to bloom'.

Deverbal verbs: **.gha-** [causative], e.g. **xi-** 'to go' : **xi.gha-** 'to cause to go'; **.ke-** and **.ge-** [with a diffuse function], e.g. **kai-** 'to open' : **kai.ke-** id., **xiaoshun-** 'to show filial piety' : **xiaoshun.ge-** id. Note that the suffixes **.ke-** and **.ge-** seem to appear only on borrowed verbs. The other suffixes deriving verbs can be used both on native and on borrowed items.

Deverbal nouns: **.qin** [actor noun], e.g. **kerli-** 'to want, to ask for' : **kerli.qin** 'beggar'. This is the Common Mongolic marker of the agentive participle (< **-gci/n*). In Mangghuer this form has no verbal functions, being used only as a derived noun.

Derivatives based on adjectives: **.tu-** [translative verbs], e.g. **shuguo** 'big' : transl. **shuguo.tu-** 'to become big'; **.her** [comparative], e.g. **gezai** 'good' : comp. **gezai.her** 'better'.

NOMINAL FORMS

There are two grammatical number markers, both of which are used postnominally: **ge** for the singular and **si** for the plural. The use of either marker is optional. The element **ge**, which indicates singular number and indefiniteness, may always be analysed as a phonologically independent word (particle), e.g. **beghe** 'tree/s' : sg. **beghe ge** 'a tree'. Historically, it probably originated as a reduction of either the Mongolic **nige** 'one' or the Chinese **yige** 'one'; possibly it is the syncretized reflex of both.

The element **si**, which indicates plural number, has a more complex phonological status. In most instances, it also appears as a separate word (particle), e.g. **kao** 'son' : pl. **kao si** 'children'. However, it is consistently bound when appearing with some nouns, including **aguer** 'daughter' : pl. **aguer.si**, and with third person pronoun **gan** 's/he' : **gan.si** 'they'. In the latter cases, it must be analysed as a derivative suffix. Historically, it seems to derive from the Proto-Mongolic plural suffix **.s*.

The development of the original plural suffix into a (sometimes) independent word is an interesting phenomenon which contributes to a growing body of evidence that the grammaticalization process by which independent words become bound morphology is not unidirectional. The development was possibly due to the regular process which required that an epenthetic vowel be added in Mangghuer following an original syllable-final **s*, in order to conform to Sinitic phonology. Thus, the Mongolic plural **.s* became **.si**. The motivation for separating this morpheme off as an independent word is unclear, but it may have been part of a contact-induced tendency to reduce the role of suffixal morphology.

The original Mongolic case endings have also developed towards the status of independent words. They remain, however, phonologically bound to the preceding word, and synchronically they are best analysed as *enclitic postpositions*. A similar status is held by the possessive and reflexive markers. The enclitic postpositions contrast with *locational postpositions* (relational nouns), which are independent words.

The enclitic postpositions functioning as case markers in Mangghuer represent six cases (Table 15.3), four of which may be identified with the Common Mongolic dative,

TABLE 15.3 MANGGHUER CASE MARKERS

label	function	marker
conn.	genitive-accusative	**=ni**
dat.	dative-locative	**=du**
abl.	ablative	**=sa**
com.	comitative-instrumental	**=la**
poss.	comitative	**=tai**
dir.	directive	**=ji**

ablative, instrumental, and possessive cases, respectively. A fifth case, which may be labelled connective, involves a merger of the original genitive and accusative cases (genitive-accusative), while the sixth case, functioning as a directive, has no Common Mongolic counterpart. As elsewhere in Mongolic, the dative functions also as a locative (dative-locative). The original instrumental case being lost, the comitative functions as an instrumental (comitative-instrumental), while the possessive case functions as an additional comitative.

All of the enclitic case markers receive word-final stress, except that the connective marker, when functioning as a genitive, is sometimes unstressed. Since the connective case also functions as an accusative, in which function it always receives stress, there is a (potential) prosodic difference between the two grammatical functions of this marker.

The possessive and reflexive (possessive-reflexive) markers are **=ni** and **=nang**, respectively. The possessive marker refers to a third person possessor and derives from the Common Mongolic possessive suffix with a similar shape (px 3p. **-ni*). The reflexive marker likewise represents the corresponding Common Mongolic suffix (refl. **-xA/n*). Both markers receive word-final stress in Mangghuer.

All enclitic postpositions appear following the final word of a noun phrase, or following another postposition. Case markers can thus co-occur with the possessive and reflexive markers. In such combinations, variation is permitted in the relative order of the markers. This may be seen by comparing (1) and (2), two folktale examples:

(1) **Bieri=ni=du banhua guang ma,**
wife=PX=DAT method OBJ:NEG:COP PCLE
'(Now) his wife had no recourse'

(2) **Diao=du=ni han mula nughuai yi=ge bang,**
younger:sibling=DAT=PX also small dog one=CL OBJ:COP
'His younger brother also had a small dog.'

One important co-occurrence restriction is that the connective marker **=ni**, when functioning as an accusative, is never combined with either the possessive or the reflexive marker. However, the possessive and reflexive markers may appear on subjects, objects, or obliques. Both also have periphrastic equivalents, constructed with the reflexive pronoun **jie** 'self', and thus, both are optional.

While the enclitic postpositions functioning as case markers indicate basic grammatical relationships, the phonologically unbound postpositions have more complex semantic functions. They include: **duoruo** 'under', **cuduoruo** 'inside', **dunda** 'in', **diere** 'on', **khuonuo** 'behind, after', **tada** 'near', and **shige** 'like'. These postpositions appear in constructions like **ger diere** 'on the house', and **ger khuonuo** 'behind the house'. With the exception of **shige** 'like', it appears that postpositions of this type may all also be used as nouns. This indicates that they originally *were* nouns, and that their postpositional function is a later development. Postpositions of this set appear with syntactic obliques, usually locationals. However, they do not co-occur with the case markers.

NUMERALS AND CLASSIFIERS

The Mangghuer numerals are nearly all borrowed from Chinese. Additionally, Mangghuer has borrowed the system of Chinese numeral classifiers ('measure words'). The basic classifier is **=ge** 'piece', which can be seen in some of the sentence examples quoted in this chapter: **yi=ge** 'one' (2), **liang=ge** 'two' (3, 14). Other classifiers include **=mu** [measure of land] (16b) and **=zhuan** 'circle' (15b).

Only two Mongolic numeral roots remain in Mangghuer. The numeral **nige** 'one' still appears, and seems to have the same functions as the (nearly homophonous) Chinese borrowing **yi=ge**. The other Mongolic root is **ghu-** 'two', which is found only in the fossilized collective derivative form **ghu.la** 'two together; together with' (18b). The form **ghu.la** is also used as an instrumental and comitative (sociative) postposition.

Numeral quantifiers (numeral + classifier) normally precede their head noun within a Mangghuer noun phrase. However, they can be postposited, as well, as in the example **huguer liang=ge** 'bulls two' (3), where the expected order would be **liang=ge huguer** 'two bulls', cf. also **nughuai yi=ge** 'a dog' (2). Postpositing of quantifiers is optional; it is most common when a participant is being introduced for the first time in a discourse, and thus, it generally occurs with indefinite nouns. However, this is only a tendency, rather than a rule.

PRONOUNS

The most common Mangghuer personal pronouns are Mongolic in origin. An important morphological property of the singular pronouns 1p. **bi** (< **bi*) and 2p. **qi** (< **ci*) is that the first person preserves a separate stem variant for the genitive case, while both first and second person preserve separate stems in the oblique (including accusative) cases. The third person pronoun **gan** (< **irgen* 'people') has no stem variants (Table 15.4).

Some of the pronominal forms are irregular: for instance, the original first person singular pronoun forms acc. **namei** (< **nama-i*) and dat. **nangda** (< **nan-da* < **nama-da*) have been partly confused, resulting in the secondary dative forms **namei=du** and **nangda=du**. By analogy, the second person form acc. **qimei** (< **cima-i*) can be used in the dative function without the dative marker. However, the rules of the distribution for the synchronic variants remain unexplained.

There do not appear to be any morphological irregularities in the plural personal pronouns, which are formally plural derivatives. Mangghuer does not have an inclusive/exclusive distinction, but the first person plural pronoun **da.si** derives from the original inclusive variant (< **bida* : **bida.s*). The second person plural pronoun **ta.si** contains a regular reflex of the original Common Mongolic pronoun (< **ta* : **ta.s*).

A few alternative personal pronouns appear, occasionally, in folktale material. These include: sg. 1p. **gulian**, sg. 1p. acc. **damei ~ dangda**, pl. 1p. **datang ~ danang ~ dasinang**, and pl. 3p. **nugu.si ~ ge.si**. All of these appear to be dialectal variants.

Other pronouns include: the interrogatives **ang** 'where' : **ayige** 'which'; **kan** 'who'; **ya** 'what; why' : **yaji** 'why' : **yang** 'what'; and **amerda** 'what kind of'; and the two

TABLE 15.4 MANGGHUER PERSONAL PRONOUNS

	1p.	2p.	3p.
sg. nom.	**bi**	**qi**	**gan**
gen.	**mu=ni**	**qi=ni**	**gan=ni**
acc.	**namei** **nangda**	**qimei**	**gan=ni**
dat.	**namei=du** **nangda(=du)**	**qimei(=du)**	**gan=du**
pl. nom.	**da.si**	**ta.si**	**gan.si**

demonstratives **ni** 'this' (proximal) vs. **ti** 'that' (distal). The reflexive pronoun is **jie** 'self' (< **ejen* 'master'). The latter form does not seem to appear independently; rather, it is only found in combination with either the connective (genitive) or the reflexive marker: conn. **jie=ni** 'one's own', refl. **jie=nang** 'oneself'.

VERBAL FORMS

In spite of its general scarcity of morphology, Mangghuer has a number of suffixally marked verbal forms, which indicate the same type of categories as in the other Mongolic languages: mood (imperatives), tense and aspect (the temporal-aspectual paradigm of the finite indicative sphere), nominalization (participles), and non-nominal dependency (converbs). Additionally, there is a category of subjective/objective perspective, which is intimately intertwined with tense and aspect. Almost all of the verbal suffixes are inherited from Proto-Mongolic, which means that they can be identified with their Common Mongolic labels. Their functions, however, have undergone significant changes.

The imperative mood retains its status as a special category, which is not further inflected for tense and aspect or perspective. However, there is agreement with the clausal subject. Thus, there are three forms, which are used in reference to first, second, and third person subjects (both singular and plural), respectively. They are marked by the endings 1p. **-ya** (with the morphophonologically determined variants **-wa** and **-a**), 2p. -Ø (zero), and 3p. **-ge**, e.g. **xi-ya** 'let me/us go!' : **xi** '(you) go!' : **xi-ge** 'let him/her/them go!'. Imperatives of all three types are negated with the preverbal prohibitive **bao** 'do not!' which is used for only this function.

Diachronically, the first person imperative form can immediately be identified with the Common Mongolic voluntative (**-yA*). The origin of the third person form, which could perhaps most appropriately be termed *(ad)hortative*, may, however, be more complex. It is nevertheless likely to be connected with the Common Mongolic permissive (**-gV*), though it may also incorporate syncretized reflexes of other imperative forms, including the concessive (**-tUgAi*).

Mangghuer also preserves two Common Mongolic participle markers and six converb markers in inflexional use (Table 15.5). In addition, there is the agentive participle marker **.qin**, which has completely lost its inflexional status.

The actual use of the participle and converb markers involves a number of idiosyncracies (illustrated in more detail in the sentence examples given later). There are also

TABLE 15.5 MANGGHUER NON-FINITE VERBAL MARKERS

	function	marker
part. perf.	perfective	**-sang**
fut.	imperfective	**-ku**
conv. imperf.	imperfective	**-ji**
cond.	conditional	**-sa**
term.	successive	**-tala, -tula**
fin.	final	**-la**
abtemp.	progressive	**-ser**
deont.	deontic ('should')	**-der**

TABLE 15.6 MANGGHUER FINITE TENSE-ASPECT MARKERS

	perspective	perf.	imperf.	fut.
ind.	subj.	**-ba**	**-la bi**	**-ni**
	obj.	**-jiang**	**-lang**	**-kun(i)ang**
interr.	subj.	**-bu**	**-la biu**	**-nu**
	obj.	**-jinu**	**-leinu**	**-kuninu**

structures which recall the quasiconverbs of other Mongolic languages. Diachronically, the abtemporal converb in **-ser** (< part. perf. instr. **-gsA-xAr*) belongs to this category.

In the finite conjugation, Mangghuer distinguishes three temporal-aspectual categories, which may functionally be identified as perfective, imperfective, and futuritive. These are combined with two moods: indicative (declarative) and interrogative, as well as with two perspectives, subjective vs. objective (Table 15.6).

The suffixes of the finite conjugation seem to represent four original finite forms and one participle. The whole imperfective paradigm apparently derives from the Common Mongolic confirmative (**-lUxA*) or its expanded variants (including copular constructions). The perfective paradigm, on the other hand, combines reflexes of the original terminative (**-bA*) and resultative (**-jixAi*) forms. The futuritive paradigm, finally, is built on the finite durative form (the variant in **-nAi*) and an expanded variant of the futuritive participle (**-kU-*). The interrogative mood is systematically marked by the presence of a suffixed reflex of the original interrogative particle (**=U*).

An example of a complete finite paradigm is: **ri-** 'to come' : **ind. subj. perf. ri-ba** : imperf. **ri-la bi** : fut. **ri-ni**; ind. obj. perf. **ri-jiang** : imperf. **ri-lang** : fut. **ri-kuniang**; interr. subj. perf. **ri-bu** : imperf. **ri-la biu** : fut. **ri-nu**; interr. obj. perf. **ri-jinu** : imperf. **ri-leinu** : fut. **ri-kuninu**. The interrogative forms are used for polar (yes/no) questions. For non-polar (wh-) questions a single form identical with the imperfective converb is used, e.g. **ri-ji**, with no further distinction being made between the three temporal-aspectual categories.

THE CATEGORY OF PERSPECTIVE

Apart from imperatives, Mangghuer verbal forms are not differentiated according to the category of person. However, the category of perspective would at first glance seem to indicate a binary person distinction, differentiating first person from other persons. In fact, though, this binary distinction indicates the speaker's *perspective* on the event, rather than personal agreement.

Evidential systems similar to the Mangghuer perspective distinction are present in the Bodic languages (DeLancey), and it is likely that systems of this sort generally represent Tibetan influence on the other languages which have adopted them, especially in the Gansu-Qinghai region. In English-language publications, such systems have usually been labelled 'conjunct/disjunct' systems. Following the practice which seems to be standard among Mongolists in China, the distinction is here referred to as one between *subjective* and *objective* perspectives.

The basic distinction is illustrated as follows. In the indicative, subjective marking appears with first person subjects, while objective appears with second and third person subjects, as in these sentence examples (elicited): sg. 1p. + ind. subj. perf. **bi ri-ba**

'I came' : sg. 2p. + ind. obj. perf. **qi ri-jiang** 'you came' : sg. 3p. + ind. obj. perf. **gan ri-jiang** 's/he came'. In interrogatives, however, subjective marking appears with second person subjects, and objective with first and third person subjects, as in the following examples (elicited): sg. 1p. interr. obj. perf. **bi ri-jinu** 'did I come?' : sg. 2p. interr. subj. perf. **qi ri-bu** 'did you come?' : sg. 3p. + interr. obj. perf. **gan ri-jinu** 'did s/he come?'.

When a first person subject is not in control of the event expressed by a finite verb, objective marking is used. This is illustrated by the following example: sg. 1p. + ind. obj. imperf. **bi gan=ni tani-lang** 'I recognize him/her' (elicited); the clausal subject is not an agent here, and has no control over the action (event of recognizing). A speaker may similarly use objective verb marking to signify a lack of control over any event which normally would be expected to be under his/her control, as in sg. 1p. + ind. obj. fut. **bi ri-kunang** 'I will come (because somebody else decided that I would)' (elicited).

Conversely, a speaker may choose to use subjective marking with a non-first person subject. In this case, the speaker is asserting a high degree of personal involvement with the truth of the claim being made. In the following example (3), taken from a folktale, the use of subjective marking for **ri-** 'to come' (with a third person subject) means that the speaker is absolutely sure this is true, perhaps having seen the event himself:

(3) **taiting=du huguer liang=ge ri-ba,**
there=DAT cow two=CL come-SUBJ:PERF
'over there, two bulls have come'

Subjective and objective marking thus indicate pragmatic choices made by the speaker, signifying his/her degree of involvement with the event being reported, or his/her commitment to the truth of the claim being made.

SIMPLE SENTENCES

The most common order of constituents within a clause is: discourse connector – oblique (time, place) – subject – oblique (benefactive, ablative, instrumental) – direct object – oblique (length of time, amount) – negative – verb – auxiliary verb – final particle. Significant variation on this basic order is permitted, although the last four constituent types (negative – verb – auxiliary – final particle) are not permitted to move; nor can any other constituent be placed among or following these four.

Fronting of nominal constituents to clause-initial position is extremely frequent. It is thus quite common to find a direct object or benefactive, etc., which appears before a clausal subject, as in example (6) below. Mangghuer has no passive construction, and fronting of semantic patients is thus an important strategy for expressing the relative discourse importance of subject and object.

An intransitive clause requires just a single nominal argument for its verb. Thus:

(4) **gan=ni aguer=ni bieqin ber-jiang.**
3:SG=CONN daughter=CONN illness get:better-OBJ:PERF
'(and then) his daughter's illness got better.'

A transitive clause, as in (5), has two nominal arguments, while a ditransitive clause, as in (6), has three:

(5) **Ni muni aguer=ni ala ge-jiang.**
this 1:SG:GEN daughter=CONN kill do-OBJ:PERF
'This killed my daughter.'

(6) **kebeghe=nang** **bi** **mori=du=nang** **tiejie-ni.**
wheat:bran=REFL 1:SG horse=DAT=REFL feed-SUBJ:FUT
'My wheat bran I will feed to my horses (the brother said).'

Nominal arguments which are clearly identifiable from discourse context are often omitted. A semantically transitive verb may appear with only a single argument, and many clauses contain no overt arguments at all. Some individual verbs allow multiple argument structures. Thus, in (6), **tiejie-** 'to feed' appears in a ditransitive usage; in (7), however, this same verb is used transitively. In (6), the semantic patient **mori** 'horses' is an oblique (dat. refl.), while in (7) the semantic patient **asi** 'herd animals' is the direct object (pl. refl.).

(7) **Bi** **asi.si=nang** **tiejie-ni,**
1:SG livestock.PL=REFL feed-SUBJ:FUT
'I will feed my livestock.'

An intransitive or a transitive clause can be given an additional argument by the use of the causative morpheme **.gha-**. In (4), above, **ber-** 'get better' is intransitive; with the causative suffix, it becomes transitive, as in (8), where **aguerni** 'daughter' is the direct object; cf. also example (10) further below:

(8) **qi** **gan=ni** **aguer=ni** **ber.gha-lang.**
2:SG 3:SG=CONN daughter=CONN get:better.CAUS-OBJ:IMPERF
'You (can) make his daughter become well.'

Copular clauses involve a subject and a predication about that subject. There are two different paradigms of the copulas: equational and attributive, though the difference is signalled only in the negative forms. Copulas are semantically imperfective and do not have perfective or futuritive forms. The forms of the copulas (Table 15.7) derive from Common Mongolic sources (**bUi*, **bisi*, **ügei*), with suffixal variations added in analogy to the finite conjugation of regular verbs.

The equational copula appears (in final position) in clauses which equate two noun phrases. There is an additional non-verbal copula, **shi**, which is borrowed from Chinese, and which may optionally appear (in medial position) in equational constructions, as in **bi (shi) laoshi bi** 'I am a teacher' (elicited). The borrowed copula has no inflexional variants.

The attributive copula appears with predicative adjectives, as in **gan saihang bang** 'she is beautiful' (elicited), and in possessive, locational and existential clauses, which all have the form of the locational example **muni shu zhuozi diere bang** 'my book is on the table' (elicited). Locational clauses like this differ from possessives like (1) and (2) only in animacy: in a possessive clause, the location of an object is an animate being (the possessor, in dative case), while a locational asserts an object's existence in some

TABLE 15.7 MANGGHUER COPULAS

	perspective	ind.	interr.	neg.
equational	subj.	**bi**	**biu**	**puzhi**
	obj.	**bang**	**beinu**	**puzhang**
attributive	subj.	**bi**	**biu**	**(u)gui**
	obj.	**bang**	**beinu**	**(u)guang**

(inanimate) place. Existentials simply assert the existence of an object, without reference to any location.

AUXILIARY VERBS

Mangghuer has nine auxiliary verbs, all of which are native Mongolic lexemes. The auxiliary verbs are: **da-** 'cannot', **ge-** 'to do', **sao-** 'to sit; to stay', **ri-** 'to come', **xi-** 'to go', **bao-** 'to go down', **gher-** 'to go out', **hu-** 'to give', and the copula **bi** (with variants). The negative auxiliary **da-** 'cannot' (< **yada-*) is never used as a main verb, but all of the others listed here may be used as main verbs.

An auxiliary verb follows the main verb, and bears finite or non-finite morphology appropriate for the clause. The main verb is non-finite. The auxiliaries **da-**, **ge-** and **sao-** appear with main verbs which bear non-finite zero marking, as in (5), above, where **ge-** appears with the suffixless main verb **ala-**Ø 'to kill'. Used as an auxiliary, **ge-** (< **ki-*) functions to indicate a high degree of transitivity in its clause: a highly agentive actor, a highly affected patient, and/or a thoroughly carried-out action tend to call for the use of this auxiliary. Conversely, **sao-** (< **saxu-*) may be used to indicate a sort of low transitivity, when an experiencer subject is highly affected by the event expressed by the verb; **sao-** can also function to indicate that an event continues for a period of time.

Four auxiliaries indicate motion: **ri-** (< **ire-*) indicates motion towards the speaker; **xi-** (< **oci-*) indicates motion away; **gher-** (< **gar-*) indicates motion in an upward or outward direction; and **bao-** (< **baxu-*) indicates motion downward. When motion is involved, multiple auxiliaries sometimes appear in a single clause, as in (9). Here, the main verb is **deghela-** 'to fall', followed by the auxiliaries **bao-** and **ri-**; finite morphology appears only on the final auxiliary **ri-**.

(9) **dong+guo** **ge** **deghela-ji** **bao-ji** **ri-ni.**
winter+fruit SG:INDEF fall-IMPERF go:down-IMPERF come-SUBJ:FUT
'A winter pear will fall down.'

The motion auxiliaries all allow their main verbs to be marked with either the imperfective converb suffix **-ji**, or else with zero marking. In this context, there is no semantic difference between these two types of non-finite marking. The same is true of the auxiliary **hu-** (< **ög-*), which gives a benefactive sense to its clause (10), although it does not add a benefactive argument to the clause.

(10) **Bi** **huguer=du=nang** **di.gha** **hu-ku**
1:SG cow=DAT=REFL eat.CAUS give-IMPERF
'After I let my own cow eat (them)'

Attributive copulas function as auxiliaries in two types of constructions. The first of these is illustrated in (11), where the main verb is **chaoke-** 'to fry', marked with the progressive (conv. abtemp.) **-ser**, and the auxiliary is the copula **bang**. The subjective imperfective forms in ind. **-la bi** and interr. **-la biu** are originally similar constructions, with the copula **bi** as a auxiliary.

(11) **Mang'huzi** **Aguer** **cai=nang** **chaoke-ser** **bang,**
monster daughter food=REFL fry-PROGR OBJ:COP
'Monster Girl was cooking her food.'

Constructions of this same type are also formed with conv. deont. **-der** 'should', such as (elicited) **tindu xi-der bang** 'one should go there; there is reason to go there', and

(neg.) **tindu xi-der guang** 'one should not go there; there is no reason to go there'. Of the three non-finite forms used in this first type of construction (**-la**, **-ser**, **-der**), it is worth noting that only **-ser** can also be used in clause-combining constructions; **-la** and **-der** may be considered to function as a special type of nonfinite marker, which we can label 'auxiliary linker'.

Second, attributive copulas also appear as auxiliaries in a common negation strategy, constructed with a nominalized clause marked with the perfective participle marker **-sang**, as in **bi hai=nang musi-sang gui** 'I haven't put on my shoes'.

COMPLEX SENTENCES

There are three types of dependent clause in Mangghuer. The first type involves *nominalized clauses*, formed with the two participle markers **-ku** (imperfective) and **-sang** (perfective). These clauses are clearly embedded within another clause, since they function as arguments of predicates, or as relative clauses within a noun phrase. In either case, an additional nominalizing element **=ni** (identical with the possessive suffix) is optionally added.

In (12), the bracketed perfective nominalized clause is a relative clause, modifying the head noun **aguer** 'daughter', while (13) shows an imperfective nominalized clause, in which the nominalization serves as the subject of another clause.

(12) **[bieqiere-sang=ni] aguer=ni dawenla-jiang.**
be:ill-PERF=NOMLZ daughter=CONN ask:about-OBJ:PERF
'(He) asked about (the rich man's) daughter, who had become ill.'

(13) **[Bang&bang di duoke-ku=ni] hangbura-ku,**
ONOM QUOTE chop-IMPERF=NOMLZ finish-IMPERF
'When the chopping with the banging sound stops.'

The second type of dependent clause is *verbal complement clauses*. A specialized construction of this type is purpose complements, formed only with the final converb marker **-la**, as illustrated in (14). Constructions of this sort seem to be in the process of grammaticalizing into verb + auxiliary constructions. Only the motion verbs **ri-** 'to come', **xi-** 'to go' and **yao-** id. (< **yabu-*) may appear following **-la**, and the two verbs obligatorily share a subject. However, **yao-** (unlike its synonym **xi-**) does not function as an auxiliary in any other context, and the motion verbs in purpose clauses usually, though not always, do express independent events of motion.

(14) **Bersi liang=ge ti kong=ni beila-la ri-jiang gelang.**
tiger two=CL that person=CONN carry-FIN come-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
'Two tigers came to carry that person (away), they say.'

The main verbs **hangbura** 'finish' and **kai.ke** 'begin' (< Chinese **kai**) can also take verbal complement clauses whose main verb is non-finite, marked with **-ji** or zero (**-Ø**). A construction of this sort is illustrated in (15a), where the complement clause consists only of the verb **di-** 'to eat'.

(15)(a) **Di-Ø hangbura-Ø,**
eat-SEQ finish-SEQ
'After (she) finished eating,

(b) **"Du bi yi=zhuan langla-ya," ge-ji**
now 1:SG one=circle walk:around-VOL QUOTE-IMPERF
"Now I'll go walk around," saying (this),

(c) **zaohang=du xi-sa,**
kitchen=DAT go-COND
after (she) went into the kitchen,

(d) **gan=ni bulai=ni di khuonuo guala ge-ser bang bai.**
3:SG=CONN child=CONN door back hang do-PROGR OBJ:COP EMPH
(she found that they) had hung her son behind the door.'

The third type of dependent clause is also illustrated by (15), where each of the lines (15a–c) ends with a different non-finite marker, connecting the dependent clauses in a sequence which ends with the finite construction **guala ge-ser bang** of line (15d). Dependent clauses in chain-like constructions of this third type may be called *non-final clauses*.

Line (15a) ends with a zero-marked verb; this zero morpheme (functioning as a non-finite marker) is glossed as the *sequential* converb (conv. seq.) marker. This marker indicates that two events occur after one another in a temporal sequence. Thus, it is 'after finishing' the action of (15a) that the event of line (15b) occurs. The zero-marked sequential converb is also used to form resultative constructions of the Mandarin type **chi-wan** 'eat-finish'; in Mangghuer, the first verb of such resultative sequences is zero-marked (-Ø), though the two predicates remain phonologically independent words.

A single non-finite marker may appear multiple times within a sequence, or several markers may be used on successive clauses. Line (15b) ends with the imperfective converb marker **-ji**. This marker is used in Mangghuer to indicate an imperfective event in a sequence of clauses: the woman speaks (15b) while going (15c). However, the imperfective converb is also sometimes used with telic verbs such as 'to kill', rather than atelic ones like 'to say', and in such cases, **-ji** may link a *series* of events. This marker thus allows for an extremely wide range of semantic interpretations, and seems to be broadening in function, diachronically, to become a default marker of non-finite clauses.

Line (15c) ends with the conditional converb marker **-sa**. This marker has two clause-combining functions in Mangghuer: on the one hand, it marks the protasis of a conditional construction ('if'), and, on the other, it marks an event which precedes some state ('after'). The line (15c) illustrates this latter function: after the woman goes into the kitchen, she finds that the state of (15d) exists. A similar function is filled by the terminative converb in **-tala** ~ **-tula**, which appears on non-final clauses to mark an event which occurs prior to the event reported in the following clause. By semantic extension, X-**tala** Y may also mean 'X rather than Y'.

All of the non-final clauses share the syntactic property of being ambiguous with respect to embedding. That is, a non-final clause may be considered an adverbial modifier of the following verb, in which case it is embedded in that verb's clause, or it may simply be positioned so as to precede the next clause, as in prototypical clause chaining constructions. There appear to be no syntactic arguments in favour of either analysis, when non-final clauses appear in constructions such as (15). This is, then, a structurally ambiguous construction type.

The abtemporal converb (originally quasiconverb) in **-ser** indicates a progressive action which takes place in parallel with the action of the following clause, as in (16):

(16)(a) **Jiaoduer yila-ser**
every:day cry-PROG
'Crying every day,

(b) **yi=mu ghazher=du=nang naramu tari-jiang.**
one=*mu* ground=DAT=REFL millet plant-OBJ:PERF
(she) planted millet in her one-*mu* field.'

In contrast to the non-final clauses which we have seen so far, a non-finite verb marked with **-ser** can sometimes be clearly embedded as a clausal adverb, although such clauses tend not to be very clause-like, often consisting of only the verb itself. Sequences of clauses like (16), however, are ambiguous with respect to embedding. The dependent clause (16a) might be seen as an adverbial modifier of the finite verb **tari-jiang** '(she) planted', embedded within the matrix clause (16b), but it could simply be a clause which precedes it.

Apart from the regular converbs (and quasiconverbs), the participle marker **-ku**, which basically forms nominalized constructions, can also be used converbially in non-final clauses, indicating imperfective aspect. Thus, in (13), the form part. fut. **hangbura-ku** refers to a *future* event, and its clause is a non-final clause. In (10), the speaker refers to a *repetitive* act (of feeding the cow every day); here, too, **-ku** marks an imperfective event in a non-final clause.

Perfective events in non-final clauses may be indicated by the quasiconverbial construction **-sang zhi**. This complex consists of the perfective participle plus the clausal conjunction **zhi**, which probably originated in Chinese. Another quasiconverbial clausal conjunction used in non-final clauses is **da=nang**, which appears with the suffixless verbal stem, and indicates a prior event, as in (17):

(17)(a) **Gan.si ji=ge=la durasi.si=ni suer-Ø danang**
3:SG.PL several=CL=COM liquor.PL=CONN buy-Ø after
'After the several of them had bought liquors,

(b) **gan=ni qinla-Ø ti ruang=du kuer-jiang.**
3:SG=CONN welcome-SEQ that place=DAT arrive-OBJ:PERF
(they) took him along and went to that place.'

There seems to be no mention of **da[=]nang** in comparative works, though cognates appear in Qinghai Bonan and Santa. Diachronically, this conjunction would seem to represent the dative case ending of the reflexive declension (**-dA-xA/n*), which is used quasiconverbially in combination with participle suffixes in many Mongolic languages. A rare alternative form in Mangghuer is **-da**, used as a suffix.

Non-final dependent clauses most often precede the non-dependent clause, as in the examples we have seen. In some cases, however, they can also be postposited, as in (18):

(18)(a) **Qi yaji ni=ge bieri=nang shini-lang**
2:SG why this=CL wife=REFL laugh-OBJ:IMPERF
'Why did you laugh at this wife of yours

(b) **kao ghula jielie-a ge-sa?**
son two:together meet-VOL QUOTE-COND
when (she) said (that she planned) to greet (you) with a son?'

Not only conditional clauses formed with **-sa**, as in (18), but also non-final clauses with **-ku**, **-tala** and **danang** may be postposited. Speakers judge postposited clauses of this sort to be afterthoughts, but they are spontaneously produced in natural speech with

some regularity, and listeners have no trouble interpreting them. Less frequently, a speaker may choose to embed a non-finite clause, as in (19):

(19) **Bi qimai=du [mula=ni kao ge ri-ku] jielie-a,**
1:SG 2:SG:ACC=DAT small=CONN son SG:INDEF come-IMPERF welcome-VOL
'I will welcome you (with the son) if a little son comes',

The bracketed clause here is not a nominalization, but it is clearly embedded, since it interrupts another clause, appearing between the verb **jielie-** 'to meet' and its arguments. The only other non-finite marker which seems to be used in this way is the other imperfective form (conv. imperf.) in **-ji**, which can be used to unambiguously embed reported speech with the quotative verb **ge-** 'to say'.

What can account for the ability of some, but not all, non-final clauses to be postposited or embedded? We could assign the various non-finite suffixes to different classes, with different syntactic behaviours. However, it can be observed that this syntactic freedom is dependent on semantic content: non-final clauses which can be postposited are just those marked with non-finite markers (such as conv. cond.) whose semantic content is sufficient to ensure interpretability, while those which can be embedded are just those whose suffixes (such as conv. imperf.) provide meanings which could modify another event.

Similarly, note that **-ji** and **-Ø**, which make a relatively minimal semantic contribution, are the markers which participate not only in non-final clause formation, but also in the marking of verbal complement clauses and also in the grammaticalization of auxiliary verb constructions. Here again, semantic contribution seems intimately linked to the range of functions of any individual non-finite marker.

FINAL PARTICLES

Mangghuer has several final particles, used for pragmatic functions such as emphasis, inviting listener response, and indicating speaker attitude or the source of information. These particles almost always follow a finite verb, although they may occasionally follow a non-finite verb, or a non-clausal utterance such as a noun phrase.

The final particle **bai**, which seems to be of Common Mongolic origin (cf. **bai-* 'to be'), indicates emphasis, as in example (15d) above.

The final particle **ma**, as in example (1), has a highly interactive function, appearing frequently in quoted speech. This particle generally indicates that the event of its clause and that of the following clause are closely linked (often by causation). The particle **ma** can be used as a coordinating conjunction for noun phrases, and it seems to be in the process of becoming a coordinating conjunction for clauses, as well.

The final particle **a** also has an interactive function similar to that of **ma**. It often appears when the speaker is expressing strong emotion, but it also seems to have a wide range of pragmatic uses.

The final particle **sha** expresses deliberation or dissatisfaction by the speaker.

The final particle **ge[-]lang**, as in example (14), is hearsay evidential marker. Formally, it is the imperfective objective form of the verb **ge-** 'to say', and it may therefore literally be translated as 'they say' or 'it is said'. However, it has become semantically bleached, and often functions simply as a marker of emphasis, like **bai**. Many languages of the Gansu-Qinghai region use a form of 'to say' to indicate this same evidential function.

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CHAPTER SIXTEEN

BONAN

Wu Hugjiltu

Bonan (also Baoan, Baonan) is spoken by two separate populations, living in the Chinese provinces of Gansu and Qinghai. Originally, the ancestors of Bonan speakers lived together in and around the town of Baoan, built in the thirteenth year of Ming Wanli (1585) in Central Amdo north of the Tibetan monastery of Reb.gong, the historical centre of the modern Tongren County of Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous District, Qinghai. Because of the increasing impact of Muslim elements (Hui and Salar) in the region, some of the Bonan speakers adopted the Islamic religion, while others entered, or remained within, the sphere of Tibetan Buddhism. It was possibly this religious division that led, in the early years of Qing Tongzhi (1856–75), to the emigration of the Islamic Bonan speakers first to Xunhua in Qinghai and then further to the region of Linxia in Gansu.

The Islamic Bonan speakers in Gansu are today concentrated in the villages of Ganhetan, Dadun, and Lijiacun, located in Dahejia Township of Dongxiang Salar Jishishan Autonomous County of Linxia Hui Autonomous District. Although no longer living in Baoan, this population is officially recognized as a distinct minority nationality bearing the very name Bonan or Baoan (*Baoan zu*). By contrast, the Buddhist Bonan speakers still remaining in the region of Baoan are officially registered as belonging to the 'Monguor' nationality (*Tu zu*). These people inhabit a compact belt of three villages, the names of which are (in Tibetan spelling:) gNyan.thog, sGo.dmar, sKa.gsar. A fourth village, in the immediate vicinity of Baoan, is known as (in Chinese Pinyin:) Baoan Xiazhuang.

The Bonan in Gansu are one of the smallest minority nationalities of China, numbering *c.*12,200 people (1990). The use of the native language among these people seems to be declining in favour of the Hezhou language, the local Chinese-based 'creole'. The education system functions in Chinese, though Arabic is also taught in mosque schools. The Bonan speakers in Qinghai form an even smaller population, comprising perhaps 3,500 people (1980), but they are linguistically vigorous and continue to transmit the native language to growing children in at least the villages of gNyan.thog, sGo.dmar, and sKa.gsar. A separate Chinese-Tibetan 'creole' language is spoken in the nearby village of Wutun. The education system for all these villages functions in Tibetan, which is also the language of the Buddhist communities in the region.

Historically, the Bonan do not seem to have had a common ethnonym, though they retain a certain consciousness of their connection with the Mongols (Tibetan **Sog**) or the 'Monguor' (Tibetan **Hor**). The local Tibetans have called them by the name *Durdu* (**Dor.do**), an appellation of unclear origin, which is today regarded as derogatory. The Buddhist Bonan speakers prefer to emphasize their close ties with the surrounding Tibetans, though they are still distinguished from the latter not only by their different language, but also by cultural features, such as the details of clothing. The 'Bonan nationality' (*Boongan merig*) remains an artificial concept for most Bonan speakers, though it is used by the Islamic Bonan in Gansu in reference to their original source region.

DATA AND SOURCES

Bonan is among the least studied Mongolic languages. The first scholarly notes on the Bonan speakers were made by G. N. Potanin (1893), who identified them as belonging to the 'Shirongol' complex. It was, however, not until the Sino-Soviet expedition of 1955–6 that systematic material from the Bonan language was gathered for the first time. As a result of this fieldwork, B. X. Todaeva published a relatively comprehensive grammar with text samples and glossary (1966), accompanied by an ethnographic description (1965) as well as two concise grammatical sketches (1963, 1997), based mainly on materials from Gansu.

On the Chinese side, the first attempt to describe the Bonan language was marked by the brief grammar of Buhe and Liu Zhaoxiong (1982). A more comprehensive project was undertaken in 1980–1 by Chen Naixiong and the present author, who collected fresh field material from the Bonan speakers in Qinghai, especially in the village of gNyan.thog. As a result, a vocabulary and a volume of texts were published by Chen Naixiong *et al.* (1985, 1986), accompanied by a comparative-diachronic assessment of Bonan by Chen Naixiong and Chingeltei (1986). Chen Naixiong (1994) also has prepared a dialectological study. These works still remain the largest published corpus of material on Bonan, and they have also served as the principal database for the present description.

In the current state of research, both the genetic position of Bonan (within the Mongolic family) and its areal status (with regard to the neighbouring languages) are insufficiently understood. For the latter aspect of the language, it is crucial to get more information not only on Amdo Tibetan and Qinghai Mandarin, the two regional languages of relevance to the Bonan speakers, but also on the variety of the more local ethnic languages. Preliminary sources on Amdo Tibetan include the grammar of George N. Roerich (1958) and the phonological analysis by Juha Janhunen and Kalsang Norbu (2000). Some information on the Hezhou and Wutun 'creoles' is summarized by Mei W. Lee-Smith and Stephen A. Wurm (1996), but most of the work still remains to be done.

DIALECTS

Practical information from native speakers suggests that Bonan is mutually unintelligible with regard to the other Mongolic languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex, notably Mangghuer, Mongghul, and Santa. On the other hand, Bonan itself, although also divided into several local forms of speech, seems to form a single language, whose speakers all understand each other. The main dialectal division goes, not surprisingly, between the Buddhist Qinghai Bonan (officially 'Monguor') and the Islamic Gansu Bonan (officially Bonan). Even these two groups, though no longer in regular contact, are, however, when needed, reported to be able to communicate with each other in the native language.

The difference in religion, geographical location, and synchronic ethnic environment has nevertheless resulted in considerable differences between the idioms spoken by the Qinghai Bonan (the Tongren dialect) and the Gansu Bonan (the Jishishan dialect). At the grammatical level, these differences are largely due to the different basis of local bilingualism (Amdo Tibetan in Qinghai vs. the Hezhou 'creole' in Gansu), while at the lexical level they are enhanced by the different sources of religious and cultural vocabulary (Tibetan vs. Arabic). The two dialects have been developing on diverging lines long enough to have significantly affected the internal coherence of the Bonan speech community.

There are also more local differences, in that, basically, each Bonan-speaking village is characterized by a subdialect of its own. On the Qinghai side we may therefore speak of the gNyan.thog, sGo.dmar, sKa.gsar, and Xiazhuang subdialects, while the Gansu Bonan are divided between the Ganhetan, Dadun, and Lijiacun subdialects. The subdialectal differences are generally small, and they are typically manifested in minor phonological (or even just phonetic) details, as well as occasional lexical retentions and innovations. A diachronic evaluation of these differences shows that the subdialects of Gansu Bonan all derive from a source close to the subdialect of Xiazhuang in Qinghai, while the subdialects of gNyan.thog, sGo.dmar, and sKa.gsar, form another primary historical group.

A further analysis of the dialectal differences suggests that the village of gNyan.thog is the ultimate source of all Bonan speakers. The gNyan.thog subdialect occasionally retains features lost in all other dialects by a common innovation, as in **mölsü/n* 'ice' > (gNyan.thog) *milsung* vs. (all other dialects) **minsu*. On the other hand, there are examples of sGo.dmar and sKa.gsar sharing a retention with gNyan.thog, while Xiazhuang shows an innovation that is also present in the Gansu subdialects, as in **ebesü/n* 'grass' > (gNyan.thog with sGo.dmar and sKa.gsar) *iwsung* vs. (Xiazhuang and Gansu) *wesung*. This suggests that the population of Xiazhuang arrived from sGo.dmar and sKa.gsar after the speech in the latter had developed differences with regard to gNyan.thog.

SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Qinghai Bonan is normally considered to have six basic distinctive vowel qualities, which are realized roughly as [a e ə i ɵ u]. Of these, however, only the five qualities [a e ə ɵ u], but not [i], can occur word-initially. On the other hand, the five qualities [a e i ɵ u], but not [ə], can occur as long or doubled. This suggests that Bonan actually has only five vowel phonemes, which may be denoted as *a e i o u*, all of which can occur initially, and all of which also have long counterparts. In this interpretation, the phoneme *e* corresponds to the qualities [ə] and [e:], while the phoneme *i* corresponds to the qualities [e] and [i:]. Incidentally, a five-vowel system is also reported to be present in Gansu Bonan (Todaeva).

There are, however, indications that the Bonan five-vowel system is not a simple vowel triangle. Rather, it follows the pattern of the surrounding Amdo Tibetan dialects, which have a four-vowel system consisting of the three corners *a u i* and the central vowel *e*. In Bonan, the symmetry of this system is broken by the extra vowel *o* (Table 16.1).

Diachronically, the Bonan vowels are in a complex relationship to their Proto-Mongolic origins. Basically, however, the vowels *a o u* [a ɵ u] represent original **a *o *ü*, respectively, as in *xara* 'black' < **kara*, *more* 'horse' < **mori/n*, *unang* 'cow' < **üniye/n*. Original **ö* and **u* are also represented as *o* and *u* without any simple rules, as in *kol* 'foot' < **köl*, *kugo* 'blue' < **kökö*, *ghordung* 'fast' < **kurdun*, *ghurang* 'three' < **gurba/n*.

TABLE 16.1 BONAN VOWELS

u		*i*
o	*e*	
	a	

The vowel *e* [ə] seems to be primarily the reduced reflex of **i*, as in *mene* 'my' < **mini*, but it can occasionally also derive from other sources, as in *texa* 'poultry' < **takiya*, *belag* 'spring [of water]' < **bulag*. The vowel *i* [e], finally, is the main reflex of **e*, as in *timer* 'iron' < **temür*.

Many problems are connected with the synchronic and diachronic status of the vowels *e i*. While original **i* is normally reduced into *e* [ə], it is phonetically 'preserved' as [i] after palatal consonants, as in *cesung* [tɕisoŋ] 'blood' < **cisu/n*. In the same position, original **e* is represented by its regular value as [e], as in *cirig* 'army' [tɕerəg] < **cerig*. Since the quality [ə] is not attested in this position, there is no distributional obstacle for analysing the values [i] vs. [e] as allophones of *e* vs. *i*, respectively, but in view of the phonetic substance the values could also be interpreted the other way round.

In non-initial syllables, a regular reductive merger of the high vowels ***i* *u* *ü** into *e* can be observed, as in (**i*:) *gholer* 'flour' < **gulir*, (**u*:) *nase* 'age' < ***nasu/n***, (**ü*:) *under* 'high < **öndür*. The vowel **e* is also often, but not invariably, reduced, as in *inde* 'here' < **ende*. As in the initial syllable, *e* is realized as [i] when preceded by a palatal consonant, as in *pece* [pətɕi] 'letter' < **bicig*. Additionally, there are positional neutralizations depending on the consonant environment. Most importantly, before a final velar nasal *ng* there seem to be only two contrasting vowel qualities (high vs. low), which may be analysed as (high) *u* [ɵ u] and (low) *a* [a ʌ], as in ***nodung*** 'eye' < ***nidün***, *gigang* 'bright' < **gegexen*.

The long vowels are normally attested in the initial syllable only. As in other Mongolic languages, they derive from original contracted vowel sequences, including diphthongs, as in *baasung* 'excrement' < ***baxasu/n***, *oolung* 'cloud' < ***exüle/n***, *uula* 'mountain' < **axula*, *keele* 'belly' < ***kexeli***, *xiice* 'scissors' < ***kayici***. The status of the long vowels is, however, unstable. Examples of sporadic shortening are common, as in *toli* 'hare' < **taulai*, *julang* 'soft' < **jüxelen*, while cases of secondary lengthening are also encountered, as in (Qinghai) *hootang* 'star' < ***xodu/n***. The interpretation of some sequences is open to alternative analyses. For instance, the initial sequence *wii* [wi], as in *wiile* 'work' < **üyile*, is often analysed as containing a short vowel. The actual short sequence *wi* [we] is, however, present in *wire* 'daughter-in-law' < **beri*.

Altogether, information on the long vowels is often contradictory. In some cases, for instance, a quantitative opposition in the one dialect seems to correspond to a qualitative one in the other dialect, as in (both Qinghai and Gansu) *narang* 'sun' < ***nara/n***, as opposed to (Qinghai) *naarang* vs. (Gansu) *narung* 'fine' < **narin*. Considering the fact that Amdo Tibetan does not have long vowels but, instead, vowel sequences ending in the (reduced) vowel *e*, a similar situation might be valid at least for Qinghai Bonan. This would allow the reanalysis of the 'long' vowels as the sequences *ae oe ue ee ie*. Indeed, long vowels are often recorded from Bonan in items containing vowel sequences in Amdo Tibetan, as in *diirew* 'century' (Amdo *dieraw*). Unfortunately, there are many inconsistencies and perhaps inaccuracies in the data.

Although original diphthongs have often been simplified into either long or short monophthongs, a few words still preserve the diphthongoid sequence *ei* in a non-initial syllable, e.g. *ghaghei* 'pig' < **gakai*, *noghei* 'dog' < **nokAi*. Other diphthongoid sequences are mainly attested in Chinese loanwords, e.g. *yanghui* 'cement', *doufu* 'bean-curd'. Sequences beginning with the high vowel qualities [i] or [u] are best analysed as containing an initial cluster with a medial, as in *pyo* 'ticket', *gwa* 'melon' (both borrowed from Chinese). The labial medial is also attested in native vocabulary, but only after velars, as in *ghwar* 'two' < **koxar*, suggesting the possibility of a separate labiovelar set of consonants.

Due to Tibetan influence, the Bonan consonant system is characterized by a considerable degree of diversification. The consonants of Qinghai Bonan may be divided into labials (*p b f w m*), dental non-sibilants (*t d lh l n*), dental sibilants (*ts dz s z*), retroflexes (*tr dr sr r*), palatals (*c j sh zh ny y*), as well as velars and post-velars (*k g x gh ng h*), plus the possible labiovelars. Stops and continuants show a distinction between strong (aspirated and/or voiceless) and weak (unaspirated and/or voiced) segments; according to this parameter, even the liquids *l r* may be classified as members of the obstruent system. Apart from the obstruents, there are four nasals (*m n ny ng*) and two glides (*y h*), yielding a minimum of 30 consonant phonemes altogether (Table 16.2).

The strong (voiceless) lateral *lh*, the dental sibilants *ts dz z* (but not *s*), the retroflexes *tr dr sr* (but not *r*), and the palatals *zh ny* (but not *c j sh y*), occur only in loanwords, borrowed from both Tibetan and Chinese, but synchronically fully nativized in Bonan. The status of *f* is most marginal, since it is in an almost perfect complementary distribution with *h*, the former occurring before the vowel *u* and the latter before all other vowels. There are, however, a few examples suggesting that the distinction has become phonemic, mainly due to loanwords, e.g. *fadung*+*ge-* 'to start (a machine)' (from Chinese).

In native words, the velar (phonetically laryngeal) glide *h* represents Proto-Mongolic **x*, as in *hawrang* 'ten' < **xarba/n*. In the position before (*)*u*, this same segment yields secondarily *f*, as in *fulang* 'red' < **hulang* < **xulaxan*. In a few words, the vowel *u* in the sequence *fu* has dialectally developed into other qualities, corroborating the distinctive status of *f*, e.g. (gNyan.thog) *hii* vs. (Xiazhuang) *fi* (possibly *fii*) < **hui* < **xoi*. The strong velar fricative *x*, on the other hand, represents the velar stop **k* before an original back vowel, as in *xorung* 'twenty' < **kori/n*. Due to vocalic neutralizations, *x* can synchronically contrast with *k*. A similar contrast has developed between the corresponding weak segments *gh* vs. *g*, which basically represent original **g*, as in *ghol* 'channel' < **gol*, *gir* 'house' < **ger*. The contrast between the two segments is also common in loanwords, as in *gha* 'fox' vs. *ga* 'column' (both from Tibetan).

Like the other languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex, Bonan shows a tendency of assimilatory and/or dissimilatory mixing of the strong and weak series of stops. Assimilation is present in, for instance *cexang* 'white' < **ceghang* < **cagaxan*, while dissimilation is exemplified by (gNyan.thog) *jasung* vs. (Xiazhuang) *cawsung* 'snow' < **casu/n*. The rules are, however, not clear-cut, and contradictive forms are common, e.g. (assimilation) *pecag* 'bean' < **burcag* vs. (no assimilation) *bicang* 'monkey' < **beci/n*. The representation of the original initial velars *g k* is particularly chaotic, cf. e.g. (weakening) *ghoni* 'sheep' < **koni/n* vs. (strengthening) *xal* 'fire' < **gal*. The presence of dialectal differences only complicates the picture, and in some cases we may again be dealing with inaccuracies in the data.

TABLE 16.2 BONAN CONSONANTS

p	*t*	*ts*	*tr*	*c*	*k*
b	*d*	*dz*	*dr*	*j*	*g*
f	*lh*	*s*	*sr*	*sh*	*x*
w	*l*	*z*	*r*	*zh*	*gh*
m	*n*			*ny*	*ng*
				y	*h*

WORD STRUCTURE

The Bonan phonotax lacks many original Mongolic features, including, for instance, vowel harmony. On the other hand, with the introduction of Tibetan loanwords and structural interference, a number of non-Mongolic patterns have entered the language, many of which have parallels in the other languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex. The Tibetan influence is particularly strong in Qinghai Bonan, which may well be regarded as the most throroughly Tibetanized form of Mongolic.

Most importantly, the syllable structure of Qinghai Bonan incorporates the Tibetan system of preinitials: a limited set of consonants which can occur before the basic initial consonant, thus yielding initial consonant clusters (Table 16.3). The proper identification of these clusters is one of the most intricate points of Bonan phonology. It it therefore not surprising that their presentation in the extant sources involves many misunderstandings and misinterpretations. Since, however, the initial clusters typically occur in Tibetan loanwords, the natural clue to their analysis lies in the Amdo Tibetan system of preinitials.

As in Amdo Tibetan, there are two types of preinitial in Bonan: nasal and non-nasal. A nasal preinitial can only precede a stop consonant of the weak series and conforms to the latter's place of articulation, resulting in a set of six homorganic clusters: *mb nd ndz ndr nj* (*nyj*) *ngg*. Since the quality of the nasal plays no distinctive role, it could also be analysed as a single archiphonemic nasal segment (*N*, perhaps best written as *v* in accordance with the current Romanizational praxis for Tibetan, i.e. *vb vd vdz vdr vj vg*). In the present analysis, however, the phonetic notation, specifying the identity of the nasal (*m n ng*), is preferred.

The basic non-nasal preinitial, pronounced as a laryngeal fricative, may be identified with the phoneme *h*. It can precede both weak and strong stops (pronounced in this position as voiced vs. voiceless unaspirated), though the combinations actually attested in Bonan (*ht hts htr hc hk* vs. *hd hdz hdr hj hg*) exclude the labials due to reasons of Amdo Tibetan dialectology. The preinitial *h* can also occur before weak fricatives (*hl hz hzh*), nasals (*hn hny hng*), and the palatal glide (*hy*). It is true, the total system of actually attested Bonan initial clusters has two unsystematic gaps (marked as *), which are apparently only due to the incompleteness of the available recorded materials. The corresponding clusters (*hgh hm*) are established beyond doubt for Amdo Tibetan.

The most important feature of the Bonan system of initial clusters is that there is another non-nasal initial, which in many Amdo Tibetan dialects has merged with *h*, but

TABLE 16.3 BONAN INITIAL CLUSTERS

preinitials	clusters					
N	*mb*	*nd*	*ndz*	*ndr*	*nj*	*ngg*
h		*ht*	*hts*	*htr*	*hc*	*hk*
		hd	*hdz*	*hdr*	*hj*	*hg*
		hl	*hz*		*hzh*	*
	*	*hn*			*hny*	*hng*
					hy	
r	*rp*	*rt*	*	*	*rc*	*rk*
	rb	*rd*	*	*	*	*rg*
	rm	*			*	*rng*

which seems to be distinct in Bonan. This is the retroflex *r*, realized as voiceless [ʂ] before the strong stops (*rp rt rc rk*) and as voiced [ɻ] before the weak stops and the nasals (*rb rd rg rm rng*). Again, some of the theoretically possible clusters (*rts rtr rdz rdr rj rn rny*) are not attested in the data, but they are likely to be present in both Bonan and the immediately surrounding dialects of Amdo Tibetan.

Of greatest interest for comparative Mongolic studies are the native words in which Bonan has, by eliminating the vowel of the original initial syllable, created initial clusters which follow the pattern provided by the Tibetan loanwords. Examples can be found for all the three preinitials. The non-nasal preinitials *h* and *r* represent in native words, in a rather complex pattern, original **x *s *k*, as in *rko* 'big' < **xike*, *rtung* 'tooth' < **sidü/n*, *rtoghe* 'knife' < **kituga*, *htung* 'hard' < **kataxu/n*, or also a secondary prothetic **x*, as in *hku-* 'to die' < **ükü-*, *rter* 'long' < **hutur* < **urtu*. The nasal preinitial normally derives from the first component of an original internal cluster, as in *mbaa-* 'to bathe' < **umba-*, but it can also represent a prothetic segment, as in *ndang* 'door' < **exüde/n*.

It has to be noted that Bonan can hardly have initial clusters *not* attested in Amdo Tibetan. Although phonetic notations like [smə] 'arrow' suggest the presence of non-canonic clusters, they must have a phonemic explanation corresponding to the regular phonotax of the language, in this case probably *semo* 'arrow' < **sumu/n*. A particularly common non-canonic distinction in the data is [ŋɢ] vs. [ŋg], suggesting phonemic *nggh* vs. *ngg*. Since both sequences occur in Tibetan loanwords, and since Tibetan does not have a corresponding distinction, the Bonan data are probably best analysed as containing an invariable *ngg*, as in [ŋɢə] *nggo* 'head' (Tibetan **mgo**), [ŋgəxgər] *nggohkor* 'rod' (Tibetan **mgo.skor**).

The ultimate factor that has allowed the initial clusters to spread to native vocabulary is word stress, which in Bonan falls on the last syllable. Because of this final stress, the vowel of the initial syllable can also be lost when not preceded by a consonant, as in *se* (if not *ze*) 'water' < **usu/n*. This has in some cases led to new non-Mongolic phonotactic patterns, such as the occurrence of the liquids *r l* in initial position, as in *laa-* 'to cry'< **uyila-*, *re-* (or *er-*) 'to come' < **ire-*. Although generally not distinctive in Bonan, stress can occasionally be located on a non-final syllable, signalling a juncture in obscured compounds, as *nude* 'today' < *ine+uder* 'this day', *dirarang* 'forty' < *dirang+hawrang* 'four-ten'.

WORD FORMATION

A survey of Bonan lexical material reveals a considerable number of both Mongolic and Tibetan derivative suffixes, most of which are, however, non-productive. Productive suffixes are mainly encountered in the deverbal categories (voice, aspect, nominalization). The different types of derivative suffix may be illustrated as follows:

Denominal nouns: *.ce* (Mongolic) [occupation, involvement], e.g. *asung* 'livestock' : *asung.ce* 'herdsman'; *.ca* (Tibetan) [id.], e.g. *zhow* 'lie' : *zhow.ca* 'liar'; *.rce* [cover of], e.g. *ghore* 'finger' : *ghore.rce* 'finger gloves'; *.te* (Mongolic) [possessive adjectival nouns], e.g. *ujer* 'pointed end' : *ujer.te* 'pointed'; *.ro* (Tibetan) [id.], e.g. *hiw* 'greediness' : *hiw.ro* 'greedy'; *.lug* [adjectival nouns], e.g. *targhung* 'fatness' : *targho.lug* 'fat'. Two special formatives are: *-gu* [nominatives from local case forms], e.g. *xar* 'hand' : dat. *xar-da* : *xar-da-gu* '[something] being at hand'; *.sang* [honorific reference], e.g. *ta* 'you' : *ta.sang* 'your (respected) family', *tere* 's/he' : *tere.sang* 's/he (respected one)'.

Deverbal nouns: *.sung*, e.g. *shi-* 'to urinate' : *shi.sung* 'urine'; *.dung*, e.g. *xana-* 'to cough' : *xana.dung* 'cough'; *.gha*, e.g. *nede-* 'to pound with fists' : *nede.gha* 'fist'; *shewa-* 'to plaster' : *shewa.r* 'mud'. Deverbal adjectival nouns: *.gor* [doing easily],

e.g. *laa-* 'to cry' : *laa.gor* 'easily-crying'; *.rig* [doing often], e.g. *shi-* 'to urinate' : *shi.rig* 'urinating often'; *.ng*, e.g. *dugla-* 'to cripple' : *dugla.ng* 'crippled'; *.ug*, e.g. *meer-* 'to bend' : *meer.ug* 'curved'. Lexicalized participles: *.gu* (part. fut.), e.g. *ndi-* 'to eat' : *ndi.gu* 'food'; *.ang* [part. imperf.], e.g. *tar-* 'to plant' : *tar.ang* 'crop'; *.sang* [part. perf.] *dule-* 'to dance': *dule.sang* 'dance'; *.cang* [part. ag.], e.g. *bel-* 'to rob' : *bel.cang* 'robber'.

Denominal verbs: *.la-* [translative], e.g. *bayang* 'rich' : *bayang.la-* 'to become rich'; *.ta-* [id.], e.g. *ghor* 'short' : *ghor.ta-* 'to become short'; *.r-* [id.], e.g. *gigang* 'bright' : *giga.r-* 'to become bright'; *.l-* [id.], e.g. *caatang* 'close' : *caata.l-* 'to come near'; *.ca-* [factitive], e.g. *xolung* 'hot' : *xol.ca-* 'to heat'; *.ra-* [id.] e.g. *niitang* 'wet' : *niita.ra-* 'to drench'; *.da-* [instrumental], e.g. *belu* 'whetstone' : *belu.da-* 'to sharpen'; *.sa-* [id.], e.g. *amang* 'mouth': *am.sa-* 'to taste'. The most productive element forming denominal verbs is *+ge-* (< *+*ki-* 'to do'), e.g. *wiile* 'work' : *wiile+ge-* 'to work'; it is also used to verbalize nouns borrowed from other languages, e.g. *gungzo* 'work' (from Chinese) : *gungzo+ge-* 'to work'.

Deverbal verbs: *.gi-* and *.gha-* [causative], e.g. *kur-* 'to reach' : *kur.gi-* 'to send', *uje-* 'to look' : *uje.gha-* 'to show'; *.l.de-* [reciprocal], e.g. *kil-* 'to speak' ; *kil.de-* 'to quarrel'; *.ci-* [collective], e.g. *tani-* (or possibly *tanye-*) 'to know' : *tani.ci-* 'to become acquainted'; *.la-* [iterative], e.g. *jawce-* 'to chop' : *jawce.la-* 'to mince'; *.ra-* [inchoative], e.g. *yada-* 'to be unable to' : *yada.ra-* 'to become tired'.

Some derivational patterns are observed mainly in colour terms: *.wer* [diminutive], *.xang* [augmentative], e.g. *boro* 'brown' : *boro.wer* 'a little brown' : *boro.xang* 'more brown'; *.ee- ~ .ii-* [translative verbs], in *xara* 'black' : *xal.ee-* 'to become black', *fulang* 'red' : *ful.ee-* 'to become red', *cexang* 'white' : *cex.ii-* 'to become white'; *.ra- ~ .la-* [id.], in *kugo* 'blue' : *kugo.ra-* 'to become blue', *shera* 'yellow' : *sher.la-* 'to become yellow', *noghung* 'green' : *noghung.la-* 'to become green'. Bonan also retains the old reduplicative construction of the type (sKa.gsar) *fu.w fulang* 'very red', *she.w shera* 'quite yellow', though it has dialectally lost its transparency, as in (gNyan.thog) *howlang* 'very red', *shewrexang* 'quite yellow'.

Final reduplication is used in Bonan to create generic words, both nouns and verbs. In the basic construction, the word to be generalized is followed by a rhyme beginning with *m*, e.g. *asung* 'livestock' : *asung masung* 'livestock and the like', *noghei* 'dog' : *noghei moghei* 'dogs and the like', *uu-* 'to drink' : conv. imperf. *uuje muuje* 'drinking or something', *pece-* 'to write' : conv. imperf. *peceje meceje* 'writing or something'. If the word itself begins with *m*, a preposited structure with the same consonantal skeleton but with the vowels replaced by *a* is used, e.g. *more* 'horse' : *mara more* 'horses and the like', *mide-* 'to know' : part. perf. *madesang midesang* 'known or something'. Alternatively, the generalizing particle *ma* may be used, e.g. *ghoca* 'book' : *ghoca ma* 'books and the like'.

In addition to suffixally formed derivatives, Bonan has a large number of fixed phrases functioning as compound words. The functional status (part of speech) of such compounds is determined by the last component, while the other components can represent a variety of formal categories. In the most typical case, however, the headword is a noun, as in *irte xolo* 'breakfast' ['early meal'], *ire kung* 'man' ['male person'], *awsang okung* 'step-daughter' ['taken daughter'], *igce du* 'sister' ['elder-sister younger-sibling'], *xolung kitang* 'temperature' ['hot cold'].

NUMBER AND CASE

Bonan has a regular inflexional plural marked by the suffix *-la* (Gansu Bonan *-le*). The singular is either unmarked or also, dialectally (gNyan.thog and Gansu), marked by the suffix *-n'ge* (after vowel stems) or *-ge* (after consonant stems), e.g. *jentu* 'pillow' (in

general) : sg. *jentu-n'ge* 'a pillow' : pl. *jentu-la* 'pillows', *torung* 'head' (in general) : sg. *torung-ge* 'a head' : pl. *torung-la* 'heads'. The origin of the plural marker is uncertain, though it might derive from the suffixally used quantifier *olung* 'many' < **olan*. In any case, the singular (singulative) marker derives transparently from the numeral stem *+nege* 'one' and could perhaps alternatively be analysed as a postposited (enclitic) indefinite article.

The plural in *-la* denotes, in principle, large numbers of individuals or objects. For small numbers (paucal), the ending *-ghula* is used, e.g. *more* 'horse' : pl. *more-la* '(many) horses' : *more-ghula* '(some) horses'. Diachronically, *-ghula* would seem to derive from the collective numeral *+ghulla* 'three together'. The material similarity between *-la* and *-ghula* would perhaps also allow the synchronic segmentation of the latter as *-ghu-la* (with *-ghu-* functioning as the actual paucal marker).

The case paradigm in Bonan comprises only four suffixally marked forms, which may be labelled as: connective, dative, ablative, and sociative. Of these, the sociative is a secondary development (shared with Santa), while the connective represents the merger of the original genitive and accusative cases. The case markers are loose suffixes with no morphophonology involved. The Gansu dialect shows minor innovations, which are also present in Qinghai Xiazhuang (Table 16.4).

The basic form, or the nominative case (which may be marked for number), functions as subject, nominal predicate, indefinite object, and adnominal attribute, e.g. *ndencug doore noghei-n'ge* [subject] *wa* 'there is a dog under the table'; *ine sreyin* [subject] *batune ime* [nominal predicate] 'this commune member is Batu's wife'; *ce ime* [indefinite object] *awarce ba* 'are you married?' (literally: 'have you taken a wife?'); *alma rake* [attribute + nominal headword] 'fruit wine'.

The connective case can be used both adnominally and adverbally. In adnominal use it expresses a variety of attributive relations (genitive), e.g. *xiinag-ne gujung* 'yak's neck', *uder-ne wiile* 'day's work', *jomug-ne gir* 'brick house'. It also occurs in combination with postpositions, e.g. *ndrukang-ne imela* 'opposite the hotel'. In adverbial use it expresses the direct definite object (accusative), e.g. *ce tere jejang ghoca-ne abcer* 'you, bring that thick book!'. However, even a definite object can occasionally occur without the connective suffix, leaving the rules of object marking somewhat vague (or, at least, unclarified).

The dative (dative-locative) and ablative cases are used adverbally in local and temporal expressions, e.g. (dat.) *ojang hnyantug-da suuji* 'he lives in gNyan.thog'; *be tere sara-da irwa* 'I came in that month'; (abl.) *ghwar-sa jerghung kurla wiilegeji* '[he] works from two [o'clock] till six [o'clock']'. The dative also expresses the indirect object, e.g. *gha caazhi-ghula-da kilgudane* . . . 'when the fox said to the children . . .', while the ablative (ablative-comparative) is used in the comparative construction, e.g. [pronominal example] *in-sa samo more gina* 'there is no horse cheaper than this one'. The ablative is

TABLE 16.4 BONAN CASE MARKERS

	function	marker	Gansu
conn.	genitive-accusative	*-ne*	*-ne*
dat.	dative-locative	*-da*	*-de*
abl.	ablative-comparative	*-sa*	*-se*
soc.	sociative-instrumental	*-gh(w)ala*	*-ghale*

also required by some verbs, such as *aye-* 'to be afraid', e.g. *be moghei-sa ayena* 'I am afraid of snakes'. A lexicalized dative is present in *kete* 'home, at home' (< **ger-tü*); the corresponding ablative is *kete-sa* 'from home' (with double declension: dat. + abl.).

The sociative (sociative-instrumental) case ending derives from the postpositional meaning 'together with' of the suffixally used collective numeral *+ghwala* 'two together'. In Qinghai Bonan, this form mainly denotes instrument, e.g. *towa-ghala* 'with a hammer', or also material, e.g. *shangca-ghala* '[made] of wood', while the function of a sociative (comitative) is filled by the postpositional construction genitive + *hamde* 'together' (< **kamtu*), e.g. *olung kung-la-ne hamde* 'together with many people'. In Gansu Bonan (as well as in the Qinghai Xiazhuang subdialect) the sociative case is also used in the sociative (comitative) function, either with or without a postpositional complement.

Both the plural markers and the case endings, as well as the basic nominal stem, can be followed by the Common Mongolic third person possessive suffix *-ne* (< **-ni*), as in *muzhe-ne rkurce* 'his cat is dead', *borsugne awu-da-ne* [dat. px sg. 3p.] *oke* 'give the cake to his son!'. The same element, when attached to adjectival nouns or numerals, functions as a substantivizer, e.g. *fulang-ne srage, cexang-ne me srage* 'the red one is good, the white one is not good'; *nege-ne omceje, nege-ne pecejo* 'one [of them] reads and the other writes'. There are no other possessive or reflexive forms in Bonan. As elsewhere in the Gansu-Qinghai complex, the single remaining possessive suffix is formally identical with the syncretic connective case ending *-ne*. The two suffixes can, however, be combined, e.g. *more* 'horse' : conn. px sg. 3p. *more-ne-ne* 'of his horse'.

NUMERALS

In spite of its otherwise numerous Tibetan elements, Bonan retains most of the original Mongolic numerals. The items for the basic digits are: 1 *nege*, 2 *ghwar*, 3 *ghurang*, 4 *dirang*, 5 *tawung*, 6 *jerghung*, 7 *dolung*, 8 *nimang* (perhaps still phonemically *niimang*), 9 *yersung* ~ *yesung*. Of the original system for the tens, only 10 *hawrang* ~ *harang* and 20 *xorung* are preserved, while the rest of the items have been replaced by secondary compounds (digit x 10): 30 *ghur.arang*, 40 *dir.arang*, 50 *taw.arang*, 60 *jergh.arang*, 70 *dol.arang*, 80 *nim.arang*, 90 *yers.arang*, all of which show some dialectal variation in the details. Of the higher numerals, only 100 *njung* (< **jaxu/n*, with an irregular nasal preinitial) is preserved.

It may be noted that all the numeral stems, with the exception of those for 'one' and 'two', end in the velar nasal *ng* (originally the unstable */n*). The numerals 10 *hawrang* and 20 *xorung* have, however, the additional variants *haran+* resp. *xoren+*, which are used in the intermediate numerals for the ranges 11–19 and 21–29, respectively, e.g. 11 *haran+nege*, 15 *haran+tawung*, 23 *xoren+ghurang*, 27 *xoren+dolung*. In combination with the numeral 9 *yersung*, the shorter forms *hara+* and *xore+* are normally used: 19 *hara+yersung*, 29 *xore+yersung*.

In current Qinghai Bonan speech, the numerals from 'thirty' upwards are expressed by the corresponding Amdo Tibetan words, which are, for the tens: 30 *zem.ce*, 40 *hzhiw.ce*, 50 *hngaw.ce*, 60 *drig.ce*, 70 *hden.ce*, 80 *hja.ce*, 90 *rgew.ce*; and, for the powers of ten: 100 *hja*, 1,000 *rtung* ~ *rtung.so*, 10,000 *tre*, 100,000 *mbom*, 1,000,000 *saya* ~ *tsaya*, 10,000,000 *zhiwa*, 100,000,000 *dungsher*. In complex numerals, the hundreds are normally counted in Tibetan, while the tens and digits below 'thirty' are expressed by the native Bonan words, e.g. 101 *hja.ra nege*, 505 *hnga.wja.ra tawung*, 999 *rge.wja.ra rgew.ce go.rge*. In Gansu Bonan, the Chinese numerals 1,000 *can* and 10,000 *wan* are used.

Functioning as attributes to a noun, the basic numerals can either precede or follow their headword, e.g. *dolung kung* 'seven people', *drewa ghwar* 'two guests' (literally: 'guest two'). The numeral 1,000 *rtung* (as well as, apparently, the other numerals expressing the higher powers of ten) also functions as a noun and normally precedes the modifying digit, e.g. 1,000 *rtung nege*, 3,000 *rtung ghurang*. The concept of zero in the slot for the hundreds is expressed by the native postposition *diire* 'above, also', e.g. 1,001 *rtung nege diire nege*. Apart from terms for actual units (of length, area, weight, currency), there are no numeral classifiers.

Other numeral categories are formed either syntactically or by means of derivative suffixes. Syntactic formations include the ordinals, which are expressed by the Tibetan particle *ang* ~ *angge*, e.g. *ang/ge nege* 'first', *ang/ge tawung* 'fifth'. The native numerals can also completely be replaced by the Tibetan ones, e.g. (native) *angge dolung* ~ (Tibetan) *angge hdem.ba* 'seventh'. In Gansu Bonan, a different formation is used, involving the third person pronoun *njang* preceded by the connective form of the numeral, e.g. *nimang-ne njang* 'eighth'. Alternatively, the local shapes of the Mandarin expressions can be used, e.g. *ji-yi* 'first', *ji-e* 'second'.

Approximatives can be expressed by juxtaposing two consecutive numerals of the same order, e.g. *nege ghwar* 'one or two', *xorung zemce* 'twenty or thirty', while distributives are expressed by repeating a numeral, e.g. *ghurang ghurang* 'three each'. Other approximative constructions are formed by using the postpositional phrases *yaman'ge* 'something' and *nege kutungge* (*kutung* 'how many'), or the preposition *halcer* 'about', e.g. *hawrang nege kutungge*, *hawrang yaman'ge*, *halcer hawrang* 'about ten'. A similar meaning can also be expressed by *yanca manca* 'about', from *yanca* 'over' and *manca* 'almost', e.g. *hawrang yanca* 'over ten', *hawrang manca* 'almost ten', *hawrang yanca manca* 'about ten'.

Multiplicatives can be formed by any of the words *rkor*, *yang*, *tang* 'time/s'. In combination with *yang*, the numeral stems lose the final nasal and end invariably in the vowel *a*, e.g. *nega yang* 'once', *dira yang* 'four times', *tawa yang* 'five times'. In combination with *tang*, by contrast, the stems for 'one' and 'two' add a final nasal: *negen tang* 'once', *ghwaren tang* 'twice'. Finally, in combination with *rkor*, the stems for 'three' and 'four' lose the final nasal, while the other stems seem to replace it by *r* (possibly generalized from *ghwar* 'two): *ghura rkor* 'three times', *dira rkor* 'four times', *tawer rkor* 'five times', *jerghar rkor* 'six times'.

Suffixally formed numeral derivatives in Bonan comprise only the delimitatives in *.xang*, e.g. *nege.xang* 'only one', as well as the collectives in *.la* (Gansu Bonan *.le*). The latter incorporate several irregular stem alternations: *ghwa.la* 'two together', *ghul.la* 'three together', *di.la* 'four together', *tawu.la* 'five together', *jerghe.la* 'six together', *dole.la* 'seven together', *nime.la* 'eight together', *yerse.la* 'nine together', *hawer.la* 'ten together', *xore.la* 'twenty together' (with considerable dialectal variation). The collectives can also be used in the approximative constructions, e.g. *hawerla nege kutungge* 'about ten together'.

PRONOUNS

The Bonan pronominal system generally preserves the Common Mongolic pronominal stems, but shows morphological complications and simplifications corresponding to the changes in the nominal paradigm. An important idiosyncracy shown by the personal (and personally used demonstrative) pronouns, as opposed to both regular nouns and other pronominal categories, is that there is a separate case form functioning as the genitive,

TABLE 16.5 BONAN PERSONAL PRONOUNS

		1p.		2p.
sg.	nom.	*be*		*ce*
	gen.	*mene*		*cene*
	dat.	*nada*		*coda*
	abl.	*nasa*		*cosa*
		excl.	incl.	
pl.	nom.	*man'ge*	*bede*	*ta*
	gen.	*mane*	*bedane*	*tane*
	dat.	*manda*	*bedanda*	*tanda*
	abl.	*mansa*	*bedansa*	*tansa*

while the role of the accusative is filled by the dative (dative-accusative, a multifunctional oblique case). In all details of pronominal inflection, there is considerable dialectal variation.

As far as the personal pronouns are concerned, the original system seems to be best preserved in the sKa.gsar subdialect of Qinghai Bonan (Table 16.5). Here, the singular pronouns 1p. *be* (< **bi*) : 2p. *ce* [tɕi] (< **ci*) have separate declensional stems for the connective (**min-* : **cin-*) and the rest of the forms (**na-ma-* : **ci-ma-*), while the plural pronouns 1p. incl. *bede* (< **bida*) : 2p. *ta* (< **ta*) have a single declensional stem (**tan-* : **bidan-*) used for all the suffixally marked case forms. The original first person plural exclusive pronoun (**ba* : **man-*) is preserved only in the declensional stem *man-*, which also serves as the basis for the secondary nominative form *man'ge*.

Among the many dialectal deviations from this basic scheme, the following may specially be noted: In sGo.dmar and Xiazhuang, the presumably older stem sg. 2p. *co-* (dat. *coda* : abl. *cosa*) has been replaced by *ca-* (dat. *cada* : abl. *casa*), apparently on the analogy of the first person pronoun. In gNyan.thog, on the other hand, the singular pronouns have the uniform declensional stems *men-* : *cen-* also in the dative (*menda* : *cenda*) and ablative (*mensa* : *censa*). Also in gNyan.thog, the pl. 1p. incl. stem *bede* appears with the declensional stems *bede-* (conn. *bedene*) : *be-* (dat. *beda* : abl. *besa*). In Xiazhuang and Gansu Bonan, all personal pronouns have the postpositional sociative in *-ghale* < *+ghale* (*be-ghale* : *ce-ghale* : *man'ge-ghale* : *bede-ghale* : *ta-ghale*).

A further complication is that, in all subdialects, the plural pronouns may add the plural marker *-la*, yielding forms of the type (gNyan.thog and sKa.gsar) pl. 1p. incl. *man'ge-la* : excl. *bede-la* : 2p. *ta-la*. The plural marker can also be present in the inflected forms, e.g. conn. *man'ge-la-ne* : *bede-la-ne* : *ta-la-ne*, dat. *man'ge-la-da* : *bede-la-da* : *ta-la-da*. In the second person pronoun, the plural marker plays a potentially distinctive role, in that the unmarked forms (and only these) can be used in addressing a single person in honorific speech.

Reference to the third person can be expressed by the demonstrative pronouns *ine* ~ *ne* 'this' (< **ene*) and *tere* ~ *te* 'that' (< **tere*), or also *nogo* 'that one' (< **nögüxe*), all of which follow the regular nominal declension, e.g. conn. *ine-ne* : dat. *ine-da* : abl. *ine-sa* : com. *ine-ghale*. As a pronominal feature, however, the dative form of the demonstratives can also function as the object case (alongside the connective). The corresponding plurals are *ine-la* 'these' and *tere-la* 'those', and correlative derivatives include: *inde* ~ (Xiazhuang) *nende* 'here' vs. *tende* 'there', *ingge-* 'to do this way' vs. *tengge-* 'to do that

way', *emtig* ~ (Xiazhuang) *nemtig* 'this kind of' vs. *temtig* 'that kind of', as well as (with *+nege* 'one') *emten'ge* vs. *temten'ge*, *emiin'ge* 'this much' vs. *temiin'ge* 'that much'.

Another stem that is used in reference to the third person is *ojang*, dialectally also *ajang* ~ *ejang* ~ *njang* : pl. *ojang-la* (with corresponding variants). These seem to derive from the noun **ejen* 'master', which in other languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex is used as a reflexive pronoun. In Bonan, the function of the reflexive pronoun is filled by the stem *goozhi* ~ *gooji* (from Chinese), dialectally also (Xiazhuang) *goojang* ~ *goonang* ~ *goojinang* (apparently containing the otherwise obsolete reflexive ending *-nang*). The original reflexive pronoun also survives as sg. *orung* (< **öxer-i-xe/n*) : pl. *orse* ~ *ose*, but it is mainly used in indirect speech in reference to the quoted speaker (reported first person). It can also occasionally replace the regular first person pronoun in direct speech.

The principal interrogative pronouns and related verbal and adverbial words are: *ane* 'which' (< **ali*), *kang* 'who' (< **ken*), *kudung* ~ *kutung* 'how many' (< **kedün*), *kece* (< **kejiye*) ~ *kece-xangnang* 'when', *hala* 'where' (< **kaxa-*), *yang* 'what' < **yaxu/n*), *yanggeda* 'why', *yamtig* 'what kind of', *yamten'ge* 'how much' (with *+nege* 'one'), *yangge-* 'to do what'. The corresponding indefinite expressions are formed by the conditional and concessive converbs *wisa*, *wida*, *wisada* (all probably *wii-*), e.g. *kang wisa* 'whoever', *yang wisa* 'whatever', *hala wisa* 'wherever'. Another construction is present in *yaman'ge* < *yama nege* 'something' (< **yaxuma* ~ **yamar* + *nege*) and *kama nege* 'somebody'.

A special type of pronominal derivative is formed by the possessive pronouns in *-ghang* (< **-ki/n*), which are substantival words functioning as nominal predicates. The possessive pronouns are based on the genitive stem of the personal pronouns, e.g. sg. 2p. *ce* 'you' : gen. *cene* 'your' : poss. *cen-ghang* 'yours' (or possibly *cen-e-ghang* < **cin-U-ki/n*). The corresponding interrogative pronoun is, however, based on the basic form of *kang* 'who' : poss. *kang-ghang* (or possibly *kang-gang*) 'whose'.

VERBAL FORMS

The verbal conjugation in Bonan incorporates the four Common Mongolic formal categories: imperatives, finite indicative forms, participles, and converbs. The basis of the functional differences within each category varies from personal reference (imperatives) to temporal-aspectual (participles and finite indicative forms) and other circumstantial distinctions (converbs). A special category which Bonan shares with the other languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex is perspective. Verbal suffixes are generally less loose than nominal ones, and, at least dialectally, some suffixes beginning with an obstruent show a trace of the Common Mongolic variation between strong and weak segments (*g j* vs. *k c* = *G J*).

In the imperative sphere, Bonan has only three forms, which refer to the three subject persons respectively. The unmarked basic verbal stem (plain imperative) refers to the second person, e.g. *ce ghordelaje yawu* 'you, go quickly!'. First person reference is expressed by the voluntative suffix (*)-*ya* (dialectally > *-i*), e.g. (gNyan.thog) *be cenda nokorge-ya* 'let me help you!'. The third person is referred to by the ending *-ge*, which seems to reflect the Common Mongolic permissive (**-gV*, with possible syncretic influence of other primary imperative forms), e.g. *ojangghula yangge yarsa yare-ge* 'let them do what they want'. The system is, thus, similar to that recorded from, for instance, Mangghuer.

In the non-finite sphere, Bonan retains the futuritive, perfective, and agentive participles, as well as a dialectally varying number of converbs and petrified quasiconverbs (Table 16.6).

TABLE 16.6 BONAN NON-FINITE VERBAL MARKERS

	function	marker
part. fut.	aorist-future	*-Gu* > *-Ge*
perf.	past-perfective	*-sang*
ag.	actor noun	*-cang*
conv. mod.	modifying	*/y-ang*
imperf.	coordinative	*-Je*
cond.	conditional-temporal	*-sa*
conc.	concessive	*-sa=da*
term.	terminative	*-tala, -sala*
fin.	final	*-la*
abtemp.	progressive	*-ser*

The participles typically act as adnominal attributes, e.g. part. fut. *ode-gu uder* 'the day to go', part. perf. *ser-sang ghoca* 'the book that has been studied'. The agentive participle, however, often occurs as an independent substantival noun, which can have a modifier in the connective case, e.g. *ine-ne mide-sang* 'the one who knows this' (functionally either accusative: 'the one knowing this', or genitive: 'the knower of this'). The perfective participle can also be used as a nominal predicate, with or without a copula, e.g. *nogo kung ode-sang* 'that person has gone'. The temporal reference of the participles can vary. The perfective participle, in particular, can also occur in a futuritive function, as in *magshe bede ghwala jalghasung war-sang yi* 'tomorrow we shall [go and] catch fish'.

The modal converb retains the simple marker *-ng* (< **-n*) only in the Gansu dialect, and even there the rules of vowel phonotax require the replacement of any stem-final vowel by *a*, e.g. (Gansu) *njase kel-ang yudo* 'they went away speaking'. In Qinghai Bonan, the suffix variant *-ang* has received an initial hiatus-filling palatal glide, yielding */y-ang*, e.g. *laa/y-ang xarajo* '[he] cried and cursed'. Finally, in some subdialects, the suffix has lost the final nasal, yielding *-ya* (with nothing left of the original substance), as in (gNyan.thog) *ndi-ya uujo* '[he] ate and drank'. The modal converb typically expresses a minor modifying action taking place either before or at the same time as the main (finite) action. In practice, the difference with regard to the imperfective converb is minimal.

The imperfective converb has the marker *-Je* (< **-Ji*) and expresses an action coordinated with another action, e.g. *daara-je olorjo* '[he] is freezing and starving'. It can, however, also imply a serial ordering of actions, e.g. (Xiazhuang) *njang xarne ghwa-je yame jaldo* '[he first] washed his hands and [then] prepared food'. While this form normally shares the subject of the following (finite) verb, there are occasional examples of subject change, e.g. (Xiazhuang) *ce re-je be bisedo* 'I am glad that you came' (literally: 'you came and I am glad').

The conditional converb in *-sa* (Xiazhuang and Gansu *-se*) expresses conditional or temporal subordination, e.g. *magshe or-sa tege ode* 'if it rains tomorrow, do not go!'. The same form, or possibly a homonymous form based on the Common Mongolic expanded optative (**-sU-xA.i*), is also used independently (elliptically) to express a wish or intention, e.g. *be nege kil-sa* 'let me say something' (literally: 'if I say something'). The concessive converb is formed from the conditional converb by adding the particle *+da*, with the word boundary still remaining prosodically marked, e.g. (Xiazhuang) conv. cond. *be*

hor re-se njang ayedene 'if I get angry, he will be frightened', conv. conc. *ce hor re-se+de be le ayem* 'even if you get angry, I will not be frightened'.

The terminative and final converbs in *-tala* (Gansu *-tela* ~ *-tele*) and *-la* (*-le*), respectively, are used in their Common Mongolic functions, e.g. conv. term. (Gansu) *ta xoro ol-tele saaghe* 'you, wait until it becomes evening'; conv. fin. *ojang se aw-la odo* 'he came to fetch some water'. Occasionally, the terminative marker merges with the final marker into *-la*, as in *kur-tala* ~ *kur-la* 'until'. Due to a confusion with the conditional marker *-sa*, the terminative converb can also end in *-sala* (*-sele*), e.g. *be cenda er-sala saaghaya* 'let me wait until you come!'.

The abtemporal (quasi)converb in *-ser* (< **-gsA-xAr*) expresses the continuity or progression of action and is normally used in combination with the auxiliary *suu-* (dialectally *seu-*) 'to be in the action of' (< **saxu-* 'to sit'). This form is attested only in Xiazhuang and Gansu, e.g. (Gansu) *bede njasene saaghe-ser suuji* 'we are (continuously) waiting for them'. In the other subdialects of Qinghai Bonan, the same function is expressed by the imperfective converb, or also by the unmarked verbal stem (sequential converb in -Ø), followed by the required form of the verb *suu-*, e.g. (gNyan.thog) *bede gerkelangsane dawu zhawa wiilege-je suuji* ~ *wiilege-Ø suuji* 'we have been working together since last night'.

There are also several secondary quasiconverbial structures based on the participles. The local case forms of the participles are regularly used to indicate temporal or causal relationships, e.g. (part. perf. dat.) *ce ersang-da be ngga hgageji* 'when you came, I was very glad'. The futuritive participle serves as the basis for the complex forms in *-gu-ma* 'as soon as', *-gu-je* id. (< **-gu+ge-je* 'intending to'), and *-gu-re-da* 'while' (with *-re-* 'to come'), e.g. (Gansu) *man'ge njigede ace-guma yudo* 'as soon as we had loaded the donkey, we left'; (Qinghai) *tere kung er-gu-je inesang ojangda ca rcaljo* 'as soon as he came, the family ['these respected ones'] cooked tea for him'; (Qinghai) *ojang omce-gu-re-da pecejo* 'while reading, he is writing'. Another secondary converb ends in *-texang*, e.g. (Gansu) *njang re-texang be hcedeye* 'as soon as he comes, I will go!'.

In the finite indicative sphere Bonan retains reflexes of the Common Mongolic narrative, durative, terminative, and resultative forms. All of these are synchronically used mainly in a temporal function (Table 16.7). From the formal point of view, the narrative marker appears to represent the primary short variant of the suffix (**-m* instead of **-mUi*), while, somewhat incongruently, the durative marker represents the secondarily shortened variant of the original suffix (**-nA* < **-nAm* ~ **-nAi*).

The narrative and durative are mostly interchangeable and normally refer to the future tense, e.g. *magshe be ode-na* ~ *ode-m* 'tomorrow I will go'. Dialectally, however, only certain types of verb seem to be used with the durative ending, while the narrative ending has no such restrictions. The two past tense forms have probably slightly different

TABLE 16.7 BONAN FINITE TENSE-ASPECT MARKERS

	function	marker
narr.	present-future	*-m*
dur.	present-future	*-na*
term.	simple past	*-wa* > *-o*
res.	complex past	*-(r-)Je*

functions (here termed simple vs. complex), though it is not immediately clear what the difference is. In many concrete examples, the two forms are used, as it seems, in a more or less identical function, cf. e.g. (Gansu) *njang aameghale yud-o* [term.] 'he left with [his] mother' vs. *njase gude yude-je* [res.] 'they left yesterday'. It is also not clear how these forms differ in function from the predicative use of the perfective participle.

THE CATEGORY OF PERSPECTIVE

As in Mongghul and Mangghuer, the category of perspective (also known as 'evidentiality') in Bonan represents an areal feature ultimately connected with the Tibetan impact on the local non-Tibetan languages. This category is differentiated into what may be termed the subjective and objective perspectives. The forms expressing the subjective perspective have normally (in the unmarked case) a first person referent, while the forms expressing the objective perspective have a second or third person referent, without regard to the category of number. The personal references of the forms can, however, also be reversed (implying a marked case).

The available information suggests that perspective in Bonan is not formally incorporated into the system of the simple temporal-aspectual suffixes of the finite conjugation. Rather, the distinction is primarily only present in the copular and existential verbs. From the latter, it has been secondarily extended to two complex finite forms, which may be termed the periphrastic progressive and future (Table 16.8).

The basic existential verb has the forms subj. *wi* (probably more currently phonemized as *wii*) : obj. *wa*, which seem to represent a syncretic merger and secondary (re)differentiation of the original copula **bUi* and the auxiliary **ba(y)i-* 'to be'. The existential verb also serves as the basis for the emphatic copula with the forms subj. *mbi* (or *mbii*) : obj. *mba*, which additionally appear to include a prefixed trace of the pronoun **mön* 'that very' (used as a copula in Mongol proper). The existential verb is probably also the source of the copular set subj. *yi* (or *yii*) : obj. *o* (< **wa*), though the details of this differentiation remain somewhat unclear. The distribution between the existential set *wi* : *wa* and the copular set *yi* : *o* is also open to different interpretations, and there may be dialectal differences. For the copular shape *yi* the possibility of Tibetan influence cannot perhaps be ruled out (cf. the Amdo Tibetan copula *yen*).

In principle, the copular set, including the emphatic copula, is used with a nominal (including adjectival) predicate, while the existential set is used in existential sentences, including the possessive construction, e.g. (Xiazhuang) (cop. subj.) ***ne mene gar yi*** 'this is my house'; (cop. emph. subj.) *ne mene more mbi* 'this *is* my horse'; (cop. obj.) ***njang***

TABLE 16.8 BONAN PERSPECTIVE MARKERS

	subjective	objective
exist.	*wi*	*wa*
cop.	*yi*	*o*
cop. emph.	*mbi*	*mba*
exist. neg.	*gi(-wa)*	*gi-na*
cop. neg.	*shi*	*sho(-wa)*
progr. periphr.	*-Ji*	*-Jo*
fut. periphr.	*-Gi*	*-Gwa* > *-Go*

janig o 'he is Chinese'; *ne gar hanisa onder o* 'this house is the highest of all'; (exist. subj.) *mene agu yadzede wi* 'my daughter is in Xunhua'; (exist. obj.) *cade temer more wa* 'you have a bicycle'. The copular set is, however, also used with some converbs, while the existential set seems to be combined with the predicatively used perfective participle e.g. (conv. + cop. subj.) *be xolone uutexang yi* 'I have just had my breakfast'; (part. perf. + exist. subj.) *be lawrangde hcesang wi* 'I have been to bLa.brang'.

The negative existential subj. *gi* (perhaps *gii*) or *gi-wa* (*gii-wa*) : obj. *gi-na* (*gii-na*, dialectally *gi-ne* or *gii-ne*) transparently reflects the Common Mongolic negative noun **ügei*. The negative copula subj. *shi* (or possibly *shii*) : obj. *sho* (< **shi+o*) ~ *sho-wa* likewise derives from the Common Mongolic negative particle **bisi*. The distribution of these elements is basically analogous to that of their affirmative counterparts, e.g. (Xiazhuang); (exist. neg. subj.) *nade more gi* 'I do not have a horse'; (exist. neg. obj.) *bedane diwade bedane gacene le medecung gine* 'in our village there is no one who would not understand our speech'; (cop. neg. subj.) *njang lizhiba sho* 'he is not a cadre'.

Because of their general lack of verbal morphology and their inherent differentiation for the category of perspective, the copular and existential verbs could perhaps synchronically also be analysed as perspective particles. The existential stem *wi* (in this case invariably < **bayi-*) retains, however, still part of its non-finite verbal paradigm, in that it has all the three participles and a few converbs: part. perf. *wi-sang* : fut. *wi-gu* (also conv. *wi-gu-ma*) : ag. *wi-cang*, conv. cond. *wi-sa* : conc. *wi-sa = da*. In the Gansu dialect, the stem *yi* is also attested in the fully lexicalized converbial forms conv. cond. *yi-se* 'if' : conc. *yi-se = da* 'although'. All of these non-finite forms lack any notion of perspective.

The periphrastic progressive in subj. *-Ji* (possibly *-Jii*) : obj. *-Jo* and future in subj. *-Gi* (possibly *-Gii*) : obj. *-Go* (gNyan.thog *-Gwa*) are based on the imperfective converb in *-Je* as well as the futuritive participle in *-Gu* (Xiazhuang > *-Ge*), to which the clitically used copular set *yi* : *o* (< **wa*) has been added. These two complex forms serve as the most common expressions for the present and future tenses of the indicative conjugation, e.g. (Xiazhuang) (progr. periphr. subj.) *ce resangde be bise-ji* 'I am glad that you came'; (progr. periphr. obj.) *fi jore kung nege yu-jo* '[there] is a man going in [along] the forest'; (fut. periphr. subj.) *magshe cawsung se orse be hce-gi* 'if it does not snow tomorrow, I will go; (fut. periphr. obj.) *njang cenazhe re-go* 'he will come the day after tomorrow'.

Due to the perspective reference they contain, the periphrastic progressive and future seem to be replacing the simple narrative and durative forms, which are undifferentiated with regard to the category of perspective. Dialectally, there is also a third periphrastic form ending in subj. *-sang-ni* : obj. *-sang-no*, based on the perfective participle, e.g. (Xiazhuang) (subj.) *be hkude lang kile hce-sang-ni* 'yesterday I went to hand over grain'; (obj.) *ne pejigne wang sruji peje-sang-no* '[it was] secretary Wang [who] wrote this letter'. The functional status of this complex form remains to be clarified, but from the formal point of view it has to be noted that the elements *-ni* : *-no* are perhaps not simple traces of the copula, but also contain the possessive suffix *-ne*, which here seems to function as a substantivizer.

Diachronically, the periphrastic progressive is the form that may be assumed to have the longest history in Mongolic. It is therefore not surprising that the construction conv. imperf. + *wi* (*wii* < **bayi-*) is also attested in Bonan in a secondary non-finite form, ending in *-J-i-gu* (possibly *-J-ii-gu* < **-Ji+bayi-ku*) and functioning as a progressive participle, as in *mene mer-c-i-gu mamug datrang wi* 'what I am wearing is a cotton coat'. The progressive participle is not used as a nominal predicate, which suggests that it possibly remains outside of the regular participial system. On the other hand, as a nominal form of *wi*(-), it is indifferent with regard to the category of perspective.

AUXILIARY VERBS

In addition to the copular and existential verbs (which can apparently also be analysed as perspective particles), Bonan has several other verbs which clearly function as auxiliaries, conveying various meanings of aspectuality, directionality, or modality. Most auxiliaries have close parallels in the other languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex, and they typically derive from well-known Common Mongolic sources.

The Bonan auxiliaries may be divided into three main groups: (1) those expressing directional or aspectual relationships, e.g. *er-* ~ *re-* 'to come; to begin' (< **ire-*), *xar-* 'to come out; to begin' (< **gar-*), *od-* 'to go; to finish' (< **od-*), *ware-* 'to finish' (< **bara-*), *suu-* 'to sit; to continue' (< **saxu-*); (2) those expressing ability or necessity, namely *rta-* 'to be able' (< **cida-*), *yada-* 'to be unable' (< **yada-*), *ol-* 'to become; to be possible' (< **ol-* and/or **bol-*), *ker-* 'to be necessary' (< **kere-*); and (3) those indicating the beneficiary of the action: *aw-* 'to take; to do for oneself' (< **ab-*), *oke-* 'to give; to do for somebody else'.

In the typical auxiliary construction, the auxiliary is preceded by the semantic main verb in a converbial form. The most common form in these cases is the imperfective converb, e.g. *xara-je erena* '(he) begins to curse'; *ndangne nee-je oke* '(please) open the door (for me)'; *hol-je ile olna* '(he) is not able to run'. In some cases, other converbs, notably the final converb, can be used, e.g. *xara-la xarto* '(he) began to curse'. However, the auxiliaries *ware-*, *suu-*, *ker-*, *rta-*, and *yada-* can also be preceded by the zero-marked verbal stem, which in this particular construction may also be analysed as a suffixally unmarked converbial form (sequential converb), e.g. *be yegine pece-Ø waro* 'I finished writing the letter'; *tere kung dawu hol-Ø suujo* 'that person is still running'; *ce diiso nimangsa ngguuda kur-Ø kerna* 'you must arrive before eight o'clock'.

A special formative expressing the perfective aspect, synchronically a mere suffix but diachronically probably to be connected with the auxiliary **od-* 'to go' is *-de-* or (gNyan.thog) *-te-*, as in (gNyan.thog) *oke-* 'to give' : perf. *oke-te-*, (Xiazhuang and Gansu) *kel-* 'to tell' : perf. *kel-de-*, *yu-* 'to go' (< **yabu-*) : perf. *yu-de-*. Most probably, the construction originally also included a converb suffix, possibly that of the perfective converb (otherwise unattested in Bonan), e.g. perf. term. *yu-d-o* '(they) went' < **yabu-xad+od-ba*. Parallels are known from the other languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex, most transparently from Shira Yughur. There are indications that some other auxiliaries, notably *da-* 'to be able', can also in some dialects of Bonan be synchronically interpreted as suffixes, e.g. *re+da-* > (Gansu) *re-da-* ' to be able to come'.

A special type of auxiliary is formed by the quotative verb *ge-* 'to say', which shows that the preceding clause involves reported speech, often stressed by the presence of other indicators of verbal expression, such as *kil-* 'to speak' or *asexa-* 'to ask'. Interestingly, however, the quotative verb stem can also be reduced to zero, leaving only its verbal endings functioning as quotative markers, e.g. *manba mene ner cexiirce Ø-jo, yang hdasa mene hungda mung wa Ø-ji kiljo* 'the doctor said that I looked pale (literally: 'my face was white') and that smoking is bad for my health'; *ghwilajegune yanggeje od kerna Ø-sa* . . . 'as to [literally: 'when saying'] how to make an offer of marriage . . .'. The quotative verb is also used after descriptive expressions, as in *tinggerig jala jala Ø-je orjo* 'it rained continuously' (literally: 'the sky rained saying: *jala jala*').

A somewhat similar case of zero-marked verbal stem is present in the clause-final particle part. perf. *Ø-sang* : poss. *Ø-sang-ne*, also converbially conv. imperf. *Ø-sang-je*, which indicates reference to the past tense, e.g. *tere ghurang hungne ngguune dondag sang* 'it (was an incident that) took place three years ago'; *tere ghurang hungne ngguune*

dondag sang-je ide tege kil 'since it happened (already) three years ago, do not mention it now!'; *terna yang bedela hdign'ge ujeto sang-ne* 'we had a difficult time then'; This element comes close to the category of copulas, and it may, indeed, represent a lost copular stem, possibly simply *wi-*.

SYNTAX

The basic unmarked word order in Bonan is subject–object–predicate (SOV), but deviations from this pattern are possible for the purpose of topic marking, cf. e.g. (unmarked SOV) *cena nogheine joorje* 'the wolf bit the dog' vs. (marked OSV) *nogheine cena joorje* 'the dog was bitten by the wolf'. In sentences beginning with the object, the predicate is occasionally expressed by a causative derivative, signalling the emergence of a passive, though the object is still in the connective form, e.g. (OV) *gha ghwala-ne war-gha-rje* 'two foxes were caught' (literally: 'made themselves caught'). A modifier normally stands before its headword, but, again, deviations are possible. Adverbs of degree, for instance, can also follow an adjectival noun, as in *ngga yagsa* ~ *yagsa ngga* 'very beautiful'.

As in other Mongolic languages, negation and interrogation in Bonan are expressed by syntactic particles. For negation, several particles are used, depending on what particular form is to be negated. The postpositionally used negative copula *shi* : *sho(-wa)* negates nouns, including participles, e.g. (part. fut. + neg. cop. subj.) *bede kelge shi* 'we will not tell'. Participles, as well as converbs, can, however, also be negated by the negative existential *gi(-wa)*:*gi-na*. The negative existential is also used to negate the periphrastic progressive and future, in which case the synthetic construction is replaced by an analytic one, e.g. (conv. imperf. + neg. exist. subj.) *be taa-je gi* 'I am not sleeping', (conv. imperf. + neg. exist. obj.) *ojang taa-je gina* 'he is not sleeping'.

In the finite conjugation, four prepositional negative particles are used: *(i)le* (< **ülü*) for the present-future forms (narrative and durative), *(i)se* (< **ese*) for the past forms (terminative and resultative), and *tege* (< **bitegei*) or *be* (< **bu* ~ **buu*, preserved only in the sGod.mar subdialect of Qinghai Bonan) for the imperatives, e.g. (narr.) *kama nege da kurgu ndaaje ile olem* 'no one should come too late'; (dur.) *magshe ojang tende ile odena* 'tomorrow he will not go there'; (term.) *rkude ojang ende ise erwa* 'he did not come here yesterday'; (imp.) *tege dangla* 'do not stop [them]!'; (sGo.dmar) *ce be er* 'you, do not come!'.

Question is indicated by the Common Mongolic interrogative particle *u* (< **=U*), though in Gansu Bonan the Chinese particle *ma* also occurs. The particle *u* regularly amalgamates with a preceding finite form, yielding: narr. *-m-u*, dur. *-n-u*, term. *-w-u* > *-u*, dialectally also conf. *-j-u*, e.g. narr. interr. *ode-m-u* 'will [he] go', dur. interr. *ode-n-u* id., term. interr. (gNyan.thog) *ir-w-u* > (Xiazhuang) *r-u* 'did [he] come' (< **ire-be+ü*), conf. interr. (Xiazhuang) *h-c-u* 'did you go' (< **oci-ji-u*). The existential *wi* and the copular *mbi* yield exist. interr. *wu* resp. cop. emph. interr. *mbu*, e.g. *ce tilang ghaghalje wu* 'are you chopping wood?', *magshe ce tilang ghaghalgwa mbu* 'tomorrow you will chop wood, won't you'. In sentences containing an interrogative word, no corrogative particle is used, e.g. *tane kete kutung kung wi* 'how many people are (there) in your house'.

Other syntactic particles play a role in the discourse. For instance, the particles *ya* and *ri* (both from Tibetan) as well as *sii*, express certainty or emphasis, e.g. *ta ghwala nege hung olwa ya* 'you two were really born in the same year'; *xolung wa ri* 'it is hot, indeed'; *be tenggeje odeje sii* 'I went that very way'. Uncertainty or assumption is expressed by *ba* or *yo*, e.g. *temten'ge mba ba* 'it may be so', *ojang kete haajorje yo* 'he has probably been back home'. Imperative forms can be reinforced by the particles *ree*

and *see*, e.g. *man'gela yawuya ree* 'let us go!', *ce nege uje da ree ~ ce nege uje da see* 'please have a look!'. The latter have been tentatively explained (Chen Naixiong) as the prescriptive and desiderative forms of some subsequently lost verbal stem (another zero-stem), i.e. *Ø-ree* < **-xArAi* vs. *Ø-see* < **-xAsAi*. It should, however, be noted that the prescriptive and desiderative are forms otherwise unattested in Bonan.

LEXICON

Owing to its prolonged and intensive interaction with the neighbouring non-Mongolic languages, the influence of the written languages of Buddhism and Islam, and the almost total bilingualism or trilingualism of its speakers, Bonan has absorbed considerable amounts of alien vocabulary. According to a count made in the 1950s, only *c.*23 per cent out of a total of 3,020 lexical items in Gansu Bonan were of Mongolic origin. A similar count for Qinghai Bonan yielded a proportion of *c.*22 per cent out of a total of 3,032 words. In a more recent survey, based on a somewhat larger corpus comprising 3,596 words of Qinghai Bonan, the proportion of native lexical items was established at *c.*29 per cent.

It goes without saying that the native lexical items dominate the basic vocabulary, including terms for body parts and body functions, basic actions, colours, pronouns, postpositions and other grammatical items, as well as the basic numerals. Bonan also has Mongolic terms for many domestic animals and, importantly, for several agricultural concepts. On the other hand, the kinship terminology seems to have undergone considerable changes under the impact of the neighbouring languages. Altogether, a count based on *c.*700 items of basic vocabulary yields a proportion of *c.*42–4 per cent of native words in both dialects. The text frequency of the native vocabulary is, of course, even higher.

Correspondingly, the cultural vocabulary connected with recent and regional phenomena, including religion, is almost completely non-Mongolic in Bonan, with Tibetan and Chinese being the two most important source languages. The relative roles of Tibetan and Chinese vary considerably between the dialects and subdialects. Generally, Qinghai Bonan has a larger proportion of Tibetan loanwords, ranging from *c.*43 per cent in Xiazhuang to *c.*54 per cent in gNyan.thog, while the figure for Gansu Bonan is only *c.*17 per cent, as counted from the total recorded lexical corpus. The proportion of Chinese loanwords, on the other hand, ranges from as low as *c.*9 per cent in gNyan.thog to *c.*14 per cent in Xiazhuang and to over 40 per cent in Gansu Bonan.

Apart from the Tibetan and Chinese elements, there are a few easily recognizable Turkic loanwords, like *yagsa* 'good', borrowed from Salar, as it seems. These, as well as the possible elements of unknown origin in Bonan, remain to be investigated in the future. Another issue requiring a detailed diachronic analysis is the dating of the Tibetan loanwords. Most of the Tibetan elements in Bonan are, of course, very recent, so recent that they are 'reborrowed' on a daily basis in the speech of bilingual individuals. However, there must also be older layers which are perhaps distinguishable by phonological or semantic criteria.

One phenomenon which seems to distinguish some of the Tibetan elements in Bonan from their regular Amdo Tibetan counterparts is the frequent sporadic nasalization of the non-nasal preinitial *h*, as in *ndom* 'spider' < **hdom* (Amdo *hdom*, Written Tibetan **sdom**), (Gansu) *nggar* vs. (Qinghai) *hgar* 'temple' < **hgar* (Amdo *hgar*, Written Tibetan **sgar**). Since similar variation (nasal prothesis) is encountered in native Bonan words, it may reflect internal tendencies in the language. It may, however, also have a background in the local Amdo Tibetan dialects.

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CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

SANTA

Stephen S. Kim

Santa is spoken as the first language by an estimated 95 per cent of the 380,000 Santa people in China (according to the 1990 census). The ethnonym Santa is etymologically connected with the term *Sart*, as used historically of Persian and Turkic-speaking traders and urban people in Eastern Central Asia. In the Santa language, however, **Santa** means 'Muslim', and, consequently, it comprises not only the speakers of Santa, but also any other Muslim people. The Santa speakers feel that their Islamic faith is more important for their identity than any other ethnically distinctive feature, including their native language. This is obviously the reason why the term Santa has come to be used in its current ethnonymic sense, for in their relationships with other ethnic groups the Santa speakers prefer to identify themselves as 'Muslims' in the first place.

Before the founding of the People's Republic of China, even the Chinese government considered the Santa to be part of the Hui or *Huihui* (Muslim) minority. In the ethnic taxonomy of the People's Republic of China, however, the Santa speakers are recognized as a separate minority nationality, officially termed the *Dongxiang*, or the 'Eastern Village' people. This ethnonym is based on the name of the administrative territory of Dongxiang, where most of the Santa speakers traditionally live. Even today, the Santa speakers make only a vague distinction between themselves and the other Muslim groups in the region. Many Santa speakers identify themselves both as Dongxiang **(Dunxian)** and Hui. In earlier Chinese sources, the Santa also used to be known as the 'Mongolian Huihui' or the 'Dongxiang Huihui'. Nevertheless, for most Santa speakers the term Santa expresses best their primary identification.

Dongxiang is today an autonomous county located within Linxia Hui Autonomous Prefecture of Gansu Province. To some extent, the Santa population extends beyond the borders of Dongxiang to the neighbouring administrative areas. More importantly, owing to droughts in the 1960s to 1980s, more than 50,000 Santa moved to Sinkiang (*Xinjiang*), where they are mainly concentrated in the northwestern district of Ili (*Yili*). Like the Santa, in general, most of these migrants still retain their native language (and religion) well. More recently, in the 1990s, some 30,000 Santa were relocated by the Chinese government to a few other locations within Gansu, including the county of Anxi in northwestern Gansu, and the county of Yongdeng near Lanzhou. These relocations, directed to areas with good irrigation, were also caused by the constantly recurrent droughts in the high and arid mountains of Dongxiang County.

Although little is known concerning the historical background of the Santa, many Santa speakers themselves believe that their ancestors migrated from Central Asia sometime in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. It is generally conjectured that they were formed from a mixture of Central Asian traders, Han Chinese artisans, and Mongol soldiers. It remains, however, unclear, what the proportions of linguistically Mongolized Central Asian Muslims vs. culturally Islamized Mongols are in the modern ethnic composition of the Santa. In any case, while the Santa language is unquestionably a member of the Mongolic language family, the Santa people incorporate a considerable

non-Mongolic ethnohistorical component. How, when, and where, the linguistic Mongolization of this component took place, remains to be investigated in the future.

Owing to the complex ethnohistorical background of its speakers, the Santa language has developed some very idiosyncratic phonological and lexical characteristics, which make it not readily intelligible to speakers of any other Mongolic language, including Gansu Bonan and (Minhe) Mangghuer, the two Mongolic idioms geographically closest to Santa. Practical information from a Santa native speaker suggests that it is easier for the Santa to understand Mangghuer than Bonan. However, the language and dialect boundaries between Santa and its Mongolic relatives still need to be further investigated. It happens that recent field research has revealed the existence of a previously unknown Mongolic idiom, technically termed the Kangjia 'language', spoken by a small Muslim population of *c.*300 individuals in the county of gCan.tsha (Jianzha), north of Tongren in Qinghai. Taxonomically, the Kangjia 'language' would appear to be intermediate between Bonan and Santa.

Santa itself seems to form a single language, whose speakers all understand each other. Dialectal differences tend to be so small that it is usually not easy for a Santa speaker to tell which area the other speaker might come from. It also seems that the Santa speakers do not have clear ideas about any dialects in the language, though linguistic research has established three dialect areas: Suonan, Wangji, and Sijiaji (today's Longquan and Kaori). These three areas show slight phonological and/or lexical differences, as in: Sijiaji **fugierei** vs. Wangji **fugher** vs. Suonan **fugie** 'cow' (< ***xüker***); Wangji **khar** > **kha** vs. Sijiaji and Suonan **kha** 'hand' (< ***gar***); Sijiaji **guruwang** vs. Suonan & Wangji **ghurang** 'three' (< ***gurba/n***). Generally, though not always, it seems to be the Sijiaji dialect that preserves the most archaic state. Lexical differences are often caused by the varying exposure to Chinese influence, the impact being less strong in mountain areas with no Chinese speaking communities.

DATA AND SOURCES

Santa remains one of the least investigated Mongolic languages, a situation that is in a curious contrast with the fact that the Santa, by the size of their population, form the third-largest Mongolic speaking ethnic group in the world (after the Mongols proper and Buryat). Since the Santa generally also preserve their mother tongue well, the relative unknownness of their language must be connected with their seclusive social structure, in which considerably less attention is paid to the Mongolic linguistic affiliation than to the Islamic religious context. Another reason is that the Santa are among the economically and educationally least developed minority nationalities in the whole of China. According to governmental statistics (1992) they have the lowest literacy rate of all ethnic groups in the country, with only 17 per cent of the Santa being able to read some Chinese.

The first information on Santa as a specific form of Mongolic derives from G. N. Potanin (1893), who also published lexical material on the other Mongolic languages of the Gansu-Qinghai region. After this limited information it was, however, only the Sino-Soviet field work in the 1950s that yielded fresh material. As a result, B. X. Todaeva dealt with the Santa language in a descriptive paper (Todaeva 1959), as well as in a more comprehensive grammatical monograph with texts and a vocabulary (1961), later followed by a briefer sketch (1997) and an ethnological summary (1965). On the Chinese side, a Santa grammar was published by Liu Zhaoxiong (1981). In retrospective, it is reported that Antoine Mostaert, the pioneer of Monguor studies, also collected material on Santa, but his field notes remain unpublished.

Information on Santa became more abundant with the work of the Inner Mongolian scholar Buhe, who, in collaboration with Chingeltei and others, published a vocabulary (1983), a collection of texts (1986), and a diachronic grammar (1985). An important secondary source is the collective work of specialized papers edited by Hao Sumin (1988). For the diachronic understanding of Santa and its relationship with Bonan, the recent work of Sechenchogtu (1999) on the Kangjia 'language' is a major cornerstone. The Santa language is also described in the doctoral dissertations of Kenneth L. Field (1997) and Stephen S. Kim (1998). Problems of Santa phonology have been discussed by Masayoshi Kakudo (1995).

The most recent development involves an attempt to create a literary language for Santa. A practical orthography based on the Pinyin system of Romanization, and modelled after the already functioning orthographies of Mongghul and Mangghuer, has entered an experimental stage. The first publication in the new literary language is a dictionary by the native Santa scholars A Yibulaheimai and A Shelefu (2001). It has to be noted, however, that the Santa have occasionally tried to write down their language in the Arabic script. Traditionally, the Santa put a high emphasis on religious education, as given by imams at mosques throughout the Santa villages. As a result, quite a few people seem to have acquired a knowledge of the Arabic script, and specimens of Santa texts in Arabic writing have circulated among the population. The Arabic script is also used for more casual notes in the native language. All of these written sources on Santa remain to be collected and investigated in the future.

The data for the present paper are primarily based on the author's own field work with a variety of Santa speakers. The Santa language material is transcribed in a slightly modified version of the experimental orthography, as used by A Yibulaheimai and A Shelefu.

SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Santa is normally considered to have six basic vowel qualities, which can be denoted roughly as [a e i o u ɯ]. Among these, only the five vowels **a e i o u** (*a e i o u*) occur freely in various environments and may be regarded as actual phonemes (Table 17.1). The normal pronunciation of **e** is that of the mid central unrounded vowel [ə]. The vowels **i u e** are usually devoiced in an unstressed initial syllable when followed by a strong (aspirated) stop or fricative and preceded by a voiceless segment.

The quality [ɯ] occurs mainly after the uvular consonants **kh gh** in complementary distribution with **i**, suggesting that it should be interpreted as an allophone of **i**. Diachronically [ɯ] seems to represent the original back vowel **ï*, e.g. **ghimusun** [ɢɯmusũ] 'thumb' < **qïmusu/n* 'fingernail', **khidei** [qɯdei] 'Han Chinese' < **qïta-*. After a medial **gh**, the quality [ɯ] can be replaced by [**ɨ**], e.g. **eghi-** [əʁɨ] 'to hit' (possibly from **orkï-* 'to throw'). Another position in which the quality [ɯ], or perhaps more often [ɤ], is attested, is before a nasal coda in non-initial syllables; in these cases, it seems to

TABLE 17.1 SANTA VOWELS

u	**i**
o	**e**
a	

be a question of an allophone of **e**, e.g. **amen** [amɤ̃] 'millet' < **amu/n*, **banden** [bãdɤ̃] 'stool' (from Chinese). After the dental sibilants **s z c** and the retroflexes **sh zh ch r**, the vowel **i** is pronounced with a sibilant resp. retroflex coarticulation, e.g. **bosi** [buəsɿ] 'cloth' < **bös*, **zisi** [dzɿsɿ] 'selfish' (from Chinese), **zhighon** [dʐɻᵚᵘõ] 'six' < **jirguxa/n*, **chi** [tʂʰɻ] 'you'< **ci*, **shire** [ʂɿʐə] 'desk' < **sirexe*. These pronunciations are obviously due to Chinese influence.

Some scholars also include the retroflex vowel [ɚ] in the Santa vowel system. The occurrences of the quality [ɚ] are, however, marginal and do not require the postulation of a separate phoneme. The distribution of [ɚ] is restricted to syllables without an onset or a coda. Both synchronic and diachronic evidence shows that [ɚ] may be analysed as **er** (phonemically a syllabic *r*), as in **qierge** (for *ci-r-ge*) [tɕiɚgə] 'vehicle' < **terge*. Clearly, this is another feature reflecting the restructuring of Santa phonology under the impact of Chinese. In the Wangji dialect, however, a syllable-final **r** can form a single nucleus with any preceding vowel quality, as in **khar** 'hand' < **gar*, **ghurghei** 'worm' < **kor(o)kai*.

The low vowel **a** and the two non-low rounded vowels **o** and **u** mostly correspond to Proto-Mongolic **a* as well as **o* and **u*, respectively, e.g. **khara** 'black' < **kara*, **okho** 'short' < **okor*, **usu** 'water' < **usu/n*. The vowels **o** and **u** also correspond to original **ö* and **ü*, respectively, e.g. **mo** 'road' < **mör*, **usun** 'hair' < **(x)üsü/n*. In individual examples, there are many deviations from these regular correspondences.

There is no distinctive vowel length in Santa. However, as a facultative phonological phenomenon, when the same vowel is repeated in two consecutive syllables of a word, the intervocalic consonant is often omitted in fast speech. The remaining vowels tend to be contracted into a single phonetically long vowel, which can further be shortened. This results in a three-way free variation between a regular two-syllable structure, a vowel sequence (pronounced as a long vowel), and a single vowel, as in **suru-** > **suu-** > **su-** 'to learn', **kuru-** > **kuu-** > **ku-** 'to reach', **baighagha-** > **baighaa-** > **baigha-** 'to let build'.

The Santa consonant system comprises, by place of articulation, the labials **p b f m w** (*p b f m w*), the dental non-sibilants **t d n l** (*t d n l*), the dental sibilants **c z s** (*ts dz s*), the retroflexes (alveopalatals) **ch zh sh r** (*tr dr sr r*), the palatals **q j x y** (*c j sh y*), the velars **k g h ng** (*k g x ng*), and the post-velars (uvulars and glottals) **kh gh hh** (*q gh h*). By manner of articulation, the consonants can be divided into the strong (aspirated) stops **p t k kh**, the weak (unaspirated) stops **b d g gh**, the strong (aspirated) affricates **c ch q**, the weak (unaspirated) affricates **z zh j**, the fricatives **f s sh x h hh**, the nasals **m n ng**, the liquids **l r**, and the glides **w y**. This makes a total of twenty-seven consonant phonemes (Table 17.2).

The three sets of dental sibilants (**c z s**), retroflexes (**ch zh sh**), and palatals (**q j x**) are parallel with, and at least partly due to the influence of, the Chinese consonant system. Among them, the segment **c** is the most marginal, occurring only in Chinese borrowings

TABLE 17.2 SANTA CONSONANTS

p	**t**	**c**	**ch**	**q**	**k**	**kh**
b	**d**	**z**	**zh**	**j**	**g**	**gh**
f		**s**	**sh**	**x**	**h**	**hh**
	l		**r**			
m	**n**				**ng**	
w				**y**		

and in most cases in free variation with **s**. Another secondary phoneme is **z**, which also mostly occurs in loanwords. The retroflex affricates **ch** and **zh** represent the Proto-Mongolic palatal affricates **c* and **j*, respectively, as in **chighang** 'white' < **cagaxan*, **zharu-** 'to use' < **jaru-*. The original **s* has developed into dental **s**, retroflex **sh**, or palatal **x**, as in **sara** 'moon' < **sara*, **shira** 'yellow' < **sira*, **xieni** 'night' < **söni* (irregular).

The three palatals **q j x** occur only before the front vowel **i** or the palatal glide *y* (**i**). The segments **q j** could actually be deleted from the phoneme chart, because they are in a perfect complementary distribution with **t** and **d**, respectively. Palatalization of dentals is a common process in the region, and is also probably due to Chinese influence. In Santa, the phenomenon can be observed both in Chinese borrowings and in native Mongolic items, e.g. **jien** 'electricity' (from local Chinese **jien** < Standard Mandarin **dian**), **jieron** 'four' < **derbe/n*.

The segments **f h hh sh** can all represent Proto-Mongolic initial **x*, e.g. **fugie** 'cow' < **xüker*, **hon** 'year' < **xon*, **hharang** 'ten' < **xarba/n*, **shizhe-** 'to shame' < **xice(.xe)-*. Similar representations can, however, also be due secondary prothesis, as in **fugu-** 'to die' < **ükü-*. Generally, the development **x* > **sh** may be regarded as regular before the high palatal vowel **i**, while the development **x* > **f** is observed before the high rounded vowel **u**. Unfortunately, the diachronic picture is complicated by many irregularities, and both **h** and **hh** can also occur before **u**, as in **hulang** 'red' < **xulaxan*, **hhuntura-** 'to sleep' < **(x)umtara-*. It seems that the most common representation of the native **x* is the laryngeal **hh** (*ħ*), while the velar **h** (*x*) occurs mainly in Chinese loanwords.

While the distinction between **k g h** vs. **kh gh hh** is one of the few details of Santa phonology that have no analogy in Chinese, some sources claim that Santa actually has two kinds of postvelar **gh**, one of which is a stop [ɢ], while the other is a spirant [ʁ] (orthographically **gv**). However, the two realizations seem to be complementary, in that the stop variety occurs word-initially as well as after a nasal consonant, while intervocalically the spirant variety is used. The spirant variety is never attested in initial position, but the stop variety can occur intervocalically, as in **chighang** [tʂʰʮɢõ] 'white', **tegha** [tʻə̥ga] 'chicken'. In the lack of contradicting evidence, such as minimal pairs, it appears probable that the intervocalic stop realization is also contextually conditioned. One conditioning factor may be the devoicing of the preceding vowel.

It has to be noted that the intervocalic spirantic realization of **gh** can represent both **g* and **k*, with no easily detectable regularity, cf. e.g. **moghei** 'snake' < **moga(y)i*, **saighang** 'beautiful' <**sa(y)ikan*. Moreover, while an initial **gh** is in most cases an indicator of an original velar vocalism, the medial **gh** is also common in originally front-vocalic words, e.g. **enzheghe** 'donkey' < **elijige/n*, **zhughe** 'heart' < **jür(ü)ke/n*. On the other hand, in front-vocalic words the stop representation **g** is also common in medial position, as in **ogi-** 'to give' < **ög-*, **fugie** 'cow' < **xüker*. Under such circumstances, it is difficult to tell whether the immediate source of the medial consonant in an example like **chighin** 'ear' was a velar (**ciki/n*) or a postvelar (**ciqi/n* < **cïkï/n*).

Another consonant difficult to analyse is the velar nasal **ng**, which occurs only syllable-finally. Basically, Santa has only one syllable-final nasal, which may be denoted as **n**, and which is normally realized as the nasalization of the preceding vowel, e.g. **amin** [amĩ] 'life', **amen** [amɤ̃] 'millet'. The low vowel **a**, however, occurs in two different nasalized qualities, a palatal quality [ã] and a velar quality [õ]. These qualities are best interpreted as being due to a distinction in the nasal segment. While the nasal conditioning of the palatal quality may be analysed as **n**, the velar quality may be assigned to **ng**, as in the minimal pair **banbanzi** [bãbãzi] 'board' vs. **bangbangzi** [bõbõzi] 'stick'

(both from Chinese). This system of phonetic and phonological correspondences is similar to, and apparently influenced by, the local Chinese dialect, which has contrasts like, e.g. **sanzi** [sãzi] 'fried noodle stick' vs. **sangzi** [sɔ̃zi] 'throat'.

WORD STRUCTURE

The Santa syllable is of the type ((C)C)V(C). An onset cluster CC may only consist of an initial consonant plus a medial glide (*w y*, orthographically written as **u i**). A coda consonant is also normally either a glide (*w y*, written as **u o i**) or a dental or velar nasal (**n ng**). All other original syllable-final consonants have either been dropped, as in **puzha** 'bean' < **burcag*, nasalized, as in **kon** 'foot' < **köl*, **bulang** 'spring [of water]' < **bulag*, or turned into the onset of a new syllable, as in **bolu-** 'to be cooked, to mature' < **bol-*, **ghurang** 'three' < **gurba/n*. Additionally, the retroflex liquid (**r**) occurs as a coda in the Wangji dialect, while in the other dialects *r* (**er**) can be used as a syllabic consonant.

At the phonetic level, secondary initial clusters tend to be formed by the contextual devoicing of the various allophones of the vowel **i**, as in **sidara** [s̥̩dara] 'light', **shidun** [ʂ̥̩dũ] 'tooth', **shira** [ʂ̥̩ra] 'yellow'. A final **i** can likewise be devoiced, as in **kewosi** 'child', leading potentially to the auditive impression that the word ends in a consonant. Phonetic clusters are also formed through the devoicing and reduction of **e**, as in **tegha** [t'ə̥ʁa] 'chicken', **tezhi** [t'ə̥dʐ̩] 'button'. The best example of an initial cluster in Santa is perhaps offered by the word **pse** [p'sə] 'again', but even this item occurs in free variation with forms that contain a clear medial vowel segment: **pese** [p'ə̥sə] ~ **puse** [p'ʊ̥sə].

The possible combinations of vowels with medial and final glides are (orthographically): **ai ei ao ou ui ua uai iu ie ia io iao**. The sequence **iao** (*yaw*) is marginal, in that it only occurs in items borrowed from Standard Chinese, and it can normally be replaced by the local Chinese (and native Santa) sequence **io** (*yo*), as in **piao ~ pio** 'ticket' (from Chinese). The initial sequence **yao** (*yaw*) is, however, freely permitted in both native and borrowed words, as in **yaogo** 'humped'.

Vowel harmony has almost completely disappeared in Santa, one reason being the merger of the vowels **o* **u* and **ö* **ü*, as in **hodun** for both 'star' (**xodu/n*) and 'feather' (**xödü/n*). However, occasional remnants of the original palato-velar harmony are still encountered in derivational processes, as in **shira** 'yellow' : **shira.la-** 'to become yellow' vs. **chizhe** 'flower' : **chizhe.lie-** 'to bloom'. Apparently, it is no longer a question of a synchronically productive phenomenon.

Word stress in Santa is mainly manifested as a peak of the pitch contour. Normally, the prosodic prominence falls on the last syllable of a word, which has a higher pitch than the preceding unstressed syllables. Exceptions from the regular stress pattern are encountered in foreign items, such as **aghili** 'wisdom' (with initial stress, from Arabic). No traces of tonal differences are observed in the Chinese loanwords.

WORD FORMATION

Santa preserves the basic functional and morphological dichotomy between nouns (nominals) and verbs (verbals). Derived nominal and verbal stems are produced by derivative suffixes, many of which are of Common Mongolic origin, while others have been borrowed from local Chinese. Some suffixes have more than one shape for performing a single function because of the rudimental vowel harmony, still occasionally observed in the suffixation process. Another factor causing suffix allomorphy is that the liquids **r** and **l**

seem to be interchangeable in many instances. The principal derivational categories are listed and illustrated below.

Denominal nouns: **.chi** [occupation, involvement], e.g. **asun** 'livestock' : **asun.chi** 'herdsman'; **.kai** (from local Chinese 'visitor') [id.], e.g. **su** 'vinegar' : **su.kai** 'vinegar seller', **nienjinzi** '[eye]glasses' : **nienjinzi.kai** 'a person wearing glasses'; **.tu** [possessive adjectival nouns], e.g. **amin** 'life' : **amin.tu** 'living, alive'; **.sha** [characteristic], e.g. **taghun** 'fat' : **taghu.sha** 'a fat person'; **.bao** (perhaps from local Chinese 'guy') [id.], e.g. **yara** 'tumor' : **yara.bao** 'a person with a tumor'; **.jian** (from local Chinese 'craftsman') [id.], e.g. **borun** 'right side' : **borun.jian** 'a right-handed person'; **.lan** ~ **.lien** [temporal connection], e.g. **tegha** 'chicken, cock' : **tegha.lan** 'the time when the cock crows (early morning)'; **.chou** ~ **.cha** [diminutive], e.g. **tughon** 'cooker' : **tugho.chou** 'small cooker', **neki** 'leather coat' : **neki.cha** 'leather coat without sleeves'; [other types of connection:] **.ra** ~ **.lei** ~ **.rei**, e.g. **shesu.n** 'urine' : **shesu.ra** ~ **shesu.lei** 'an old urine pit'; **.lu/n** ~ **.ru/n**, e.g. **nudun** 'eye' : **nudu.ru/n** 'eyehole'; **.dei** or **.gi**, e.g. **dolon** 'seven' : **dolon.dei** ~ **dolon.gi** 'premature baby', **zholien** 'weak' : **zholien.gi** 'weak person'.

Functionally, a special position is occupied by the Common Mongolic nominativizing suffix **-ghun** (< **-ki/n*) [adherence or location], which can be attached to nouns with a local meaning, e.g. **soghei** 'left' : **soghei-ghun** '[something] being on the left side', or to the genitive case form of nouns, as in **gie** 'home' : **gie-ni-ghun** (with the genitive case marker **-ni**) '[something or someone] being at home'. Another special denominal suffix is **.ghang**, which functions as an intensifier of adjectival nouns, e.g. **gao** 'good' : **gao.ghang** 'better', **hulang** 'red' : **hula.ghang** 'more red'. Additional intensification can be achieved by using the Common Mongolic reduplicative pattern, e.g. **khara** 'black' : **kha&khara.ghang** 'very black', **hulang** 'red' : **hup&ula.ghang** 'very red'.

Deverbal nouns: **.sun**, e.g. **she-** 'to urinate' : **she.sun** 'urine'; **.dun**, e.g. **khana-** 'to cough' : **khana.dun** 'cough'; **.n**, e.g. **kielie-** 'to speak' : **kielie.n** 'language, tongue'; **.ang**, e.g. **tari-** 'to sow' : **tar.ang** 'crop'; **.si**, e.g. **kielie-** 'to speak' : **kielie.si** 'news'; **.lien**, e.g. **sugie-** 'to rebuke' : **sugie.lien** 'rebuke'; **.dang**, e.g. **yawu-** 'to walk' : **yawu.dang** 'walking style'; **.ghu**, e.g. **wila-** 'to cry' : **wila.ghu** 'a person who cries easily'; **.wuni**, e.g. **ijie-** 'to eat' : **ijie.wuni** 'food'. Some of these suffixes are diachronically connected with Common Mongolic participle markers. More transparently, lexicalized deverbal nouns are occasionally also yielded by the agentive participle in **-chen**, e.g. **adula-** 'to herd' : part. ag. **adula-chen** 'one who herds' > **adula.chen** 'herdsman'.

Denominal verbs: **.da-** ~ **.jie-** ~ **.ta-** [instrumental], e.g. **chighin** 'ear' : **chighin.da-** 'to inquire about', **qirou** 'saw' : **qirou.jie-** 'to saw', **taiya** 'stick' : **taiya.ta-** 'to hit with stick'; **.sa-** [id.] **amang** 'mouth' : **amu.sa-** 'to taste'. The most productive element forming denominal verbs is **+gie-**, e.g. **wilie** 'work' : **wilie+gie-** 'to work'. This is most typically used to verbalize nouns borrowed from other languages, mainly Chinese, e.g. **gunzo** 'work' (from Chinese) : **gunzo+gie-** 'to work'. Diachronically **+gie-** is directly based on the verb **gie-** 'to do' (< **ki-*), and, as a synchronic indicator of its independent status, it can still be separated from the nominal stem by a number of particles, such as **nie** (literally 'one'), **ulie** [negator], or **bu** [negator], e.g. **gunzo nie gie-** 'to try to work'.

A specific category of denominal verbs is formed by the derivatives of adjectival nouns. Most of these verbs have a translative meaning: **.la-** ~ **.lo-** ~ **.lie-** ~ **.lu-**, e.g. **bayang** 'rich' : **bayang.la-** 'to become rich', **yaogo** 'humped' : **yaogo.lo-** 'to become humped', **enzheghe** 'egg' : **enzheghe.lie-** 'to lay an egg', **oqio** 'old' : **oqio.lu-** 'to become old'; **.ra-** ~ **.ro-** ~ **.re-**, e.g. **hulang** 'red' : **hula.ra-** 'to become red', **noghon** 'green' : **nogho.ro-** 'to become green', **gieghang** 'bright' : **gieghe.re-** 'to become bright'; **.ta-** ~ **.to-** ~ **.tu-**, e.g. **shuwa** 'mud' : **shuwa.ta-** 'to become muddy', **ho** 'anger' : **ho.to-** 'to

become angry', **chighan** 'white' : **chigha.tu-** 'to become white'; **.da-** ~ **.do-** ~ **.jie-**, e.g. **gao** 'good' : **gao.da-** 'to be reconciled', **olon** 'many, much' : **olon.do-** 'to become increased', **undu** 'high' : **undu.jie-** 'to become high'; **.zhe-** ~ **.shi-**, e.g. **bayang** 'rich' : **baya.zhe-** 'to become rich', **tughon** 'skinny' : **tugho.shi-** 'to become skinny'; **.ghe-**, e.g. **kuqien** (also **kuiqien**) 'cold' : **kuqie.ghe-** 'to become cold'; **.chilie-**, e.g. **khidun** 'hard' : **khidu.chilie-** 'to become hard'; **.sa-** [with a negative connotation], e.g. **undu** 'high' : **undu.sa-** 'to become too high'.

Deverbal verbs: **.gha-** [causative voice], e.g. **bai-** 'to stand' : **bai.gha-** 'to build'; **.ndu-** [reciprocal and cooperative voice], e.g. **suru-** 'to learn' : **suru.ndu-** 'to learn together'. Additionally, there are suffixes by which Chinese verbs are adapted to Santa. Chinese monosyllables normally take one of the suffixes **.yi-** or (after a nasal coda) **.ji-**, e.g. **jiu.yi-** 'to save, to deliver' (from Chinese **jiu** 'to save'), **bang.ji-** 'to help' (from Chinese **bang** 'to help'). To bisyllables, the suffixes **.la-** ~ **.lo-** ~ **.lie-** ~ **.re-** ~ **.ro-** or **.qi-** are added, e.g. **qifu.la-** 'to afflict' (from Chinese **qifu** 'to afflict'). The only function of the derivative suffixes in these verbs is to make it possible to add Santa morphology to the Chinese roots.

NUMBER AND CASE

The only productive nominal number marker in Santa is the inflexional plural suffix **-la**. There are no distinctions in the range of plurality (plural vs. paucal). Singular or unspecified number is morphologically unmarked, but a definite singular entity is often expressed by a demonstrative noun phrase with the numeral **nie** 'one', e.g. **hhe nie mutun** 'that (one) tree'. The plural marker is often omitted, especially when the information is already provided by the context, e.g. **mutun** 'tree/s' (in general) : sg. **mutun** 'a tree' : pl. **mutun-la** 'trees' : **ghua mutun(-la)** 'two trees'.

Apart from **-la** (shared with Bonan), Santa seems to preserve a trace of the Proto-Mongolic plural formative **.s* in the single lexicalized example of **kewon** 'son' : **kewo.si** 'child'. In this word, the stress does not fall on the last syllable, as is usual, but rather on the penultimate syllable, suggesting the possibility that it is a question of two separate words: **kewo si**, with **si** acting as a particle. The element **(.)si** (shared in this shape with Mangghuer) occurs also in the complex suffix **.si-la**, which pluralizes pronouns and kinship terms, notably **kewon** 'son' : **kewo.si-la** 'sons' (or: 'children'), **tere** 'he' : **tere.si-la** 'they'. Another suffix with a similar function is **.xie** (possibly a variant of **.si**, but certainly also influenced by Chinese **xie** 'some'), which can further be expanded into **.xie-la**, e.g. **gayijio** 'younger brother' : **gayijio.xie(-la)** 'younger brothers'.

A generic plural can be formed by a reduplicative construction of the Common Mongolic type. In this construction, the word to be generalized is followed by a rhyme beginning with **m**, to which the particle **ji** (from a palatalized variant of the Chinese nominalizing and adverbializing particle **de**) can be optionally added, e.g. **tashi mashi (ji)** 'stones and the like'. If the headword begins with **m**, then the rhyme switches to begin with **s**, e.g. **medun sedun (ji)** 'trousers and the like'.

The case paradigm in Santa comprises six suffixally marked forms, which may be identified as: connective, dative, ablative, comitative, sociative, and prosecutive (Table 17.3). The dative, ablative, and comitative represent the corresponding Common Mongolic cases, while the prosecutive seems to derive from a Common Mongolic marginal case. The connective is, as in the other languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex, the merged reflex of the original genitive and accusative cases. The sociative is a secondary case shared with Bonan.

TABLE 17.3 SANTA CASE MARKERS

	function	marker
conn.	genitive-accusative	**-ni**
dat.	dative-locative-benefactive	**-de**
abl.	ablative-comparative	**-se**
com.	comitative	**-le ~ -re**
soc.	sociative-instrumental	**-gh(u)ala**
pros.	locative-prosecutive	**-ghun**

The connective case can be used both adnominally and adverbially. In adnominal use it expresses a variety of attributive (genitival) relations, including possession, subject, object, time, space, origin, or material, e.g. **Yusufu-ni jien** 'Joseph's clothes', **yeye-ni jioxin** 'the lesson grandfather [taught]', **xiexio-ni xienchuan** 'propaganda about the school', **fuzhugudu-ni gienan** 'bread from yesterday', **shire jiere-ni shu** 'the book on the desk', **ghon-ni usu** 'water from the valley', **muzha-ni shire** 'a desk made from wood'. Occasionally, such phrases can come close to the status of a compound word by dropping the case marker, e.g. **ghon usu** 'valley-water', **muzha shire** 'wooden desk'. In adverbal use the connective expresses the direct object (accusative), e.g. **ene shu-ni nie onshi** 'read this book'. Often this objective marker is dropped, especially when the object is indefinite, e.g. **shu onshi** 'read [some] books!'.

The dative and ablative cases are used adverbially in local and temporal expressions, e.g. (dative) **bi Baza-de saozhi wo** 'I am living in Linxia', **bi ijien-de echine** 'I will go at one o'clock'; (ablative) **bi Beijin-se irewo** 'I have come from Peking', **fugie xigua-se nie ogi** 'give me one of [from] the big watermelons'. The dative also expresses the indirect object, e.g. **bi laoshila-de kieliewo** 'I told [it] to the teachers', while the ablative is used to express the base of comparison, e.g. (pronominal example) **chi ma-se fugie wo** 'you are older than me'. The ablative is also required by some verbs expressing emotional states or reactions, such as **ayi-** 'to be afraid', **shizhe-** 'to be shy', **sonigha-** 'to be unfamiliar', e.g. **kunla-se ulie shizhene** '[he] will not be shy with people'.

The primary comitative and the secondary sociative are partly synonymous and can be used interchangeably to express joint actorship, often accompanied by the postposition **hantu** 'together with', e.g. (com.) **Ibura-le hantu echi** ~ (soc.) **Ibura-ghuala hantu echi** 'go together with Ibura!'. The comitative can also express comparison, as in **chi pizhisan bi pizhisan-le nie kielien wo** 'what you have written is same as what I have written'. The sociative, on the other hand, also functions as an instrumental, e.g. **khidei-ghala kielie** 'speak in Chinese!'.

The prosecutive case in **-ghun** (< **.gUUr*) is used to express both approximate location (locative) and route (prosecutive), e.g. **chon-ghun** 'around the bed', **hhe kun khuaina-ghun yawu** 'walk behind that person!'. More rarely, another form in **-re**, possibly a cognate of the locative case in Mongghul, can be used in the same functions.

NUMERALS

Owing to the heavy influence of Chinese, Santa preserves the Common Mongolic numerals only for the first decade: 1 **nie**, 2 **ghua**, 3 **ghurang**, 4 **jieron**, 5 **tawun**, 6 **zhighon**, 7 **dolon**, 8 **neiman**, 9 **yesun**, 10 **hharang** ~ **hharon**. The numeral 20 **khorin**

is also preserved, but it is normally only used in the functions 'twenty days' or 'twenty years of age', while the Chinese borrowing 20 **ershi** is used for regular counting. Also, to express higher numbers (above ten), the native numerals of the first decade are sometimes used for the purpose of secretive communication, e.g. 45 **jieron hharang tawun** (literally: 'four-ten-five').

From the structural point of view, it may be noted that all the numerals from 3 to 10 (and 20) retain the original final unstable nasal */n*. The modern reflexes of this nasal (and of the preceding vowel) involve, however, some complications, cf. e.g. the structurally similar stems 3 **ghurang** (< **gurba/n*) vs. 10 **hharang ~ hharon** (< **xarba/n*). It is possible that there is also variation of the type 3 **ghurang ~ ghuran**, 8 **neiman ~ neimang**, 10 **hharang ~ hharan**. The numeral 1 **nie** (< **nige/n*) is irregular, perhaps influenced by 2 **ghua** (< **koxar*), which itself may be regarded as regular in the Gansu-Qinghai context.

In parallel with the native basic numerals, the corresponding Chinese numerals are also commonly used: 1 **i**, 2 **er**, 3 **san**, 4 **si**, 5 **u**, 6 **liu**, 7 **qi**, 8 **ba**, 9 **jiu**, 10 **shi**. For higher numbers, only Chinese numerals can be used in normal conversation, e.g. 11 **shiyi**, 12 **shier**, 20 **ershi**, 30 **sanshi**, etc. The powers of ten are expressed by the Chinese constructions 100 **ibai ~ ibe**, 1,000 **iqien**, 10,000 **iwan** (incorporating **i** 'one').

Numerals invariably precede their head noun, e.g. **nie kun** 'one person'. Chinese numerals normally require the use of either a quantifier (measure word) or a classifier (counter), e.g. **i kuai** 'one dollar', **lian jien** 'two o'clock', **san gie** 'three pieces', **si qien** 'four days', **shiyi gie kun** 'eleven people'. Quantifiers can also be used with the native numerals, e.g. **nie igha lashigha** 'one bowl of noodle'. A special suffixal quantifier used with truncated shapes of the native numerals is **.udu** 'days' (from **udu** 'day'), e.g. **jier.udu** (from **jieron+udu**) 'four days'.

Ordinal numerals are formed by the Chinese prefixes **ji.** and **tao.**, which are combined with the Chinese numerals with or without a quantifier or a classifier, e.g. **ji.yi** 'the first', **ji.er** 'the second', **ji.yi.gie ~ tao.yi.gie** 'the first one', **ji.yi.ci ~ tao.yi.ci** 'the first time'. Special native expressions are **nie.fa** 'the first time', **ghuari.fa** 'the second time'.

The only Proto-Mongolic numeral derivatives preserved in Santa seem to be the collectives in **.la** ~ **.lie** (< **xUlA*, originally depending on the stem vocalism), e.g. **ghua.la** 'two together', **ghura.la ~ ghuru.lie** 'three together', **jieru.lie** 'four together', **tawu.lie** 'five together'. The variant **.lie** can also be attached to Chinese numerals combined with the classifier **.gie**, e.g. **shiyi.gie.lie** 'eleven together'. From the synchronic point of view the variant **.la** could perhaps also be analysed as representing the nominal plural marker **-la**, though diachronically the two elements are likely to be different. Distributives are formed by the suffix **.jia**, e.g. **ghua.jia** 'two each', (Chinese) **shiwu.gie.jia** 'fifteen each'.

PRONOUNS

Santa preserves most of the Common Mongolic morphological idiosyncracies of the first and second person personal pronouns (Table 17.4). In particular, the singular pronouns have three suppletive stems, one for the unmarked nominative (1p. **bi** : 2p. **chi**), another for the original genitive (**mini** : **chini**), and a third for the oblique cases (**nama-** : **chima-**), with a facultative possibility of further shortening in the oblique forms (yielding **ma-** : **cha-**). The actual oblique cases are formed by adding the regular case endings of nominal declension. The only trace of a distinction between the original genitive

TABLE 17.4 SANTA PERSONAL PRONOUNS

			1p.		2p.
sg.	nom.		**bi**		**chi**
	conn.	**mini**		**nami**	**chini**
	obl.		**(na)ma-**		**ch(im)a-**
		excl.		incl.	
pl.	nom.	**matang**		**bidien**	**ta(n)**
	obl.	**matang-**		**bidien-**	**tan-**

and accusative forms is preserved by the first person singular pronoun, which has two functionally equivalent connective forms, one of which represents the original genitive (**mini**), while the other represents the original accusative (**nami**).

In the declension of the plural pronouns, the unmarked nominative forms have been replaced by the corresponding oblique stems, though the original nominative is still facultatively used in the second person (**ta**). In the first person, a distinction is maintained between an exclusive and an inclusive form. The exclusive stem (**bidien-**) derives directly from Proto-Mongolic, but the inclusive stem (**matang-**) involves innovative features (partly shared with Bonan).

For the third person, the distal demonstrative pronouns **tere** and **hhe** 'that' are used. Both of these have a basically regular nominal paradigm with the exception that a stem-final **/n** appears in the dative of both pronouns (**teren-de, hhen-de**) as well as in the ablative of **tere** (**teren-se, hhe-se**). In the genitive (**tere-ni, hhe-ni**) and comitative (**tere-le, hhe-le**) no stem alternation takes place. The plurals are regular (**tere-la, hhe-la**), though plurals of the type **tere.si-la** are also attested. Synchronically, it seems that **tere** basically occupies the function of a personal pronoun, while **hhe** is primarily used as a demonstrative pronoun. The corresponding proximal demonstrative pronoun is **ene** 'this'.

Interrogative pronouns and related adverbial derivatives, most of which can also be used in an indefinite function, include **kien** 'who' (< **ken*), **yang** 'what' (< **yaxu/n*), **khala** 'where' (< **kaxa-*), **ali** 'which'(< **ali/n*), **giedun** 'how many, some'(< **kedün*) : coll. **giedu.lie** 'a few together', and **giezhe** 'when'(< **kejiye*).

In the function of a reflexive pronoun, the loanword **gojia** (from local Chinese) : pl. **gojia-la** is used (as also in Bonan). This pronoun can refer to all subject persons, e.g. **bi gojia** 'I myself', **ta gojia(-la)** 'you yourselves'. The original Common Mongolic reflexive pronoun is also preserved in the shape sg. **orun** : pl. **oruntang**, but it is mostly used in reported speech, with reference to the quoted speaker or to the current speaker's own self. Examples: (singular) **hhe made kieliezhi wo: 'orun maghashi Beijinde echine' giezhi** 'he told me that he will go to Peking tomorrow'; (plural) **bi chenliese, 'oruntang maghashi Beijinde echine' giezhi** 'I heard [them saying] that they are going to Peking tomorrow'.

POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

Unlike most other languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex, Santa (like Shira Yughur) preserves a full set of possessive suffixes, including even distinct suffixes for the first person plural exclusive and inclusive forms (Table 17.5). The possessive suffixes are synchronically still largely identical with the corresponding pronominal genitives

TABLE 17.5 SANTA POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

	sg.	pl.	
		excl.	incl.
1p.	**-mi(ni)**	**-ma(ta)ni**	**-bijieni**
2p.	**-chini**	**-tani**	
3p.	**-ni**		

(except in the third person). They can be attached both to unmarked nominal stems and to stems inflected for number and/or case.

For purposes of emphasis, a noun marked with a possessive suffix can be preceded by the corresponding pronominal genitive, thus resulting in formally redundant constructions of the type **mini gangbi-mi** 'my (own) pen', **chini ada-chini** 'your (own) father'.

Reflexive possession, with reference to the subject of the sentence, is expressed by the Common Mongolic reflexive marker, which appears as **-ne** in Santa. The reflexive marker can also be attached to the case endings, e.g. (dat. refl.) **chi ada-de-ne nie asa** 'ask your (own) father!'. The connective ending **-ni** is, however, usually omitted before the reflexive suffix, as in **chi kha(-ni)-ne wagha** 'wash your (own) hands!'. Interestingly, the connective ending can occur in combination with the third person possessive suffix in spite of the homophony of the two elements, e.g. **bieri** 'wife' : conn. px sg. 3p. **bieri-ni-ni** (used both as a genitive and as an accusative). The formal and functional contrast between the objective uses of the third person possessive and reflexive forms may be illustrated as follows: **hhe oqinjio-ni-ni nie eghi-wo** 'he hit his [someone else's] sister' vs. **hhe oqinjio-ne nie eghi-wo** 'he hit his (own) sister'.

FINITE VERBAL FORMS

Although Santa preserves the Common Mongolic functional dichotomy between imperative and finite indicative forms, it is synchronically also possible to describe the Santa system of finite verbal inflexion primarily in terms of the categories of mood, aspect, and number. Additionally, there is the category of voice, which, however, mainly belongs to the realms of derivation (causative, reciprocal/cooperative) and syntax (passive), rather than inflexion. Unlike some of the other Mongolic languages in the region, Santa has no category of perspective.

The category of mood includes the indicative, interrogative, and imperative moods. The indicative (declarative) and interrogative moods are formally interconnected, the interrogative forms being derived from the indicative forms by adding the interrogative particle **u**, which amalgamates with the finite indicative markers. The imperative mood, however, has a separate set of markers, which, unlike those of the indicative mood, are differentiated according to the subject person. The three forms are the basic unmarked imperative for the second person, the voluntative in **-ye** for the first person, and the permissive in **-gie** for the third person, e.g. (imp.) **chi uzhe** '(you) look!'; (vol.) **bi ire-ye** 'let me come!'; (perm.) **Ibura adula-gie** 'let Ibura put [the animals] out to pasture!'. The permissive is commonly used in wishes and blessings, e.g. **adachini gien ghujighang gaoda-gie** 'may (the illness of) your father get better soon!'. The permissive marker can also (rarely) be combined with a first person subject, implying that the subject is treated

TABLE 17.6 SANTA FINITE TENSE-ASPECT MARKERS

	function	marker	interr.
dur.	imperfective	**-ne**	**-nu**
term.	perfective	**-wo**	**-wu**
progr.	progressive	**-zhi+wo**	**-zhi+wu**

as a non-voluntary participant, as in **bi fuguse fugu-gie, chi bu gonji** 'if I die, just let me die, leave me alone!'.

The indicative paradigm comprises three aspectually differentiated forms, corresponding to the imperfective, perfective, and progressive aspects. The functional distinction between the imperfective and perfective aspects is expressed by the Common Mongolic durative and terminative forms, which have the markers **-ne** vs. **-wo**. The progressive aspect is expressed by the Common Mongolic progressive construction, in which the imperfective converb **-zhi** is periphrastically combined with the auxiliary verb **wo** 'to be'. The complex **-zhi+wo** can also be further contracted to yield **zho**. Each of the aspectual forms has a corresponding variant marked for the interrogative mood (Table 17.6).

The imperfective aspect most often has a present or future temporal reference, e.g. **chi khala echi-ne** 'where are you going?', (interr.) **ire-nu** 'will [you] come?'. It can also refer to static, continuous, or habitual actions or events in the present or past, e.g. **bi khidei kielie mejie-ne** 'I know (the) Chinese (language)', **meila shihoude jiojiomi chang ghudang kielie-ne** 'when he was little, my brother used to tell lies'. The perfective aspect typically refers to past (completed) actions, or to actions that have just begun and will certainly be completed, e.g. **hhe kun Beijinde echi-wo** 'that person went to Peking', **ede bi yawu-wo** 'now I am leaving', (interr.) **ire-wu** 'did [you] come?'. The progressive aspect refers to progressive actions or events with no temporal preference, e.g. (present) **chi yang gie-zhi+wo** 'what are you doing?', **chi irese bi bayasu-zhi+wo** 'I am glad that you came', (interr.) **kijie-zhi+wu** 'is [he] sleeping?', (past) **bi melieshi hhende chang echi-zhi+wo** 'in the past, I used to go there a lot', (future) **chi maghashijie irekude, bi kenen shu uzhe-zhi+wo** 'when you come tomorrow, I may be reading a book'.

The most idiosyncratic feature of the Santa conjugational system is the optional and apparently not yet fully grammaticalized marking of subject number in the finite verb. The singular number is unmarked, but the plural number of the subject can be indicated on the verb by adding the marker **.ndu-**, which is formally identical with the reciprocal voice suffix (**.ldU-*) of verbal derivation. In its original use, this suffix expresses the reciprocity of action ('each other'), as in **matang ghuala bangji.ndu-ye** 'let us wrestle (with each other)', but in Santa it is more commonly used in a cooperative function ('together'). The ongoing grammaticalization of the verbal plural marker obviously started from the latter function, and synchronically it is still a question of a derivational category, e.g. **ta ijie ~ ta ijie.ndu** 'you (many) eat (together)!'.

Interestingly, in causative constructions the plural marker **.ndu** can also indicate the plurality of the causee, as in **chi hhelade ijie.ndu.gha** 'you make them eat!'. Moreover, if both the grammatical subject and the causee are plurals, the verbal plural marker may appear twice, as in **ghua laoshi hhelade suru.ndu.gha.ndu-wo** 'the two teachers made them learn'. In such examples, the first **.ndu** (followed by the causative suffix) refers to

the plurality of the causee, while the second **.ndu-** (followed by modal or aspectual markers) refers to the plurality of the subject.

NON-FINITE VERBAL FORMS

In the non-finite paradigm, Santa has three participles and seven converbs or grammaticalized quasiconverbs (Table 17.7).

The three participles create dependent nominalized clauses, which may function as arguments of another clause, or may modify a head noun, thus functioning as a relative clause. The futuritive participle in **-ku**, in fast speech transformed into **-wu**, has an imperfective aorist-future temporal-aspectual reference, e.g. **yawu-ku mo** 'a road to walk'. In combination with the third person possessive suffix **-ni**, the futuritive participle yields the complex **-ku-ni**, which also occurs as a deverbal derivative suffix in the lexicalised shape **.wuni**, as in **ijie-ku-ni ~ ijie-wu-ni** 'something to eat' > **ijie.wuni** 'food'. Functionally very similar to the futuritive participle is the agentive participle in **-chen**, which, however, tends to be used as an independent (substantival) noun, as in (predicative use with a copula) **ene shi nie gie saghei-chen wo** 'this is one that watches the house'. The perfective participle in **-san** has a past-perfective reference, e.g. **ire-san kun** 'a person who has come', (conn.) **bi mejie-san-ni mang pizhi-wo** 'I wrote everything that I knew', (predicative use with a copula) **ene shu bi onshizhi dawa-san wo** 'this book is the one I have read'.

Among the seven converbial forms, the modal, imperfective, and final converbs are only used in same-subject constructions (with the subject of the converbial clause and the following clause being the same), while all the other converbs can also be used in different-subject constructions. The functional distinctions involved in the converbial system are basically aspectual and have been described (Field) as indicating the continuity or discontinuity of events in successive clauses.

Of all converbs, the imperfective converb in **-zhi** has the broadest range of uses. Its basic function is to indicate an action that modifies another action, e.g. **bi meicha ochi-zhi gienang ijiewo** 'I drank tea while eating' (or: 'I drank tea and ate'). It may also link two actions that essentially belong to a single overall event, e.g. **chi echi-zhi nie uzhe** 'go and take a look'. In combination with the copula **wo** the imperfective converb yields the progressive form of finite conjugation, e.g. **ede anami budang gie-zhi+wo** 'now my mother is

TABLE 17.7 SANTA NON-FINITE VERBAL MARKERS

		function	marker
part.	fut.	aorist-future	**-ku**
	perf.	perfective	**-san**
	ag.	actor noun	**-chen**
conv.	mod.	modifying	**-n, -ng**
	imperf.	coordinative	**-zhi**
	cond.	conditional	**-se**
	conc.	concessive	**-se-nu**
	term.	terminative	**-tala, -tula, -dula**
	fin.	final	**-le**
	compl.	completive	**-de(-ne)**

preparing food'. Finally, this form can occur as an adverbial modifier to an adjectival noun, as in **ene chizhe uzhe-zhi saighang wo** 'this flower is beautiful to look at'.

While the imperfective converb mainly expresses the coordination between two equal actions, the modal converb in **-n ~ -ng** indicates an action that describes the manner in which another action is performed. For increased emphasis, this form often appears as reduplicated, as in **wila-ng wila-ng yawulawo** 'crying and crying, [someone] left'. In a basically similar construction, the final converb in **-le** indicates an action that is undertaken for the purpose of another action, e.g. **bi nie uzhe-le irewo** 'I have come in order to look a bit'.

Among the different-subject converbs, the conditional converb in **-se** primarily indicates a supposition or condition ('if'), e.g. **zhochen ire-se** 'if a guest comes'. However, this form can also be used temporally ('when'), as in **bi xieri-se ada anami mang uwo** 'when I woke up, mother and father were both gone'. The conditional converb serves as the formal basis for the concessive converb in **-se-nu**, which also has two functions. Primarily, the concessive converb indicates a concessive relation ('although', 'even if'), as in **hhende baer olon bi-se-nu chade ulie ogine** 'even if he has a lot of money, [he] won't give [it] to you'. However, it can also have a temporal use ('after'), as in **hhe iyende echi-se-nu, kieli ese otuzhi wo** 'after he got to the hospital, his stomach did not hurt anymore'.

The basic function of the terminative converb in **-tala** (with variants in **-tula ~ -dula**) is to indicate a temporal sequence. More exactly, the terminative converb indicates that the action of its clause precedes the action of the next clause ('until', 'before'), as in **khara olu-tala wiliegiewo** '[he] worked until it became dark'. A second function of this converb is to indicate a preference ('rather than'), as in **Lanzhu bi-tala Baza saozhi wo** 'rather than being in Lanzhou, it is better to live in Linxia'.

The completive quasiconverb in **-de ~ -de-ne** (with non-converbial parallels in Bonan and Mangghuer) indicates an action that will be completed before the following action is undertaken, e.g. **chi ijie-de-ne bi ijieye** 'after you have finished eating, I will eat'.

AUXILIARY VERBS

Santa has a large number of auxiliary verbs, which indicate various shades of aspectuality, directionality, or modality, often arranged in pairs of two semantically opposed expressions. Etymologically, most of the auxiliary stems are of Common Mongolic origin, but some are based on elements borrowed from Chinese.

Auxiliaries which indicate directional or aspectual relationships include **ire-** 'to come' (< **ire-*) vs. **echi-** 'to go' (< **od.ci-*), **qi.yi-** 'to begin' (from Chinese), and **kai.yi-** 'to open, to begin' (from Chinese). Auxiliaries which indicate progress, completion, or degree of intensity, include **bara-** 'to finish' (< **bara-*), **dawa-** 'to cross; to complete' (<**daba-*), **olu-** 'to become' (< **ol- & bol-*), **sao-** 'to sit; to continue' (< **saxu-*), and **ala-** 'to kill' (< **ala-*). The two auxiliaries **agi-** 'to take' (irregularly from **ab-*) vs. **ogi-** 'to give' (< **ög-*) indicate that the action has a beneficiary ('for'). Several auxiliaries express the presence or absence of ability, including **shida-** 'to be able' (< **cida-*) vs. **da-** 'to be unable' (< **yada-*), and **mejie-** 'to know' (< **mede-*). Finally, the auxiliary **uzhe-** 'to see; to try' (<**üje-*) indicates intention or attempt.

In the typical auxiliary construction, the auxiliary verb is preceded by the semantic main verb in a converbial form. Most often, the imperfective converb is used, but the final converb as well as the formally unmarked verbal stem (zero-marked sequential converb) also occur, e.g. **gaoda-zhi ire-** 'to become good', **wila-le qiyi-** 'to begin crying',

ijie agi- ~ **ijie-zhi agi-** 'to eat up'. The two auxiliaries **shida-** vs. **da-**, which are concerned with ability, can only be combined with the unmarked verbal stem. Moreover, these two auxiliaries, unlike all others, can never be used as regular independent verbs.

SYNTAX

Santa retains the Common Mongolic head-final syntactic behaviour. A verb appears in final position in its clause, and sentence-internal relationships are indicated by suffixes and postpositions. Generally, a modifier precedes its headword, as in the noun phrase **gao kun** 'good person', or the verb phrase **lalaghang yawu** 'walk slowly!'. However, the two adverbs **no** (native) and **hen** (from Chinese), both meaning 'very', always appear post-positionally, e.g. **enedu kuiqien no wo** 'it is very cold today', **hhe saighang hen wo** 'it is very beautiful'. These postpositional adverbs can be used simultaneously with regular prepositional adverbs, e.g. **yaghani saighang hen** 'extremely beautiful' (literally: 'very beautiful, very').

Exceptionally, in topic-marked sentences, an object can be moved to the beginning of the sentence, but it has to be marked by the connective ending, e.g. **Ibura-ni qiche penjiwo** 'Ibura was hit by a car'. A kind of passive, with the semantic object functioning as the grammatical subject and occupying the initial position in the sentence, can also be formed by using the borrowed passivizer **ne.yi-** 'to be affected, to receive' (from Chinese). The agent (if present) is indicated by the ablative, e.g. **gayimi mini eghiwo** 'my brother hit me' vs. **bi gayi-se-ne (idun) neyi-wo** 'I was hit (one blow) by my brother'; (without agent) **ene kewon changbang pipin neyizhi wo** 'this boy is frequently being rebuked'.

The copular verb **wo** (*o*) is used with nominal (including adjectival and participial) predicates, e.g. **bi Santa wo** 'I am a Muslim', **hhe saighang wo** 'it is beautiful'. It can also be used in existential (both presentative and possessive) constructions, e.g. **ula jiere nie oqin wo** 'there is a girl on the mountain', **made nie kewon wo** 'I have one son' (literally: 'there is one son to me'). When the existential sense needs to be emphasized, the regular verb **wai-** 'to be' is used instead of **wo**, as in (dur.) **made nie kewon waine** 'I do have a son'. In the copular function, the emphatic stem **embai-** is used, e.g. **bi Santa embai-ne** 'I *am* a Muslim'.

Santa (like Mangghuer) has also borrowed the Chinese copula **shi**, which can be used to accompany the native copula **wo**. Both copulas stay in their original syntactic positions, with **shi** preceding and **wo** following the nominal predicate, e.g. **hhe shi xieshen wo** 'he is a student'. In such examples, the Chinese copula can be omitted, yielding the regular Santa type of clause **hhe xieshen wo**. The Santa copula can also be omitted, yielding the Chinese type of equational clause **hhe shi xieshen**. Even so, the Chinese copula remains in its original syntactic position.

To indicate various types of emotion and attitude of the speaker, Santa uses a selection of final particles, which usually follow a finite verb. The particles **sha, ya, yo,** and **ang** are used with imperatives to modify the tone of the commandment, e.g. **ochi sha** 'drink!' (demand of quick action, expressing some dissatisfaction), **hhetere nie baigha yo** 'please stop [the vehicle] over there!' (strong request), **xiendase ire ang** 'come when you have time!' (strong offer or request expecting a positive response). The particle **bai** (probably from Chinese) can be used in a series of connected sentences to get the listener's attention or response. The particle **ma** is used to invite the listener's agreement; it can also function as a coordinating conjunction between clauses, expressing weak causation, e.g. **enense nie ijie ma, andatu no wo** 'try to eat one of these, it is very

delicious'. The particle **dai** emphasizes the speaker's opinion (especially with regard to second-hand information), e.g. **enede baer olon echiwo dai** 'a lot of money has been put into this'.

Negation is expressed by several Common Mongolic negative particles. In the finite conjugation, three preverbal negative particles are used: **ulie** (< **üliü*) for the durative and progressive forms, **ese** (< **ese*) for the terminative, and **bu** (< **bUU*) for the imperatives. e.g. **bi maghashi ulie echi-ne** 'I won't go tomorrow', **bi ese ijie-wo** 'I have not eaten yet', **kieme-de bu kielie** 'do not tell anyone!'. In equational clauses, the particle **pushi** (< **bisi*) is used, e.g. **bi laoshi pushi wo** 'I am not a teacher'. In possessive clauses, negation is expressed by using the negative existential **uwo ~ wiwo** (< **ügei*), e.g. **made kewon uwo** 'I do not have a son'. There are some indications that the negative existential may synchronically have been reanalysed as the terminative form of a hypothetical negative verb **u- ~ wi-** (term. **u-wo ~ wi-wo**), though the occurrence of the terminative in this construction is certainly somewhat unexpected.

LEXICON

Although the grammatical structures and the majority of all lexical items in Santa are clearly Mongolic in origin, the Santa lexicon has undergone massive influence from other languages. Most notably, Chinese loanwords occur in nearly every area of Santa vocabulary. A survey of the 10,145 items in the largest extant collection of Santa words (Ma & Chen) shows that 61 per cent of all items are Mongolic and 34 per cent Chinese (including partial borrowings, mostly verbal roots), while the remaining 5 per cent derive from Arabic, Persian, Turkic, and Tibetan.

Naturally, the proportions of native and borrowed vocabulary vary depending on the type and size of the corpus studied. Another estimate (Field) has put the proportion of borrowed vocabulary at as high as 55 per cent for nouns, but only 29 per cent for verbs. If we consider closed classes, the numbers will be quite different: for example, almost all Santa pronouns (with the exception of the reflexive pronoun **gojia**) appear to be of Common Mongolic origin, while the numerals are overwhelmingly being replaced by Chinese borrowings.

The scope of the Chinese loanwords is wide, comprising all word classes, and ranging from premodern (e.g. **giegun** 'rooster') to modern (e.g. **dangyen** 'party member'), from local (e.g. **ga** 'small') to standard (e.g. **kuaiji** 'accountant'), and from everyday (e.g. **beizi** 'cup') to specialized (e.g. **jiennao** 'computer') items. By contrast, most Arabic and Persian words in Santa are from the domain of religion, e.g. **salang+gie-** (Arabic) 'to greet', **aghili** (Arabic) 'wisdom', **huda** (Persian) 'god', **maiza** (Persian) 'tomb'. In spite of their relatively small number, many of these words are frequent in everyday usage. The small number of Turkic loanwords (some of them originally from Persian) are also commonly used, e.g. **ana** 'mother', **baza** 'city (market place)', **tashi** 'stone', **buwa** 'imam'. Tibetan loanwords are mainly limited to a few local toponyms.

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CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

INTRA-MONGOLIC TAXONOMY

Volker Rybatzki

The mutual relations of the Mongolic languages can be summarized in terms of the similarities and dissimilarities that exist between them. Since all the Mongolic languages are, by definition, descendants of the same relatively uniform protolanguage, their similarities are mainly due to common genetic heritage, while their dissimilarities reflect the effect of secondary divergent developments. These divergent developments, in turn, are connected with innovations that have taken place in the individual Mongolic branches and languages after the breakup of the protolanguage. The internal taxonomy of the Mongolic language family can most reliably be based on the analysis of a maximally representative selection of innovations shared by specific groups of the Modern Mongolic languages.

The parallel presence of any given Post-Proto-Mongolic feature (isogloss) in two or more Mongolic languages can, in principle, be due to three different factors: (a) genetic, (b) areal, and (c) typological. A genetic feature may be defined as an innovation that has been inherited by all the affected languages from an intermediate protolanguage. An areal feature, by contrast, may originally have characterized only a single language, from which it has been borrowed into other members of the family. A typological parallel, finally, is an innovation that has arisen independently in two or more languages owing to their similar structural disposition. Obviously, an adequate taxonomy of the Mongolic languages requires that the three factors are properly distinguished from each other.

Ideally, the genetic innovations present in the Mongolic languages should provide a basis for establishing a system of genetic branches within the Mongolic family. This task is, however, considerably complicated by the chronological shallowness of Proto-Mongolic. Another problem is that the extant Middle Mongol corpus is not very informative for dialectological purposes. It is particularly problematic to trace the possible dialectal origin of the Mongolic languages spoken in the peripheries of the Middle Mongol area, such as Afghanistan and the Gansu-Qinghai region. In the absence of concrete data we can only presume that Moghol and the languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex represent two primary genetic branches deriving directly from peripheral Middle Mongol dialects.

In this situation, it is often impossible to make an unambiguous distinction between genetic and areal features. Geographically, most of the Mongolic languages are parts of a belt that stretches from Manchuria in the east (Dagur, Khamnigan Mongol, Eastern Buryat), through Buryatia, Mongolia and Eastern Turkestan (Western Buryat, Mongol proper, Ordos, Oirat), to the Caspian region in the west (Kalmuck). Even the areally peripheral languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex (Shira Yughur, Mongghul, Mangghuer, Bonan, Santa) are still loosely linked with the main belt (through Shira Yughur and Qinghai Oirat). Only Moghol in Afghanistan is entirely isolated from all other Mongolic languages.

From the geographical distribution of the Mongolic languages it is easy to see what the natural sphere of Intra-Mongolic contacts has been for each actual modern language. On this basis it may be assumed that areal features unite (1) Dagur with Khamnigan Mongol and Mongol proper; (2) Khamnigan Mongol with Dagur, Buryat, and Mongol proper; (3) Buryat with Khamnigan Mongol, Oirat, and Mongol proper; (4) Mongol proper with Dagur, Khamnigan Mongol, Buryat, Oirat, Ordos, and Shira Yughur; (5) Ordos with Mongol proper, Oirat, and Shira Yughur; (6) Oirat with Buryat, Mongol proper, Ordos, Shira Yughur, and possibly historically Moghol; and (7) Shira Yughur with Oirat, Ordos, Mongol proper, and the (other) languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex.

The two Mongolic languages with the widest profiles of family-internal areal connections are Mongol proper (including Khalkha) and Oirat (including Kalmuck). In the case of Oirat, the number of contact partners is further increased by the possibility of separate interaction with each member of the Gansu-Qinghai complex, including, apart from Shira Yughur, also Mongghul, Mangghuer, Bonan, and Santa. The areal relations within the Gansu-Qinghai complex, are organized in a local chain, in which (8) Shira Yughur seems to have contacted mainly with Mongghul; (9) Mongghul with Shira Yughur and Mangghuer; (10) Mangghuer with Monghul, Bonan, and Santa; (11) Bonan with Mangghuer and Santa; and (12) Santa with Bonan and Mangghuer. The only language without any substantial contacts with any other member of the family is Moghol.

In addition to the family-internal contacts, all Mongolic languages have also been exposed to external influences. The main external contact partners are (i) Turkic for Buryat, Mongol proper, Ordos, Oirat, Moghol, Shira Yughur, Mongghul, Mangghuer, Bonan, and Santa; (ii) Tungusic for Dagur, Khamnigan Mongol, Buryat, and Mongol proper; (iii) Bodic (Tibetan) for Oirat, Shira Yughur, Mongghul, Mangghuer, Bonan, and Santa; (iv) Sinitic (Chinese) for Dagur, Khamnigan Mongol, Buryat, Mongol proper, Ordos, Oirat, Shira Yughur, Mongghul, Mangghuer, Bonan, and Santa; (v) Iranian for Moghol and possibly Oirat; (vi) Arabic for Moghol, Bonan, and Santa; (vii) Samoyedic and (viii) Yeniseic for Buryat; and (ix) Russian for Dagur, Khamnigan Mongol, Buryat, Mongol proper, and Oirat (especially Kalmuck).

Most of the Extra-Mongolic partners, with the notable exception of Russian, came into contact with Mongolic already in Middle Mongol times or even earlier, the two most intensive contact relationships being those with Turkic and Tungusic. In these cases, the contacts have resulted in profound structural interaction between the language families concerned. Structural influences have also been exchanged between Mongolic, Bodic, and Sinitic in the Gansu-Qinghai region. In the rest of the cases, the contacts are mainly confined to the lexical level.

DATA AND SOURCES

The first serious synchronic classification of the Mongolic languages was proposed by A. D. Rudnev (1908), who made a distinction between four main groups: (1) Eastern Mongolic (= Mongol and Ordos), subdivided into a southern (Ordos, Chakhar, etc.) and a northeastern (Khorchin, Kharachin, Khalkha, etc.) subgroup; (2) Northern Mongolic (= Buryat and Dagur), subdivided into Western Buryat, Eastern Buryat, Bargut, and (as a separate marginal entity:) Dagur; (3) Western Mongolic (= Oirat and Kalmuck), including the Torghut, Dörbet, Öelet, Khoshut, and Khoit dialects; and (4) a residual group, comprising Moghol, the Gansu-Qinghai complex, and a number of dialects today classified as Oirat or Kalmuck. Rudnev also recognized the transitional nature of certain dialects, including Khotogoit, Sartul, Jakhachin, and others.

Three years later Rudnev (1911: 231) reshaped his classification, which now comprised three groups identified as (1) Northern Mongolic (= Dagur, Buryat, Khorchin, etc.), (2) Central Mongolic (= Khalkha), and (3) Southern ('Meridional') Mongolic (= Ordos, Chakhar, Kharachin, etc.). In this classification, Oirat, Moghol, and the Gansu-Qinghai complex appear as loose satellites of Southern Mongolic. The obvious fault of Rudnev's two classifications is that they do not sufficiently reflect the actual diversity extant beyond the core group of Mongolic (Buryat, Oirat, Ordos, and Mongol proper). On the other hand, Rudnev had relatively detailed data on the dialects of Mongol proper, for which more up-to-date classifications were only proposed by Louis Ligeti (1933: 14–20), B. X. Todaeva (1960), and György Kara (1970: 13–26, 268–84).

Rudnev's terms (Western, Eastern, Northern, Southern, and Central Mongolic), with varying redefinitions, have been retained by all subsequent Mongolists. The next attempt at an overall classification of the Mongolic languages was made by B. Ya. Vladimircov (1929: 5–18), who recognized two main entities: (1) Western Mongolic and (2) Eastern Mongolic. In his scheme, Western Mongolic comprises (1.1) Oirat (with Kalmuck) and (1.2) Moghol, while Eastern Mongolic comprises (2.1) Buryat, (2.2) Bargut, (2.3) Dagur, (2.4) Khalkha, and (2.5) the other dialects of Mongol proper as well as Ordos. Shira Yughur and the other languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex ('Shirongol') were regarded by Vladimircov as impossible to classify due to the shortage of material.

Following Rudnev, G. D. Sanzheev (1952: 40) distinguished between (1) Northern Mongolic (= Buryat), (2) Eastern or Central Mongolic (= Mongol proper and Ordos), (3) Western Mongolic (= Oirat), and (4) a group of isolated languages (Dagur, Moghol, and 'Monguor'). A very similar scheme was presented by Denis Sinor (1952), who additionally favoured the division of Eastern Mongolic into Central Mongolic (= Khalkha) and Southern Mongolic (= other dialects of Mongol proper and Ordos). Sinor also divided Western Mongolic (= Oirat) into three subgroups, comprising (i) European (Volga) Kalmuck, (ii) Mongolian (Kobdo) Oirat, and (iii) Jungarian (Ili) and Qinghai (Kukunor) Oirat. Like Sanzheev, Sinor lumped the peripheral Mongolic languages (Dagur, Moghol, and the Gansu-Qinghai complex) together as a separate 'archaic' group.

The issue concerning the classification of the Mongolic languages was also taken up by Nicholas Poppe (1954: 6–7), who followed Vladimircov and operated with two main groups: (1) Eastern Mongolic and (2) Western Mongolic, as well as (3) an additional category of 'insular' languages. In this framework, Eastern Mongolic comprises three subgroups: (1.1) northern (= Buryat, with Tsongol and Sartul), (1.2) central (= Khalkha, with Khotogoit), and (1.3) southern (= the other dialects of Mongol proper and Ordos). Western Mongolic is identical with Oirat (with Kalmuck), while the 'insular' languages include Dagur, Moghol, and 'Monguor'. In a slightly different formulation, Poppe (1955: 14–23) classified Dagur and 'Monguor' also as Eastern Mongolic, and Moghol as Western Mongolic.

Poppe's classification with two main groups and one additional group of 'isolates' was echoed by Gerhard Doerfer (1964: 41–3). On very similar lines is also the classification of Sh. Luwsanwandan (1959), who divided the core group of Mongolic into (1) Northern Mongolic (= Buryat), (2) Central Mongolic (= Khalkha, Chakhar, and Ordos), (3) Eastern Mongolic (= Khorchin, Kharachin, etc.), and (4) Western Mongolic (= Oirat and Kalmuck). Luwsanwandan also recognized the existence of several transitional dialects between Central and Eastern, Central and Western, as well as Central and Northern Mongolic. The peripheral languages remained outside the scope of his classification.

On the basis of fresh field observations, Todaeva (1959, 1963) made it for the first time clear that Bonan and Santa are distinct languages, clearly separate from 'Monguor'.

This information was gradually absorbed into the taxonomic schemes of other Mongolists. Poppe (1965: 7–15, 1975: 151), for instance, refined his former classification by recognizing Santa (but not Bonan) as a separate Mongolic language on par with Dagur, Buryat, Mongol proper (with Ordos), Oirat, Moghol, and 'Monguor' (with Bonan). A corresponding revision of Doerfer's classification was made by Michael Weiers (1986: 66–9). Other classifications of later years, with minor variations in the details, include those by Yu Shichang (1983), Chingeltei (1989), and N. S. Yaxontova (1997).

One of the most ambitious and detailed taxonomic schemes for Mongolic is that by Marie-Lise Beffa and Roberte Hamayon (1983). Their classification of the core group of Mongolic is essentially identical with the framework proposed by Luwsanwandan and comprises four principal entities: (1) Northern Mongolic, with (1.1) Buryat (proper), (1.2) Selenga Buryat (Tsongol and Sartul), (1.3) New Bargut, and (1.4) Old Bargut; (2) Central Mongolic, with (2.1) Khalkha, (2.2) Chakhar, (2.3) Ordos, and (2.4) transitional dialects; (3) Eastern Mongolic, with (3.1) eastern, (3.2) central-eastern, (3.3) far-eastern, and (3.4) transitional dialects (of Mongol proper); and (4) Western Mongolic, with (4.1) Oirat (proper) and Kalmuck of Turkestan, (4.2) Oirat of (Outer) Mongolia, and (4.3) Oirat of Inner Mongolia and Qinghai. Additionally, there are the (5) peripheral or 'isolated' languages, comprising (5.1) Dagur, (5.2) Moghol, (5.3) Shira Yughur, (5.4) 'Monguor', (5.5) Bonan, and (5.6) Santa.

All the classifications mentioned above are based on a more or less comprehensive analysis of several taxonomically relevant features, which may reflect either genetic or areal innovations within the Mongolic family. Attempts have also been made to establish a taxonomy on the basis of a smaller number of features. This was the approach of T. A. Bertagaev (1968), who claimed that the Mongolic languages can be divided into two main groups, termed 'northern' or 'synharmonic' and 'southeastern' or 'non-synharmonic'. By 'synharmony' Bertagaev seems to have implied an active type of vowel harmony. In practice, most Mongolic languages are 'synharmonic', while the 'non-synharmonic' group is confined to the peripheral languages (Dagur and the Gansu-Qinghai complex).

Although Bertagaev's framework involves serious misunderstandings concerning the diachronic phonology of the Mongolic languages, it was later accepted by Sanzheev (1977). A similar classification was also proposed by Robert Binnick (1987), who, however, has later (1992) returned to a more conventional understanding of the issue. Jan-Olof Svantesson (2000), on the other hand, has proposed a taxonomy based on the diachrony and typology of vowel paradigms. In his classification, the Mongolic languages are divided into three groups: (1) Eastern Mongolic, (2) Western Mongolic, and (3) Oirat. Under Western Mongolic Svantesson includes Moghol, Santa, Bonan, and 'Monguor', while Eastern Mongolic comprises Shira Yughur, Mongol proper, Buryat, Khamnigan Mongol, and Dagur.

A pioneering attempt to approach the taxonomy of the Mongolic languages with the method of glottochronology was made by Shirô Hattori (1959). Unfortunately, the value of this method for Mongolic studies is considerably reduced by the absence of sharp boundaries between most of the Mongolic languages. Some of the most clear-cut linguistic boundaries in the family are present within the Gansu-Qinghai complex, but Hattori did not have access to sufficiently detailed information on this group. However, his calculations do reveal the 'isolated' position of Dagur and 'Monguor' (Mongghul). The proportion of Common Mongolic basic vocabulary was established to be 72–6 per cent in Dagur and 76–80 per cent in 'Monguor'. By contrast, the proportion of the basic vocabulary shared by Buryat, Khalkha, and Chakhar was as high as 89–97 per cent.

The general conclusion from past research on Intra-Mongolic taxonomy is that there is no full consensus concerning the principles and methods of classification. Nevertheless, frameworks going back to Rudnev still seem to prevail. The most promising new area of research today concerns the Gansu-Qinghai complex. According to the preliminary results of Hans Nugteren (1997) this complex involves an actual genetic branch, which comprises two sub-branches: (i) Bonan-Santa, and (ii) Mongghul-Mangghuer ('Monguor'). The position of Shira Yughur remains unclear, though it seems to be transitional towards Mongol proper.

In the discussion below, the taxonomically relevant phonological, morphological (morphosyntactic), and lexical properties of the Mongolic languages and dialects, as described in this volume, are systematically surveyed in order to assess the linguistic relationships between the individual idioms. On the basis of this information, a tentative classificatory scheme will be presented. The principal entities included in the comparative database are: Dagur, Khamnigan Mongol, Buryat, Khalkha, (other) Mongol dialects, Ordos, Oirat, Kalmuck, Moghol, Shira Yughur, Mongghul, Mangghuer, Bonan, and Santa. When necessary and possible, information from additional dialects and sub-dialects, as well as from Middle Mongol and Written Mongol, are also considered.

PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES

In the following, the phonological innovations uniting and separating the Modern Mongolic languages are listed in a running order (1–32), starting with the features affecting the vowels. The ordering is not supposed to reflect any immediate chronological or geographical circumstances, though mutually related features are grouped with each other.

(1) Palatal harmony

The basic type of vowel harmony in Mongolic, palatal harmony is well attested in Middle Mongol and synchronically preserved in all Modern Mongolic languages with the exception of Moghol and the Gansu-Qinghai complex. Even within the Gansu-Qinghai complex palatal harmony is present, though in a reduced shape, in Shira Yughur. To some extent, the rules of palatal harmony have also been simplified in Dagur and Khamnigan Mongol.

(2) Labial harmony

Although secondary to palatal harmony, labial harmony was emerging already in Proto-Mongolic and Middle Mongol, and its modern distribution resembles that of palatal harmony. Labial harmony is, however, synchronically absent not only in Moghol and the Gansu-Qinghai complex, but also in Spoken Oirat (with Kalmuck) and Western Buryat, cf. e.g. Oirat *zowa-* vs. Mongol proper *dzowo-* 'to torment'. Since labial harmony is attested in Written Oirat, its absence in the modern language is likely to be secondary. Disturbances in labial harmony are also present in Dagur and Khamnigan Mongol.

(3) Rotation

The rotation of the phonetic values of some or all of the vowels **e *o *ö *u *ü* is observed in all Mongolic languages with the exception of Oirat (with Kalmuck) and

Western Buryat. The phenomenon is weak in Ordos, while it is most strongly present in Dagur and Khamnigan Mongol. Originally, rotation did not interfere with the number of vowel distinctions, but the stronger its impact in a given idiom is, the more often it has conditioned other changes in the vowel system.

(4) Prebreaking

This feature, which involves the apparently sporadic regressive assimilation of the vowel **i* < **ï* in the initial syllable, may be regarded as Common Mongolic, but it is almost absent in Dagur, Khamnigan Mongol, Buryat, Moghol, Bonan, and Santa. The word **mïka/n* 'meat' (Written Mongol **miqav**), for instance, is attested as **mika/n* ~ **miqa/n* (without prebreaking) > Khamnigan Mongol *mika/n*, Dagur *myag*, Buryat *myaxa*, Moghol *miqån*, Bonan *megha*, Santa *migha* vs. **maka/n* (with prebreaking) > Mongol proper *max*, Ordos *maxa*, Oirat *maxn*, Shira Yughur *maghan*, Mongghul *maxa*, Mangghuer *maqa*. However, the distribution of some items shows deviations from the general pattern, cf. e.g. **jïrguxa/n* 'six' > Khamnigan Mongol *jurgaa/n* (with prebreaking) vs. Mongghul *jirghoon* (without prebreaking).

(5) Palatal breaking

In difference from prebreaking, palatal breaking is systematically present only in Dagur, Buryat, and Mongol proper. However, word-initially palatal breaking is also attested in Ordos and Oirat, cf. e.g. **imaxa/n* 'goat' (Written Mongol **vimaqhav**) > **yamaa/n* > Ordos *yamaa*, Oirat *yaman* (with palatal breaking) vs. Khamnigan Mongol *imaa/n* (without palatal breaking). Moghol examples like *nudun* 'eye' (< ****nidü/n***) and *su[n]dun* 'tooth' (< **sidü/n*) are problematic, but they are probably best explained in the context of prebreaking.

(6) Labial breaking

This is a feature restricted uniquely to Dagur, e.g. **gurba/n* > Dagur *gwareb* 'three'. It is true, it has been claimed that a similar phenomenon is dialectally present in Mongol proper (Kharachin), but this information remains unconfirmed.

(7) Palatal umlaut

This feature unites Oirat (with Kalmuck) with the eastern dialects of Mongol proper (Khorchin, Kharachin, and Juu Uda). There is a paradigmatic difference, however, for while Oirat has merged the umlaut vowels *ö ü* with the original vowels **ö *ü*, the umlaut dialects of Mongol proper retain the distinction owing to the rotation of the vowel system. The vowel *ä* is a new phoneme also in Oirat.

(8) Regressive assimilation of **e-ü* > **ö-ü*

This development was already becoming completed during the Middle Mongol period, and it is observed in all Modern Mongolic languages, as in **edür* 'day' (Written Mongol **vdur**) > Proto-Mongolic **ödür*. An exception seems to be present in the item **ebesü/n* ~ **ebüsü/n* 'grass' (Written Mongol **vbasuv** ~ **vbusuv**) > Common Mongolic **öbüsü/n*,

which is attested without assimilation in Dagur, Moghol, and the Gansu-Qinghai complex, cf. Dagur *eus*, Moghol (colloquial) *ebasun* ~ (literary) *ibasun*, Mongghul *wesi*.

(9) Regressive assimilation of **O-U* > **U-U*

This development is basically restricted to Ordos, but it is sporadically observed also elsewhere, especially in Moghol and the Gansu-Qinghai complex, cf. e.g. **ödür* 'day' > Ordos *üdür*; **modu/n* 'tree, wood' > Ordos *mudu*, Moghol *mudun* ~ *modun* ~ *madun*, Shira Yughur *muden*, Mangghuer *mutu*, Santa *mutun* (but Bonan *motung*; note that in exactly this item, Dagur *mood* and Mongghul *moodi* display an unexplained lengthening of the root vowel).

(10) Paradigmatic neutralization of **ö* > (*)*ü*

In the rotated vowel systems, **ö* has been the vowel most likely to lose its status as a separate phoneme. As a systematic development, **ö* has merged with **ü* in Dagur, Khamnigan Mongol, Buryat, and several dialects of Mongol proper, cf. e.g. **köl* 'foot' > Dagur *kuly*, Khamnigan Mongol *kul*, Buryat *xül*, Mongol proper *xöl* ~ (*)*xül*. Sporadic merger between **ö* and **ü* is observed also elsewhere, especially in the Gansu-Qinghai complex.

(11) Paradigmatic neutralization of **u* > (*)*o*

Another consequence of vowel rotation, this neutralization is systematically observed only in Dagur, e.g. **usu/n* 'water' vs. **tosu/n* 'oil' > Dagur *os* vs. *tos*. As a sporadic or contextually restricted phenomenon, the development **o* > (*)*u* is more common, cf. e.g. **ungsi-* ~ **umsi-* 'to read' > Mongol proper (Khalkha) *unsh-* ~ (Chakhar) *umsh-* ~ (Khorchin) *omsh-*.

(12) Paradigmatic neutralization of **ö *ü* > (*)*o* (*)*u*

Due to this development, the rounded front vowels **ö *ü* have been eliminated as separate phonemes in Moghol, Mongghul, Mangghuer, Bonan, and Santa (but not in Shira Yughur). Moreover, the qualities (*)*o* (< **o* & **ö*) vs. (*)*u* (< **u* & **ü*) are often confused, though the paradigmatic opposition is retained, cf. e.g. Moghol **köl* 'foot' > *kol* ~ *kul* (with further variants) vs. **ükü-* 'to die' > *uku-* ~ *oku-* (with further variants).

(13) Monophthongization of **A(x)U*

After the loss of intervocalic **x* (already in Proto-Mongolic), diphthongoid sequences of the type **AU* were initially retained intact, as attested in Middle Mongol. This stage is still regularly preserved in Dagur and Moghol, e.g. **axula/n* 'mountain' > Dagur *aul*, Moghol *aula* ~ *oula*. In some items, diphthongoid sequences are also present in the Gansu-Qinghai complex (with the exception of Shira Yughur), e.g. **saxu-* 'to sit' > Dagur *sau-*, Moghol *sau-* ~ *sou-* (with further variants), Mongghul *sau-* (**sau-**) ~ *suu-*, Mangghuer *sau-* (**sao-**), Bonan *seu-* ~ *suu-*, Santa *sau-* (**sao-**). Otherwise, the sequences have been monophthongized, yielding *OO* (= **oo *öö*) in Khamnigan Mongol and *UU*

(= **uu *üü*) elsewhere, cf. e.g. Khamnigan Mongol *oola* vs. Mongol proper *uul* 'mountain'. Occasional irregular developments are present especially in the Gansu-Qinghai complex, cf. e.g. Bonan *siiter* 'shadow', apparently from **seider* vs. Common Mongolic **seüder.*

(14) Monophthongization of **V(y)i*

The sequences **a(y)i *o(y)i *u(y)i* as well as **ö(y)i *ü(y)i* are generally preserved intact in Modern Mongolic, although monophthongoid realizations are possible at the phonetic level, as in Ordos and Buryat. At the phonemic level, the long palatal monophthongs *ää öö üü* may be postulated for those idioms that also have the corresponding short segments due to umlaut, i.e. Oirat and the umlaut dialects of Mongol proper, cf. e.g. **sa(y)in* 'good' > Mongghul *sain*, Khalkha *saing*, vs. Khorchin *sääng*, Oirat *sään.* Other kinds of monophthongization are occasionally observed in Moghol and the Gansu-Qinghai complex, cf. e.g. Bonan *sang* 'good'. The sequence **e(y)i* has merged with **i(x)i* all over Mongol proper, Ordos, Oirat, and Eastern Buryat, but normally not elsewhere, cf. e.g. **ke(y)i/n* 'air; wind' > Oirat *kii*, Mongol proper *xii* vs. Dagur *kein* (*xein*), Khamnigan Mongol *kei*, Western Buryat *kei*, Moghol *kei* ~ *kai*, Mangghuer *kei*, Santa *kei* (but Bonan *kii*).

(15) Neutralization of **ixa* and **ixe*

In Dagur and Khamnigan Mongol (probably due to areally shared Tungusic influence), the sequences **ixa* (> **iya*) and **ixe* (> **iye*) yield a single phonetically palatal but harmonically neutral diphthongoid sequence (*ie*) or long vowel (*éé*). In non-initial syllables, the development is observed in both languages, e.g. **tarixa/n* (> **tariya/n*) 'field' > Dagur and Khamnigan Mongol *tarie* (*taréé*), while in the initial syllable it is only valid in Khamnigan Mongol, e.g. **nixa-* 'to glue' > Khamnigan Mongol *nie-* , cf. Buryat *nyaa-* (with palatal breaking), Khalkha *naa-* (with prebreaking).

(16) Vowel reduction

The three-way vowel contrasts between short (single) **A* vs. **U* vs. **i* in non-initial syllables are preserved in Khamnigan Mongol, Ordos, Moghol, and the Gansu-Qinghai complex, though Shira Yughur and Mongghul show a slight tendency of phonetic reduction. The contrasts are also preserved dialectally in Western Buryat, while Eastern Buryat has merged **U* with **A*, cf. e.g. **tabu/n* 'five' > Khamnigan Mongol *tabu/n* vs. Eastern Buryat *taba/n.* Mongol proper and Oirat have additionally reduced the distinction between **A* and **i* into a non-distinctive neutral vowel *e*, which, moreover, has tended to be lost, resulting in medial and final consonant clusters, e.g. **gudamji* 'street' > Khalkha *gudmj.* A similar reduction and loss has taken place word-finally in Dagur, but in medial position Dagur still preserves the original contrasts.

(17) Loss of distinctive vowel length

Long vowels originated in Middle Mongol by way of contraction due to the loss of intervocalic **x.* Most Modern Mongolic languages still preserve the correlation between long (double) and short (single) vowels. Distinctive vowel length has, however, been

completely lost in Moghol, Mangghuer, and Santa. Sporadic shortening of long vowels is common also in Shira Yughur, Mongghul, and Bonan. As a consequence of the reduction of short vowels, the long vowels of non-initial syllables in Mongol proper and Oirat may be assumed to have been shortened, e.g. *(*x*)*ulaan* 'red' > Khalkha *ulang*. The quantitative correlation is, however, retained in the initial syllable.

(18) Initial clusters

As a unique phenomenon in Mongolic, the loss of short vowels in the initial syllable has created a system of initial consonant clusters in three languages of the Gansu-Qinghai region: Shira Yughur, Mongghul, and Bonan, cf. e.g. **umba-* 'to swim' > Shira Yughur *mba-*, **erdem* 'virtue' > Mongghul *rdem*, **sidü/n* 'tooth' > Bonan *rtung*. There are also other examples of initial vowel loss with phonotactic consequences, e.g. **ire-* 'to come' > Mongghul *ire-* ~ *re-*, Bonan and Mangghuer *re-* (with *r* in the otherwise atypical initial position).

(19) Consonant palatalization

As an alternative to umlaut, several dialects of Mongol proper, notably Khalkha, have introduced a series of palatalized consonants, which basically reflect the impact of a subsequently lost **i*, e.g. **mori/n* 'horse' > Khorchin *mör* vs. Khalkha *mory*. A similar system of palatalization is also present in Dagur, which additionally has a parallel system of labialized consonants. Another factor that has favoured the distinctive status of the palatalized consonants is palatal breaking, a feature that unites Dagur and Mongol proper with Buryat. By contrast, neither palatalization nor umlaut is present in Khamnigan Mongol, Moghol, and the Gansu-Qinghai complex.

(20) The distinction *k *g vs. *q *gh

This distinction, which arose in Late Pre-Proto-Mongolic due to the neutralization of the high unrounded vowels **i* & **ï* > **i*, was apparently still valid in Middle Mongol but has been lost in almost all Modern Mongolic languages. The only modern languages that retain traces of the distinction are Moghol and Santa, cf. e.g. **kïmusu/n* > **qimusu/n* 'fingernail' > Moghol *qimsun*, Santa *ghimusun*. It may be noted that, independently of the original background, a new opposition between *k g* and *q gh* has arisen in several Mongolic languages, including Oirat, Mongghul, Mangghuer, and Bonan.

(21) Obstruent dissimilation

This feature is present in the southern dialects of Mongol proper (Ulan Tsab, Shilingol, Juu Uda, and Southern Khalkha), Ordos, and Mongghul, as well as, less regularly, in the other languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex. Most typically, it is a question of the weakening of an initial obstruent before a medial strong obstruent, e.g. **casu/n* 'snow' > Mongol proper *cas* ~ *jas*, Ordos *jasu*, Shira Yughur *jasen*, Bonan (dialectal) *jasung*, Santa *casun* (**chasun**) ~ *jasun* (**zhasun**). Another manifestation of the same phenomenon is the strength metathesis of obstruents, which is most systematically observed in Mongghul, e.g. **bicig* 'writing' > Mongghul *pujig* 'book'.

(22) Loss of initial **x*

Unlike medial **x*, initial **x* was still retained in Middle Mongol, and its loss in most of the Modern Mongolic languages may be seen as a Post-Proto-Mongolic innovation. The segment is preserved in Dagur and the Gansu-Qinghai complex, cf. e.g. **xulaxan* > **xulaan* 'red' > Dagur *xulaang*, Shira Yughur *hlaan*, Mongghul *fulaan*, Mangghuer *xulang*, Bonan *fulang*, Santa *xulang* (**hulan**).

(23) Prothesis of **x* (h*)**

Because of the impact of the phenomenon of strength metathesis, in which an initial zero anlaut (Ø) is functionally equal to a weak obstruent, the Gansu-Qinghai languages show examples of a secondary prothetic **x* (**h*), e.g. **ükü-* 'to die' > Dagur *ugu-* vs. Shira Yughur *hkü-*, Mongghul *fugu-*, Bonan *hku-*, Santa *fugu-*. This is one of the most important phonological innovations that unite the Gansu-Qinghai languages into a coherent areal (and possibly genetic) group.

(24) Spirantization of **k*

This development obviously took place in two waves, the first of which affected **k* (= **q*) before original back vowels, as observed in all Modern Mongolic languages with the exception of Khamnigan Mongol, Western Buryat, Moghol, Mangghuer, and Santa, cf. e.g. **kara* 'black' > Eastern Buryat and Ordos *xara*, Mongol proper and Oirat *xar*, Mongghul *xara* (**hara**) vs. Moghol *qara* ~ *qarå*, Mangghuer and Santa *qara* (**khara**). Occasional items with a preserved **k* (= **q*) are also present in Dagur, e.g. **kuca-* 'to bark' > Dagur *koc-* vs. Khalkha *xuts-*. The second wave affected **k* before original front vowels, as observed in Mongol proper and Eastern Buryat (with Bargut), dialectally also in Ordos and sporadically in Dagur, cf. e.g. **köl* 'foot' > Buryat *xül*, Mongol proper *xöl*, Ordos *köl* ~ *xöl*. Strictly speaking, the development **k* > *x* has become phonemic only with the appearance of a new distinctive *k*, which may not have happened in some of the idioms concerned.

(25) Deaffrication of **c*

In Buryat and the Khorchin group of Mongol dialects, **c* is spirantized before any vowel, e.g. **cagaxan* 'white' > Buryat *sagaan*, Khorchin *shagang* vs. Khalkha *tsaghang*, Dagur *cigaang*; **cisu/n* 'blood' > Buryat *shuhang*, Khorchin *shus* vs. Khalkha *tsus*, Dagur *cos*. The phenomenon is also attested sporadically in Dagur before the vowel **i*, e.g. **cimöge/n* 'marrow' > Dagur *shimug* vs. Khalkha *cömg*.

(26) Deaffrication of **j*

Basically a parallel of the development **c* > *s*, the development **j* > *z* has a different distribution, in that it is absent in Khorchin and the New Bargut dialect of Buryat, while it is present, at least phonetically, in most dialects of Oirat (including Kalmuck), e.g. **jaxu-* 'to bite' > Buryat *zuu-*, Oirat *zuu-* ~ *dzuu-* vs. Khalkha *dzuu-* (**zuu-**), New Bargut *dzuu-*. In Buryat, but not in Oirat, the phenomenon affects also the position before **i*, e.g. **jil* 'year' > Buryat *zhil*.

(27) Spirantization of **b *g*

Intervocalic **b* and **g* are phonetically spirantized in all Modern Mongolic languages, though the tendency seems to remain marginal in Moghol. In some languages, as in Mongol proper, the phenomenon is also observed in other medial (preconsonantal) and final (prepausal) positions. It is, however, not immediately clear to what extent the tendency is phonologically relevant. The development **b* > *w*, for instance, would seem to be potentially phonological in idioms that, from other sources, have introduced the continuant phoneme *w*, e.g. **tabu/n* 'five' > Mongol proper *taw* (cf. *wang* 'king'). However, few Mongolic languages show any evidence of an actual contrast between medial **b* and **w*, suggesting that [w] should synchronically perhaps still be regarded as an allophone of *b*. In the absence of any conclusive criteria, it may be tentatively assumed that medial **b* > *w* is phonological in Dagur, Mongol proper, Ordos, Oirat, and the Gansu-Qinghai complex, but not in Khamnigan Mongol, Buryat, or Moghol. The situation concerning the status of medial **g* remains to be investigated.

(28) The development **s* > *h*

This development, which essentially involves the weakening (desibilization) of **s* in prevocalic position is diagnostic for Buryat and (the Urulga dialect of) Khamnigan Mongol, e.g. **sara/n* 'moon' > Buryat and Khamnigan Mongol *hara*; **yasu/n* 'bone' > Buryat *yaha*, Khamnigan Mongol *yahu*.

(29) The development **s* > *d*

Complementary to the prevocalic development **s* > *h*, the development **s* > *d* is confined to the syllable-final position in the same languages, e.g. **bos-* 'to rise' > Khamnigan Mongol and Buryat *bod-*. A similar tendency was already present in Middle Mongol, e.g. **exüs-* > *e'üs-* ~ *e'üt-* 'to undertake', and it is also observed in some of the eastern dialects of Mongol proper (Tümet). It is, moreover, possible that the Dagur rhotacism **s* (& **d* & **g* & **b*) > *r* was preceded by the development **s* > **d*. As a unique and apparently unrelated phenomenon, the Jalait-Dörbet dialect of Mongol proper (Khorchin group) has the full paradigmatic neutralization **s* > *t*, e.g. **sara* 'moon' > Jalait-Dörbet *tar* (vs. *sar* in all other dialects of Mongol proper).

(30) Palatalization of **s*

The palatalizing effect of **i* (< **i* & **ï*) on a preceding **s* is a phenomenon observed in all Modern Mongolic languages as well as in Middle Mongol (but not in Written Mongol). Although this phenomenon, consequently, does not single out any particular Mongolic language as more innovative than the others, there are differences in the phonemic relationships between **s* and **sh*. Most importantly, *s* and *sh* can in some cases synchronically contrast before (a long) *i*, as in Khalkha *shiid-* 'to decide' (< **siid-*) vs. *siil-* 'to carve' (< **seile-*), suggesting that the development **si* > *shi* has become fully phonological. It is more difficult to establish what languages, exactly, have reached this stage, but languages in which the sequence **si* still appears to remain phonologically unaltered include, at least, Khamnigan Mongol, Ordos, and Moghol.

(31) Palatalization of **t *d* and **k*

Apart from the Late Pre-Proto-Mongolic developments **ti* > **ci* and **di* > **ji*, a new palatalization of **t* and **d* before (*)*i* has taken place in Santa under the influence of the local Chinese dialects, e.g. **dexere* 'on (top of)' > **deere* > **dere* > Mongghul *dere* vs. Santa **diere* > *jiere*. On the other hand, **k* is palatalized before **i* in Mongghul, e.g. Mongghul *cidar* **(qidar)** 'Chinese' vs. Santa *qidei* **(khidei)** < **kida-* (**kïda-*). This latter palatalization is also observed in Santa, as it would seem, before an original palatal **i*, e.g. **kirüxe* 'saw' > Mongghul *ciruu* **(qiruu)**, Santa *cireu* **(qirou)**.

(32) Merger of final **n* and **ng*

This feature is connected with the neutralization (archiphonemization) of word-final and syllable-final nasal distinctions. The actual mechanisms vary from language to language. Dagur, for instance, has originally merged all the three nasals **m *n *ng* in all syllable-final positions, while Khamnigan Mongol, Buryat, and Mongol proper merge only **n* and **ng*. In the languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex, the positional relationships of **n* and **ng* have been influenced by the Tibetan and Chinese rules of syllable structure. Languages that retain the distinction between final **n* and **ng* are Ordos, Oirat, Moghol, Shira Yughur, and (less clearly) Mongghul. The morphophonological difference between **n* and **n/g* (> *n/gg*) is retained more widely.

MORPHOLOGICAL FEATURES

In the following list of taxonomically relevant morphological features (33–74), the morphosyntactic properties of forms are also considered. The features are listed starting with nominal categories.

(33) The unstable **/n*

The unstable **/n* of the basic (nominative) form of nouns is retained in Buryat, Oirat (with Kalmuck), Moghol, and Shira Yughur, e.g. **usu/n* 'water' > Buryat *uha/n*, Oirat *usn*, Moghol *usun*, Shira Yughur *qusun* vs. Khamnigan Mongol *ůhu*, Dagur *os*, Khalkha *us*, Ordos *usu*, Mongghul *sdzu* **(szu)**, Mangghuer *fudzu* **(fuzu)**, Bonan *se*, Santa *usu*. The representation in Bonan and Santa is, however, not consistent, in that some words have been lexicalized with **/n* preserved, e.g. **modu/n* 'tree; wood' > Bonan *motung*, Santa *mutun*.

(34) Simple plural markers

The two principal simple plural markers in Mongolic are **.s* and **.d*. Due to the syllable-final neutralization **s* > **d* the two markers cannot be phonologically distinguished in Dagur, Khamnigan Mongol, and Buryat. The only other language for which **.s* seems to be unattested is Bonan, though its presence in Santa is also rudimentary. The marker **.d* is not attested in any language of the Gansu-Qinghai complex. More importantly, Shira Yughur, Mongghul, and Mangghuer are mutually linked by the common innovation that the marker **.s* (Shira Yughur *.s*, Mongghul *-s.gi*, Mangghuer *si*) has in them received the status of the main (or only) plural suffix. In a similar way, Bonan and Santa

have developed a regular inflexional plural marked by *-*la* (of disputed origin). Another language with a tendency of marking the plural in a uniform way is Dagur (**-sul*, from Tungusic). This distribution suggests that the reduction in the number of plural suffixes is due to external influences (Turkic in the Gansu-Qinghai complex and Tungusic in Dagur). Foreign plural markers (of Persian-Arabic and Turkic origin) are also used to some extent in Moghol, especially in loanwords.

(35) Complex plural markers

Complex plural markers like **.UUd*, **.dUUd*, **.nUUd*, **.mUUd*, **.ciUd* are not attested in the languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex (except Shira Yughur), suggesting that they may represent innovations that never reached these languages. The same is true of the marker **.nAr*, which is also absent in Moghol.

(36) Singular marking

Mongghul, Mangghuer, and Bonan mark singularity with the help of the suffix **-nige* < **+nige/n* 'one'. Bonan has also a kind of paucal form, as in Bonan *more* 'horse' : sg. *more-n'ge* 'a horse' : pauc. *more-ghula* 'some horses' : pl. *more-la* 'horses'.

(37) Merger of genitive and accusative

The genitive and accusative cases have converged into a single syncretic connective case in two parts of the family: Dagur in the northeast and the Gansu-Qinghai complex in the south. A similar tendency is present, but not completed, in Western Buryat and Moghol. In Dagur and Shira Yughur the connective marker still appears in several variants depending on the stem type of the noun, while in the other languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex the connective is always marked by the single uniform marker (*)-*ni*.

(38) Merger of accusative and dative

With the exception of Santa, the languages that have the syncretic connective case retain a distinction between the genitive and the accusative in the declension of the singular first and second person pronouns. In deviation from this pattern, however, Mongghul, Mangghuer, and Bonan show a tendency to merge the accusative and dative forms of the personal pronouns. This merger is fully completed in Bonan (for all personal pronouns, both singular and plural), while it remains partial in Mangghuer (only in the singular) and Mongghul (only in the first person singular).

(39) Accusative in *-*g*

Possibly in order to avoid the convergence of the genitive and accusative cases, the (apparently secondary) element *-*g* has been added to the accusative forms in Mongol proper, Ordos, and Oirat (with Kalmuck), as in Khalkha *ger* 'yurt' : acc. *ger-i-g*. Dialectally, especially in Mongol proper and Ordos, there is some variation in the use of *-*g* after different stem types.

(40) Dative in **-DU* > *-Di*

The non-reflexive dative markers in all Modern Mongolic languages go back to the Proto-Mongolic shape **-DU*, in which the vowel has been regularly reduced in Buryat (> *-DA*), or lost (> *-D*) in Dagur, Mongol proper and Oirat. The reduction of the suffix vowel in Bonan (> *-da* ~ *-de*) and Santa (> *-de*) cannot be regarded as fully regular, but it is likely to be due to the analogical influence of other case markers (cf. e.g. the ablative marker in *-sa* ~ *-se*). As a special development, the dative marker has the shape *-Di* in Shira Yughur and (Halchigol) Mongghul. This seems to reflect to a more general (sporadic) phonological tendency in these two languages (**U* > *i* in non-initial syllables).

(41) Loss of instrumental case

The Common Mongolic instrumental case in **-xAr* > **-AAr* is not attested in Mongghul, Mangghuer, Bonan, and Santa. Although theoretically this could mean that the instrumental was never present in these languages, it is more likely that it was secondarily lost. In Mongghul and Mangghuer, the function of the instrumental is filled by the comitative in **-lUxA* > **-lAA* > **-la*, while in Bonan and Santa (marginally also in Mangghuer) the secondary sociative marker **+ghwala* > Bonan *-ghala* ~ *-ghale* = Santa *-ghwala* ~ *-ghala* is used.

(42) Loss of comitative case

The Common Mongolic comitative case in **-lUxA* > **-lAA* is not attested in Dagur, Khamnigan Mongol, Buryat, most dialects of Mongol proper, and Bonan. The normal replacement for the comitative is the Common Mongolic possessive case in **-tAi*, which is also present in most of the languages that still retain the comitative. The only languages that do not have the possessive case are Moghol, Shira Yughur, Bonan, and Santa, though all of them do know the derivative use of the same suffix. In the languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex the functions of the comitative, possessive, and instrumental are partly confused. Bonan, which is the Mongolic language with the most reduced case paradigm, uses the sociative in *-ghala* ~ *-ghale* also as a comitative.

(43) Marginal case forms

Apart from the main case paradigm, several Mongolic languages have marginal adverbial case forms, which are used with various restrictions. Two Common Mongolic marginal cases are the terminative and the directive. The terminative marker is **-cAA* in Middle Mongol, Buryat, Mongol proper, Ordos, and Oirat (with Kalmuck), while the directive marker is **-rUU* in Buryat (Bargut), Mongol proper, and Ordos, or **-UUr* in Oirat (with Kalmuck) and Shira Yughur. The relationship of the directive with the prosecutive in **/g-UUr* remains unclear. The prosecutive is attested in pronominal expressions in several languages, e.g. Buryat *xaa/g-uur* 'which way', but the only language in which it seems to have entered the regular case paradigm is Santa (*-ghun*). Another form with a directive function has the marker *-ji* in Mongghul and Mangghuer. The locative in *-ri* ~ *-ra* is unique to Mongghul.

(44) Analytic case markers

The strength of the suffixal bond of the case markers varies among the Mongolic languages. The bond is weak in the Gansu-Qinghai complex (except in Shira Yughur), and

especially in Mangghuer the case markers have become loose postposition-like clitics. A similar situation is observed in Moghol, in which the local case markers are also attested as prepositions. The genitive and accusative in Moghol are often expressed by constructions borrowed from Persian.

(45) Ordinal numerals

The collectives in **.xUlA* are the only type of numeral derivative attested in all Mongolic languages (though with some reservations for Santa). Other numeral derivatives, including the ordinals, have a more limited distribution. The ordinal suffix **.DUxAr* > **.dUgAAr* is attested in Dagur, Khamnigan Mongol, Mongol proper, Ordos, and Oirat (with Kalmuck), while **.dA-ki* is attested in Khamnigan Mongol, Buryat, and Mongol proper. Language-specific ordinal suffixes include Oirat *.dgc*, Moghol *.i* and *.ah*, Shira Yughur *.cAAr*, and Mongghul *.dar* ~ *.dari*. Analytic ordinal constructions and prefixes (borrowed from Chinese and Tibetan) are used in Mangghuer, Bonan, and Santa.

(46) Distributive numerals

The Common Mongolic suffix **.xAd* for distributive (approximative) numerals is attested in all Mongolic languages except in Moghol, Mongghul, Mangghuer, Bonan, and Santa. Secondary distributive suffixes include Dagur *.tel* and Santa *.jia*. In Mongghul, the collectives in *.la* are also used as distributives.

(47) Multiplicative numerals

The Common Mongolic suffix **.tA* for multiplicative numerals is attested in Dagur, Mongol proper, Ordos, Oirat (with Kalmuck), and Moghol. In the other languages, the distributives are mainly expressed by numeral reduplication.

(48) Numeral classifiers

The Chinese system of numeral classifiers has been adopted by Mangghuer and Santa. At the same time, the original Mongolic numeral stems have been largely replaced by the Chinese set of cardinal numerals in these languages. The only Mongolic numeral still actively used in Mangghuer is the item for 'one', while Santa also retains the other basic numerals of the first decade. Similarly, the numerals for higher numbers (above 30) have been replaced by borrowings from Tibetan in (Qinghai) Bonan. Moghol has replaced the original basic numerals for 'six', 'eight', and 'nine' by items of unknown origin.

(49) 1p. sg. pronoun

The first person singular pronoun shows several phonological and morphological developments of taxonomic relevance. The nominative and genitive stems **bi* : **min-* are represented as *bi* ~ *bu*(-) : *mun-* in Shira Yughur and Mongghul. The dative (dative-accusative) form **nama-dV* > **namda* serves as a general oblique stem in Shira Yughur (*nanda-*), Mongghul (*ndaa-*), and Mangghuer (*nangda-*). In Buryat (Bargut), Mongol proper, Ordos, and Oirat, the original oblique stem **nama-* has also been partly replaced

by the (truncated) dative stem **nada-*. Idiosyncratic morphological simplifications are present (also in the 2p. sg. pronoun) in Moghol, Bonan, and Santa.

(50) 1p. pl. pronouns

The original basic form **ba* of the first person plural exclusive pronoun has been lost in all Modern Mongolic languages with the exception of Dagur. Secondary nominatives, based on the genitive stem **man-*, are used in the exclusive function in Oirat (with Kalmuck), Moghol, Bonan, and Santa. In the other languages, with the exception of Shira Yughur, Mongghul, and Mangghuer, the exclusive/inclusive forms are kept distinct in the oblique paradigms. The distinction has possibly also been secondarily recreated in Shira Yughur.

(51) 3p. pronouns

Although rudimentarily attested in Middle Mongol and Written Oirat, the third person pronouns sg. **i* : pl. **a* have been lost in all Modern Mongolic languages with the exception of Dagur. In Dagur, the original nominative forms have been replaced by the genitive stems **in-* : **an-*, but the rest of the paradigm is more or less intact. In all other languages, the function of the third person pronouns has been taken over by the demonstratives. As a specific innovation, the pronoun **nögüxe* 'that one; the other' can be used in reference to the third person in Mangghuer (*nugu*) and Bonan (*nogo*). Another item that has received the function of a third person pronoun is **irgen* 'people' > Shira Yughur *ergen*, Mongghul *rgan* ~ *gan*, Mangghuer *gan*. The Santa third person pronoun *he* (**hhe**), also used as a demonstrative, is etymologically obscure, but is unlikely to be connected with the primary pronoun **i*.

(52) Reflexive pronouns

The basic reflexive pronoun **öxer* is preserved in its original function in all Mongolic languages except the Gansu-Qinghai complex, in which it has been replaced by the noun **ejen* 'master'. The latter is still used as a reflexive pronoun in Shira Yughur (*ejen*), Mongghul (*njeen*), and Mangghuer (*jie*), while its reflexes in Bonan (*ojang* ~ *njang*) and Santa (*ejen*) appear in the function of a third person pronoun. On the other hand, the reflexive pronoun **öxer* : **öxer-exe/n* is also present in Bonan (*orung*) and Santa (*orun*) as a personal pronoun of reported speech, while the function of a reflexive pronoun is synchronically filled by a Chinese borrowing (Bonan *gooji*, Santa *gojia*). In Khamnigan Mongol, Buryat, Mongol proper (dialectally), Ordos, and Oirat (with Kalmuck), the noun **beye* 'body' : refl. **beye-xe/n* can also be used as a reflexive pronoun. The reflexive derivative **öxesü/n* '(one)self' appears in the function of a demonstrative or personal pronoun (3p.) in Khamnigan Mongol and (Lower Uda) Western Buryat.

(53) Demonstrative pronouns

The oblique stems of the demonstrative pronouns **ene* 'this' vs. **tere* 'that' can be divided into four types, each of which is attested in an areally restricted group of languages: (i) the (original) type **exün-* > **üün-* in Mongol proper, Ordos, Oirat (with Kalmuck),

and Shira Yughur; (ii) the type **ene(e)n-* in Dagur, Khamnigan Mongol, Buryat, Mongol proper, Ordos, Oirat (with Kalmuck), Moghol (marginally), and Mongghul; (iii) the type **enexün-* > **enüün-* in Buryat (archaic), Mongol proper, Ordos, and Oirat (with Kalmuck); and (iv) the type **ene-* (with no stem alternation) in Moghol, Mangghuer, Bonan, and Santa. The original plurals of the type **ede* (with or without an additional plural suffix) are preserved in Dagur, Khamnigan Mongol, Buryat, Mongol proper, Ordos, and Oirat. In Shira Yughur, Mongghul, Mangghuer, Bonan, and Santa, the plural forms are based on the singular stems.

(54) Possessive suffixes

The third person possessive suffix **-ni* and the reflexive marker **-xA/n* are attested in all Modern Mongolic languages. By contrast, the first and second person possessive suffixes, based on the pronominal genitives, are taxonomically relevant, being present only in Dagur, Khamnigan Mongol, Buryat, Mongol proper, Ordos, Oirat (with Kalmuck), Shira Yughur, and Santa. A distinctive third person plural suffix is present only in Dagur. The absence of the possessive suffixes in Mongghul, Mangghuer, and Bonan seems to be due to a secondary areal innovation. In Moghol, the pronominal nominatives are used as possessive suffixes, though analytic constructions are more common.

(55) Predicative personal endings

The use of the suffixed nominatives of the personal pronouns as predicative personal endings is attested in Dagur, Khamnigan Mongol, Buryat, Oirat (with Kalmuck), and Moghol. In Khamnigan Mongol, Buryat, and Moghol, the nominal plural marker **.d* has also been incorporated into the system of personal endings (3p. pl.), while Dagur uses the secondary plural marker *-sul*. In Moghol, the imperative forms are also arranged into a full personal paradigm.

(56) Voluntative

Apart from the basic unmarked imperative (**-Ø*), the only imperative forms attested in all Modern Mongolic languages are the voluntative (**-yA*) and possibly the permissive (**-g/V*, though with some problems of documentation and interpretation). The expanded voluntative marker **-yA-n* is, however, present only in Ordos (1p. sg.) and Moghol (1p. pl.), suggesting the possibility of a shared innovation.

(57) Optative

The simple and expanded optative markers **-sU* resp. **-sU-xAi* are both present in Buryat and Oirat (with Kalmuck). Moghol has only the simple marker, while Mongol proper and Shira Yughur have the expanded marker. The desiderative (**-xA-sU-xAi*) is present in Mongol proper and Ordos, and possibly Shira Yughur.

(58) Benedictive

The original singular benedictive marker **-gtUi* is preserved only in Khamnigan Mongol and Buryat, while the plural marker **-gtUn* is present in Mongol proper, Oirat (with

Kalmuck), and Moghol. The exceptional simplification of the cluster **gt* > *t* in this marker in both Moghol (2p. du. *-tå* : pl. *-tu* ~ *-tuna*) and Oirat (*-tn*) is likely to be due to a common innovation.

(59) Other imperatives

The prescriptive (**-xArAi*), precative (**-AA-*), concessive (**-tUgai*), and dubitative (**-xUjAi* ~ **-xUji/n*) have a basically uniform distribution, covering Buryat, Mongol proper, Ordos, and Oirat (with Kalmuck), as well as, probably, Khamnigan Mongol (not fully documented). The concessive is also attested in Dagur, suggesting that it may represent a more ancient morphological innovation. The same may be true of the dubitative, provided that it is represented by the indefinite imperative in Dagur (which is not certain). The potential (**-mjA*) seems to be restricted to Mongol proper and Oirat (with Kalmuck).

(60) Narrative and durative

The simple narrative in **-m* is preserved in Moghol, Mongghul, and Bonan, while the durative in **-nAi* ~ **-nAm* > **-nA* is present in all Mongolic languages with the exception of Dagur. This distribution suggests that the durative is an innovation that has gradually replaced the more original narrative as the basic indicative form of the present tense range. Against this background, it appears likely that the formally ambiguous Dagur present-tense form in *-ng* (: *-n-* : *-m-*) represents the narrative (**-m*), rather than the simple durative (**-n*), which is not reliably attested in finite use in any Mongolic language. The only languages preserving a trace of the final nasal of the durative marker **-nAm* are Khamnigan Mongol, Moghol, and (marginally) Shira Yughur, suggesting that the development **-nAm* (~ **-nAi*) > **-nA* (~ **-nAA*) is a common innovation of all the other languages.

(61) Terminative

Although the terminative (**-bA* ~ **-bAi*) is formally attested in all Mongolic languages, its temporal reference in Dagur (present-future) differs from that observed in all other Mongolic languages (past). Since no common temporal function can be reconstructed, it is likely that the attested functions are the result of two separate innovations (Dagur vs. Common Mongolic), both of which were based on the original aspectual content (perfective aspect) of the form.

(62) Confirmative

The confirmative (**-lUxA* ~ **-lUxAi*) is attested in all Mongolic languages with the exception of Bonan and Santa. Its presence in Mongghul (in the composition of the 'concessive' marker *-lagi* ~ *-lahgi*) remains, however, unconfirmed. Moreover, due to its functional overlapping with the other forms of the past-tense range, the confirmative has tended to be marginalized in several other languages, notably Dagur, Khamnigan Mongol, and Buryat. In Shira Yughur it is only attested in the periphrastic construction for the 'impending future'.

(63) Resultative

The resultative (**-ji* ~ **jixAi*) is absent in Dagur, Buryat, Shira Yughur, and Santa. This distribution suggests that this form may be due to a Common Mongolic innovation that never comprised Dagur, while Buryat, Shira Yughur, and Santa may have lost it secondarily. The resultative seems to have originated as an inferential past tense (as still synchronically in Khalkha), which explains its use as an objective form in the perspective system of Mangghuer.

(64) Participles

Of the five Common Mongolic participles, only the futuritive, perfective, and agentive participles are attested in all Mongolic languages. Of these, the agentive participle (**-gci/n* ~ **-xAci/n*) is mainly attested in fully nominal functions, though verbal functions are also possible especially in Dagur, Buryat, and Mongghul. The perfective participle marker has two shapes: (i) the original shape **-gsAn* with an initial cluster (Written Mongol **-qsav -gsav**), preserved only in Moghol (*-xsan*) as well as, rudimentarily, in Dagur (conv. abtemp. *-rsAAr* ~ *-sAAr*) and Shira Yughur (*-GsAn* ~ *-sAn*), and (ii) the simplified shape **-sAn*, present in all other languages. The imperfective participle is absent as a verbal form in Dagur, Moghol, and the Gansu-Qinghai complex, though traces of the derivational use of the imperfective participle marker (**.xA* ~ **.xA/n*) are present in all Mongolic languages. The habitive participle (**-dAg*) has a similar distribution except that it is also attested in Shira Yughur.

(65) Secondary finite forms

All Mongolic languages use participles (with or without a copula) in finite temporal-aspectual functions, though this usage tends to be marginal in Moghol and the Gansu-Qinghai complex. The futuritive participle (without a copula) yields a future tense in Khamnigan Mongol, Buryat, Mongol proper, Ordos, Oirat (with Kalmuck), and (with a copula) Shira Yughur. For the past tense, Khamnigan Mongol and Buryat use the imperfective participle (without a copula), while Dagur, Mongol proper, Ordos, Oirat (with Kalmuck), and Mongghul use the perfective participle in a similar function.

(66) Basic converbs

The elaboration of the synchronic converbial system varies greatly, ranging from a single form in Moghol to close to twenty more or less actively used converbs, quasiconverbs, and periphrastic converbial structures in Dagur, Buryat, and Shira Yughur. The only basic converbial form attested in all Mongolic languages is the imperfective converb (**-ji*). The modal converb (**-n*) is absent (i.e. lost) in Moghol and Mangghuer, and the perfective converb (**-xAd*) in Moghol, Mangghuer, Bonan, and Santa. In Dagur, Shira Yughur, and Mongghul, the perfective converb marker appears without the final consonant (**-xA* > **-AA*), which makes it formally impossible to distinguish from the imperfective participle (otherwise not attested in these languages).

(67) Conditional converb

The conditional converb is attested in three variants: (i) the primary form in **-xAsU*, preserved in Dagur, Khamnigan Mongol, and Buryat; (ii) the secondary form

*-*bAAsU* < *-*bA+a-xasu* (Written Mongol **-basu**), attested in Ordos and Oirat; and (iii) the 'colloquial' form in *-*bAlA*, attested in Buryat, Mongol proper, Ordos, and Oirat (with Kalmuck). A distinct group is formed by the Gansu-Qinghai complex, in which the conditional converb is expressed by the marker *-*sA*, which seems to reflect the primary marker (i), but which may incorporate other influences (including external influence from Turkic). The element *-*sA* > *-sa* is also present in Moghol, but here it functions as the marker of the subjunctive (irreal) mood of the finite conjugation. An additional unique conditional form in (*-ngg-*)UUn/i* is present in Ordos.

(68) Concessive converb

The concessive converb is morphologically related to the conditional converb and appears with two principal markers: (i) *-*bAci*(*gn*) (Written Mongol **-bacu**), attested in Buryat, Mongol proper, Ordos, and Oirat (with Kalmuck); and (ii) *-*sA+da*, attested in Shira Yughur, Mongghul, and Bonan. Additional language-specific markers are present in Santa (*-se-nu*) and Dagur (*-tgai-c/ig*, based on the concessive form of the imperative sphere).

(69) Other converbs

The only language lacking the terminative converb (*-*tAlA* ~ *-*tAr*) is Moghol. The final converb marker *-*ra* (as attested in Middle Mongol) seems to be preserved in the Gansu-Qinghai complex in the shape (*)-*la*. An important innovation also confined to the Gansu-Qinghai complex is the zero-marked serial (sequential) converb (-Ø), attested at least in Shira Yughur, Mangghuer, Bonan, and Santa.

(70) Quasiconverbs

Owing to the synchronic transparency of the forms, it is often difficult to establish the degree of grammaticalization present in the various quasiconverbial constructions. The most widespread form of this category is the abtemporal (quasi)converb in *-*gsA-xAr*, which is absent only in Moghol and Santa (and possibly Khamnigan Mongol). Mangghuer and Bonan are linked by a special innovative shape of this marker (> *-ser*), which seems to confirm that the form is fully grammaticalized. The successive (quasi)converb in *-*kU-lAA* ~ *-*kU-lAAr/n* is attested in Buryat, Mongol proper, Ordos, Oirat (with Kalmuck), and Mongghul, while the contemporal (quasi)converb in *-*msAAr* is present only in Buryat and Mongol proper, though the related form in *-*mAgcV* is also attested in Ordos, Oirat, and Shira Yughur.

(71) The category of perspective

The morphological distinction between two perspectives (subjective vs. objective) has emerged (under Tibetan influence) in Mongghul, Mangghuer, and Bonan, though the manifestations of the feature differ in the three languages. In Mongghul and Bonan, perspective is mainly expressed by using different copulas (or copular suffixes), while in Mangghuer it is more intimately integrated with the system of verbal temporal-aspectual markers. As an incipient feature, the category of perspective is also present in Shira Yughur (the past non-progressive forms of the finite indicative sphere).

(72) Medial copula

The Chinese medial copula *shi* has been borrowed (as it would seem, separately) into Mangghuer and Santa. The feature is also present dialectally in (Gansu) Bonan.

(73) Negation

In Middle Mongol material, the distribution of the prepositional negative particles (*)*ülü* and (*)*ese* depends mainly on the temporal range of the verbal form to be negated, with (*)*ülü* being used for present tense forms and (*)*ese* for past tense forms. This tendency is still observed in Moghol, Mangghuer, Bonan, and Santa. Both particles are also preserved in Dagur, which, however, uses them indifferently. Only **ülü* is attested in Shira Yughur and Mongghul, while only **ese* is attested in Mongol proper, Ordos, and Oirat (with Kalmuck). Khamnigan Mongol and Buryat seem to have lost both particles. Postpositional negation of verbal forms with the negative noun **ügei* is present in all Mongolic languages with the exception of Moghol, Bonan, and Santa. Generally, **ügei* is only used to negate participles (and the modal converb), but in Khamnigan Mongol and Buryat, as an apparently secondary innovation, it can also be attached to original finite indicative forms.

(74) Prohibitive particle

The basic prohibitive particle **bü* (> **bUU*) negates imperative forms (with minor language-specific restrictions) in Dagur, Khamnigan Mongol, Buryat, Mongol proper, Ordos, (Written) Oirat, Moghol, Mongghul, Mangghuer, Bonan, and Santa. The particle (conc.) **bütügei* is attested in the same function in Mongol proper, Ordos, (Spoken) Oirat (with Kalmuck), Shira Yughur, and Bonan.

LEXICAL FEATURES

Compared with phonological and morphological features, the differences that exist between the Mongolic languages in the lexicon are much more difficult to systematize. For one thing, owing to the prolonged influence of Written Mongol (and Written Oirat) on several Mongolic languages, it is often impossible to tell whether a given lexical item represents the original genetic heritage of a language or the secondary interference of the written medium. Continuing interaction across language borders between closely related and areally contiguous languages, such as Khamnigan Mongol, Buryat, Mongol proper, Ordos, and Oirat, also tends to obscure lexical differences. Moreover, it is difficult to quantify the semantic distinctions that lexical cognates in different languages may show.

Another problem is connected with phonological irregularities, which can double or even triple the taxonomic relevance of a lexical item. In principle, each irregularity has to be counted as a separate taxonomic feature. The numeral for 'nine', for instance, is shared by all Mongolic languages with the exception of Moghol and Mangghuer, but the shape of the item is (i) **yersü/n* in Bonan, (ii) **yesü/n* (> **yösü/n*) in Khamnigan Mongol, Buryat, and Santa, and (iii) **yisü/n* (> **isü/n*) in Dagur, Ordos, and Shira Yughur. Mongol proper, Oirat, and Mongghul are divided between **yesü/n* and **yisü/n*. This suggests two consecutive innovations: **yersü/n* > **yesü/n* and **yesü/n* > **yisü/n*, each with a different areal coverage. It cannot be ruled out, however, that both innovations took place several times, separately in different idioms.

Phonological irregularities illustrate the fact that lexical archaisms are often preserved on the margins of a language family. The word for 'ice', for instance, is attested as **mösü/n* in most Mongolic languages, but direct reflexes of Middle Mongol *mölsü/n* are preserved in Khamnigan Mongol (*mulihu/n*) and Buryat (*mülyhe/n*), on the one hand, and Mongghul (*molsi*), Bonan (*milsung* ~ *mensu*), and Santa (*miensun*), on the other, suggesting that the development **mölsü/n* > **mösü/n* was due to a single innovation radiating from the centre of the language family. It is, however, not rare to find more complicated types of distribution, as in the Common Mongolic item **nabci/n* 'leaf', which is attested as **labci/n* in Dagur, Mongol proper (dialectally), Mongghul, Shira Yughur, Bonan, and Santa.

On the basis of a tentative survey of 452 lexical items (unpublished database of the author), it seems that the Mongolic languages can be divided into six categories, depending on how large the proportion of Common Mongolic items in their vocabulary is. The following calculations also comprise the dialectal level for some of the major Mongolic languages (Mongol proper, Buryat, and Oirat):

(1) Below 50 per cent

The only language belonging to this category is Mangghuer, in which the proportion of Common Mongolic vocabulary would seem to be as low as 39 per cent. Although the figure might turn out to be somewhat higher on the basis of a different corpus, it is obvious that Mangghuer has suffered a massive loss of native vocabulary, making it, at least lexically, a good candidate for a 'mixed language'.

(2) 50–64 per cent

This category comprises, not surprisingly, two other languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex, Bonan (50 per cent) and Santa (56 per cent), as well as Moghol (52 per cent). The figure for Bonan would be more variable if dialects (Qinghai vs. Gansu) and subdialects were considered separately, but there is no doubt that both Bonan and Santa retain a larger proportion of native vocabulary than Mangghuer.

(3) 65–84 per cent

This category comprises the two remaining languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex, Mongghul (72 per cent) and Shira Yughur (77 per cent), as well as Dagur (81 per cent). Interestingly, Western Middle Mongol (81 per cent) would also seem to belong to this group, suggesting an early dialectal difference against Eastern Middle Mongol.

(4) 85–89 per cent

This category comprises three groups of marginal dialects: Western Buryat (87 per cent), Mongolian Oirat (87 per cent), and the Kharachin dialect of Mongol proper (89 per cent). Historically, Eastern Middle Mongol (87 per cent) would also seem to fall in this category, though the evaluation of the Middle Mongol data is complicated by the insufficiency of the extant material. The status of Mongolian Oirat is likewise somewhat problematic, though there are strong indications that it contains a smaller proportion of native vocabulary than other Oirat dialects.

(5) 90–94 per cent

This category comprises the bulk of the Mongolic languages and major dialects, including Sinkiang and Alashan Oirat (90 per cent), Khamnigan Mongol (91 per cent), New Bargut

(91 per cent), Kalmuck (92 per cent), Qinghai Oirat (92 per cent), Ordos (93 per cent), and Eastern Buryat (94 per cent). Of the dialects of Mongol proper, Sönit (91 per cent), Baarin (92 per cent), and Chakhar (92 per cent), would also seem to belong here.

(6) Above 95 per cent

This category comprises the rest of the dialects of Mongol proper, notably Khalkha and Khorchin (as well as, apparently, Modern Written Mongol), in which the proportion of native vocabulary in the sample is as high as 98 per cent. Lexically, at least, these are the 'most Mongolic' of all Mongolic idioms.

More specifically, several subgroups can be established. A strong lexical connection exists, for instance, between Buryat and Khamnigan Mongol, as is evident from many diagnostic words, phonological shapes, and semantic developments, e.g. **jon* 'people' (attested only in Buryat and Khamnigan Mongol), **kalaakai* 'nettle' vs. Common Mongolic **kalakai*, **samagan* 'wife' vs. Common Mongolic 'old woman'. In many cases, Buryat and Khamnigan Mongol preserve lexical archaisms, lost in Mongol proper, e.g. **kübexü/n* 'son' > Khamnigan Mongol *kubee/n* = Buryat *xübüu/n* vs. Mongol proper *xüü* (< **keü* 'child'). On the other hand, Buryat and Khamnigan Mongol stand with Mongol proper against Dagur, which shows either archaisms or innovations of its own, e.g. Dagur **kein* 'wind' vs. Common Mongolic **kei* 'air', **salki/n* 'wind'.

The lexical differences between the dialects of Mongol proper, Oirat, and Ordos show two patterns. On the one hand, the proportion of Chinese loanwords increases towards the east (Ordos and the Inner Mongolian dialects of Mongol proper), cf. e.g. Oirat and Khalkha **dere* > *der* vs. Ordos *der* ~ *jintü* vs. Kharachin *jentu* (Chinese **zhentou**) 'pillow'. On the other hand, the Turkic impact increases towards the west (Oirat), cf. e.g. Ordos and Mongol proper **kalbaga* 'spoon' vs. Oirat **kasig* (recent borrowing from Turkic). It goes without saying that there are also lexical transitions from Mongol proper towards Buryat (through Tsongol and Sartul), Ordos (through Chakhar), and Oirat (through Khotogoit).

The lexical situation within the Gansu-Qinghai complex is most difficult to assess. An apparently valid generalization is that there is a some coherence between Mongghul and Mangghuer, on the one hand, and between Bonan and Santa, on the other, cf. e.g. Mongghul and Mangghuer *bagha-* 'to hit' vs. (Gansu) Bonan *eke-* = Santa *eghi-* id. Another pattern unites Mongghul, Mangghuer, Bonan, and Santa against Shira Yughur, cf. e.g. Shira Yughur *xoto* (Common Mongolic **koto*) 'town' vs. Mongghul *badzar* (**bazar**) = Mangghuer *badzer* (**bazer**) = Bonan *badzar* = Santa *badza* (**baza**) id. (< 'bazaar', via Turkic from Persian). However, the position of Shira Yughur is very intricate, as it can also go together with the rest of the Gansu-Qinghai complex against all other Mongolic languages, as in Common Mongolic **alima* 'apple' > Gansu-Qinghai (with Shira Yughur) 'fruit [in general]'. Within the Gansu-Qinghai complex, Shira Yughur would seem to be closest to Mongghul, but the diachronic background of this connection remains to be clarified.

TENTATIVE CLASSIFICATION

In any classification of a group of related languages, the principal problem is how to balance the taxonomic features against each other. Although it is often easy to identify

features that are more primary and, consequently, taxonomically more relevant than others, it is not immediately clear how these differences in relevance should be measured. In the absence of any solution to this problem, it is often inevitable to treat all taxonomic features as if they were equally significant (one feature = one point). Even this principle is difficult to follow, however, for it is not always possible to determine whether a given feature is actually present in a language or not. Problems arise, in particular, with features that involve gradual tendencies, sporadic phenomena, or dialectal differences.

Under such circumstances, any linguistic taxonomy is bound to be to some extent arbitrary, for the choice and interpretation of the taxonomic features is always based on subjective judgement. Moreover, there are different ways to count taxonomic features. The *similarities* among a group of related languages can often most conveniently be measured in terms of the number of innovations shared by them, while the *distances* between languages are more clearly revealed by a taxonomy based on the number of innovations separating them from each other. When measuring similarities, genetic and areal innovations should be distinguished from each other and from cases of structural convergence, but, again, any attempt to make such a distinction requires subjective judgement.

With these reservations, the taxonomic relationships within the Mongolic family are surveyed here (Table 18.1) on the basis of the phonological and morphological (but not lexical) features shared by any two or more Mongolic languages. Phenomena that are present in only a single language are not considered, since they do not involve shared features. Only innovations (not retentions) are counted, but, depending on the case, the loss of a feature can also be regarded as an innovation (negative innovation). It should further be noted that many of the phonological and morphological phenomena discussed above (1–74) involve several innovations, each of which has to be counted separately (the actual judgements made in the process of counting will not be elaborated here).

The languages included in the survey are: Dagur (D), Khamnigan Mongol (KM), Eastern Buryat (EB), Khalkha (Kh), Ordos (Or), Oirat (Oi), Moghol (Mo), Shira Yughur (SY), (Huzhu) Mongghul (HM), (Minhe) Mangghuer (MM), Bonan (B), and Santa (S). In a more comprehensive survey, other dialects of Mongol proper and Buryat, notably Western Buryat, would also have to be considered. The difference between Kalmuck and (the rest of) Oirat is, however, negligible for taxonomic purposes. It may be recalled that

TABLE 18.1 INTRA-MONGOLIC TAXONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS

	KM	EB	Kh	Or	Oi	Mo	SY	HM	MM	B	S
D	12	14	17	11	12	4	6	10	9	9	6
KM		33	27	24	23	10	12	12	12	11	10
EB			42	32	35	11	17	15	14	13	12
Kh				43	45	11	20	18	17	16	13
Or					40	10	18	18	15	15	11
Oi						14	19	17	15	13	12
Mo							14	15	17	17	18
SY								25	23	20	16
HM									37	34	30
MM										36	33
B											36

the political definitions of the Mongolic languages are often very different from the linguistic realities, especially as far as the Gansu-Qinghai complex is concerned.

Because of the subjective element inherent in any such calculations, the actual figures expressing the mutual similarities of the Mongolic languages should not be taken too literally. However, even if a considerable margin of error is permitted, the general picture is fairly clear. Not unexpectedly, the survey confirms that the Mongolic family comprises two relatively compact subgroups: Buryat–Khalkha–Ordos–Oirat (32 to 45 shared innovations) and Mongghul–Mangghuer–Bonan–Santa (30 to 37 shared innovations). The two most closely related Mongolic languages are Khalkha and Oirat (45 shared innovations), a conclusion that would not be altered even if other dialects of Mongol proper, as well as Kalmuck, were considered separately. Khalkha is also very close to Ordos (43 shared innovations) and Buryat (42 shared innovations), while Buryat and Ordos are somewhat more distant (32 shared innovations).

In this taxonomy, Khamnigan Mongol turns out to stand relatively close to Buryat (33 shared innovations). This is due to the large number of morphological similarities between the two languages, which to some extent obscure the special position of Khamnigan Mongol as the phonologically least innovative (most archaic) Mongolic language. To be accurate, it is not always clear whether the morphological similarities between Buryat and Khamnigan Mongol are really innovations, for in some cases they might also represent original features lost in all other Mongolic languages. On the other hand, the relatively small number of similarities between Dagur and the Buryat–Khalkha–Ordos–Oirat group (11 to 17 shared innovations) tends to obscure the fact that Dagur is actually a rather innovative language, though many of its innovations are language-specific.

Within the Mongghul–Mangghuer–Bonan–Santa group, the strongest bonds seem to link Mongghul with Mangghuer (37 shared innovations), and Bonan with both Mangghuer and Santa (36 shared innovations), suggesting an areal continuum of closely related languages with only slight polarization between two subgroups: Mongghul–Mangghuer and Bonan–Santa. The smallest (although still significant) number of similarities is present between Mongghul and Santa (30 shared innovations). It may be noted that the relatively large number of similarities between Mongghul and Bonan, on the one hand (34 shared innovations), and Mangghuer and Santa, on the other (33 shared innovations), is partly due to the parallel impact of secondary non-Mongolic influences (Tibetan on Mongghul and Bonan, and Chinese on Mangghuer and Santa).

Of the two remaining languages, Shira Yughur appears to have more or less equally strong bonds with the Buryat–Khalkha–Ordos–Oirat group (17 to 20 shared innovations) and the Mongghul–Mangghuer–Bonan–Santa group (16 to 25 shared innovations). Moghol, on the other hand, shows fewer similarities with the former group (10 to 14 shared innovations) than with the latter (15 to 18 shared innovations). Again, these figures should not be taken at face value, for the innovations shared by Moghol and the Gansu-Qinghai complex involve almost solely cases in which original features have been lost under the structural impact of neighbouring non-Mongolic languages. It may be noted that the smallest number of similarities between any two languages in the Mongolic family is shown by Moghol and Dagur (4 shared innovations), suggesting that these are the two extremities of the family not only geographically, but also linguistically.

To correlate the taxonomic data more closely with the geographical realities, it appears possible to establish the following six areal groups of Mongolic languages: (i) Northeastern Mongolic (NE) = Dagur; (ii) Northern Mongolic (N) = Khamnigan Mongol–Buryat; (iii) Central Mongolic (C) = Mongol proper–Ordos–Oirat; (iv) South-Central Mongolic

(SC) = Shira Yughur; (v) Southeastern Mongolic (SE)= Mongghul–Mangghuer–Bonan–Santa; and (vi) Southwestern Mongolic (SW) = Moghol. Finally the cycle closes, for this taxonomy (NE–N–C–SC–SE–SW) brings us back to the scheme (N–C–S) proposed by Rudnev already in 1911.

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CHAPTER NINETEEN

PARA-MONGOLIC

Juha Janhunen

The conventional understanding of the Mongolic language family is based on the information available from the living and historically documented Mongolic languages, all of which may be considered descendants of Proto-Mongolic. The only pieces of direct evidence of any other kind of Mongolic are supplied by the few traits in Written Mongol that seem to reflect traces of Late Pre-Proto-Mongolic dialectal variation. On the basis of this evidence, it may be concluded that in Pre-Chinggisid times there existed dialectal forms of Mongolic which in some relatively minor respects deviated from the dialect that came to form the foundation of Proto-Mongolic. It may further be assumed that such dialectal differences were conditioned by social, cultural, and geographical divisions among the direct ancestors of the historical Mongols.

From historical sources, such as the 'Secret History of the Mongols', we even know the names of many social units which once coexisted with the Mongols of Chinggis Khan. It may be taken for certain that the idioms spoken by tribes and confederations such as the Kereit, Ongniut, and Naiman were not perfectly identical with the dialect of the original Mongol unit. On the other hand, they certainly represented variant forms of a single language, as is also suggested by the non-Proto-Mongolic traits of Written Mongol, which with some likelihood may be connected with the specific influence of the ancient Naiman dialect. The problem is that the historical sources also mention many other populations in the vicinity of the Mongols, and we do not know how closely the idiom of each given group was associated with the Proto-Mongolic lineage.

Obviously, many of the ethnic groups surrounding the historical Mongols were not linguistically related to the Mongols at all. Rather, they may have spoken, for instance, Turkic, Tungusic, Uralic, or Yeniseic idioms. Between the alternatives of immediate dialectal relationship and total genetic difference there is, however, the tantalizing possibility that some of the ethnic neighbours of the early Mongols may actually have spoken languages that were collaterally related to Proto-Mongolic. Such languages may be called *Para-Mongolic*. Like Proto-Mongolic itself, the Para-Mongolic languages would have represented descendant branchings of Pre-Proto-Mongolic. We have no way to know how diversified Para-Mongolic could have been internally, but externally there could well have been at least a considerable difference, if not a total absence of intelligibility, against the Proto-Mongolic lineage.

Speaking of Para-Mongolic would remain at the level of mere speculation were it not that there are indications that such languages actually existed both before and after the appearance of the historical Mongols. Evidence on Para-Mongolic is threefold: historical, philological, and linguistic. The historical evidence comes from the fact that the Mongols originally seem to have represented a single relatively marginal group among a diversity of interrelated populations that once existed in the zone extending from Southern Manchuria to Northern Mongolia. The early populations in this zone are only known by generic names, notably *Donghu* (from *c.*300 BC) and *Xianbei* (to *c.* AD 300).

There is reason to assume that both the Donghu and the Xianbei were large conglomerations of local populations which were not linguistically homogeneous, but which certainly comprised the contemporary speakers of Pre-Proto-Mongolic. Moreover, since the conditions for population growth and ethnic expansion under these entities were favourable, and had been so already before the Donghu, it is very likely that Pre-Proto-Mongolic broke into parallel branches, only one of which led to Proto-Mongolic, while the others belonged to the context of Para-Mongolic. The ultimate fate of all the Para-Mongolic branches was to become extinct under the demographic impact of the subsequent political developments.

Before their extinction the Para-Mongolic populations were involved in the creation of two well-documented political states: the Northern Wei (Chinese *Bei Wei*) of the Tabghach (*Tuoba*, 386–550) and the Liao of the Khitan (*Qidan*, 907–1125). It is from the time of these states that philological information is available on Para-Mongolic. This information is of two kinds: on the one hand, there are occasional Para-Mongolic words transcribed and glossed in Chinese sources, and, on the other hand, there is a corpus of preserved texts written in the Para-Mongolic Khitan language. Unfortunately, both kinds of information involve considerable problems of interpretation. The most important immediate conclusion from the philological sources is that they do, indeed, represent various linguistic stages that may be classified as Para-Mongolic.

Finally, the former existence of Para-Mongolic in the border zone between Mongolia and Manchuria is confirmed, although only indirectly, by the linguistic fact that there are actual Para-Mongolic loanwords in the modern languages of the region. It is very likely that Proto-Mongolic also received such loanwords, especially from the language of the Khitan, but these remain difficult to identify. The main information therefore comes from the Tungusic languages, which, in addition to a large corpus of regular Mongolic loanwords of various periods, contain a number of Mongolic-like items with otherwise atypical or seemingly anachronistic phonological or derivational characteristics. These loanwords can only derive from Para-Mongolic, and one of the contexts in which they were borrowed must have been the Liao dynasty of the Khitan.

DATA AND SOURCES

Historical information on Para-Mongolic is mainly provided by the Chinese dynastic histories, such as the *Wei Shu*, *Sui Shu*, *Jiu Tang Shu*, and *Liao Shi*. These sources also contain Para-Mongolic lexical items preserved in Chinese transcription and translation. The philological problems connected with these items are numerous and often insurmountable. For one thing, the dynastic histories were compiled long after the times they refer to. Also, as the authors were no linguists, their attempts to record non-Chinese lexical items with the help of Chinese characters inevitably remained imperfect and inconsistent both as far as the transcriptions and the translations are concerned. In many cases, the exact source language of the data is unclear. Moreover, apart from the initial mistakes made in the process of recording, additional mistakes have often accumulated during the transmission of the records. One trivial source of such mistakes is contained in the frequent confusion between certain Chinese characters.

Under such circumstances it is surprising that anything at all can be said of the Para-Mongolic items preserved in Chinese rendering. Inevitably, there are many sources of controversy. Peter A. Boodberg (1936) and Louis Bazin (1950), for instance, analysing the Tabghach words of Chinese sources, came to the conclusion that Tabghach was

a Turkic language, a mistake at least partly caused by the fact that some of the items concerned are Turkic names and titles, widespread as cultural words in Central and East Asia. However, the few genetically diagnostic items in the Tabghach corpus have obvious Mongolic cognates, as was noted by Louis Ligeti (1970) and confirmed again by Gerhard Doerfer (1992, 1993). Even so, a large portion of the Para-Mongolic data transmitted by Chinese historical sources remains beyond the reach of critical research.

Differences of opinion have also concerned the linguistic identity of the materials preserved in Khitan writing. The existence of such materials was first established by Toru Haneda (1925), but the dispute as to whether Khitan was a Mongolic, Turkic, or Tungusic language continued several decades. Some proponents of the Mongolic identification have assumed that Khitan was close to Middle Mongol, or the language underlying Written Mongol. Today, however, the conception is gaining support that Khitan was a language in some respects radically different from the historically known Mongolic languages. If this view proves to be correct, Khitan is, indeed, best classified as a Para-Mongolic language.

The historical context of the Liao empire, including its internal and external ethnic relationships, is investigated in detail in Karl A. Wittfogel and Fêng Jia-Sheng (1949), a monumental work that remains an unsurpassed secondary source on the Khitan. More specific treatments of the linguistic situation in the Liao empire, and of the Khitan language materials preserved in Chinese rendering, are provided by Herbert Franke (1969, 1982). A general evaluation of the sources on Khitan is also offered by Ye. A. Kuz'menkov (1997), complemented by a similar treatment of the language of the Xianbei by A. Luwsandendew (1997).

Work on the Khitan language materials preserved in native writing was long hampered by the confusion resulting from the historically known fact that the Khitan actually used *two* systems of writing, termed the Khitan Large Script (Chinese *dawen*) and the Khitan Small Script (*xiaowen*). It was only Goro Toyoda (1964) who convincingly identified the two scripts and their principles. We now know that the Khitan Large Script was a basically logographic (perhaps partly logosyllabic) system of writing with a large number of separate characters (logograms), while the Khitan Small Script was a basically syllabic (perhaps partly phonosyllabic) system of writing with a much smaller number of symbols (syllabic signs). From this fundamental conclusion, it has been possible to proceed further towards a more comprehensive understanding of the Khitan scripts and their historical context, as preliminarily summarized by Juha Janhunen (1994), Chingeltei (1997a, 1998), and Liu Fengzhu (1999).

The corpus of the Khitan Small Script was first systematically collected, analysed, and published (in coded form) by a Russian team comprising V. S. Starikov (1982), M. V. Arapov (1982), as well as M. A. Probst *et al.* (1986). Apart from the syllabic nature of the script, their results give information on the typology (morphology, morphosyntax, and syntax) of the language underlying the script. They do not, however, give any actual 'readings' (phonology). In a separate project, an updated version of the same corpus was published (both in the original Khitan script and in coded form) by a Chinese team comprising Chingeltei, Liu Fengzhu, and Chen Naixiong (1985), and others. Most of the subsequent work on Khitan has been based on the results of the Chinese team, whose members continue to be active in the field. The corpus is still growing, with new epigraphic documents found on an almost yearly basis.

The first attempts to decipher the Khitan Small Script were made already soon after the identification of the underlying language as Khitan. Not much of value remains of these attempts, but a new tradition of 'reading' Khitan has gradually emerged from the

corpus studies of the Russian and Chinese teams. It is today possible to identify and 'read' most of the Chinese elements (names and terms) in the Khitan texts, and on the basis of this information, attempts have been made to find reasonable sound/meaning correspondences for native Khitan words. Even these 'readings', as exemplified by György Kara (1975, 1986–7), Chingeltei (1997bc), Goro Toyoda (1998), and Alexander Vovin (2000), can still only be considered preliminary at best, as is also evident from the fact that they are often mutually contradictory. Clearly, future work will require a more careful consideration of not only the philological but also, and perhaps in particular, the linguistic aspects of the problem.

Linguistic work relevant to Para-Mongolic has so far been focused on two issues: the dialectal diversity of Proto-Mongolic (and the language underlying Written Mongol), as discussed by L. L. Viktorova (1961) and Ye. A. Kuz'menkov (1988), and the Mongolic loanwords in Tungusic, as comprehensively analysed by Ligeti (1960), Doerfer (1985), and William Rozycki (1994a). Two specific categories of lexical borrowing are discussed in Okada (1962) and Janhunen (1993), while an important phonological detail is taken up by Rocyzki (1994b).

THE KHITAN SCRIPTS

It is very likely that the texts preserved in Khitan writing, once fully deciphered, will provide the single most extensive and reliable database on Para-Mongolic. This is, indeed, not a collection of isolated words in obscure transcription, like the Para-Mongolic items preserved in Chinese rendering, but a large corpus of texts originally meant to be read by literate native speakers. It is also obvious that the key to the Khitan language is contained in the Khitan Small Script. The Khitan Small Script remains the most crucial unsolved problem of comparative Mongolic studies. It is also one of the last remaining undeciphered major scripts in the world for which the prospects of full deciphering are good.

Historically, this script is attributed to Prince Yelü Tiela, who is said to have created it in the year 925 upon the request of his elder brother, the Liao emperor Taizu (reigned 907–26), after having familiarized himself with the Uighur language and script. This information is probably correct in so far as the Uighur script may well have served as a stimulus to simplify the Khitan Large Script, which, allegedly was designed by Liao Taizu himself only five years earlier (920). However, the influence of the Uighur script (later adopted for Written Mongol) on the Khitan Small Script can only have been very indirect, as the two systems are fundamentally different as far as their functional properties and external graphic orientations are concerned. In fact, there were certainly also other models used in the creation of the Khitan Small Script.

As it is, both systems of Khitan writing can be safely classified as belonging to the Sinitic type of scripts, with the Chinese script as their most immediate model. The syllabic signs of the Khitan Small Script were apparently designed by selecting and simplifying a sufficient number of the logographic symbols of the Khitan Large Script, though the exact derivations of most of the syllabic signs remain still obscure. The basic innovation involved by the Khitan Small Script is, however, not contained in its graphic forms, but in the fact that the paradigm of syllabic signs is essentially a closed system. The number of the currently known syllabic signs is just over 500, but this preliminary paradigm is likely to contain a considerable amount of allography due to local and temporal variation in the shape of the symbols. Another innovation involved by the Khitan Small Script is that the syllabic signs are (in the normal writing style) grouped into blocks, corresponding to linguistic words.

Although several Khitan words have been tentatively 'read', the most crucial evidence of the Para-Mongolic identity of the underlying language comes from a pun between the words for 'five' and 'hare'. In the Khitan Small Script, the word for 'five' is written with an isolated syllabic sign, while the word for 'hare' is written as a block of three signs, the first of which is identical with the sign for 'five'. Of all language families in the region, this pun makes sense only in Mongolic, where 'five' is **tabu/n* and 'hare' is **taulai.* Obviously, the same syllabic sign was used to write the Khitan equivalents of both the **tabu-* of 'five' and the **tau-* of 'hare'. However, these elements are not identical in Proto-Mongolic. They may also not have been identical in Khitan, but this would mean that the writing system was phonologically rather inexact. A more likely possibility is that they *were* identical in Khitan (perhaps to be read as **tau**), which, on the other hand, would prove that Khitan was characterized by phonological innovations different from Proto-Mongolic.

The word for 'hare' illustrates well the problems of decipherment and reconstruction. The most commonly accepted 'reading' for the whole block of syllabic signs is **tau.li.a**. This is, however, poorly compatible with Proto-Mongolic **taula.i.* Although there is no question that the two words are cognates, we do not know for the time being whether they are complete cognates or only partial ones (perhaps up to **taul-*). It is also unknown what the exact phonological shape underlying the proposed 'reading' of the Khitan word might have been. For these reasons, it cannot be taken for certain that the 'reading' is correct in the details (especially as far as the second and third syllabic sign are concerned). One might conclude that, although the current 'readings' are clearly going in the right direction, the final breakthrough remains to be made.

The currently known corpus in the Khitan Small Script comprises twenty-one large epigraphic (and mainly epitaphic) texts, many of them well, or even perfectly, preserved. Additionally, there are several shorter texts cast on bronze objects, coins and tallies, engraved on pottery, or painted on walls. Most of this corpus, dated between 1057 and 1170, derives from tombs and occasional finds in the region of the Upper and Middle Capitals (*Shangjing* and *Zhongjing*) of the Liao empire, in modern central Inner Mongolia (Chifeng). The Khitan Small Script survived well beyond the collapse of the Liao empire, until its use was officially discontinued in 1191 in the Jin Empire of the Jurchen (1115–1234), which replaced the Liao as the dominant power in Northern China and Manchuria. Unfortunately, there is only one actual bilingual text, the so-called *Langjun Xingji* inscription, which also dates from the Jin period (1134).

Compared with the Small Script, the Khitan Large Script was long considerably less well known. However, recent excavations have revealed a growing corpus of texts also in this variety of Khitan writing. It is now clear that the Small Script, though created later, never fully replaced the Large Script, for during the whole duration of the Liao empire, the two scripts were used in parallel. This gives rise to many contextual questions. Most importantly, it is not immediately clear why the Khitan continued to use the Large Script, which must have been much more cumbersome in practice than the linguistically more advanced Small Script. Like the Chinese script, the Large Script was essentially an open system, in which each word was written with a special character. The number of the currently known 'large' characters is well over 1,000. Another question is why the Khitan, if they wished to have a logographic writing, did not simply adopt the Chinese script, as many other peoples in peripheral China had done.

One possible answer to these questions is that the Khitan Large Script was actually not an invention of the Khitan, though it may have undergone some normalization in the context of the Liao empire. Rather, it is likely to have represented an old local variety of

the Chinese script that may also have been in use among earlier Para-Mongolic populations, including the Tabghach. The assumption that the Khitan Large Script was part of a local tradition is also supported by the fact that it was adopted, with minor modifications, as the official script for the Jurchen language in the Jin empire (1119). Without the pressure of a historical continuity, the Jurchen would hardly have chosen the Large Script, for they must have been aware of the technical superiority of the Small Script, which also continued to be used by the Khitan living under Jurchen rule.

It is therefore obvious that the Khitan Large Script and the Jurchen Script ultimately reflect the same local (Southern Manchurian) tradition of writing. The written symbols in both of these scripts are clearly based on the Chinese characters, with some symbols being even completely identical with their Chinese counterparts, while others represent modifications of the regular Chinese characters. Thus, both the Khitan Large Script and the Jurchen Script should be seen as the results of gradual evolution, rather than unique invention. The Khitan Small Script, by contrast, seems to have involved an element of conscious innovation.

SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

With the language of the Khitan Small Script still phonologically uninvestigated, and with the shape of Para-Mongolic words in Chinese rendering being extremely distorted, the most reliable source on Para-Mongolic segmental phonology is provided by the corpus of loanwords in Tungusic, especially Manchu. Although possible Para-Mongolic items are present in all Tungusic languages, they seem to be more abundant in Manchu, which points to the possibility that many of these words were borrowed during the historical contacts between the Khitan and the Jurchen (the direct ancestors of the Manchu). Not all Para-Mongolic loanwords in Tungusic need, however, derive from Khitan, for they may also reflect the diversity that possibly existed within Para-Mongolic.

Using the combined information of linguistic and philological sources it is possible to establish some phonological properties that are likely to have been characteristic of at least some forms of Para-Mongolic, perhaps specifically Khitan (though this remains to be verified). Some of these properties may be seen as archaisms, which reflect a linguistic stage identical with Pre-Proto-Mongolic. Such features are not unambiguously Para-Mongolic. Other features are, however, clearly innovatory, and they serve to distinguish Para-Mongolic from the lineage represented by Proto-Mongolic. Most interestingly, some of the features of Para-Mongolic seem to involve innovations that also affected the Proto-Mongolic lineage, but only much later, in Post-Proto-Mongolic times. This might mean that the Para-Mongolic territory was the primary centre of linguistic innovation, from where the innovative features diffused slowly towards the periphery, where the Proto-Mongolic lineage was spoken.

Among the apparent phonological archaisms of Para-Mongolic, two features connected with the consonant paradigm may be mentioned:

(*1*) Preservation of the strong labial stop **p* as a separate phoneme, as in Khitan †*pon* 'time', probably cognate with Proto-Mongolic **xon* 'year'. The fact that **p* can still be restored for Proto-Mongolic on the basis of internal reconstruction suggests that the development **p* > **x* took place in Late Pre-Proto-Mongolic not much prior to the emergence of the historical Mongols. Quite possibly, Para-Mongolic, before its extinction, was also embraced by this innovation. The analogous change **p* > *f* in Manchu seems to have been initiated in medieval Jurchen.

TABLE 19.1 PRE-PROTO-MONGOLIC CONSONANTS

**p*	**t*	**c*	**k*
**b*	**d*	**j*	**g*
	**s*		**x*
**m*	**n*	**ny*	**ng*
	**l*		
	**r*		
		**y*	

(*2*) Preservation of a palatal nasal **ny* as a separate phoneme, as in **nyoka* 'dog', borrowed into Manchu as *nyoxe* (Written Manchu **niohe**) 'wolf', as opposed to Proto-Mongolic **noka.i* 'dog'. Correspondences of this type suggest that the Proto-Mongolic lineage was characterized by the depalatalization development **ny* > **n*. However, since the date of this development remains unknown, it is difficult to determine whether the relevant loanwords in Tungusic derive from Para-Mongolic or simply from some early stage of the Proto-Mongolic lineage.

When these two archaisms are projected on what is otherwise known of the Mongolic consonantism, it seems possible to postulate a paradigm of seventeen consonant phonemes for Pre-Proto-Mongolic (Table 19.1).

At the syntagmatic level, there are two other consonantal archaisms that may have been characteristic of some forms of Para-Mongolic. Both features are suggested by loanwords documented in Tungusic:

(*3*) Preservation of a primary velar spirant **x* as an initial segment distinct from **p* and **k*, as in **xorin* (**xorïn*) 'twenty', borrowed into Proto-Tungusic as **xorïn*. In this case, the Proto-Mongolic shape **kori/n* (**korï/n*) would seem to be irregular (probably influenced by **koyar* 'two'). Although the reconstruction of **x* is still connected with problems, the postulation of this segment for Pre-Proto-Mongolic is supported by the areal fact that Proto-Tungusic also had an analogous (native) segment. However, it remains unclear whether the items suggesting **x* were borrowed into Tungusic from Para-Mongolic, or already from the common ancestor of Para-Mongolic and the Proto-Mongolic lineage.

(*4*) Preservation of a distinctive dental **t* (as opposed to palatal **c*) before the high unrounded vowels **i* **ï*, as in **gutin* (**gutïn*) 'thirty', borrowed into Proto-Tungusic as **gutïn*, as opposed to Proto-Mongolic **guci/n* (**gucï/n*). Again, it is impossible to determine the chronological limits of this feature, leaving open the possibility that it reflects the original Pre-Proto-Mongolic, rather than the Para-Mongolic situation. Since the development **ti* > *ci* is also attested in Manchu, it may have affected some forms of the neighbouring Para-Mongolic, as well.

The innovative features of the Para-Mongolic consonantism are likely to have included, at least, the following:

(*5*) Spirantization of the palatal stop **c* to *sh*. This feature is well attested in the Para-Mongolic loanwords of Manchu, e.g. *shanggyan* 'white' (Written Manchu **shanggiyan**), as opposed to Proto-Mongolic **cagaxan*. Since, however, the same development is also observed in native Manchu items, it is difficult to determine whether it affected the loanwords concerned already in the Para-Mongolic donor language, or only later in Manchu.

TABLE 19.2 PARA-MONGOLIC CONSONANTS

†*p*	†*t*		†*k*
†*b*	†*d*	†*j*	†*g*
†*f*	†*s*	†*sh*	†*x*
†*m*	†*n*	†*ny*	†*ng*
	†*l*		
	†*r*		
†*w*		†*y*	

In any case, the development **c* > *sh* was probably connected with the similar spirantization of the velar stop **k* to *x* (*h*) in both Para-Mongolic and Jurchen. This innovation, which was initially valid only for the position before original velar vowels, spread subsequently to several modern descendants of the Proto-Mongolic lineage.

(*6*) Loss of medial **x*, as in †*eulen* 'cloud', as opposed to Proto-Mongolic **exüle/n*. Although this innovation is well known from all Modern Mongolic languages, it is absent in the language underlying Written Mongol and is therefore not likely to have affected the Proto-Mongolic lineage until in Late Pre-Proto-Mongolic times. In Para-Mongolic, by contrast, it seems to have begun at least several centuries earlier. A related development may be the apparent loss of medial **b*, as in †*tau* 'five' (Proto-Mongolic **tabu/n*), though other interpretations are also possible.

Partly due to Chinese influence, but possibly also as the result of indigenous developments, some forms of Para-Mongolic, including Khitan, are likely to have had a number of secondary (initially perhaps marginal) consonant phonemes, notably the labials †*w* and †*f*. If this was so, the typical Para-Mongolic consonant system may have comprised at least 19 distinct segments (Table 19.2).

It is considerably more difficult to say anything definite concerning the Para-Mongolic vowel system. There are indications that Para-Mongolic, in general, and Khitan, in particular, may have been characterized by several innovations that affected the Proto-Mongolic lineage only shortly before or even after its breakup. Such innovations include labial harmony, the paradigmatic merger of the high unrounded vowels **i* **ï*, the phenomenon of rotation, and the loss of **ö* (and possibly also **ü*) as a distinctive segment. Many of the 'readings' proposed for Khitan also seem to imply that there was vowel reduction or even vowel loss in non-initial syllables. However, information on the presence or absence of these phenomena in Para-Mongolic is still insufficient. It is therefore virtually hopeless to attempt any schematization of the Para-Mongolic vowel system. Moreover, there were probably many different vowel systems depending on geographical and chronological circumstances.

Two concrete and specifically Para-Mongolic innovative phenomena connected with vowels can nevertheless be established on the basis of loanwords borrowed into Tungusic:

(*7*) Contraction of diphthongoid sequences ending in **(y)i or *(y)ï*, as in **po(y)ïma/n* 'sock/s' > **pomo/n*, represented in Manchu as *fomon* : *fomo.ci*, as opposed to Proto-Mongolic **xo(y)ima.su/n*. Contractions of this type would also suggest the more general conclusion that there were no monophthongoid long or double vowels in Para-Mongolic. If such vowels had arisen through contraction they are likely to have been shortened (as also happened in Jurchen-Manchu).

(*8*) Raising of **o* to **u* in the words **mori/n* (**morï/n*) 'horse' and **koni/n* (**konï/n*) 'sheep', borrowed into Tungusic as **murï/n* and **kunï/n*, respectively. The shape **murï/n* (†*murin*) is also attested in medieval Jurchen, which confirms that it is, indeed, an old borrowing dating back to Para-Mongolic times. However, it is unclear whether or not the vowel raising was a simple combinatory development, for it is contradicted by the item **xorin* (**xorïn*) 'twenty', represented in Tungusic as **xorïn*. Possibly, the different representations derive from two varieties of Para-Mongolic, separated either areally or chronologically.

NUMERALS

Numerals are only one of several closed systems of Para-Mongolic lexical items for which systematic information is today available both from the Khitan Small Script and the Para-Mongolic loanword corpus in Tungusic. Some allegedly Khitan numerals have also been transmitted in Chinese transcription. Other closed systems, for which information can mainly be gathered from the Khitan Small Script, include the names for the four seasons (Toyoda) and the twelve animals of the East Asian Zodiac (Chingeltei). The names of the basic colours (Okada), on the other hand, can be approached mainly with the help of Tungusic.

The most reliable source on the Para-Mongolic numerals is provided by the Jurchen-Manchu set for the teens (11–19). These were systematically borrowed from an idiom clearly related to Mongolic, but different from the lineage of Proto-Mongolic. The shapes of these items, as reconstructable from Jurchen-Manchu, seem to have been: 11 †*omshon*, 12 †*jir.hon* (> *jorhon* ~ *jorgon*), 13 †*gor.hon*, 14 †*dur.hon* ~ †*durhun*, 15 †*tobu.hon* (> *tofohon*), 16 †*nil.hun* (> *nyolhun*), 17 †*dal.hon*, 18 †*nyo.hun* ~ †*nyohon*, 19 †*onyo.hon*. Assuming that these items had a deeper history, they may be reconstructed as Pre-Proto-Mongolic 11 **omcon*, 12 **jï.r.ku/n*, 13 **gu.r.ku/n*, 14 **dö.r.kü/n*, 15 **tabu.ku/n*, 16 **nil.kü/n*, 17 **dal.ku/n* (or **dal.u.ku/n*), 18 **nya(y)i.ku/n*, 19 **o+nya(y)i.ku/n*.

This set for the teens, unattested in any living or historically documented idiom of the Proto-Mongolic lineage, allows several interesting conclusions to be made. Most importantly, the items for 12 to 19 are clearly derived from the corresponding basic numeral roots by adding the suffixal element †*.hU/n* < **.kU/n* (or perhaps **.xU/n*) '-teen'. Similarly, the Proto-Mongolic numerals for 3–4 and 6–8 of the first decade contain the suffixal element **.pA/n* 'of the first decade'. It is not far-fetched to see in these suffixal elements the roots of the numerals 20 **xo.r.ï/n* (Proto-Mongolic **korïn*) and 10 **pa.r.pa/n* (> Proto-Mongolic **xarba/n*), respectively. As a curious detail, the item 16 †*nil.hun* suggests the presence of an original Pre-Proto-Mongolic root 6 **nil*, which was replaced in Proto-Mongolic by the secondary innovation 6 **jir+gu.xa/n* (= 2 x 3).

Some other aspects of the set for the teens seem to have involved innovations on the Para-Mongolic side. Thus, 11 †*omshon* is possibly connected with the nominal root **onca* 'special, additional', as attested in the Proto-Mongolic lineage, while 19 †*onyo.hon* is clearly based on 18 †*nyo.hun* ~ †*nyohon*. Since Proto-Mongolic 1 **nike/n* (> **nige/n*) and 9 **yer.sü/n* are also likely to be innovations, the original roots for these numerals (if there were any original roots) remain obscure. The roots for 2–5 and 7–8 are, however, common to Para-Mongolic and Proto-Mongolic, allowing them to be reconstructed tentatively as Pre-Proto-Mongolic 2 **jir* (or **jïr*), 3 **gur*, 4 **dör*, 5 **tab(.u)*, 7 **dal(.u)*, 8 **nyay(.ï)*. Importantly, the final consonant **r* of the roots for 2–4, which also occurs in 10 **par*, is observed both in Para-Mongolic and Proto-Mongolic,

although derivative relationships like 3 **gu.r* : 30 **gu.t.ï/n* would suggest that it may be secondary in at least some of the items concerned.

It is another question whether the Para-Mongolic set for the teens was also used in Khitan. The Khitan Small Script would suggest that the teens were expressed in terms of additive compounds (10 + digit), rather than as lexicalized derivatives. On the other hand, it is unclear whether the Khitan numerals of the first decade involved the use of the simple numeral roots, or of derivatives of the Proto-Mongolic type. The current (Chingeltei) 'readings' of the syllabic signs denoting the Khitan numerals are based on the assumption that all the items were underived and monosyllabic. Most of these 'readings' are otherwise roughly compatible with the comparative information: 2 **cur** (more probably **jur** or **jir**), 3 **gur**, 4 **dur**, 5 **taw** (or **tau**), 6 **nir** (more probably **nil**), 7 **dol** (more probably **dal**), but the 'readings' proposed for 8 **naim** and 9 **is** are clearly anachronistic and unlikely to be correct. Most interestingly, the 'reading' for 1 **mas** suggests a root completely unknown in the Proto-Mongolic lineage.

Of the higher numerals, the items for the decades 20 **xorï/n* and 30 **gutï/n* were also borrowed into Tungusic, as it seems, from Para-Mongolic. The Tungusic item 40 **deki* is likewise commonly assumed to be a Mongolic borrowing, but its connection with Proto-Mongolic **dö.r.be/n* : 40 **dö.c.i/n* remains unclear. Among higher numerals, the 'readings' 100 **jaw** (or **jau**), 1,000 **ming**, and 10,000 **tum** have been proposed for Khitan (Chingeltei), but the evidence remains to be verified.

The Tungusic shapes of the borrowed items for the teens and decades suggest that most Para-Mongolic numerals, like their counterparts in the Proto-Mongolic lineage, ended in the unstable **/n*. Whether this was also the case in Khitan, remains unclear as long as the decipherment of the Khitan Small Script has not been completed.

OTHER FEATURES

Although little is known of the linguistic substance of Para-Mongolic, it may be presumed that at least Khitan was structurally very similar to its immediate eastern neighbour Jurchen. Many of the typological peculiarities that distinguish the Jurchen-Manchu lineage from the other Tungusic languages, are likely to be due to Khitan areal influence, or to innovations shared with Khitan. On this basis, it may be presumed that Para-Mongolic, like Jurchen-Manchu, was characterized by, for instance, a somewhat less abundant (secondarily reduced) system of suffixal morphology, as compared with the Proto-Mongolic lineage.

In the morphological system, Para-Mongolic nevertheless seems to have possessed all the basic categories also known from Proto-Mongolic, i.e. case endings, verbal markers for imperatives, finite indicative forms, participles, and converbs, as well as a system of denominal and deverbal derivative suffixes. There do not appear to have been any suffixes of personal marking (predicative personal endings or possessive suffixes). The graphic details of the Khitan Small Script suggest that some suffixes were subject to allomorphic variation depending on the rules of vowel harmony (which may have been of the rotated type).

Lexically, Para-Mongolic may also turn out to have shared many more items with Jurchen-Manchu than can today be verified on the basis of comparisons with the Proto-Mongolic lineage. In particular, it is likely that many of the older Chinese loanwords in Jurchen-Manchu were actually borrowed through Khitan in the Liao-Jin political framework. Such words include, for instance, the nominal type ending in the secondary suffixal element *.un*, e.g. **pap.un* 'law' > Manchu *fafun*, **lam.un* 'blue' > Manchu *lamun*,

and possible **gur.un* 'state' > Manchu *gurun* (later also borrowed, probably from Manchu, into Modern Mongolic).

Obviously, much of what can be said today of Para-Mongolic remains speculative and hypothetical. However, the keys are in our hands, and with more work on, especially, the Khitan Small Script, the door to the world of Para-Mongolic can, without doubt, be opened.

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CHAPTER TWENTY

TURKO-MONGOLIC RELATIONS

Claus Schönig

Turkic and Mongolic exhibit many structural similarities and a great number of lexical, morphological, and syntactic correspondences. These common features are the principal object of the field known as *comparative Altaic linguistics*. To explain the situation, two frameworks have been proposed: the genetic framework and the areal framework. In the genetic framework, the similarities between Turkic and Mongolic are largely assumed to be due to an original genetic relationship between the two groups of languages. This framework, also known as the *Altaic Hypothesis*, operates with the postulation of a common Turko-Mongolic protolanguage, termed Proto-Altaic. Apart from Turkic and Mongolic, other groups of languages, notably Tungusic, but also Korean and Japanese (Japonic), have been regarded as deriving from Proto-Altaic. By contrast, the areal model explains the similarities between the 'Altaic' languages as being basically due to long-lasting and intensive contacts.

Since all scholars working in the field of comparative Altaic linguistics recognize the areal factor, it is mainly a question of what role, exactly, is assigned to the genetic framework. Some scholars see no evidence for a genetic relationship between the 'Altaic' languages, while others tend to explain a large part of the observed similarities as direct genetic heritage. Still others recognize the possibility of a distant genetic relationship, but prefer to explain at least most of the similarities as being areally conditioned. Generally, the more carefully the areal factor has been investigated, the smaller the size of the residue open to the genetic explanation has tended to become. According to many scholars it only comprises a small number of monosyllabic lexical roots, including the personal pronouns and a few other deictic and auxiliary items. For these, other possible explanations have also been proposed. Most importantly, the 'Altaic' languages do not seem to share a common basic vocabulary of the type normally present in cases of genetic relationship.

In the general context of comparative Altaic linguistics, the Turko-Mongolic relations are of crucial importance. Not only was the Altaic Hypothesis originally based mainly on the Turko-Mongolic comparative corpus, but also the potential disqualification of the genetic framework depends on how this corpus is interpreted. Moreover, whatever conclusion is reached concerning the Turko-Mongolic linguistic similarities, it will have a considerable significance to the understanding of the early ethnic, cultural, and political history of the entire Altaic sphere (Central Eurasia and Northeast Asia). Many of the lexical similarities between the 'Altaic' languages are, in fact, connected with cultural diffusion.

DATA AND SOURCES

Although the Altaic Hypothesis dates back to eighteenth-century language comparisons, it was first presented in a coherent formulation by G. J. Ramstedt (1952–66). Apart from

Turkic and Tungusic, Ramstedt connected Mongolic genetically also with Korean, but not with Japanese. A more or less identical version of the hypothesis was adopted by Nicholas Poppe (1960, 1965), while more extended (Macro-Altaic, Ural-Altaic, Nostratic) frameworks, with the inclusion of Japanese (Japonic) and/or a selection of other language families, have been supported by K. H. Menges (1968), R. A. Miller (1971), S. A. Starostin (1991), and others. The basic problem common to all of these approaches is that they tend to underestimate the impact of borrowing, especially between Turkic and Mongolic, on the one hand, and Mongolic and Tungusic, on the other.

The recognition of the areal framework becomes the more important the further back we move on the time scale. Contacts between relatively late and historically well-documented stages of the 'Altaic' languages have been studied by even the most ardent adherents of the Altaic Hypothesis like Poppe (1962, 1969), who (1965: 159) admits that 'it would not be an exaggeration to say that about twenty-five percent of the Mongolian [Mongolic] vocabulary is of Turkic origin'. However, the Altaic Hypothesis tends to ignore the possibility of pre- and protohistorical contacts between the undocumented (reconstructed) proto- and pre-protolanguages underlying Mongolic, Turkic, and Tungusic. In reality, most of the Turko-Mongolic comparative corpus can be explained as the result of early language contacts. This point of view has been supported by, for instance, Johannes Benzing (1953) and András Róna-Tas (1976).

The early lexical contacts between Turkic and Mongolic have been studied in detail by several scholars, including, most importantly, Sir Gerald Clauson (1960, 1962), Gerhard Doerfer (1963–75), L. V. Clark (1977), and A. M. Shherbak (1996, 1997), all of whom are sceptical of the Altaic Hypothesis. The theoretical premises of the areal framework have been formulated by Doerfer (1988), while Róna-Tas (1973, 1982, 1990, 1998) has clarified several crucial chronological issues. Some details of structural interaction are discussed by Marcel Erdal (1991, 1998) and Lars Johanson (2002). In a wider areal context, there is a vast literature on the diffusion of cultural vocabulary in the Altaic sphere, as exemplified by the studies of Louis Ligeti (1950) and Volker Rybatzki (1994). The ethnohistorical and taxonomic background of the Turkic languages, with direct implications to the issue of the Turko-Mongolic relations, has most recently been analysed by P. B. Golden (1992) and Claus Schönig (1997–8).

Although the contacts between Turkic and Mongolic have always taken place bilaterally, the pre- and protohistorical cultural, political and demographic circumstances seem to have favoured borrowing mainly from Turkic to Mongolic, while in later times, beginning with the historical Mongols, the predominant flow of influence was from Mongolic to Turkic. Locally, the patterns of interaction may well have been more complex, and much detailed work remains to be done in the field of language-to-language contacts in the various regions of Turko-Mongolic adjacency and cohabitation. Special monographic treatments of Mongolic loanwords exist for Yakut (Kałużyński 1962), Tuva (Tatarincev 1976), Northeastern Turkic (Rassadin 1980), and Western Oghuz (Schönig 2000).

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Altaic Hypothesis involves several problems for the Turko-Mongolic comparisons, for in spite of their common features Turkic and Mongolic have also profound differences. To explain these differences, the supposed Altaic protolanguage would have to have dissolved very early – apparently several thousands of years ago. This, on the other hand, is not compatible with the categories of vocabulary most typically shared by Turkic and Mongolic, for much of the shared vocabulary is connected with relatively recent

cultural innovations, which can even, with some accuracy, be dated and documented historically and archaeologically.

A more plausible explanation is therefore offered by the assumption of a network of linguistic contacts, which have united the 'Altaic' languages since ancient times up to the present day. External contacts with Uralic and Indo-European suggest that Proto-Turkic was once the westernmost member of this network. On the basis of historical information it may be concluded that the period of the most intensive early contact between Turkic and Mongolic coincided with the appearance of the protohistorical ethnopolitical entities of Xiongnu and Donghu in the regions north of China (Mongolia and Manchuria). The Xiongnu became politically dominant in the steppes around 300 BC, and although the linguistic affiliation of the Xiongnu proper is still a matter of dispute, their political confederation certainly contained a significant Turkic component. By both ethnohistorical and linguistic considerations this component may in the first place be identified with the Bulgharic (Bulghar Turkic) branch of Turkic, today represented by the Chuvash language in the Volga region.

The actual linguistic material deriving from the Xiongnu is scarce and extremely controversial. Most of the lexical items concerned are cultural terms, which may or may not be Turkic. Two Xiongnu words subsequently found in almost all Turkic and Mongolic languages are **chengli** †*tängri* 'god; heaven' (Proto-Mongolic **tenggeri*) and **wolute** †*ordo* 'palace guard' (for 'palace', Proto-Mongolic **ordu*). Neither of these words has a reliable internal etymology in either Turkic or Mongolic, and they may well derive from a third (unknown) language. The Turkic component of the Xiongnu is, however, unambiguously signalled by a number of Bulgharic loanwords in Proto-Samoyedic, such as **yür* 'hundred'. The Bulgharic (Proto-Bulgharic) speakers are likely to have entered Southern Siberia, the location of Proto-Samoyedic, not earlier than the last century BC. At the same time, a number of local words, notably **kadï* 'conifer' (> Chuvash *xĭră* ~ *xĭr* 'birch'), were borrowed from Proto-Samoyedic into Bulgharic.

In the second century AD, the Xiongnu were overcome by the Xianbei, who subsequently dominated the steppes north of China during several centuries. The Xianbei derived from the context of the Donghu, who are likely to have contained the linguistic ancestors of the Mongols. Later branches and descendants of the Xianbei include the Tabghach and Khitan, who seem to have been linguistically Para-Mongolic. True, a few lexical items recorded from Tabghach, most notably the actor nouns †*kapag.cin* 'doorkeeper', †*bitig.cin* 'secretary', and †*a[sh].cin* 'cook', may be analysed as basically Turkic, but they might well have represented early Turkic borrowings in Para-Mongolic. Although the actor noun suffix **.ci/n* is attested in both Turkic and Mongolic, it need not be originally either Turkic or Mongolic, for actor noun suffixes appear to be universally liable to be borrowed (as also in many European languages).

Opinions differ widely as to what the linguistic impact of the Xianbei period was. Some scholars (like Clauson) have preferred to regard the Xianbei and Tabghach as Turks, or even as Bulghar Turks, with the implication that the entire layer of early Turkic borrowings in Mongolic would have been received from the Xianbei, rather than from the Xiongnu. However, since the Mongolic (or Para-Mongolic) identity of the Xianbei is increasingly obvious in the light of recent progress in Khitan studies, it is more reasonable to assume (with Doerfer) that the flow of linguistic influence from Turkic (or Bulghar Turkic) into Mongolic was at least partly reversed during the Xianbei period, yielding the first identifiable layer of Mongolic (or Para-Mongolic) loanwords in Turkic. Items with Mongolic roots and/or suffixes and apparently borrowed into Turkic in this period include Old Turkic *balbal* 'statue (of a slain enemy)' ← Mongolic **barï.mal*

'structure' (from **barï-* 'to grab; to construct'), *kertü* 'true' ← Mongolic **gere.tü* 'evident' (from **gere* 'light'), *qarghu* 'watchtower' ← Mongolic **kara.xu* (from **kara-* 'to watch'), and *yalawac* 'envoy' (< **yala.ba.ci* 'invitee', from Mongolic *jala-* 'to invite'). In many other cases criteria for the direction of borrowing are missing, as in Turko-Mongolic **kom* (*qom*) 'a piece of felt placed under the pack on a camel'.

Assuming that the Xianbei and Tabghach were, indeed, linguistically Mongolic (Para-Mongolic), it is not immediately clear what contemporary ethnic group represented the Turks. One possible identification is offered by the Ruanruan, who appeared in Mongolia at the end of the fourth century. The Ruanruan have conventionally been connected with the Avar, who appeared in Eastern Europe in the middle of the sixth century, but the connection remains both historically and linguistically unconfirmed. The European Avar have been identified variously as Turks or Mongols. Most recently, it has been suggested (by Róna-Tas) that they were Bulghar Turks, which would make them descendants of the Xiongnu. The information on the Avar language consists of names like **Bayan** (Mongolic **bayan* vs. Turkic **bay* 'rich') and well-known titles like **tarcan** (Mongolic **darkan*) and **caganus** (Mongolic **kaxan* vs. Turkic **kagan*), none of which is diagnostic enough to allow firm conclusions.

The first people to use the title **kagan* (*qaghan*) 'ruler, emperor' were the Xianbei. Later on this title was employed by both the Tabghach and the Ruanruan, as well as by the Khitan and the historical Turks. The Mongols seem to have adopted it from the Turks. Although the etymology of **kagan* remains unclear, it belongs to a distinct type of nouns ending in *n*, many of which may have entered Turkic from Mongolic (or Para-Mongolic). This group comprises Turkic *tarqan*, as well as *qatun* 'queen; lady', *tegin* 'prince', *qalqan* 'shield', *atan* 'gelded camel', *toghan* '[kind of] hawk', *lacin* 'gyrfalcon', and *colban* ~ *colpan* 'the planet Venus'. In all of these cases, a foreign origin is also suggested by the semantics (administrative concepts, hunting birds and other domesticated animals, astronomical terms). There are also many other Turkic words that for phonological, morphological, and/or semantic reasons might be early borrowings from Mongolic. Possible cases include: Turkic *taluy* 'ocean' (Mongolic **dala.i*), *bughday* 'wheat' (Mongolic **buxuda.i*), *turumtay* 'hawking bird' (with the Mongolic suffix **.tA.i*), *tuturqan* 'rice'.

In the middle of the sixth century the Turkic group bearing the ethnonym Türk crushed the Ruanruan and gained control of the eastern steppes for the next few hundred years. The subsequent Türk empires at times also controlled Mongolic and Para-Mongolic peoples, including the Khitan, who copied political and organizational terms from Turkic. During this period, the ancestors of the historical Mongols are likely to have been contained within the entities known by the names *Otuz Tatar* (Shiwei) and *Toquz Tatar* (Southern Shiwei), located east and southeast of Lake Baikal. West and north of the lake were the Turkic *Üc Qurïqan*, the linguistic ancestors of the Yakut. In 742 the Türk were defeated by the likewise Turkic confederation of the Uighur, who, in turn, were pushed aside by the Ancient Kirghiz in the 840s. Some Uighur tribes took refuge with the Otuz Tatar, but most of them withdrew to the oases of Eastern Turkestan. The Uighur then never returned to the steppes, even when they were invited by the Khitan, who had overcome the Kirghiz in the 920s.

In the twelfth century, part of the Khitan, subseqently known as the Black Khitan (*Qara Qïtay*), migrated westward to Central Asia and became Turkicized. In Mongolia, the immediate linguistic ancestors of the historical Mongols spread Mongolic (Pre-Proto-Mongolic) speech to territories previously held by Turkic speaking populations. The Mongols mainly occupied the basins of the rivers Orkhon and Kerulen, but the closely related Kereit and Naiman tribes expanded further to the west. Both the Kereit and especially the Naiman may have contained unassimilated Turkic elements, as is suggested by

the occurrence of Turkic names and titles among them. East of the Mongols lived the Tatar, while to the north there were the Merkit, two groups that are likely to have been linguistically Mongolic (or Para-Mongolic), but that may also have contained a Turkic component. In an apparent reference to the Turkic elements in Mongolia, the eleventh-century scholar Maḥmûd al-Kâšgarî mentions that the Tatar, as well as the *Yabaqu* and *Qay*, understood Turkic, though they also had a (Mongolic or Para-Mongolic) language of their own.

The rise of the Mongol empire in the thirteenth century involved political and cultural changes that brought the Turko-Mongolic relations to a new stage. At the same time as the Mongols (and Para-Mongols) were unified under the relatively homogeneous Proto-Mongolic language, the Turkic tribes were arranged according to patterns that anticipated the emergence of the modern Turkic branches and languages. Many Turkic and Mongolic groups were removed from their earlier homelands, and new and mixed tribal units came into existence. As a consequence of this mixing, Mongolic (and Para-Mongolic) ethnonyms are today widespread among Turkic populations, and vice versa. Mongolic ethnonyms still used as tribal names by the Turks include *Merkit* (Turkmen), *Qïdat* (South Siberian Turks), as well as *Kerey(it)* and *Tatar* (Kipchak).

Another wave of Mongolic impact on Turkic, especially on Central Asian and South Siberian Turkic, was connected with the rise of the Oirat empire in the fifteenth century. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Kalmuck tribes reached the Lower Volga region. In 1678, the Aqtaghlïq Khojas invited the Oirat to Kashgaria in Eastern Turkestan. Southern Siberia came under Oirat control already in the fourteenth century, soon after the end of the Yuan dynasty. In the sixteenth century parts of the Sayan region fell under Khalkha influence. In the seventeenth century the Junghar could reinforce Oirat power, but the Tuva region maintained its contacts with the Khalkha. Written Mongol remained the literary language of Tuva until the early 1930s. In the eighteenth century the Junghar removed large parts of the Siberian Kirghiz population from Southern Siberia.

MONGOLIC AND BULGHAR TURKIC

There are several criteria that allow the Bulgharic loanwords in Mongolic to be identified. For one thing, Mongolic often has a native word synonymous with a Bulgharic borrowing, cf. e.g. Mongolic **ele.sü/n* 'sand' vs. **kumaki* id. ← Bulgharic **kuma.kï* = Common Turkic **kum* (*qum*). Moreover, the borrowings often show a specialized meaning, whereas the native words have a more general semantic profile, cf. e.g. Mongolic **xüsü/n* 'hair' vs. **kilga.su/n* 'hair of a horse' ← Bulgharic **kïlka* = Common Turkic **kïl* (*qïl*) 'hair'. Other items have an internal etymology on the Turkic side, cf. e.g. Mongolic **ikire* 'twin/s' ← Bulgharic **ikire* = Common Turkic **eki.z*, derived (plural) from **eki* 'two'. In still other cases, the Bulgharic original ultimately appears to derive from a third language, notably Tocharian, cf. e.g. Mongolic **xüker* 'ox' ← Bulgharic **xekür* = Common Turkic **(x)öküz* id., Mongolic **jer* 'weapon/s' < 'bronze' ← Bulgharic **jer* = Common Turkic **yäz* 'bronze', possibly borrowed from the cognates of Proto-Tocharian **xokso* 'ox' and **yes* 'gold', respectively.

Two culturally and historically important semantic fields for which Bulgharic borrowings are abundantly attested are the terminologies of animal husbandry and metal working. Bulgharic animal names in Mongolic include, apart from **xüker* 'ox', Mongolic **eljige/n* 'donkey' (Common Turkic **eshkäk*), **biraxu* 'calf' (Common Turkic **buzag/u*), **koni/n* 'sheep' (Common Turkic **kony*), **ajirga* 'stallion' (Common Turkic **adgïr*), and others. Relevant metal terms include, apart from **jer* 'bronze', Mongolic **korgoljin* 'lead' (Common Turkic **korgashun*), **alta/n* 'gold'

(Common Turkic **altun*), and **siri-* 'to smelt (ore)' (Common Turkic ****sïz-*** 'to melt'). Some Mongolic metal terms, e.g. **temür* 'iron' (Common Turkic **tämür*) and ****jes*** 'bronze' (Common Turkic **yäz*) were borrowed from Turkic only later, while others have been variously reborrowed from Mongolic into Turkic, especially into Northeastern Turkic. Mongolic also has a number of metal terms of other origin, notably ****mönggü/n*** 'silver' and **küril* 'bronze', but the basic picture is one of intensive and continuous interaction with Turkic, starting with the Bulgharic period.

The most important property of the Bulgharic loanwords in Mongolic is that they carry a number of diagnostic phonological characteristics, which distinguish them from the later Turkic (Common Turkic) elements. Owing to the relatively large size of the Bulgharic loanword corpus, it is possible to establish a set of regular correspondences between Turkic (Bulgharic) and Mongolic. It is largely these correspondences that have served as the basis for the Altaic Hypothesis in the past. However, a closer look at the features involved shows that they represent either archaisms or innovations that once characterized the Bulgharic (Proto-Bulgharic) branch of Turkic. Some of the relevant features are listed here:

(*1*) Rhotacism-lambdacism, by which the correspondence Mongolic *r l* vs. Common Turkic *z sh* is understood, as in Mongolic ****kuxur*** [type of lute] vs. Common Turkic ****kopuz*** (*qopuz*), Mongolic **töl.ge* 'fortune-telling' vs. Common Turkic ****tüsh*** 'dream'. In some cases, the equivalent of Common Turkic *sh* appears as *lj* or *lb* in Mongolic, as in Common Turkic **taz+bashï* 'sparrow hawk' vs. Mongolic ****tarbalji***, Common Turkic ****kashuk*** (*qashuq*) 'spoon' vs. Mongolic ****kalbuga/n***. Various explanations have been proposed for these correspondences, but basically they seem to involve a contextually conditioned innovation (**s sh > r l*) in Bulgharic. Rhotacism-lambdacism has been inherited by Chuvash, and it is consistently present in the Bulgharic loanwords not only in Mongolic, but also in Samoyedic (as well as in Hungarian). A chronological point of reference is offered by Turkic ****izängä*** 'stirrup', a cultural term archaeologically datable to *c.*400–300 BC, which appears with rhotacism in Chuvash, possibly also in Mongolic (**dörüxe*). In the Common Turkic branch, rhotacism-lambdacism is generally absent, but it is occasionally observed in preconsonantal position, which makes the dating of certain loanwords problematic, cf. e.g. Mongolic **buxas* 'pregnant' (from Common Turkic **bugaz* id.) vs. **buxar.la-* 'to cut the throat' (from either Bulgharic or Common Turkic, cf. Common Turkic ****bogaz*** 'throat').

(*2*) The presence of initial **d *n* (****ny***) in Mongolic vs. Turkic ****y***, as in Mongolic **dayir* 'brown' > 'deer' vs. Common Turkic ****yagïz*** (*yaghïz*) 'brown', Mongolic ****nidurga*** 'fist' vs. Common Turkic **yudruk* (*yudruq*). For these features, Chuvash does not differ from Common Turkic, which means that the Bulgharic language from which Mongolic received the early layer of borrowings represented a more archaic (Proto-Bulgharic) stage, still close to the common protolanguage of Bulgharic and Common Turkic. It may be concluded that Bulgharic came to share a number of innovations with Common Turkic even after rhotacism-lambdacism had divided the original protolanguage (Pre-Proto-Turkic) into two branches.

(*3*) The presence of stem-final vowels in Mongolic vs. Turkic zero, as in Mongolic **kona-* 'to spend the night' vs. Common Turkic **kon-* (*qon-*), Mongolic **balga* : **balga.su/n* 'town' vs. Common Turkic (****balk*** >) **balïk* (*balïq*). For this feature, also, the information from Chuvash is inconclusive, while Mongolic alone preserves the original (Pre-Proto-Turkic and Proto-Bulgharic) syllable structure. (It goes without

saying that the reduction and loss of vowels in non-initial syllables in several Modern Mongolic languages is a separate and much later phenomenon.)

(*4*) The presence of initial **x* in Mongolic as a segmental trace of **p*, as in Mongolic **pürü-* > **xürü-* 'to rub' vs. Common Turkic (**xüz-* >) **üz-* 'to tear'. The development **p* > **x* is clearly an areal phenomenon shared by both Mongolic (and Tungusic) and the two branches of Turkic, but on the Turkic side it has been followed by an almost complete loss of **x* (with the important exception of Khalaj), while in Mongolic **x* is synchronically documented in several languages. The ultimate reconstruction of **x* as **p* is based on systemic considerations as well as external etymologies, e.g. Mongolic **xo(y)ima.su/n* 'stocking/s, boot/s' = Proto-Samoyedic **päyma* id. (both possibly borrowed from a Bulgharic source). It may be noted that in medial position **p* is also represented as Mongolic (Proto-Mongolic) **x*, while Turkic has **p* (> **b*), as in Mongolic **köper* > **köxer* 'proud' > 'happy' vs. Turkic **küpez* (> **kübez*) 'proud', Mongolic **köperge* > **köxerge* 'bridge' vs. Turkic **köprüg* (> **köbrüg*).

(*5*) The correspondence Mongolic **A-A* vs. Turkic **A-U*, which can most easily be derived from Bulgharic (and Pre-Proto-Turkic) **A-O*, as in Mongolic **altan* 'gold' vs. Turkic **alton* > **altun*. The rules of vowel harmony in both Mongolic and Turkic have secondarily eliminated the synchronic possibility of the combination **A-O*, but the comparative data confirm the previous existence of this combination in Turkic. It remains, however, questionable whether the combination also existed in Mongolic at the time of the contacts (**altan* < Pre-Proto-Mongolic **alton*?), or the borrowings were immediately adapted to the Mongolic rules of vowel harmony (Pre-Proto-Mongolic **altan* ← Bulgharic **alton*). It is also unclear what the exact chronology of the development **A-O* > **A-U* on the Turkic side was, for the Turko-Mongolic correspondence **A-U* vs. **A-A* is also attested in a number of words that may actually belong to a later (Common Turkic) layer of borrowings, e.g. Mongolic **tusa* 'advantage, benefit' vs. Turkic **tuso* > **tusu*. There are indications that the combination **A-O* may still have been synchronically valid for at least some forms of Old Turkic (as preserved in the Brahmi and Tibetan scripts).

The correspondences listed here (1–5) illustrate the fact that the Bulgharic loanwords in Mongolic provide information not only on the specific characteristics of the Bulgharic branch, but also on the preceding stages of Turkic (Pre-Proto-Turkic), which would otherwise remain beyond the reach of diachronic research. There are other correspondences that do not allow an equally unambiguous interpretation, but that are nevertheless relevant for the understanding of Turkic diachronic phonology. For instance, the representation of Common Turkic **sarïg* 'yellow' as **sira* in Mongolic has been explained as suggesting that Bulgharic (Proto-Bulgharic) was characterized by the development (diphthongization of long vowels) **saarV-* > **siarV-* > **syarV-*, which is apparently confirmed by modern Chuvash *shură* id. (with *u* < **a*). While this may be the correct explanation, it has to be admitted that there are still many unsolved issues about the Turko-Mongolic vowel correspondences.

Another detail that cannot as yet be satisfactorily explained is the occasional representation of Turkic initial **t* as Mongolic **d*, as in Turkic **tüsh* 'noon' vs. Mongolic **düli*. This correspondence is possibly indicative of a very early date of borrowing, but its phonological basis remains obscure, since both Turkic and Mongolic originally had a distinction between two kinds of dental stop (strong **t* vs. weak **d*). In some cases, as in Mongolic **dala(y)i* 'sea; ocean' vs. Turkic **taloy* > **taluy* it might also be a question of a borrowing from Mongolic into Turkic. In any case, the representation of Turkic **t*

as Mongolic **t* is generally characteristic of the Common Turkic, rather than Bulgharic, layer of borrowings, as in Common Turkic **tämür* 'iron' → Mongolic **temür*.

Although Mongolic as a rule retains the original (Proto-Bulgharic) shapes of the Turko-Mongolic words better than any historically attested Turkic language, there are some minor details for which Mongolic shows secondary simplifying developments. For instance, Turkic final **k* and **g* are both represented as **g* (: **x*) in Mongolic, as in Turkic **adak* (*adaq*) 'foot' vs. Mongolic **adag* 'lower end', Turkic **arïg* (*arïgh*) 'clean' vs. Mongolic **arig* (: **arixu/n*). Before the vowels **i *ï*, Turkic intervocalic **g* is represented as **x* > **y* in Mongolic, e.g. Turkic **agïl* (*aghïl*) 'enclosure' vs. Mongolic **axïl* > **ayil* 'camp'. Mongolic words with initial **m* only seem to have a Turkic cognate if a nasal follows at the first syllable boundary, e.g. Mongolic **mingga/n* 'thousand' vs. Turkic **bïnga* > **bïng*, suggesting a combinatory nasalization of initial **b* in Mongolic (if not already the Bulgharic donor language). Turkic intervocalic **ng* is mainly represented as Mongolic **ngg*, but the irregular development **ng* > **g* > **x* is also attested in Turkic **nunga* > **yung* 'wool' vs. Mongolic **nunga.su/n* > **ungga.su/n* ~ **nuxa.su/n* (> **noosu/n*).

MONGOLIC AND COMMON TURKIC

The period of Bulghar Turkic influence on Mongolic seems to have lasted until the fourth century, when the Bulghar Turks withdrew to the west. In Southern Siberia, a few centuries without Turkic speakers followed, but most of Mongolia was rapidly covered by a population speaking an early form of Common Turkic, the direct ancestor of Old Turkic and all the modern Turkic languages with the exception of Chuvash. Since the Turkic empires of the Türk and Uighur were for most of the time politically superior to the contemporary linguistic ancestors of the Mongols, Mongolic (Pre-Proto-Mongolic) borrowed a layer of Common Turkic elements that can be distinguished by the absence of the specifically Bulgharic features characteristic of the earlier loanwords.

In the Common Turkic loanwords Mongolic has **s* for both **z* and **sh* of the donor language. A typical borrowing of this layer is Mongolic **ulus* ← Common Turkic **ulush* (later replaced in most Turkic languages by a reborrowing from Mongolic). Another diagnostic feature is the representation of Common Turkic initial **y* (< **d* & **n/ny*) as Mongolic **j*, as in Mongolic **jaka* 'collar' ← Common Turkic **yaka* (*yaqa*), suggesting that the donor language may also have had an affricate sound phonetically different from the realization of Mongolic **y*. Turkic initial **p*, which in the Bulgharic borrowings is represented as Mongolic **p* > **x*, leaves no segmental trace in the Common Turkic borrowings, as in Mongolic **alag* 'colourful' ← Common Turkic **(x)alag* ~ **(x)aalag* (in Khalaj represented as *haalag*, suggesting the original shape **paalag*). The presence of final vowels in the Turkic cognates (instead of vowel loss) is also generally characteristic of the Common Turkic layer of borrowings, as in Mongolic *tani-* 'to recognize' ← Common Turkic **tanï-*, Mongolic **basa* 'again; also' ← Common Turkic **basa*, Mongolic **alima* 'apple' ← Common Turkic **alma* (a *Wanderwort*, probably borrowed into Turkic from Indo-European). In most cases, at least, the Common Turkic final vowels appear to be diachronically secondary.

Starting with the twelfth century, another layer of Common Turkic borrowings arrived from Uighur into what may already be characterized as an essentially Middle Mongol stage of Mongolic. In this layer, Common Turkic initial **y* is represented as **y* in Mongolic, while final **sh* and **c* are represented as **sh*, as in Mongolic **yelbi* ~ **yilbi* (also borrowed as **ilbi*) 'witchcraft' ← Common Turkic *yelwi*, Mongolic **kosh* 'pair'

(also borrowed as **kos*) ← Common Turkic **qosh*, Mongolic **kerbish* 'brick' ← Common Turkic **kärpic*. Many borrowings of this period are connected with the missionary activities conducted by the Uighur. Other items (many of them ultimately of Chinese origin) reflect the introduction of writing to the Mongols. There are also Arabic and Persian (as well as Sogdian and Tibetan) words that reached Mongolic via Uighur, though in some cases the possibility of direct borrowing cannot be ruled out.

As a result of the incorporation of Turkic Central Asia into the Mongol empire, there was a strong Middle Mongol lexical impact on Middle Turkic in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Besides a new military and social organization, the Mongols introduced special kinds of horse breeding, hunting with birds of prey, and housing. Typical borrowings of this period are **aka* 'elder brother' (also used as a title) ← Mongolic **aka*, **bürküt* '(royal) eagle' (first documented in Turkic in the fourteenth century) ← Mongolic **bürgüd*, and *qarawul* 'watch' ← Mongolic **kara.xul*. More specific examples can be found in the written documents of the Middle Turkic period. In the Oghuz epic *Dede Korkut* we find Middle Mongol loanwords like *jïlawï* 'rein', *nökär* 'follower', and *shölän* 'banquet'. The impact on the Kipchak Turkic languages was even stronger. The early Kipchak source *Codex Cumanicus* exhibits borrowings like *abagha* 'uncle', *cïray* 'face', *ebäk* ~ *elpäk* 'very much', *yada-* 'to get tired', *qurulta* 'assembly, council', *manglay* 'forehead', *nögär* 'follower', and *qaburqa* 'rib'.

The strongest Middle Mongol impact can be found in Central Asian Chagatai Turkic. Examples of loanwords attested in Chagatai include *egäci* 'elder sister; concubine of the ruler', *toqta-* 'to stop', *jilau* 'rein/s', *soyurghal* 'grace, favour', *shilän* 'banquet', *qurultay* 'assembly, council', *manglay* ('forehead' >) 'advance guard', *nökär* 'follower', and *yosun* 'kind, type'. The word *yasa* ~ *yasaq* 'law, legal order (of Chinggis Khan)' (← Mongolic **jasag*) is one of several examples in which Mongolic initial **j* is represented as *y* in Turkic. Middle Mongol influence on Chagatai phonetics is demonstrated by the tendency to change **ä* of the first syllable to *e*. But the Chagatai development of a neutral *i* (as in Mongolic), today one of the characteristics of Uzbek and Modern Uighur (spoken in the former Chagatai area), is probably due to Iranian influence.

Middle Mongol borrowings still survive in many modern Turkic languages. Copies from Middle Mongol horse terminology, for instance, are well preserved, cf. e.g. Mongolic **ganjuga* '[kind of] strap on the saddle' → Turkic: Kazakh and Karakalpak *qanzhïgha*, Kirghiz *qanjïgha*, Modern Uighur *ganzhugha*, Turkmen *ganjïgha*, Azeri *ganjïgha*, Turkish **kancığa**, Shor *qanjïgha*, Altai Turkic *qanjagha*, Western Siberian Tatar *qandzïgha*, Yakut *xantargha*. In such cases, it is often impossible to determine whether the item was borrowed only once (into Middle Turkic) or several times (into the separate branches of Modern Turkic). The distribution of the Middle Mongol loanwords in the various Turkic languages is a complex issue that has not yet been studied in detail. Mongolic **serixün* ~ **serexün* 'cool, fresh', for instance, is attested as a borrowing in Northeastern Turkic, Sarygh Yughur, Manchurian Kirghiz, and Western Oghuz, whereas Chuvash, Kipchak and Southeastern Turkic together with Turkmen show reflexes of Mongolic **salkin* id. (also 'fresh wind' > 'wind').

Some Mongolic borrowings in Turkic retain apparent Middle Mongol features, cf. e.g. Mongolic **süxem* > Middle Mongol **sü'em* > *sö'em* (> Modern Mongolic **sööm*) 'span, quarter' [measure] → Turkic: Kazakh *süyem*, Bashkir *höyem*, Modern Uighur *süyäm*, Kirghiz and Western Siberian Tatar *süäm* ~ *süyäm*. Other items are actually reborrowings of earlier Turkic loanwords in Mongolic, cf. e.g. Sagai *kejim* 'saddle-cloth' ← Mongolic **kejim* < **kedim* ← Turkic **kedim* 'cloth'. Occasionally, such reborrowings form doublets with their original Turkic cognates, as in Tuva *küsh* 'power' (original

Turkic) vs. *kücü* id. (← Mongolic **kücü/n* ← Turkic). A number of words were (re)borrowed with a narrowed meaning. Mongolic **arga* 'trick, means', for instance, received in Turkic the strictly military meaning 'stratagem'.

The earlier borrowings from Mongolic into Volga Kipchak appear to have been received before the original open vowels (**e *o *ö*) underwent a raising in this branch of Turkic (into *i u ü*), cf. e.g. Mongolic **delbege* 'rein/s' → Turkic **dälbägä* > Tatar and Bashkir *dilbägä*, Mongolic **bosoga* 'threshold' → Turkic **bosaga* > Tatar and Bashkir *busagha*. The same holds true for Siberian Tatar, cf. e.g. Mongolic **nöker* 'companion' → Siberian Tatar *nügär*. Later borrowings do not show this change. The Mongolic items in Chuvash have also been affected by several specific phonological developments, cf. e.g. Chuvash *xural* 'watch, guard' ← Middle Mongol *qara'ul* 'watch' → Volga Kipchak *qarawïl*.

THE AREAL NETWORK

After the period of Middle Turkic and Middle Mongol, the Turko-Mongolic contacts have taken place between the individual Turkic and Mongolic languages. Of the modern Turkic languages, those of the Northeastern Turkic group show the strongest traces of Mongolic influence. The proportion of Mongolic loanwords in these languages has been estimated at 20 to 30 per cent of the total lexicon. The strongest impact is observed in Yakut and Tuva, followed by Altai Turkic, Tofa, and Khakas (Shor, Chulym Turkic and Siberian Tatar have not been sufficiently investigated). Kazakh and Karakalpak are less influenced than Kirghiz, but still considerably more than the Western Kipchak languages or the Turkestanian languages Uzbek and Modern Uighur. Oghuz Turkic Turkmen has fewer Mongolic elements than neighbouring Uzbek, but (as a member of the Central Asian Turkic area) more than Azeri. Azeri and Eastern Anatolian dialects, spoken in the heartland of the Ilkhanid state of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, have more Mongolic elements than Standard Turkish.

In many cases, it is impossible to make an unambiguous distinction between direct and indirect impact. Two languages that have a relatively low proportion of Mongolic elements, and that therefore are likely to have received them mainly indirectly, are Chuvash (via Western Kipchak) and Khalaj (via Azeri). On the other hand, in all the Turkic languages no longer adjacent to Mongolic the proportion of Mongolic elements has tended to decrease gradually in the spoken language. Considerably more Mongolic elements are present in epic folklore. Special cases are formed by the Turkic languages of the Sarygh Yughur ('Yellow Uighur') in Gansu and the Manchurian (Fuyu) Kirghiz in Heilongjiang, two small populations that have a long tradition of symbiosis with Mongolic speakers. Both of these cases exhibit a specific corpus of Turko-Mongolic parallels. The Salar language in Qinghai has yet to be investigated.

Besides earlier layers common to many Turkic languages, Northeastern Turkic has many relatively recent Mongolic borrowings, e.g. *jon* ~ *con* 'people' ← Mongolic **jon* (synchronically present only in Buryat and Khamnigan Mongol), *törää-* 'to give birth; to be born'. Occasionally, Northeastern Turkic can be used for the reconstruction of Proto-Mongolic shapes, cf. e.g. Altai Turkic *qorghol* 'droppings of a camel' ← Mongolic **korgol* (Written Mongol **qurqhul** and Mongol proper *xorghl* are ambiguous for the second syllable vowel, though Written Mongol also has **qurqhal**, suggesting original **korgal*). The representation of initial affricates in the Mongolic material reveals that the spirantization of Turkic affricates in Northeastern Turkic occurred after the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries. Mongolic initial **c*, for instance, appears today as *s* in Yakut (> *h* in Dolgan)

and the Sagai group of Khakas dialects; as *sh* in Tuva, Tofa, Shor, and the Kacha group of Khakas dialects; and as *c* in Siberian Tatar, Altai Turkic, and (part of) Chulym Turkic. The opposition *sh-* : *s-* in Buryat loanwords is preserved in Tofa, but not in Yakut.

Within Northeastern Turkic, South Siberian Turkic is separated from Lena Turkic Yakut and Dolgan by the presence of specific borrowings. Most of the South Siberian Turkic languages use, for instance, the Mongolic loanword *bici-* 'to write' (borrowed from a cognate of Old Turkic *biti-*), whereas Yakut has *suruy-* ← Mongolic **juru-* 'to draw'. The reflexive pronouns in South Siberian Turkic go back to Turkic **bod* 'body, shape' + possessive suffix, a structural copy from Post-Proto-Mongolic. Lena Turkic uses **beye* + possessive suffix, a construction that involves both a material and a structural copy from Post-Proto-Mongolic.

Within South Siberian Turkic, Tuva displays, apart from the earlier layers, two later layers of Mongolic loanwords connected with Oirat and Khalkha influence, respectively. The Oirat layer is partly shared by other South Siberian, Central Asian, and Eastern Turkic languages. Oirat and Khalkha loanwords are particularly abundant in the southern dialects of Tuva, spoken along the Mongolian border, in Mongolia (Altai), and in China (Jungaria), by populations that still seem to be bilingual. The eastern dialects of Tuva incorporate a number of Buryat borrowings. There are also elements adopted from Written Mongol. In many cases, it is not possible to identify the exact source of a loanword, and in some cases a borrowing can only be recognized on the basis of its meaning, as in Tuva *ertem* 'science, knowledge' ← Mongolic **erdem* id. ← Turkic **ärdäm* 'valour'. There are also loan translations: the points of the compass, for instance, are expressed in the Mongolic way, with *murnu* 'front' for 'south' vs. *songgu* 'back' for 'north' (for 'east' and 'west' the actual loanwords *cöön* ← Mongolic **jexün* vs. *barïïn* ← Mongolic **baraxun* are used).

The Oirat and Khalkha loanwords in Tuva can only occasionally be distinguished on the basis of diagnostic features. An example of an item unambiguously borrowed from Oirat is Tuva *andazïn* 'plough' ← Oirat **andasu/n* (> *ands/n* vs. Khalkha *anjs/ng* < **anjisu/n*). The later borrowings from Khalkha are characterized by the representation of Mongolic **c* **j* (> Khalkha *ts dz*) as (initial) *s* : (intervocalic) *z* in Tuva (before vowels other than **i*), as in Tuva *sorulgha* 'task' ← Khalkha **dzorilgho* (> *dzorylgh*), Tuva *sek* 'point' ← Khalkha *tseg*, Tuva *üzel* 'aspect' ← Khalkha **üdzel* (> *üdzl*). The earlier (Middle Mongol) borrowings have Tuva *sh* : *zh* for **c* and *c* : *zh* for **j*, as in *shïda-* 'to help' ← Mongolic **cida-* 'to be able', Tuva *cük* 'direction' ← Mongolic **jüg*, Tuva *üzhe-* 'to search (all over)' ← Mongolic **üje-* 'to look'. Under certain conditions, the Mongolic loanwords can also exhibit secondary glottalized vowels (*Vh*) in Tuva, e.g. Tuva *ehge* 'beginning' ← Mongolic **eke* (> Khalkha *ex*).

In Tofa we find, instead of a Khalkha layer, Western Buryat influence at least from the seventeenth century on, mostly from the dialects of the Lower Uda and Oka. Some of the Buryat elements in Tofa may be inherited from the Samoyedic language (Mator) spoken until the eighteenth century by part of the ancestors of the modern Tofa. Among the Mongolic elements in Tofa, *c.*10 per cent show clear indications of a Buryat origin, e.g. Tofa *yoho* 'authority' ← Buryat *yoho/n* 'tradition, rule' < **yosu/n*. As in Tuva, the earlier layer of borrowings from Middle Mongol shows the developments **c* > *sh* and **j* > *c*, cf. e.g. Tofa *sheber* 'accurate, clean' ← Mongolic **ceber* (> Buryat *seber*), Tofa *cida* 'lance' ← Mongolic **jida* (> Buryat *zhada*). Some elements of the earlier layer can be identified by the presence of long contracted vowels, different in quality from those in Modern Mongolic languages, cf. e.g. Tofa *erää* 'pain, torment' ← Mongolic **ere(x)ü* (> Buryat *erüü*, Oirat and Khalkha *erü*).

In Altai Turkic, the southern dialects show a stronger impact of Mongolic than the northern ones. Thus, Southern Altai often has Mongolic borrowings where Northern Altai has Turkic lexemes, as in Northern Altai *kec* 'late' vs. Southern Altai *oroy* id. ← Mongolic **oroi*. The two groups of dialects are also distinguished by different types of contraction, cf. e.g. Mongolic **galjaxu* (> Oirat *ghalzu*) 'angry' → Southern Altai *qalju* vs. Northern Altai *qaljaa*. The fact that the southern dialects have generally shapes closer to Modern Mongolic suggests a separate and more recent contact relationship. Many borrowings exist only in the southern dialects. A characteristic feature of Altai Turkic is that it often preserves Mongolic medial **x* as *g gh*, e.g. Altai Turkic *sarbagha* 'two-year-old foal' ← Mongolic **sarbaxa* (> **sarbaa* > Oirat and Khalkha *sarwa*). Another peculiarity, observed in the Kumanda dialect of the northern group is the occasional presence of a prothetic *q* in words beginning with a vowel in Mongolic, e.g. Kumanda *qaptïra* 'trunk' ← Mongolic **abdara*. Some borrowings appear only as taboo words, e.g. *tulay* 'hare' (in hunters' slang) ← Mongolic **tuulai* (< **taulai*) instead of *qoyon* id.

As in the case of Tuva, the Mongolic loanwords in Altai Turkic derive both from Oirat and from Khalkha. The two sources can be unambiguously distinguished only for items with sufficiently clear diagnostic differences. One such difference concerns the representation of the stem-final unstable **/n*, which is preserved in the basic form of nouns in Oirat but lost in Khalkha, cf. e.g. Altai Turkic *tarïyan* 'millet' ← Oirat **tariyan* (> *taran*) 'seed, sowing' vs. Khalkha **taryaa* (> *tarya*); Altai Turkic *cinee* 'power, strength' ← Khalkha **cinee* (> *cine*) vs. Oirat **cineen* (> *cinen*). Palatal breaking and prebreaking are also potentially important for the identification and dating of the different layers of loanwords.

Among the Khakas dialects, the largest number of Mongolic elements seem to be present in Kacha, followed by Sagai. Many borrowings present in Khakas are also attested in Shor, e.g. Sagai *xapcaghay* = Shor *qapcïghay* 'quick, brisk' < Mongolic **gabshagai* < **gabsigai*. Some items, e.g. **ganjuga* '[kind of] strap on the saddle', present in Shor and several other Turkic languages, are, however, not attested in Khakas. Altogether, there are many minor differences among the South Siberian Turkic languages and dialects with regard to the representation of individual Mongolic loanwords. The Küärik dialect of Chulym Turkic, for instance, seems to be the only idiom in the region showing an uncontracted shape in the reflex of Mongolic **serixün* ~ **serexün* 'cool, fresh' → Küärik *serägün* vs. Khakas *sirään*, Shor *sirän*, Altai Turkic *särään*, Tuva *säriin*, Yakut *sörüün*. The lack of contraction is, however, also exhibited by Sarygh Yughur *särgin*, while Western Oghuz *särin* has contraction.

Lena Turkic Yakut received Middle Mongol borrowings up to the fifteenth century, when palatal breaking was already in process. Interestingly, there seem to be two Middle Mongol layers in Yakut. In the older layer, Mongolic initial **s* **c* **j* have converged into Yakut *s*, e.g. Mongolic **sinaga* (> Buryat *shanaga*) 'scoop' → Yakut *sïnagha*, Mongolic **cerge* 'hitching post (for horses)' → Yakut *serge*, Mongolic **jüxekei* > **jöökei* '(sour) cream' → Yakut *süögöy* ~ *siegey*. In the more recent layer, **c* and **j* are preserved, e.g. Mongolic **cime-* (> Buryat *sheme-*) 'to ornate' → Yakut *cimee-*, Mongolic **jiruxa* > **joroo* 'ambler' → Yakut *joruo*. Additionally, Yakut has borrowings from Buryat, e.g. Mongolic **cinexe/n* > **cinee/n* > Buryat *shenee/n* 'power, strength' → Yakut *senie* (with the diagnostically Buryat development **i* > *e*). In many cases, the exact source and dating of a borrowing is, again, impossible to specify.

Apart from loanwords, Yakut displays many structural parallels with Mongolic. For instance, the copulative use of the Yakut numeral *ikki* 'two' in constructions like *agham inyem ikki* 'my father and mother' (literally: 'my father my mother two') is reminiscent of the use of **koyar* 'two' in Mongolic. A phonological parallelism with a clear areal

background is present in the development of prevocalic **s*, which has been weakened into (*) *h* in both Buryat and Yakut. The development **s* > (*) *h*, in turn, has triggered the deaffrication **c* > *s* in both Buryat and Yakut. In initial position, Yakut has additionally undergone the development (**s* >) **h* > Ø. The Buryat syllable-final development **s* > *d* is also matched by Yakut, though only sporadically (especially in suffixes).

Compared with the abundance of Mongolic loanwords especially in Northeastern Turkic, the number of recent Turkic borrowings in the Modern Mongolic languages is generally rather small. Such borrowings do exist, however, at least marginally in Oirat, Kalmuck, and Buryat. An example of a Western Kipchak loanword in Kalmuck is *ayu* 'bear' ← Tatar *ayuw* id. The Oka dialect of Western Buryat has several loanwords from Tofa in the specialized realm of reindeer herding, e.g. *daspan* 'reindeer cow of up to two years' ← Tofa *daspan* 'two-year-old reindeer cow'. Some other items in Western Buryat display Yakut features, e.g. Western Buryat *ühää* 'ceiling' ← Yakut *ühüö* 'roof-beam of the yurt'. Turkic **balik* (*balïq*) 'fish' has been borrowed into Buryat dialects to designate a special kind of fish. The word appears also in Kalmuck as *balgh* [special kind of fish], while Kalmuck *balg* 'dried fish' seems to be an indirect loanword via Russian. Examples of Turkic loanwords in Moghol are *yabash* 'obedient' ← Turkic *yawash* 'calm, slow' and *yasa* 'law, legal order' ← Turkic *yasa* (originally borrowed from Middle Mongol into Turkic).

MORPHOLOGICAL INTERACTION

Lexical borrowing between Turkic and Mongolic has always been favoured by the overall typological (syntactic, morphosyntactic, and phonological) similarity of the two groups of languages. This similarity has made it possible to borrow, among other things, plain verbal stems simply by replacing the relevant suffixes. Among the verbal stems shared by Turkic and Mongolic there are even basic words like **bol-* 'to be(come); to be possible', an item that probably belongs to the Bulgharic layer of loanwords in Mongolic. Moreover, Turkic and Mongolic share many morphological elements, which earlier were often regarded as evidence of a genetic relationship. With the progress of research it has become increasingly obvious that these elements are also borrowings, representing the various layers of Turko-Mongolic interaction.

The fact that the material similarities in the morphological systems of Turkic and Mongolic are, indeed, borrowings is also suggested by their rather random character. Apart from the system of personal pronouns, there is no single section of morphology that would show consistent material parallels between the two groups of languages. Generally, there are more parallels in the systems of derivational suffixes than in inflexion, and those parallels that do exist in the inflexional systems are typically connected with rather marginal morphological categories. Possible material connections exist also in the systems of syntactic particles, some of which may ultimately be of deictic (pronominal) origin. However, the suffixes of several major morphological spheres, such as the finite conjugation of verbs, show fundamental differences. Here the common traits are limited to the general organization of the temporal-aspectual system, a typological property that is also present in several other neighbouring languages and may well have a wider areal background.

Compared with lexical borrowings, morphological interaction is often more difficult to date. A typical example is offered by the Mongolic formula for emphatic adjectival nouns, which has an exact parallel in Turkic, cf. e.g. Mongolic **ka.b&kara* = Common Turkic **ka.p&kara* (*qap qara*) 'completely black'. Although this feature may have very

ancient areal roots, its presence in both Turkic and Mongolic has probably been supported by the prolonged language contacts. However this may be, morphological interaction must have started already during the earliest Turko-Mongolic contacts. Occasionally, the Bulgharic loanwords in Mongolic contain elements that represent suffixes of the donor language, as in Mongolic **kömüldürge/n* 'breast strap (of horse)' ← Bulgharic **kömül.dürke* = Common Turkic **kömül.dürük*, derived by the suffix **.dürke* > **.dürük* [association with] from the Turkic noun **köngül* ~ **kömül* 'breast'. More commonly, the loanwords have received Mongolic suffixes, as in **da(y)i.n* 'war' : **da(y)i.su/n* 'enemy', derived from the root **daxï* ← Bulgharic **dagï* = Common Turkic **yagï* (*yaghï*) 'enemy'.

Unmistakable traces of morphological interaction with Turkic are present in Middle Mongol, though many of the features concerned may be much older. In the Mongolic case paradigm, the comitative ending **-lUx-A* is actually based on the Turkic suffix **.lVg* for possessive adjectival nouns, as in Turkic **at* 'horse' : **at.lïg* 'with a horse'. The same Turkic suffix appears in its derivative function as a later borrowing in Middle Mongol, e.g. Middle Mongol *miqa/n* 'flesh' : *miqa.liq* 'corpulent'. The rarely used Mongolic terminative case in **-cAA* ('till') may be a borrowing from the Turkic equative in **-cA* ('as'); a connection of the latter with the Mongolic primary ablative in **-cA* is also possible but less likely. The Mongolic nominativizing suffix **-ki* (secondary nominative) has a cognate in Turkic and is probably of Turkic origin. Other Mongolic case suffixes that have been compared with Turkic include the locative in **-A* (cf. the Turkic dative in **-GA*), the dative (dative-locative) in **-D-A* (cf. the Turkic locative in **-DA*), and the accusative in **-g* (only in Mongol proper, Ordos, Oirat, and Kalmuck, cf. the Turkic accusative in **-G*). All of these comparisons involve, however, considerable linguistic problems.

In nominal derivation, Turkic and Mongolic exhibit a number of identical plural suffixes, most notably **.s* (> Common Turkic **.z*), which may, indeed, involve an ancient borrowing. The Turkic counterparts of the Mongolic plural suffixes **.d* and **.n* are mainly used in titles, in which they may be of Mongolic origin (though Indo-European parallels have also been cited). Other derivative suffixes shared by Turkic and Mongolic include **.cI* [actor noun] and **.lA-* [denominal verbs], cf. e.g. Turkic **äb* 'house' : **äb.lä-* 'to marry' vs. Mongolic **ger* 'house' : **ger.le-* 'to marry'. The Mongolic cooperative suffix **.lcA-* has been compared with Turkic **.sh-* (with a reciprocative function), but the phonological correspondence remains problematic. More importantly, the Mongolic imperfective participle in **.xA* (nominalized as **.xA/n*) resembles the Turkic deverbal noun in **-GAn*, which functions from the Middle Turkic period on as a perfective participle in many Turkic languages. Other similarities in the participle systems seem to be more accidental.

On a more local level, there is much morphological influence of Mongolic on Northeastern Turkic. All Northeastern Turkic languages and, as it seems, Sarygh Yughur have replaced the Turkic privative suffix **.sIz* 'without' by the analytic construction containing the negative noun **+yok* (*yoq*) 'absent' (the equivalent of Mongolic **ügei*). This construction is historically also known from other Turkic languages that were under Middle Mongol influence. A material borrowing is present in the Northeastern Turkic agentive participle suffix **-A(A)ccI* ← Mongolic **-AA.ci*. In biverbal constructions, some Turkic function verbs have been replaced by Mongolic ones. Thus, the Mongolic verb **yada-* 'to be unable' is used as an auxiliary in Tuva, Tofa, and Sarygh Yughur; the Turkic verb **bashla-* 'to begin' has been replaced by Mongolic **(x)ekile-* → **ekele-* in Sayan Turkic; and the Turkic verb **bitir-* 'to finish' has been replaced by Mongolic **da(x)us-* → **doos-* in Sayan Turkic and Khakas. Another parallel is formed by the pronominal (interrogative

and demonstrative) verbs. Northeastern Turkic has also a distinction between inclusive and exclusive forms in the first person plural, though only in the imperative paradigm.

An example of a Mongolic suffix productive in Yakut is the formative of deverbal nouns *-AAhIn-* ← Mongolic **-xA.sU/n* (a derivative in **.sU/n* from the imperfective participle in **-xA*). A Mongolic origin has also been assumed for Yakut *-GAt* (converb of relative anteriority, cf. the Mongolic perfective converb in **-xAd*), *.DAAGAr* (comparative case, also attested in Khakas as *-DAngAr*, possibly composed of an equative element **.DA/n* plus the Mongolic instrumental case ending **-xAr*), and **.tA* (multiplicative numerals, cf. Mongolic **.tA* with an identical function). Yakut has also Mongolic plurals in *.t* (Mongolic **.d*), e.g. *kïtay* 'Chinese' : pl. *kïta.t* (Mongolic **kita.d*), *toyon* 'landlord' : pl. *toyo.t* (Mongolic **noya.d*), *doghor* 'friend' : pl. *doghor&dogho.t* 'all kinds of friends and comrades' (generic plural formed by reduplication).

Mongolic morphological borrowings in South Siberian Turkic include Tuva *.mcA* (deverbal nouns, e.g. *ber-* 'to give' > *ber/i.mcä* 'gift') = Altai Turkic *.mjI* (e.g. *kör-* 'to see' : *kör/ü.mji* 'indicator'), Tuva *.ldA* (deverbal nouns, e.g. *kör-* 'to see' : *kör/ü.ldä* 'inspection') = Altai Turkic *.ltA* (*kir-* 'to enter' : *kir/e.lte* 'income'), Altai Turkic *.ngKay* (adjectival nouns, e.g. *oor* 'pain' : *oor/u.ngqay* 'sick, painful'), Tuva *.SHI-* (denominal verbs, e.g. *qadr* 'cadre' : *qadr.zhi-* 'to become a cadre'), Shor *.sIrA-* (denominal verbs, e.g. *coq* 'absent' : *coq.sïra-* 'to be/come ruined'), and Tuva *.DUgAAr* (ordinal numerals). Tuva has also borrowed many Mongolic passives in **.gdA-* but employs them mainly as active verbs. In a similar way, Altai Turkic has occasionally changed the voice of a borrowed verb, as in *toqu.na-* 'to make quiet' (causative) ← Mongolic **toku.ni-* 'to become quiet' (medial). On the other hand, Shor shows a tendency to accommodate Mongolic verbs by adding the Turkic passive suffix **.l* when semantically applicable. A case of morphological contamination is present in Shor *alba.tïg* (*con*) 'subject (people)', where the suffix *.tïg* combines elements from the Mongolic suffix **.tU* for possessive adjectival nouns (Mongolic **alba/n* 'public service' : **alba.tu*) and its Turkic semantic counterpart **.lIg*.

Many of the Mongolic morphological borrowings in Northeastern Turkic are also attested in Central Asian Turkic and Western Kipchak. For instance, deverbal nouns with the Mongolic suffix **.lgA* are present in Yakut, Altai Turkic, and Tuva (e.g. *bashta-* 'to lead' : *bashta.lgha* 'guidance'), as well as in Kirghiz (e.g. *tap-* 'to find' : *tab/ï.lgha* 'acquisition') and Turkmen (e.g. *cïq-* 'to go out' : *cïq/a.lgha* 'exit'). The suffix **.mAl* (also for deverbal nouns) is attested in Tuva (e.g. *qïl-* 'to do' : *qïl/ï.mal* 'handicraft'), Kazakh, and Kirghiz (e.g. *tashï-* 'to move something' : *tashï.mal* 'transport'), while **.GUr* (with a similar function) is present in the Kacha group of Khakas (e.g. *pulxa-* 'to stir' : *pulgh.oor* 'ladle'), Nogai (e.g. *qaz-* 'to dig' : *qaz.ghïr* 'shovel'), Uzbek, Modern Uighur, and Kirghiz (e.g. *al-* 'to take' : *al.ghïr qush* 'bird of prey'). The suffix **.mtA* seems to be attested only in Tatar (e.g. *el-* 'to hang' > *el/e.mtä* 'connection'). The suffix **.GUl* became productive in Chaghatai in the shape */A.wUl* (used mainly in military terms, e.g. *cap-* 'to attack' : *cap/a.wul* '[member of a] forced march against the enemy'). It may also be noted that during the language reform in Turkey, the Mongolic possessive adjectival suffix **.tAi* was made productive in Standard Turkish hybrid words like **sayıştay** 'Exchequer and Audit Department' (based on *say-* 'to count' : recipr. *say.ïsh-*).

In a wider perspective, Turkic and Mongolic show many intertwining patterns of morphological typology. For instance, suffixal person marking on nouns (possessive suffixes) and verbs (predicative personal endings) is most consistently present in the Western and Northern Mongolic languages (notably Kalmuck and Buryat), which are spoken in the main zones of recent contact with Turkic. By contrast, suffixal person marking has been

lost in two Turkic languages (Salar and Sarygh Yughur) spoken in an area historically dominated by Mongolic (and other non-Turkic) languages. The distinction between the inclusive and exclusive forms in the first person plural in Mongolic tends to become weaker towards the west, quite possibly reflecting the influence of Turkic (which lacks this distinction). The use of nominal plural markers, especially in personal pronouns, also shows clear areal patterns. For instance, the tendency to limit the plural markers to a single alternative in the Mongolic languages of the Gansu-Qinghai region may well be due to Turkic structural influence.

Altogether, the structural interaction between Turkic and Mongolic presents an important challenge of general relevance to comparative and typological linguistics. It is essential to realize that the mechanisms of linguistic exchange between the two groups of languages are still active in many parts of the Turko-Mongolic habitat (Eastern Turkestan, Inner and Outer Mongolia, and parts of Southern Siberia and Manchuria). These mechanisms can and should be investigated *in situ*. Only if we learn more about the possible kinds of interaction between the individual languages of both groups, can we make full use of the data from the older layers of contacts and shall be able to fill the gaps that still exist in our present knowledge. Although apparently genetically separate from each other, Turkic and Mongolic are entities so intimately interconnected that it will never be possible to understand the one without the other.

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