Stockholm University

Aspect, evidentiality and tense in Mongolian

From Middle Mongol to Khalkha and Khorchin

Benjamin Brosig






Doctoral Thesis in linguistics at Stockholm University, Sweden 2014

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Баячуудийнхаа эрх мэдлээс гарсан
Бүх ястныхаа соёлийг нэгтгэсэн
Усыг нь ууж ёсыг нь дагаагүй
Үндсэн үзлээ орхиж, ухаанаа олсон
Эрийн дээрэнгүй чанараа хаясан
Эрх тэгш амьдралтай, эгэл хайрлахаар монгол нийгмийн төлөө

Abstract

The present thesis consists of an introduction and the following papers:

- The aspect-evidentiality system of Middle Mongol. *Ural-Altaic Studies, 13.* (forthcoming)
- The tense-aspect system of Khorchin Mongolian. In: Pirkko Suihkonen & Lindsay Whaley (eds.), *Typology of Languages of Europe and Northern and Central Asia*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. (forthcoming)
- Aspect and epistemic notions in the present tense system of Khalkha Mongolian. *Acta Linguistica Petropolitana*. (forthcoming)
- Factual vs. evidential? - The past tense forms of spoken Khalkha Mongolian. In: Ad Foolen, Helen de Hoop, & Gijs Mulder (eds.), *Empirical Approaches to Evidentiality*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. (under review)

Its purpose is to give an account of tense, aspect and evidentiality in three Mongolian varieties: Middle Mongol (MM) as spoken in the Mongol Empire, Khalkha Mongolian as spoken in the Mongolian state, and Khorchin Mongolian as spoken in eastern Inner Mongolia, China. MM started out with a tripartite tense distinction and a medium-sized aspectual system. Its past evidential system was tripartite with suffixes for firsthand, non-firsthand and evidentially neutral information. In Khorchin, which developed under the influence of Mandarin and Manchu, evidentiality was lost, and tense was simplified into a past / non-past distinction, alongside with a discontinuous proximal future / past marker. The aspect system underwent some changes, but retained its complexity. Khalkha, which developed under the influence of Turkic and Tibetan, underwent some shared innovations with Khorchin, but retained participles as a multifunctional unit within finite predicates, so that its aspectual system grew more complex. The past evidentiality distinctions of MM were basically retained, but the introduction of present tense evidentiality brought a number of changes: the evidentially neutral value shifted to signaling assimilated knowledge, and discontinuous future uses were introduced for all past markers.

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لیست

ډیر ۰ نور لدې سره سره د پښتو ګرامر د پوهنتون د پوهنتون د ګټور ۰ ګټور لپا

ښکاره کړي دي. د ټولنې د ژوند ټولې برخې د ژبې له لارې څرګندېږي، ژبه د ټولنې د ودې او پرمختګ سره سره ودېږي او پرمختګ کوي.

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ڤيكتور ئى ريشف مەركەز مەر مەتەت مەر ھەمەت مەر ھەمەت مەر ھەم

د ټاټوبي د کمښت سره سره، د ۲۰۱۴ کال د لومړۍ نیمایي کې د ۲۰۱۳ کال په پرتله د ټاټوبي د ګټو کچه لوړه شوې ده. د ټاټوبي د ګټو د لوړیدو لامل د ټاټوبي د ارزښت لوړیدل او د ټاټوبي د پیرودونکو د غوښتنې زیاتوالی دی. د ټاټوبي د ګټو د لوړیدو لامل د ټاټوبي د ارزښت لوړیدل او د ټاټوبي د پیرودونکو د غوښتنې زیاتوالی دی. د ټاټوبي د ګټو د لوړیدو لامل د ټاټوبي د ارزښت لوړیدل او د ټاټوبي د پیرودونکو د غوښتنې زیاتوالی دی.

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Introduction

The present thesis consists of this introduction - which among other things contains information on terminology, methodology, summaries and a historical and areal overview - and the following papers:

- The aspect-evidentiality system of Middle Mongol. *Ural-Altaic Studies, 13.* (forthcoming)
- The tense-aspect system of Khorchin Mongolian. In: Pirkko Suihkonen & Lindsay Whaley (eds.), *Typology of Languages of Europe and Northern and Central Asia*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. (forthcoming)
- Aspect and epistemic notions in the present tense system of Khalkha Mongolian. *Acta Linguistica Petropolitana*. (forthcoming)
- Factual vs. evidential? - The past tense forms of spoken Khalkha Mongolian. In: Ad Foolen, Helen de Hoop, & Gijs Mulder (eds.), *Empirical Approaches to Evidentiality*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. (under review)

The purpose of the thesis is to give an account of Tense, Aspect and Evidentiality (TAE) in three Mongolian varieties: Middle Mongol (MM) as it was spoken in the Mongol Empire in the 13th and 14th century; Khalkha Mongolian as spoken in the Mongolian state (i.e., what is commonly called "Mongolian"), which was influenced by Central Asian Turkic and Tibetan; and Khorchin Mongolian as spoken in eastern Inner Mongolia, China, which was influenced by Manchu and Mandarin.

In a nutshell, MM started out with a simple tripartite tense distinction and a medium-sized aspectual system that showed traces of substantial recent changes. Its past evidential system was tripartite as well: it had suffixes for firsthand, non-firsthand and evidentially neutral information. In Khorchin, evidentiality was lost, and tense was simplified into a past / non-past distinction, alongside with a discontinuous proximal future/past marker. The aspect system underwent some structural changes, but retained a complexity comparable to MM. Khalkha, on the other hand, underwent some shared innovations with Khorchin, but retained participles as a multifunctional unit within finite predicates, thereby obtaining a rather complex aspectual system. The past evidentiality distinctions of MM were retained with slight modifications, but the introduction of present tense evidentiality brought a number of changes: the evidentially neutral value shifted to signaling assimilated knowledge, and discontinuous future uses were introduced for all past markers.

All papers were structured uniformly with respect to font, page size, text styles etc., although slight exceptions (such as the formatting of example sentences in the paper on Khorchin) have been retained. The texts themselves have been left untouched, which means that differences in bibliographical conventions and to some degree transcription systems exist.

The remaining part of the introduction is structured as follows: section 1 gives a brief overview of the classification of Mongolic. Section 2 gives a short, fairly non-technical introduction to the terminology used throughout this thesis, addressing both TAE and a number of structural terms that apply to Mongolian. In section 3, previous research on TAE in Mongolian is discussed from a methodological vantage point. Before this background, the methodological approach adapted in this thesis is then introduced and motivated. Section 4 provides short summaries of the four studies that constitute this thesis. Section 5 gives an overview of how several elements of the Mongolic TAE systems developed from MM to Khorchin, Khalkha and, as far as can be told from the literature, to the western Central Mongolic dialect Oirat. The sections 6 and 7 take a look at the areal context within which these changes occurred in Khorchin and Khalkha, respectively. Section 8 concludes the introduction with some conclusions about the TAE system of Khalkha as a whole, the areal context of TAE in Central Asia and the classification of Central Mongolic.

1. Classification of Mongolic

In this study, I focus on Middle Mongol, Khalkha and Khorchin, so it is necessary to relate these varieties genetically. The most ancient attested Mongolic languages are Tabghach as spoken in the 4th to 6th century CE and preserved in 14 words found in Chinese texts (Vovin 2007); Khitan as written from the early 10th century and preserved in texts from the 11th to 14th century (Janhunen 2012); and **Middle Mongol** as preserved in texts from the 13th and 14th century. While the taxonomic status of Tabghach within Mongolic has not been dealt with, Khitan is a sister to MM with no surviving modern varieties. Due to problems in deciphering the two Khitan script systems, only part of its morphology has been identified, and while we can identify the three past suffixes *-ar, -lún* and *-bún* (with variants, Kane 2009: 144-7), little can be said about their precise semantic properties. For this reason, the term Proto-Mongolic (PM) will be used for the language that can be reconstructed from all modern Mongolic languages (Janhunen 2003) *and* MM, not for the mother of Pre-MM, Khitan and - in theory - Tabghach. While there is no variety actually called “Old Mongolian” (see de Rachewiltz 1999), MM itself can roughly be divided into Early MM, Late Western MM and Late Eastern MM. From the 15th up to the end of the 16th century, sources are

almost absent. Sources from the late 16th to the 19th century in Mongolian script are here referred to under the cover term **Classical Mongolian**.[3]

The modern Mongolic languages all descend from MM or varieties closely related to it (see, e.g., Poppe 1955, Svantesson et al. 2005, Nugteren 2011). They can be divided into 1. Southern Mongolic (SMc) in Amdo; 2. Central Mongolic (CMc) in Greater Mongolia & Kalmykia; 3. Dagur in Manchuria and Tarbagatai and 4. the possibly extinct Moghol in Afghanistan.[4] SMc consists of Eastern Yellow Uyghur (while Western Yellow Uyghur is a Turkic language in close contact to its eastern neighbor) and the Shirongolic languages. According to Nugteren (2011), the latter can be divided into a branch consisting of Bonan (=Baoan), Santa (=Dongxiang) and Kangjia and the Monguor branch, which consists of Mangghuer and Mongghul, the latter subdivided into several dialects. As for CMc, Janhunen (2006) suggests it can be divided into the major varieties **Khalkha**-Chakhar (Central Mongolian), **Khorchin**-Kharchin (Eastern Mongolian), Oirat (including Kalmyk) and Buryat, as well as the smaller varieties Ordos and Khamnigan. While Ordos is known for its conservative phonotactics, it has also been classified as part of Khalkha-Chakhar (Luvsanvandan 1959). According to my own (limited) familiarity with this dialect, I'd expect it to exhibit the features of the Khalkha-Chakhar group with some influence from Oirat and Western Tümet (Khorchin-Kharchin) but not an aspectual system as distinct as the major varieties. No assessment of the Khamnigan verbal system is possible on the basis of currently available materials (see references in Janhunen 2005 and Yu 2011). CMc constitutes a dialect continuum. Speakers of the most progressive subvarieties of Khorchin and Khalkha who have not had any previous exposure to the other variety nor to the more similar standard languages should have a fair chance of communicating by and large successfully on issues not related to modern culture or infrastructure when using careful, slow articulation. Speakers of Kalmyk (Oirat) from the westernmost end and Mongoljin (Khorchin-Kharchin) from the very eastern

[3] Using a single cover term for what is probably a wide array of varieties might not be appropriate, but a sustained linguistic attempt to classify the linguistic differences of various Classical Mongolian sources along temporal and spatial lines has never been undertaken. In this paper, this term only works because I refrain from making any taxonomical statement about it.

[4] Amdo, Greater Mongolia and Manchuria are all ethno-culturally definable macroareas without exact political counterparts. **Amdo** includes all of Höhnuur ("Qinghai") and parts of Sichuan and Gansu, China. **Greater Mongolia** includes all of the Mongolian state, Inner Mongolia (China), Buryatia (Russia), substantial parts of Xinjiang (China) and even smaller areas in Höhnuur, the Chinese provinces bordering Inner Mongolia, Tuva (Russia) and Kyrgyzistan. **Manchuria** consists of the provinces Heilongjiang, Jilin and Liaoning, the subdivisions Hulunbuir, Hinggan, Tongliao, and Chifeng of Inner Mongolia, all in China, and Primorskij Kraj, southern Khabarovskij Kraj, the Jewish Autonomous Oblast', Amur Oblast' and Sakhalin in Russia. **Tarbagatai** 'having marmots' (rendered as *tăchéng* '*ta*-city' in Mandarin) is an administrative unit within Ili, Xinjiang, China.

end of the dialect continuum cannot successfully communicate on all but the simplest issues without some weeks of exposure. The overall differences between these extremes might be comparable to the difference between High German and Danish.

2. Terminology

In this section, I will give short definitions of some of the terms that I use in my thesis. As these definitions are mainly intended to help readers who are not familiar with the study of tense, aspect and evidentiality or with Mongolian studies, I will try to provide fairly simple definitions with no claim to technical precision. This section is thus not intended to replace a thorough familiarity with the specialized literature.

In the following, Khalkha and Khorchin forms are given in phonemic transcription (following Bayancoγtu 2002 and Svantesson et al. 2005, respectively, with slight modifications). Suffixes are cited in unrounded forms without advanced tongue root.[5] For MM phonemes, a conventional transcription that reflects an older stage of reconstruction is used.[6] Capital letters indicate vowel- or consonant-harmonic variants.

2.1 Tense

Tense (basically following Klein 1994) can be defined as the grammatical expression of the relation between the time when a particular statement was uttered and the time to which the utterance refers. Utterance time and reference time may precede, follow or partly include each other in different ways, and some of these can be grammaticalized, e.g., as past, present and future tense forms. If the time of encoding and decoding differ, e.g., when reading a text or watching a video, a speaker may have some freedom as to what time of utterance she assumes. Consequently, a concept such as "present" can be defined narrowly or widely. If (cf. Comrie 1985: 38-9) a speaker refers to a time before the utterance time, this doesn't necessarily mean that she claims that the event itself is over.

Tense is not limited to locating two points in time relative to each other but can also express **remoteness distinctions**. Remoteness may either be defined through clear cut-off points such as between 'earlier today' vs. 'be-

[5] However, the assumption that Khalkha vowel harmony is velar in nature is quite common in the literature (see Svantesson 2005: 222 for a partial overview),

[6] I am reluctant to reconstruct MM vowels. Ko's (2011) reconstruction might turn out to be preferable to the traditional reconstruction of vowels followed by Svantesson et al. (2005), but thus far other scholars don't seem to have seriously argued either for or against Ko's views. For Early MM consonants, I tend to accept the reconstruction of Svantesson et al. (2005) with oppositions of voiceless aspirated vs. voiceless unaspirated and /h/ for some instances of <ɣ>.

fore today' or merely draw a distinction between recent vs. non-recent (Comrie 1985: 87, relying on Dahl 1984). It has been suggested (Botne 2012) that even the distinction between a "currently relevant time unit" (e.g., earlier today, earlier this month, etc.) vs. "adjoining time units" (on an earlier day, month, etc.) can be primary. While clear cut-off points don't exist in Khalkha (Song 1997) or CMc, there have been appeals to more vague notions of remoteness such as distal vs. proximal (Binnick 2012).

2.2 Aspectuality

Aspectuality is a cover term for notions related to the inner time structure of events such as (i) the inherent time-structural characteristics of lexical units, (ii) time-structural meanings coded or asserted through morphology, (iii) the bounding potential of definiteness and quantification in noun phrases, (iv) the bounding potential of spatial, temporal and other adverbials, (v) the way in which auxiliaries, serial verbs, etc. modify these time structures, (vi) the contribution of voice and, more in general, the expression of causation, and (vii) the way in which clause combinations affect the interpretation of clausal time structures (adapted with slight modifications from Sasse 2002: 263). In the following, I will assume a bidimensional model of aspectuality and group (i), (iii), (vi), spatial elements of (iv) and non-flexional parts of (ii) and (v) as "aktionsart," while flexional parts of (ii) and (v) will be characterized as "aspect," The idea behind this division is that aktionsart provides an abstract time structure upon which aspect operators operate. Assuming there are a limited number of aktionsart classes, one doesn't have to be able to explain how their actional structure is composed in order to describe their interaction with aspect, which is of primary interest in this thesis.

Aktionsart can be defined as "the phasal time structure of the event" denoted by a "verb plus its argument frame" (Sasse 2006: 535), i.e., as the borders, phases, and temporal stability of an event. For instance, in *Yesterday, we went to the beach*, the expression *we GO to the beach* contains a phase during which the event takes place (which could be asserted by using the aspectual form *were V-ing*) as well as a finite boundary (which could be asserted using the aspectual form *V-ed*) (Sasse 2006: 535). The function of aspect is thus to *assert* ("select," "focus," etc.) a certain lexically inherent phase of an event (cf. Breu 2005: 51). Through cognitive processes such as reinterpretation based on good continuation (→ zooming out, serialization) or scalar adjustment (→ zooming in) (see Croft 2012: 92-8), actional interpretations may change: *HIT the dog* may be interpreted as a single punctual event, or it may be reinterpreted as a phase of action consisting of a number of no longer relevant subevents. Aktionsart is a property of the **actional phrase** (the verb stem, auxiliaries, its arguments and syntactically coded

spatial limitations, while time adverbials are not assumed to play a role) (cf. Johanson 2000: chapters 5, 6).

While a systematic investigation of aktionsart in Mongolian (along the lines of, e.g., Kiryu 1999, Tatevosov 2002, 2008) would doubtlessly yield additional actional classes, a number of actional distinctions play a role in this thesis. The definitions given below are slightly less differentiated than those by Croft (2012: 53-64), though the inceptive and inchoative aktionsarten (Breu 2005) are added. My terminology differs slightly from Croft's. The actional classes are illustrated by short constructed examples from Khalkha: **States** are events that lack perceivable inner dynamics and, with exceptions that don't matter here, have temporal duration. Depending on whether an endpoint is indicated, we can draw a distinction between **temporary** (*pajăr-tʰai pai-n* happiness-COM COP-DIR 'is happy,' *amʲtar-tʃʰi-n* live-PROG-DIR 'is living (somewhere)') and **undelimited** (*tʰir mɔŋgɔɮ xuŋ* DEM.DIST Mongolian person 'she is Mongolian') states. **Inceptive states** include a lexicalized inception point which can be asserted by a perfective form (*xiwtʰ-tʃî-n* 'is lying,' *xiwtʰ-tʃe* lie-2H.PST 'lay down, lay (then),' cf. *amʲtar-tʃe* 'lived,' but not 'started living (somewhere)'). **Activities** have duration as well, but they are more dynamic and thus often require a continuous effort to be sustained. They lack lexicalized borders; thus, a perfective form cannot refer to its past inception or endpoint, but only to the event in its entirety (*tʰɔgɔɮ-tʃe* 'played'). Prototypically, they are **undirected** (*tʰɔgɔɮ-tʃî-n* 'is playing'), but there are also **directed** activities with gradual, incremental change into one direction (*xaɮʊr-tʃʰi-n* 'is getting hot'). **Accomplishments** are defined as having both duration and a defined endpoint, upon reaching which, they are completed. If the process they are based on is not cumulative, they may be undirected, but directed accomplishments (*xɔːɮ-ig it-tʃî-n* food-ACC eat-PROG-DIR 'is eating the food'; *xɔːɮ-ig it-tʃe* 'ate [i.e., completed eating] the food') are more common. **Inchoative states** are a blend of an accomplishment and a lexicalized resultant phase. Progressives can refer to both of their lexicalized phases (*nʊːgt-tʃî-n* '1. is going into hiding 2. is staying hidden,' *nʊːgt-tʃe* 'hid'). Finally, **achievements** are punctual events without any notable duration. They can be directed in the sense that they culminate in a non-lexicalized resultant state (*ună-tʃe* 'fell'), or they can be undirected = **cyclic** in the sense that they can immediately be repeated (*tsɔt-tʃe* 'hit (once / several times).'

As illustrated with progressive and perfective forms in the last paragraph, **aspect** markers operate upon aktionsart and assert relevant phases. More generally speaking, aspect markers refer to the attainment or non-attainment of the actional borders or the attainment of resultant stative situations. In the latter case, it is useful to assume a reference time / topic time (thus a time phase) (e.g., Klein 1994) or an orientation point (Johanson 2000) that differs from the event time and possibly also from the here and now. The aspect is **imperfective** if it refers to the internal time structure of single or a row of

repeated events without asserting their borders. It is **resultative/perfect** if it refers to a state subsequent to the event, **prospective** if a preparatory state that precedes the event is referred to (Klein 1994: 104), and **perfective** if it "refer[s] to the attainment of the relevant limit" (Johanson 2000: 135) inherent in verbal aktionsart. Moreover, the label "perfective" will also be used for forms that stand in paradigmatic opposition to imperfective and resultative/perfect forms and thus express either boundary-oriented or neutral, but not explicitly perfect or imperfective values (i.e., for -POST -INTRA in Johanson's terminology). One may try to link (at least some of) the different morpheme types within the resultative/perfect and imperfective forms through the notion of **focality**: "psychological interest may focus more or less on the situation prevailing at O" (Johanson 2000: 38), i.e., at the reference time. For instance, high-focal forms such as resultatives focus strongly on a resultant situation. This focus is reduced with perfects and, as I would put it, is lost in perfectives.

Particular aspect types mentioned in this thesis are the following, ordered by domain. The **imperfective domain** consists of different variants of imperfective forms: **progressive** markers refer to ongoing events, and **continuative** markers refer to events in progress that might be perceived as including an inception point from which an event has continued up to the time of reference. If a marker is **habitual**, it expresses multi-occasional regular repetition, whether this be due to an acquired habit or not. An **attitudinal** marker refers to an inclination that sometimes materializes, while a **potential** marker indicates that an event is only realized if the circumstances are met (Bertinetto & Lenci 2012). **Generic** markers characterize a class of entities. It has been suggested that habitual up to generic events form a continuous semantic domain, which in Khorchin is indeed expressed by the single morpheme *-na*. The **perfective domain** consists of resultative, perfect and perfective markers which constitute a grammaticalization cline (Bybee et al. 1994: 105). **Resultative** markers include reference to the completion of a causing event but focus on the resulting state (i.e., when combining with time adverbials), while **perfect** markers express a resulting state but give more prominence to the attainment of the final border of the event (for a much more detailed, though not necessarily generalizable classification, see Breu 1988). With **perfective** markers, the time of reference coincides with the time of the attainment of the relevant actional boundary or, if such a boundary is absent or contextually dispreferred, with the time of the entire event that is pictured within its boundaries. Events are **iterative** if they repeat (whether regularly or not) (cf. Bertinetto & Lenci 2012: 854-60) and **durative** if they have some form of temporal duration (cf. Dowty 1979).

2.3 Evidentiality

Evidentiality is most commonly understood as the expression of **information source** (Aikhenvald 2004), be it obligatory or not, though some (e.g., Michael 2006) rather define it as the **mode of access** to information. Plungian (2011: 37-8) proposes that there are three main and a number of subordinate categories of evidentiality that can be grammaticalized in human language: **Direct personal access** can be **visual** or via **other senses**, but even the endophoric perspective which relates to internal states of the assertor and access to the event from the viewpoint of a participant exist. **Indirect personal access** is subdivided into **inferential** access based on observed results and **presumptive** access based on general plausible reasoning. Common knowledge can be grouped either as a form of direct or indirect personal knowledge. **Indirect non-personal** evidence is reported evidence that can either pertain to a specific or an unknown information source.

Evidentiality distinctions relevant for CMc are the opposition **firsthand** (visual + other sensory) vs. **non-firsthand** (inference, possibly presumptive and hearsay) and **direct** (synchronic visual, other sensory, inference) vs. **indirect** (presumptive, hearsay, previous perception).[7] Additionally, the **time of acquisition** (Tournadre 2008) plays an important role. The choice of a particular evidential form from an inventory is a non-trivial process: the speaker must first classify her actual information source according to a grammatically, culturally and subjectively determined ontology. Then, she has to assess her interactional setting, taking into account cultural conventions. This then leads her to adopt an **epistemological stance**, which in turn serves as the basis for her linguistic choices (Mushin 2001, mainly p. 82). Speakers must "take a stand on how they acquired the information." That is, while there is an inventory of evidential forms, it is still the speaker's choice how she shapes the information she is forwarding. A speaker might for example adopt a personal stance to show that she is forwarding her own version of the events as she perceived them, or she can rather use a factual stance, implying that either "the information is assumed to be known by anyone in the speech community as general cultural knowledge" or "that the source of information is unimportant to the establishment of the validity of the information" (Mushin 2001: 52, 59, 74). In MM and Oirat, this distinction seems to be of special importance because they have a verbal paradigm with two forms that evoke a particular source of information, while a third, highly frequent form is neutral towards evidentiality and time of acquisition.

[7] De Haan (2001) defined *direct* and *indirect* differently (see the discussion of Khalkha non-past forms), but his discussion served as a starting point for the delimitation suggested here.

2.4 Structural grammatical terms

The morphemes mainly used for the expression of tense, aspect and evidentiality in CMc are verbal suffixes that can be divided into roughly three categories. **Finite verbal suffixes** can only be used in finite predicative position, but not attributively or adverbially. They can be subdivided into two subcategories, namely, **indicative suffixes** related to the expression of tense, evidentiality and (within paradigms) aspect on which the discussion will focus and **mood suffixes** with second, third and first person imperative meanings. **Participial suffixes** are defined by their ability to occur in attributive position to a noun. The discussion in this thesis is limited to uses in finite position or within complex finite predicates, together with the copula *pai-* 'be (at/with)' or the inceptive copula *pɔɮ-* 'become.' **Converbal suffixes** are defined by their ability to link clauses. Some express fairly specific meanings like 'as soon as,' while a few merely seem to add unspecific semantic notions such as a tendency to imply that two events occur in a sequence or with partial temporal overlap. These later converbal suffixes can lose their ability to mark independent clauses and be restricted to adverbial modification such as Khorchin *-tʃ* or even become fossilized in certain contexts such as spoken Khalkha *-ŋ*. By convention, they are still called converbal suffixes. Linking converbs can be used in complex finite predicates together with the copula or auxiliaries such as *üz-* 'see' (experiential, conative). Mongolic converbs are never used in attributive position, and uses in finite position such as exist for Khalkha/Khorchin *-at* are exceptional. The class of **finitely usable** morphemes thus consists of finite verbal suffixes plus those participial and converbal suffixes that have a finite usage.

3. Previous research and methodology

While the morphological forms of CMc are almost all identified and roughly categorized, relatively little is known about specific morphosyntax such as analytic TAE constructions or the TAE systems as such. Leaving aside papers on subsystems, integral attempts to describe most or all of the TA(E) system of a CMc variety were undertaken by Bläsing (1984) for Kalmyk Oirat; Byambasan et al. (1987), Svantesson (1991), Kim (1995), Song (1997) and Brosig (2009) for Khalkha, Cinggeltei (1959) and Chuluu (1998) for Inner Mongolian varieties, as well as Matsuoka (2008) for Khorchin and MM.[8] The problems with these studies are manifold, though. Bläsing didn't include evidentiality in his analytic model. He only considered a subset of

[8] Another source that I dare not evaluate here is Dugarova (1991). She seems to focus on aspect in a strict sense but, in contrast to Matsuoka, contrasts simple and complex forms. She doesn't address the evidentiality complex.

complex constructions of aspectuality in a narrow sense (e.g., excluding grammatically marked continuativity) and only worked with literary texts. He thus missed both the evidential system and the complexity of the aspectual system of Oirat. Byambasan et al., Kim, Chuluu and Song generally structured their analysis around finitely usable morphemes, thus missing or ignoring their systematic interaction with aspectual constructions. With the exception of Chuluu, they failed to address the position of *-saŋ* as a past tense marker that contrasts with *-ʁa* and *-ʧe*. Kim made extensive use of inferior evidence such as isolated, partly constructed sentences. Song went a long way with a textbook corpus, constructed sentences, some elicitation and solid general linguistic background but still introduced some artifacts such as constructed conversational sentences with past tense *-w* into his analysis. Svantesson, by applying Dahl's (1985) questionnaire, arrived at correct meanings and structures but generally didn't provide details on semantic nuances and overall structural complexity. The late Cinggeltei's consistent application of the distributional method as early as 1959 was utterly admirable, but his implicit belief that different Mongolian dialects closely resemble each other in grammar combined with the very limited theoretical apparatus available to a linguist in China at that time rendered many of his explanations fuzzy. As an educated speaker of Khorchin with an apparently good command of the Inner Mongolian standard (which is mostly based on Chakhar), Chuluu entertained the same mistaken belief as Cinggeltei – in his case, explicitly – and even took his own intuitions as the sole object of the description. Similarly, Matsuoka's attempt to investigate Khorchin by working with ad-hoc constructed examples and two presumably highly educated Khorchin informants often didn't yield valid results. Both scholars accepted mixed Khorchin-Chakhar data that surpasses the language used in class by average middle school teachers of Mongolian (i.e., the Chakhar standard) from Khorchin. Matsuoka's assumption that tense and aspect can be analyzed separately led to an analysis where simple finite "tense" forms are missing from the overall picture. My own MA thesis (Brosig 2009) clarified the existence and approximate extent of differences between different text genres but failed to solve many problems due to insufficient corpus size, time allocatable to elicitation and the sole reliance on Aikhenvald (2004) for the analysis of evidentiality.

To avoid previous methodological shortcomings, I took a number of methodological decisions for the analysis of modern Mongolian languages to try to ensure a consistent analysis:

- Spoken conversation is taken as the primary register of analysis.
- A corpus of sufficient size is used to obtain natural examples.
- Native speaker intuition guides text analysis.
- Modified corpus sentences in their original context rather than constructed sentences serve as the basis for elicitation.

- A sufficient number of informants ensure that the analyst can understand idiosyncratic answers rather than depend on them and avoids turning the biases of individual informants into results of analysis.
- The analysis is based on recurrent morpheme combinations instead of single morphemes so as to detect non-compositional meanings.

Another modification was to add a diachronic and areal dimension in order to arrive at an analysis that is diachronically plausible. Khalkha, as the most prestigious current dialect, and Middle Mongol, as its best-researched ancestor language, were obvious choices, while Khorchin-Kharchin was chosen as the dialect group most distinct from Khalkha within Inner Mongolia. Khorchin was then chosen over Kharchin due to the much better availability of speakers. The only thing known in advance about TAE in Khorchin was Matsuoka's analysis - which suggested a greater similarity with Khalkha than actually found - and the obvious dialectal difference in the use of *-sən* and *-tʃɛ̀* between eastern and western regions of Inner Mongolia mentioned already by Cinggeltei. Language contact was not a factor for the selection of Khorchin. Given this scope, I was forced to make certain concessions:

- With time for only three synchronic analyses, I chose to leave aside Oirat, Buryat, and historical texts from the late 16th century to 1900.
- Instead of analyzing aspectuality as a whole, I focused on aspect and neglected aktionsart.
- I only analyzed finite declarative predications, even if aspect is also expressed in other syntactic positions such as the complex of attributive/nominalized/negated sentences, in adverbial sentences, in combination with postpositions, and reflected in time adverbials.
- I had originally intended to account for different written registers of Khalkha (such as scientific literature, different newspaper genres, fictive and non-fictive narratives, and legal texts) but had to content myself with a spoken corpus consisting mostly of dialogue. As for MM, I chose to work with only part of the existing corpus.

During elicitation with modified original sentences that only differ by the TAE forms of finite predicates, most feedback of informants was to some degree linguistically relevant, even if the only difference a given informant identified was the degree of politeness. Still, notions such as duration, repetition, degree of remoteness, degree of certainty and access to information were often more central to elicitation, and after an initial evaluation of the different meanings of a minimal pair by the informant, I would ask about those. Another crucial issue was felicity conditions. Informants were expected to indicate if a certain marker would not fit into the context, and answers that described or elaborated on settings in which certain forms would make sense were usually considered valuable. I tried to work with informants with good contextualizing skills that could reflect on situations on a variety of different levels, while informants with lesser imaginative abilities

or a tendency to reduce the big picture to just a few social elements were less efficient.

Overall, the methodology I used enabled me to obtain fairly detailed data on semantic nuances that, when taken together, provide rather reliable information about the actual meaning of forms. Informant intuition was only used for tasks in which it performs well, namely, for decoding the "meaning ... of a single whole expression," while the task to abstract from this information was left to the trained linguist. A relatively great diversity of uses was ensured by the corpus. This is superior to any approach that tries to use informant intuition directly on "the meaning of a closed-class morpheme" or "all the senses of a polysemous morpheme." It is also superior to translation tasks or grammaticality judgments as one might always run into "forms or constructions that strike one as incorrect or ungrammatical and that one is sure one would not use in speaking but that in fact regularly occur in one's own fluent colloquial speech" (cf. Talmy n.a. for these accessibility notions). This doesn't mean that the data collection process could not have been improved. The small size of the corpus and its limited number of genres meant that some uses were underrepresented or missing, which might have partly been compensated for by other means. For some easily identifiable situations, such as data on non-visual perception, elicitation with non-linguistic stimuli and the creation of realistic situations in which informants would have been expected to use certain forms might have improved results. For forms with insufficiently established usage patterns, one might have attempted to get informants to imagine additional contexts in which these forms could have been used, though such evidence would have needed independent collaborating evidence. A second round of elicitations after the analysis of Khalkha data was completed would have been helpful but proved impractical due to the sheer extent of the Khalkha TAE system, which required me to use all elicitation time for the first round of elicitation, which was later only complemented by small-scale email/messenger-based elicitation. The low number of tokens of complex past forms in the Khalkha corpus, which ultimately prevented the assessment of this set of forms, could presumably have been overcome only by a substantial larger corpus or by a somewhat larger corpus created such that reference to recently discovered past events as well as narrative monologues would have been highly frequent.

4. The case studies of TAE in Mongolian

In this section, I will give an overview of the four papers that make up my thesis. In 4.1, I will summarize my research on aspect and evidentiality in MM. Section 4.2 gives an overview over my research on tense and aspect in Khorchin. Sections 4.3 and 4.4 contain summaries of the papers that deal

with evidentiality, aspect and related notions in the present respective past tense system of Khalkha.

4.1 The aspect-evidentiality system of Middle Mongol

The paper on Middle Mongol is based on a corpus consisting of the "Secret History of the Mongols," which details the life of Cinggis Khan, four biographical texts, one philosophical text and occasional reliance on other sources. It divides the MM TAE system into two general domains, the imperfective domain and the perfective domain.
The imperfective domain comprises three tenses:

i. The single suffix with future meaning is *-QU*. *-mU* only refers to future events in conditionals or if followed by the particle *je*.
ii. Present tense is expressed by *-yU* for generic situations, *-mU* for progressive and habitual situations, and *-n bu-yu* as a specialized progressive.
iii. The past marker that structurally corresponds to the Present Progressive, *-n bülüge/ajuɣu*, has a somewhat wider application to both progressive and habitual events. While there are some suggestive examples, past reference cannot be established as a function of the suffixes *-yU* and *-mU*. *-QU bülüge/ajuɣu* expresses a future development at a reference point in the past given conditions that either obtained (yielding a past habitual reading) or did not (yielding a past counterfactual reading).

There are also some miscellaneous markers such as *-i*, which is only attested with very few verb roots, and *-d*, which expresses a plural subject, but no clear temporal or aspectual notions.
The perfective domain consists of three past perfective and several perfect and/or resultative markers.

- The past perfective markers are *-bA, -lUGA*, and *-jUGU*. As was already described in great detail by John Street (2009), *-lUGA* functions as a marker of firsthand information, while *-jUGU* is used in contexts of inference and hearsay. Still, *-lUGA* and *-jUGU* seem to be used only in such firsthand and non-firsthand contexts where the source of information makes a difference to the addressee, while the clearly more frequent suffix *-bA* seems to be used for unproblematic facts. In complex aspectual markers, including past imperfective ones, only the suffixes *-lUGA* and *-jUGU* occur, whereas *-bA* is excluded.
- The participial suffixes *-GsAn* and *-GA* are rare on their own but seem to express perfect and resultative notions. The resultative converbal suffix *-jU* combined with a copula in *-mU* expresses resultative or continuative notions depending on the aktionsart of the predicate. To express past reference points, both the participles and the converb can combine with past copula forms.

Combinations of participles with the verb *bol-* 'become' refer to entering into a state where – depending on the semantics of the participle – an event either will or has already come about.

4.2 The tense-aspect system of Khorchin Mongolian

Research on Khorchin was based on six hours of transcribed corpus materials from the Khorchin Eastern Central banner collected in 2011 and supplemented with a small number of transcriptions from other areas and a few examples taken from non-transcribed recordings. Relevant examples from the corpus were analyzed on the basis of native speaker evaluations obtained during approximately 80 hours of elicitation in 2012.

The most salient division of the Khorchin tense-aspect system runs between the non-past suffix *-na* and the past tense suffix *-tʃɛ*. They have the short variants *-n* and *-tʃ,* which are required with illocutionary particles and questions; thus, the finite vowel that is most often present in absolute finite declarative contexts seems to correlate with assertive force. It is basically *-na* and *-tʃɛ* that can combine with a number of aspectual constructions.
Imperfectivity is mainly expressed by three forms:

i. *-na* is used for generic and present habitual (though zero is used for non-delimited state predications based on nominals). It also covers future and, in rare cases, past potential meaning.
ii. *-tʃɛ-na* is used for present progressive meanings. It is unrestricted by aktionsart and even used for habitual situations with relevant internal structure, in which case it combines with adverbials such as in *uder-t=een xvvr tat-tqE-n* day-DAT=RPOSS violin draw-PROG-NPST 'they are playing the violin every day.'
iii. *-tʃɛ-tʃɛ* functions as a past imperfective. In habitual contexts, it can implicate temporal remoteness vis-à-vis *-tʃɛ*.

An alternative to the Progressive is the Resultative *-at pɛː-*, which yields continuative or iterative interpretations when combined with non-telic predicates. With telic predicates, it yields resultative states. A contracted non-resultative form *-atɛ-*, though commonly mentioned in the literature, was not attested in the material and only recognized by my oldest informant. The converbal suffix *-at* by itself has a finite, temporally neutral usage. It expresses continuative meanings without a clear final boundary with almost all aktionsarten, while resultative meanings seem mostly restricted to a subset of achievements.

Both the Progressive and the Resultative can combine with the enclitic *=l* to yield an iterative or continuative meaning irrespective of aktionsart implying an unpleasantly long duration. Finally, *-ntʃɛ-* denotes prospective aspect.

There are a number of minor forms:

- *-la ~ -lɛ*, which appears to be partly homophonous with the converb *-lɛ*, refers to a proximate past or future. In all confirmed attested cases, some kind of firsthand evidence seems to exist.
- *-sən* seems to be a kind of perfect marker. Informants tend to reject it as belonging to the standard language, but its relatively high corpus frequency (1/11 as frequent as *-tʃɛ* in declaratives) seems to contradict that. At any rate, it is the only option in past tense content questions.
- *-i* is used in second- and third-person present habitual interrogative contexts. Synchronically, it takes the same form as the Voluntative, but diachronically it might be related to *-n* plus the interrogative clitic *=i*.
- Khorchin *-(ʰt)ʃəg-* seems to express a dissatisfied stance.

Evidentiality is not expressed by grammatical means. In contexts of hearsay and, possibly, in order to avoid responsibility, the hearsay / quotative / complementizer verb *gə-* can be used (though the details are anything but clear), and inferences tend to combine with the illocutionary particle *ba*, a loan from Mandarin that indicates a guess and asks the addressee for confirmation.

4.3 Aspect and epistemic notions in the present tense system of Khalkha Mongolian

Research on Khalkha was based on a corpus of approximately 10 hours and its subsequent semantic evaluation during 285 hours of elicitation (for all tenses combined) conducted mainly during 2013 in Ulaanbaatar.
The Khalkha present tense system is fairly complicated. First, there are five suffixes used in the absolute finite position of finite predicates:

i. *-tăg* is used in habitual and generic contexts. It also has a specialized, contextually conditioned function in which it can refer to one-time events that don't fit into the normal course of events.
ii. *-n* on its own expresses potential developments irrespective of tense. Its long variant *-n=a* apparently differs in politeness.
iii. Finite *-a* on its own is very rare. It seems to express resultativity with some modal shades.
iv. Finite *-x* on its own is rare. It is used for enumerating unrelated events without situating them in time.
v. Finite *-at* is not infrequent but hardly ever combines with other aspect markers. It expresses a resulting or pertaining situation requiring somebody to take action.

Second, there are a number of aspectual constructions. Two of them are based on converbs:

- *-tʃ pai-* is usually contracted to *-ʈʃai-* or *-tʃi-* and can combine with verbs irrespective of aktionsart. It expresses progressive meaning.
- *-at pai-* yields resultative meanings with telic but continuative readings with atelic predications.

There are also some constructions based on participles:

- *-tăg pai-* is only used to combine the core semantics of *-tăg* with evidential or past tense values.
- *-săŋ pai-* expresses perfect meaning, while *-săŋ* on its own instead expresses past semantics.
- *-x pai-* expresses irreal meanings in certain modal contexts.
- *-x gi-tʃ pai-*, a combination of *-x*, the verb *gi-* 'say' and the Progressive *-tʃ pai-*, expresses prospective meaning.

The present system is made up of the suffixes that can be used in absolute-finite position either on their own or in combination with the aspectual constructions. On their own, *-n* and *-tăg* cover habitual and other non-actual situations. If situations are habitual, but require an internal aspectual structure, the aspectual constructions listed above can combine with *-tăg*. This doesn't seem to hold for the Prospective where *-tăg* is only attested when referring to a non-normal course of events, while it is potentially ambiguous with the other aspectual forms.

In combination with *-n* or *-a*, the aspectual forms yield various kinds of ongoing situations, lasting results or current relevance. If the speaker has *direct* evidence for the event or its result, she uses *-n*, while Indirect *-a* is used if this is not the case. Thus, a Perfect such as *-săŋ pai-n* may be used for an event that is inferred from firsthand evidence or to a witnessed event, while a Progressive in *-tʃi-n* can only mark a witnessed event, contrasting with a synchronically non-witnessed event in *-tʃi-*[ɢ]*-a*. The rare *-tăg pai-* cannot be taken to express an ongoing situation or result as such but apparently refers to the form of evidence currently available for a habitual event.

4.4 Factual vs. evidential? - The past tense forms of spoken Khalkha Mongolian

The basic past tense suffixes in spoken Khalkha are *-săŋ*, *-ɮa*, *-ʈʃe* and the peripheral *-w*. The basic opposition is between established knowledge (*-săŋ*) and non-established (mostly new) knowledge, which is then further differentiated into firsthand (*-ɮa*) and non-firsthand sources (*-ʈʃe*). This adds the factor "time of acquisition" to "source of information." However, vivid recollection and deferred realization allow for using *-ɮa* and *-ʈʃe*, respectively. Additionally, *-ɮa* is used to establish a fictive scenario in discourse. In the corpus, past *-săŋ* is thrice as frequent as past *-ɮa* and *-ʈʃe* combined and due to its opposition to the latter seems to acquire a connotation of factual, relia-

ble information. In declaratives, *-w* accounts for just 0.7% of past tense uses. It is used for events that surprised the speaker in the past. In questions, *-ʧe* is used to ask the hearer to give an answer based on inference. In self-directed discourse, *-ɮa* is used by a speaker who tries to remember something she once knew, irrespective of whether this knowledge was acquired as firsthand knowledge or not.

All past markers have future uses. For an event for which the speaker has sensory or internal evidence (including when the speaker refers to her own intentions), *-ɮa* is fairly common. Clues as to whether a future or past interpretation hold are mostly syntactical, but stative aktionsart or the presence of the boundary-actualizing marker *-ʧʰ-* restrict the interpretation to the past. *-ɮa* can be used in questions about the future in which case the speaker seems to motivate her question on the basis of a presumption based on firsthand evidence. The morphological form of *-ɮa* in such contexts is different from the form used in past questions. *-ʧe* can be used when a future event is inferred, and *-săŋ* marks it as inevitable. Both are exceedingly rare in future contexts, so that they presumably only work in a salient future context. Future *-w* expresses preventive warnings.

5. From Middle Mongol to Central Mongolic

I will now address systematic changes in the inventories and functions of TAE markers between MM and the modern Central Mongolic varieties Khalkha, Khorchin and Oirat. The comparison is structured as follows: In sections 5.1 and 5.2, finitely usable past respective present forms will be compared. In 5.3 and 5.4, the types and complexity of aspectual constructions in finite predicates are discussed. Due to the lack of data, the discussion in 5.4 doesn't include Oirat. In 5.5, final particles related to evidentiality are discussed.

In the tables below, a question mark is used if the meaning or paradigmatic status of a certain marker are unclear. The S / C columns indicate that a form or one of its meanings is attested in Simple / Complex predicates.

5.1 Finitely usable past forms

Finitely usable past forms in MM (see table 1 below) constituted a system of three suffixes: *-bA* was evidentially neutral, *-lUGA* marked visual (and possibly other sensory) evidence, and *-jUGU* was used for inferred and hearsay information (Street 2009). The evidential markers were probably used when it was necessary to indicate the source of information, while *-bA* was used in contexts that allowed for a factual stance. The ratio between *-bA* and the combined token frequency of the evidentially marked suffixes *-lUGA* and

-jUGU in the largest MM source is about 3:1. However, aspectually complex forms (see 6.3) only allowed for either *-lUGA* or *-jUGU*.

As *-jUGU* probably goes back to a resultative in **-jU a-QU* and as even *-lUGA* might possibly be analyzed into two elements, **-lU* with unclear meaning and **-GA* as a form of the MM resultative participle *-GA*, no evidential system can be reconstructed for Pre-PM. However, if <GU> in *-jUGU* is correctly identified with *-QU* (as somewhat boldly suggested by Bese 1970: 29-30), I'd suggest that evidentiality can be reconstructed for the period of around 1050-1150. This is because the gender marking in *-jUGU* (female *-jiGi*, *-jiGAi*, plural *-jUGUi*, cf. Rybatzki 2003: 75) doesn't agree with that of *-QU* (unexplained variant *-QUi*, plural *-QUn*, cf. Bayarmendü 1986). Therefore, its reanalysis analogous to the other gender/number-marking indicative suffixes would have taken place. The emergence of this system, which was in steep decline in Late MM, must have required some time. It would, in turn, constitute a subsequent development to the reanalysis of **-QU* into a synchronically unanalyzable part <GU> of the suffix *-jUGU*, as the different forms of *-QU* as such were preserved. For the same period, the existence of evidential forms is mentioned by the 11th century linguist Mahmud Al-Kāšğarī ([1072-4] 1982: 297, cited in Straughn 2011) for Old Turkic.

In Oirat, the MM system of past markers was retained best. The suffix *-dʒ* (from *-jUGU*, undergoing voicing, cf. Svantesson et al. 2005: 16-7, 148) marks hearsay and inferred evidence (esp. Goto 2009: 129-35, similarly Orulamjab 2013, Skribnik & Seesing 2014: 155-7), be it on its own or in complex forms such as *-săn*/*dăg*/*a*/*x bɛː-dʒ* and *-ad*/*dʒ bɛː-dʒ* (Bläsing 1984: 15, 17).[9] The particle *=dʒ* < *sandʒ* (< **a-san a-juɣu*), which is common after participles in the written language (Bläsing 1984: 17), might mark pure evidentiality without tense in spoken Kalmyk discourse (Goto 2009: 135-6, but see Orulamjab 2013 for Xinjiang). Conversely, *-la* (< *-lua* < *-luɣa*) is used for firsthand evidence, though complex constructions mostly use the fossilized form of the old copula *bilɛ* instead of the modern copula form *bɛː-la* (Skribnik & Seesing 2014: 152-5, Goto 2009, Orulamjab 2013). No future uses of *-la* are mentioned in my sources.[10] *-w* is reported to be most frequent and used by default. It is propulsive in narrative texts, but even the most frequent form in perfect contexts in the questionnaire of Dahl (1985) (Goto 2009). Overall, Bläsing's (1984: 47-59, 89-102) purely aspectual analysis is

[9] Here and in the following, I often generalize from Kalmyk to Oirat in general. Secondary sources on other Oirat varieties such as those spoken in Xinjiang and the contact varieties of CMc in Amdo, Alshaa and western Mongolia are usually not available with the exception of Orulamjab's (2013) master thesis on Xinjiang Torgut. Given the contact situation of the remaining varieties, it is not *a priori* clear whether extrapolations from Kalmyk are feasible.

[10] Bläsing (1984: 94-5) misinterprets some future-referring Khalkha examples with *-ɮa* in a non-future Kalmyk sense, though.

thus probably not defendable.[11] *-w* retained the distributional restriction of MM *-bA* not to occur in complex aspectual constructions based on participles (Bläsing 1984: 28), and it is rejected by informants in combination with imperfective markers such as the Progressive *-dʒa-* (Goto 2009: 127-8; Bläsing [1984: 27] contends that *-dʒa-v* is rare in contrast to *-dʒa-la*). Evidentially, *-w* is assumed to be firsthand-like or at least expresses speaker's confidence (Goto 2009: 129, Orulamjab 2013) and can thus be compared with the factual MM *-bA*. The status of *-săn* is less clear. It might be a perfect (cf. Bläsing 1984: 95-7), but it is infrequent at any rate. In contrast to MM, the structure *-săn bɛː-na* does exist (esp. Skribnik & Seesing 2012, also Bläsing 1984: 28, Orulamjab 2013).

In (spoken) Khalkha and presumably in Khorchin, the previously factual *-bA* has turned into a marker used in "modal" contexts. In Khalkha, it was replaced by *-săŋ* (PM **-sAn* (Bese 1971) or **-GsAn*), originally apparently a present perfect that might have retained this function in Khorchin.[12] The suffixes *-ɮa* (< *-luɣa*) and *-ʧe* (< *-jiai* < *-jiɣai*, the female singular variant of *-jUGU*) more or less retained their former evidential values. All Khalkha past forms have acquired a future usage, albeit it is of rather low frequency for *-ʧe* and *-săŋ*. Even the frequency of *-ʧe* in declarative simple and complex forms is very low in my corpus, the ratio being 32(*-săŋ*):9(*-ɮa*):2(*-ʧe*). There are two explanations for this which might complement each other: 1. The corpus was strongly biased towards firsthand reports. 2. The Direct Perfect has similar inferential uses as *-ʧe* and might thus have started to partly replace it. Overall, however, a system of approximately the same structure as MM is still being retained.

In Khorchin, *-bA* was replaced by *-ʧɛ* (< *-jiai*), which lost its evidential meaning altogether, while *-lɛ* (< *-la* < *-luɣa*) is only attested with imminent or recent events. Its precise corpus frequency is hard to assess due to the nearly homophonous converb, but the ratio for *-lɛ* vs. *-ʧɛ* lies between 1:20 and 1:50. *-sen* (< Proto-CMc **-san*) is used in contexts that might suggest a perfect meaning and in content questions. In positive declaratives, the ratio *-sen* vs. *-ʧɛ* is 1:11, but this contrasts with informant perception that it be-

[11] I expect that the difference between *-la* and *-w* in literary Kalmyk can be interpreted along lines similar to those suggested by Binnick (2012) for the cognate markers in literary Khalkha. This would require a partial reversal of the analysis suggested by Bläsing (1984: 93-4). It is likely that their main difference is evidential, a category that can undergo adaptions in contexts that are by and large unsuitable for evidentiality such as novels (see also Oswalt 1986: 33-4 on Kashaya where a complex evidential system is reduced to experiential / quotative in narratives).

[12] Hsiao (2013) claims that it was *-GsAn* + copula instead of *-GsAn* alone that developed into modern finite *-săŋ*. However, the only reliable attestation of MM *-GsAn bu-yu* seems to be a single instance in Chosgi-Odsir's commentary on the Bodhicaryavatara (1312: 162b, Tömörtogoo 2006:55), while simple *-GsAn* is slightly more frequent. The more frequent *-GsAn bülüge/bile* rather referred to a past resultant state and could semantically not have developed directly into a simple past marker. Further research is clearly needed here.

longs to the standard language rather than to the regiolect. Its status in the system thus requires further research. If *-lɛ* and *-sen* have indeed ceased to function as regular past forms, the tripartite MM system would have been replaced by a simpler system centered on *-tʃɛ*.

Table 1: Past suffixes in finite position

MM / Oirat		S	C	Khalkha		S	C	Khorchin		S	C
-bA	FACT.PST	x		*-w*	past surprise	x		*-w*			
-w					preventive	x			?warning	x	
					past question	x	x		?past Q	x	
-lUGA	1H.PST	x	x	*-ɮa*	1H.PST	x	x	*-lɛ*	1H.PST^{REC}	x	
-la					1H.FUT	x			1H.FUT^{IMMI}	x	
-jUGU	2H.PST	x	x	*-tʃe*	2H.PST	x	x	*-tʃɛ*	PST	x	x
-dʒ					inferential FUT	x					
-GsAn	?PRES.PRF	x		*-săŋ*	FACT.PST	x	x	*-sən*	?PRF	x	x
-săn					FACT.FUT	x					

5.2 Finitely usable present forms

In contrast to the past suffixes, the life-cycle of present tense suffixes in CMc (see table 2 below) is rather short. Early MM and Late Eastern MM have *-yU*, *-mU* and *-i*. The distribution of *-i* is limited to a few verb stems, and with the possible exception of its combination with the copula, its meaning is probably beyond reconstruction. On its own, *-yU* expresses generic meaning, while the younger *-mU(i)* (from *-n bu-i* or *-n bu-yu*)[13] has taken over progressive and habitual meanings.[14] In complex aspectual constructions, both suffixes simply express present tense meaning. Neither is retained in CMc.

Modern present tense suffixes in Khalkha do all go back to identifiable morphemes of MM and Late Western MM. Progressivity is still expressed morphologically, but it requires two suffixes: *-tʃi-[ɢ]-a* / *-tʃi-n* (< *-tʃ pai-n*

[13] This idea is not new (Mijiddorj 1976: 120, Toɣtambayar 2012: 171-85), though I am not sure where it originated. The claim that *-mU(i)* is somehow a variant of or derived from a rare nominal suffix *-m*, which is based on evidence from the MM source *Hua-yi yi-yu* (e.g., Mostaert 1977: 74, Rybatzki 2003), fails to account for *-U*. Reconstructing **-m bU-i/-yu* might be an option, but an attested combination such as *-n bu-yu* (Secret history) or *-n bu-i* (inscription of prince Aruɣ, 1340, line 7, Tömörtogoo 2006: 23) is more plausible.

[14] Hsiao (2013: 1091) seems to imply in her table that the overall text frequency of *-yU* declined from 27.2% of all imperfective/non-past markers in MM to 4.7% in 17th to 19th century "Late Mongolian." However, the materials she compares are not equivalent. Her MM corpus contains a very long religious text with lots of eternal truths all requiring a generic marker, but none of the plentifully available religious sources of "Late Mongolian" was included into her corpus. If one compares texts of similar genres such as the MM Secret History of the Mongols and the "Late Mongolian" Erdeni-yin tobciya, Hsiao's percentages are 8.4% (32/383) vs. 10.5% (40/384); thus, there is no statistically significant difference.

-IPFV.CVB COP-RES.PTCP/-POT < Post-MM (*)*-ju bayi-ɣa*/*-nam*, cf. MM *-ju* -RES.CVB, *bayi-* stop+stand-, *-GA* -RES.PTCP / LWMM *-nam* -PROG.PRES).[15] In such complex forms, both *-n* and *-a* signal an ongoing situation. Habitual to generic situations are marked by *-tăg*, which is cognate with MM *-dAg*, a very rare suffix with unclear, but possibly habitual, meaning used on verbs in attributive position. It has been identified with Old Turkic *-dOg* (Shiotani 2005: 123), which didn't have a (positive) finite use either, but rather, expressed perfective semantics (Erdal 2004: 293-6).[16] The present domain is thus split in a way different from MM. It is even more complicated, as simple *-n* (< Proto-CMc **-na* < LWMM *-nam*) can mark a situation at any time level including the present, if there is a certain potential for it to occur, and the non-future, if it actually has occurred. This meaning, while not properly habitual, often implicates habituality. In addition to its more complicated aspectual system, Khalkha has introduced present tense evidentiality, which involves distinct meanings for finitely usable suffixes in complex aspectual forms. Thus, *-n* comes to mark current direct perception and *-a* (from the MM Resultative

[15] Semantically, both event and reference time of Post-MM *bayi-nam* and Proto-CMc **pai-na* 'is there' coincide with the time of utterance, which makes direct observation likely. The status of **pai-[G]-a* is much more complicated. The resultative **-a* can tentatively be reconstructed for Proto-CMc as it survived in Khalkha, Oirat and Buryat, but it must have been lost in Proto-Khorchin-Kharchin at the very latest in the early 17th century before the diversification into subdialects in the Manchu state took place. Conversely, *bayi-* had lost its meaning 'stand' in the 17th century chronicles "Lu. Altan tobci," "Erdeni-yin tobci," "Quriyangɣui altan tobci" and "Altan qaɣan-u tuɣuji," in which this meaning – in contrast to its uses for 'exist, be at' (n=31-34), 'stop (doing)' (n=15) and its auxiliary uses (n=131) – might arguably be assumed in only three cases (Secen 1987: 108-18, see Johanson 1999 for 'stand' as a source of copulas in Turkic). *pai-[G]-a* could thus have only expressed a meaning like 'is there (as a result of having stopped)' if it had been conventionalized before the 17th century (in which case reference and event time wouldn't coincide). The grammaticalization of present evidentiality, on the other hand, must have taken place later than the 17th century if it was contact-induced from Amdo Tibetan (see section 7). If so, it would be more likely that a non-resultative, possibly stative meaning was the input for the grammaticalization process. As it is resultatives (Bybee et al. 1994: 105) or perfects (Tatevosov 2001) that are assumed to serve as input for the grammaticalization of inferential perfectivity, this would seem less likely. It is hoped that a precise study of existing sources could clarify this somewhat confusing state of affairs.

[16] Shiotani (2005: 124-8) is not justified when he reconstructs PM **-dAg* as a participle. 1. MM *-dAg* is not attested with direct objects. Thus, there is only evidence for a derivational, adjective-forming suffix. The absence of any reflexes of **-dAg* in the Moghol branch (Weiers 1972) and the Shirongolic subbranch of SMc as well as the mere existence of adjectives in *-dga:r* (**-dAg* plus instrumental case) in Dagur (Shiotani 2005) don't strengthen his point. A participle *-dag* only occurs in Eastern Yellow Uyghur and CMc (Shiotani 2005), including Manchurian Khamnigan (Janhunen 2005: 43). However, Eastern Yellow Uyghur differs from the other SMc languages precisely due to its contact with CMc (cf. Nugteren 2003: 265). Therefore, *-dag* must have developed into a participle either in Proto-CMc or in one of the CMc languages that also form a sprachbund, but no later than 1630 when the Kalmyk Khanate was founded.

Participle *-GA*) marks information that is not directly perceived at the time of speech if attached to the CMc copula *pai-* 'be.' These evidential categories CAN be applied to *-tăg*, but this is rare, and they cannot be applied to potential *-n*.

The characteristics of Oirat lie in-between MM and Khalkha. The status of *-na* and *-dăg* seems to be by and large identical to Khalkha (cf. Bläsing 1984: 73, 77-80, Ebert 1999: 324-7), although the suffix *-x* (< *-QU*) has retained its future uses (cf. Orulamjab 2013, see also Bläsing 1984: 15), so that a detailed differentiation of the usage domains of *-na* vs. *-x* is necessary. Even mono-event past uses of *-dăg* might be attested (see Bläsing 1984: 69-70 who is not right in understanding this example as imperfective). Progressive notions can be expressed both by the analytic *-dʒ bɛː-na* / *jov-na* (*bɛː-* COP < 'stand', *jov-* 'go') and the more frequent synthetic *-dʒa-*. The synthetic form seems to allow for wider imperfective uses than the more strictly progressive analytical form (Ebert 1999: 328-31). If true, this would resemble the difference between MM *-mU* and *-n bu-yu*. There are two additional forms: the rare *-a* refers to a concrete event that started before topic time but covers it, expressing a continuative meaning (Bläsing 1984: 76, see also Ebert 1999: 331-2): *Hotn-a uls unt-a* 'Die Bevölkerung der Stadt schlief noch' (Bläsing 1984: 70-1), i.e., 'The inhabitants of the city were still sleeping.'[17] In contrast, *-ad bɛː-na* is presumed to disambiguate aktionsart (of "initio-transformatives," i.e., inceptive and inchoative states) and indicate iterativity or extended duration in a pre-aspectual sense (Ebert 1999: 333-5). The most important difference to Khalkha is the lack of a present-tense evidentiality distinction, as *-a* has a different status, and complex predicate forms like **-dʒ bɛː-[h]-a* are absent (Bläsing 1984 for Kalmyk, Orulamjab 2013 for Xinjiang, Yu. Tsendee, p.c., 2014-04-24, for Oirat in western Mongolia and historical Oirat sources in Clear script).

The Khorchin system, in turn, has become simpler. The LWMM Progressive *-nam* has developed into a habitual-generic-future marker *-na*, while present progressive meanings are expressed by *-tʃɛ-na* which is cognate with the Khalkha form. No productive reflexes of *-GA* exist in Khorchin-Kharchin (see Bayancoɣtu 2002 for Khorchin proper, Sodubaɣatur 2007 for Kharchin, Mönggüngerel 1998 for Naiman), thus there is no evidential contrast. A participle *-təg* is reported to have existed in 1950s Khorchin (Bayancoɣtu 2002: 307-8) for occasional but certain [=regular] events, but it is no longer used.

A finite, non-tensed suffix shared by Khalkha and Khorchin is *-at*. It is restricted to simple constructions and thus is not fully integrated into the TAE

[17] This sentence illustrates a considerable problem within Bläsing's (1984) data. Literary narrative texts allow for a very wide imperfective past use of Khalkha *-n*, and Kalmyk texts allow for *-a*, *-na* and *-dʒa-na*. However, this tells us nothing about the probably more restricted use of such forms in past imperfective contexts in actual spoken language.

system. In CMc, it moreover links clauses and marks the non-final element in complex predicates. The cognate MM *-GAd* is restricted to clause linking.

Table 2: Present suffixes in finite position

MM		S	C	Khalkha		S	C	Khorchin		S	C
-yU	GEN PRES	x	 x								
-mU	PROG/HAB PRES	x	 x								
-i	PRES&?	x	x								
-nAm	PROG.PRES	x		*-n*	POT DIR.PRES	x	 x	*-na*	PRES FUT	x x	x
-GA	?RES.PRES	x		*[ɢ]-a*	RES.PRES ¬DIR.PRES	x	 x				
-dAg	V>ADJ	x		*-tăg*	HAB./GEN. unexpected	x x	x x				

5.3 Aspectual constructions in finite predicates

All CMc varieties make use of analytical constructions to express aspect. This means that a participle or converb is connected with an auxiliary to yield a mostly aspectual meaning. In MM, such constructions were possible on three levels: converb plus copula, participle plus copula, and participle plus the dynamic copula *bol-* 'become.' As table 3 (Bläsing 1984: 28, Benzing 1985: 25 for Oirat) shows, the same number of converbal constructions is present in MM and all three CMc varieties. However, Khorchin only retains the older analytic version *-tʃ (p)ɛː-* of the CMc suffix *-tʃɛ-* if the (former) focus clitic *=l* is attached to *-tʃ*. MM has two participle-based devices to express irreal past possibility, past habituality and past perfect notions, while Khalkha and Oirat express more or less the same notions with three suffixes. Oirat, in addition, has a rare participle-based continuative form. Khorchin, in contrast, has lost this predication type entirely.

MM, Khalkha and Oirat can also express the notion of entering into a state where an event would be likely to come about (cf. Song 1997: 299-300) or where the participant already experiences the resultant state and expresses a certain stance towards it (Kullmann & Tserenpil 1996: 204). Some related constructions have been analyzed as expressing evidentiality in Oirat (Skribnik & Seesing 2014). Entering into a state in which a certain habit obtains can be expressed in Khalkha (Song 1997: 302-3) and presumably in Oirat. It is not attested among the few surviving instances of MM *-QU bol-*.

Prospectives going back to **ge-* 'say' preceded by a future suffix have been innovated in all of CMc. In Khalkha, this suffix is *-x*, while it is *-n* in Khorchin. In Oirat, both varieties may exist: Orulamjab (2013, section on

-ʦgæː-) presents an example sentence with a prospective form in *-n* for Xinjiang, while Skribnik & Seesing (2014: 151) give *-x* for prospective meaning and *-n* (they assume it to be the "modal converb," but finite *-n* could look the same) for an event that nearly took place.

Table 3: Functionally similar aspect constructions[18]

MM		Khalkha	Oirat	Khorchin	
-n bu-	progressive	*-ʧi-* *-ʧʼ pai-*	*-dʒa-* *-dʒ bɛː/jow-*	*-ʧɛ̈-*	progressive
-jU a-	?progressive resultative	*-at pai-*	*-ad bɛː-*	*-at pɛː-*	continuative, resultative
-QU bu-	potential fut. at past RT	*-x pai-*	*-x bɛː-*		irreal future at past RT obligation
-GsAn a-	tensed perfect	*-săŋ pai-*	*-săn bɛː-*		tensed perfect
		-tăg pai-	*-dăg bɛː-*		tensed habitual
			-a bɛː-		tensed continuative
-QU bol-	inceptive prospective	*-x pɔɮ-*	*-x bol-*		deferred future
-GsAn bol-	?inceptive perfect	*-săŋ pɔɮ-*	*-săn bol-*		inceptive perfect
		-tăg pɔɮ-	*-dăg bol-*		inceptive habitual
		-x gi-ʧi-	*-x/-n gi-dʒa-*	*-n-ʧɛ̈-*	prospective

5.4 Possible combinations

The constructions discussed in sections 5.1 to 5.3 are building blocks that can combine with each other with certain restrictions. To avoid extensive detail, I will look at the length of maximal predicates only. Constructions that are based on PTCP *pɔɮ-*, *-x gi-ʧi-* or express modal meanings (other than evidential modality, at any rate) are excluded from the discussion. The tables below are compiled from corpus data (MM, Khorchin) and Google searches (Khalkha):

[18] Of the two copula verbs of MM, I am listing only the more common for each construction, even though the other copula is attested in some cases. For the purpose of this table, Oirat *bilɛ* is counted as an instance of *bɛː-*. RT is short for "reference time."

Table 4: MM and Khorchin complex TAE forms

stem	converb +copula	participle +copula	finite suffix	attested in
V-	*-n/-jU a-*	*-QU bü-*	*-lUGA*	Secret History, e.g. §§195,216
	-n a-	*-GsAn a-*	*-jUGU*	Sino-Mongol Inscription 1362
	-at pɛː-	*-tʃɛ- (-tʃ pɛː-)*	*-tʃɛ*	Khorchin

Table 5: Examples for Khalkha complex TAE form patterns

stem	cvb/ptcp + *pai-*	ptcp/cvb + *pai-*	ptcp + *pai-*	finite suffix
V-	*-at/-tʃ*	*-tăg*	*-săŋ*	*-n/-a/-tʃe/-ɮa*
	-at/-tʃ/-tăg	*-săŋ*	*-tăg*	*-n/-a*
	-at	*-tʃ*	*-săŋ*	*-n/-a*
	-at/-săŋ	*-tʃ*	*-tăg*	*-n/-a/-tʃe/-ɮa/-săŋ*

In MM and Khorchin, the number of attested complex aspectual constructions is rather small, but so is the corpus. The two MM constructions that contain two copulas consist of an initial converb followed by a participle and a finite verb in the past. The only complex Khorchin form with two copulas attested ends in a past form, too. As participle-based constructions are absent from Khorchin, it contains two converbs. The status of this construction as consisting of three words can be disputed, as the Khorchin Progressive is obligatorily contracted in the absence of the clitic *=l*.

Complex predicates in Khalkha with three copulas are quite rare. Except for combinations with initial *-at*, token frequencies never surpassed n=4. Table 5 contains a few plausible overgeneralizations on the attested data, while a few structurally strange items with n=1 were disregarded.[19] One can point out a number of general principles: converbs in *-at* are the most common initial element, and they never occupy any other position.[20] The converbal suffix *-tʃ* rarely ever tolerates an element other than *-at pai-* preceding it, though a very few instances of *-săŋ pai-tʃ pai-* are attested. The order of the participial suffixes *-tăg* and *-săŋ* isn't crucial, and both may occur within one predication twice. The most common final elements are the present evidential suffixes *-n* and *-a*, while unclear restrictions obtain for the past suffixes *-tʃe/-ɮa/-săŋ*. Thus, the integration of the elements *-tăg* with its ability to integrate perfect, continuative and progressive aspect forms into the scope

[19] The following data (with a complete, contextualized example each) was retrieved at 2014-04-21. No examples besides those listed below were found: *-aad bai-j bai-san bai-na/-aa/-dag, -aad/-j bai-dag bai-san bai-na/-aa, -dag bai-dag bai-san bai-na lee/-aa, -aad bai-dag bai-san bai-jee, -aad/-j bai-san bai-dag bai-na/-aa, -dag bai-san bai-dag bai-na, -san bai-dag bai-san bai-na, -aad bai-j bai-dag bai-jee/-laa/-san/-aa, -san bai-j bai-dag bai-laa/-aa.*

[20] *-săŋ paiɢ-at* is a fully acceptable non-finite predicate, though, and it is also the only complex aspectual form in which *-at* is used finitely.

of habituality, its ability to express non-habitual notions in some contexts, and the advent of the evidentiality opposition has greatly increased the maximal complexity of Khalkha predicates.

5.5 Evidential particles

MM is not known to have had evidential particles, and no particular hearsay uses are reported for the quotative verb *ke(m)e-* 'say' (Street 2013). In Khalkha, *gi-* (< *ge- < Late MM [kʰəː-] < Early MM [kʰəmə-]) is used as a quotative device but also features in a large number of constructions, some of which are related to stance. It is uncertain whether a hearsay meaning can be established. The Khorchin cognate *gə-* can be used in hearsay contexts, notably in the form *gən(ə)*, but its use is clearly not obligatory. In Oirat, the combination *-dʒ gi-nɛ* 2h.pst say-pot is used for hearsay (Skribnik & Seesing 2014: 162). Khalkha has a particle *piɮe* (< MM *bü-lüge* COP(<*'stop+stand')-1H.PST) to express recollection (Brosig 2012), and written Khalkha *atʃ(e)* < MM *a-juɣu* COP(<'live')-2H.PST expresses hearsay and possibly inference. The formal *sʊrăg-tai* information/news-COM is used to express hearsay (Mönh-Amgalan 1998). In Oirat, *sandʒ* > *=dʒ* might just mark evidentiality, while *bilɛ* retains its status as a tensed copula (see 6.1). In Kalmyk newspaper texts, *-sn bilɛ* is used for reliable secondhand (not thirdhand) knowledge; for uncertain inference, a participle followed by the noun *bɛːdl* 'situation' either in the comitative case *-tɛ*[21] or with the existential negation marker *uga* is used (Skribnik & Seesing 2014: 158, 162).

6. No proof required: Khorchin in Western Manchuria

In this section, I will try to provide a concise areal explanation for the changes that Khorchin underwent in its development from MM. I will start by sketching the migration of the Khorchin population and their current areal and sociolinguistic situation, then briefly address some general changes in Khorchin grammar and finally turn to structural parallels in the TAE systems of Khorchin and Mandarin.

The Khorchin tribe, originally the bearers (*-cin* being a suffix for professions) of a certain kind of quiver called *qor*, originated at the banks of the Onon river but moved to Hulunbuir in the first half of the 15th century (Secenbaɣatur et al. 2005: 316).[22] In the 1530s, a group of Khorchin moved to

[21] Mönh-Amgalan (1998: 155) also lists this form, but final predicates with -PTCP *paitălɣ-tai* are extremely rare on the internet. *paitălɣtai* is more commonly preceded by adjectives and used attributively.

[22] In contrast, Janhunen (1996: 58, 123) claims that the expansion of the Khorchin into Hulunbuir is a secondary phenomenon at the end of the 19th century. Neither source is partic-

the lower Nonni basin, into the current Fùyù county just northeast of Qiqihaer (Tulɣaɣuri and Sodu 2008: 20, Janhunen 1996: 45), which brought them into contact with Solon (Tungusic) and Dagur speakers and enabled them to trade with the Han of the Ming state. After becoming Manchu subjects in 1635, the Nonni Khorchin were moved southwest to their current location (Tulɣaɣuri and Sodu 2008: 22-3) in the Jirim league (since 1999 called Tongliao city)[23] and the Hinggan league of Inner Mongolia.[24] There are Buryat, Ewenki and Dagur in the north, Khalkha and Baarin in the west, Kharchin in the south and Manchu (who might still have transmitted their language until the early 20th century, cf. Gorelova 2002: 28-9) in the east. In the Manchu Empire, the Khorchin became subject to strict divide and conquer politics that forbid Mongolians to cross the boundaries of banners (the administrative unit below leagues), leading to separate linguistic developments within these banners (Tulɣaɣuri and Sodu 2008: 34). The only notable contact group was Han farmers. While the Manchu court from 1668 onwards wanted to keep Mongolians apart from Han (presumably to retain them as a reserve army) and took various measures to that effect (such as establishing Mongolian as the only regional language of administration, forbidding Mongolians to learn Mandarin and prohibiting intermarriage), the high population density in the Han mainland that developed during the stable Manchu rule, intermingled with occasional famines due to natural disaster, gave Han farmers a strong incentive to resettle in the sparsely populated north. The local Mongolian nobility and administration could collect more taxes (and bribes) from Han farmers than from Mongolian herders, so they resented the segregationist politics of the central government. As a result, so much land was rented or sold to Han settlers that Mongolians in some parts didn't have sufficient pastures left and were forced to become [semi-]agrarian themselves. After Russia claimed northern Manchuria, the Manchu government tried to prevent its further expansion to the south by unrestrained colonialization of the borderlands from 1878 onwards (Tsai 1983: 13-73). At the eve of the Japanese conquest in 1929, two thirds of the historical Eastern Central banner in Jirim (which then included substantial parts of the modern Eastern Back banner) were farming land (Tulɣaɣuri and Sodu 2008: 101).[25] With the

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ularly clear about the evidence used for these claims. In any case, in order to move to the lower Nonni basin, the Khorchin would have had to move *through* Hulunbuir.

[23] While the Chinese government has reclassified most immediate administrative subdivisions of Inner Mongolia as "cities" to change their legal status, their infrastructure is rural.

[24] In detail, Khorchin is spoken in the following areas: Khorchin Eastern Central banner (~ darqan qosiɣu), Khorchin Eastern Back banner (~ büwe wang qosiɣu), Khorchin Western Central banner (~ Tüsheed), Khorchin Western Front banner (~ Jasaɣtu), Jarud banner (originally not Jirim), Jalaid banner, Dörbed Mongol Autonomous County in Heilongjiang, Qian Gorlos Mongol Autonomous County in Jilin (Bayancogtu 2002: 2) and parts of Hulunbuir (Sodu 2013: 68). Jalaid, Dörbed and Gorlos might form a subbranch (Jiāng 2012: 41-3).

[25] This is not to say that most of the farmers were Han. To take the current Eastern Central banner as an example, there are 6 townships with substantial Han populations and 6 Han

surge of Han nationalism during the Cultural Revolution, the replacement of husbandry with agriculture as main form of subsistence was furthered even more (cf. Sneath 2000: 102-125).

Ethnically, Mongolians in Jirim and Hinggan in 2000 remained 45% respective 41% of the overall population.[26] These figures don't directly translate into speakers of Khorchin, though. Many urban ethnic Mongolians speak only Mandarin[27] and children of mixed parents (or brought up by mixed grandparents) are counted as Mongolians in spite of their invariably weak command of Mongolian. Many Han have changed their ethnicity to "Mongolian" (which they are entitled to do if they have one distant Mongolian ancestor) to gain minority privileges such as not being subject to the one-child policy. Conversely, some of the Han who ended up as farmers in Mongolian villages have a firm command of Khorchin. I would estimate that at least 25% of the overall population of the Khorchin area are proficient in Khorchin. In the western part of the Eastern Central Banner (as well as in Hinggan, cf. Jiāng 2012: 64-6), a second important group of immigrants are Kharchin (Tümet and Mongoljin) speakers, creating isoglosses such as western /uəː/ vs. eastern /əː/ in words like *uəːx* vs. *əːx* 'fat' (Tulɣaɣuri and Sodu 2008: 104, 114, 156). As the Kharchin were the first Mongolians to come under strong Han influence, they might have indirectly increased the influence of Mandarin on Khorchin. With very few exceptions among the oldest generation, all contemporary Khorchin speakers in the Eastern Central banner appear to have some command of Mandarin, but proficiency varies. Among the informants and recorded speakers from 2012, 17 farmers, elementary school teachers, shopkeepers, etc. reported a poor command of Mandarin, 19 an acceptable command and 4 a good command. Middle school teachers reported at least an acceptable command of Mandarin, and all officials and university graduates reported having a good command.[28]

Mandarin contact seems to have influenced discernible subparts of Khorchin, while others seem unaffected. The percentage of Mandarin loans in Khorchin is substantial, but not overwhelming: Sodu (2013: 83), when

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communities, but these contrast with 23 Mongolian communities and 4 "husbandry areas," which do contain Han and mixed villages but are dominated by Mongolian villages. From an overall population of 546,560 in 1998, 370,625 were registered as ethnic Mongolians (Tulɣaɣuri and Sodu 2008: 101-3).

[26] Chinese census 2000, as cited on https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tongliao and https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hinggan_League, retrieved 2014-06-09.

[27] For instance, Toɣtambayar (2007) reported the results of a questionnaire sent out to 180 ethnic Mongolians in government agencies working in the actual city Tongliao in 2005. Out of 148 respondents, 141 claimed to have an active command of Mongolian; 135 provided information about their children: 78 (54 of whom attended Mongolian schools) were reported to have an active command, while 63 (57 of whom attended Mandarin schools) were reported to have a passive or no command.

[28] I obtained brief self-evaluations of their command of Mandarin from about 3/5s of my informants in their own words, which I boldly classified here.

evaluating a word list of Caɣanqada (1996: 135-291), found that 13% of approximate 5000 Khorchin words were Mandarin loans. Of one-thousand words taken from five randomly selected passages from my corpus, 9% were Mandarin. Vowel harmony for non-phonemic vowels and palatalized consonant phonemes were lost (along the lines suggested by Svantesson et al. 2005 for Baarin, cf. data in Bayancoɣtu 2002). Here, Mandarin contact might, but need not be a factor. A certain influence of Mandarin intonation is claimed (Sodu 2013: 82), whereas retroflexes such as in Kharchin (Sodubaɣatur 2007: 125) have not been adopted. With up to 11 cases (depending on the analysis), the case system of Khorchin (Bayancoɣtu 2002: 147-9) is as large as those of Chakhar (Secenbaɣatur 2003: 33, 43) and Khalkha, with 8 cognate forms. Taking a superficial look, most other kinds of nominal morphology seem to be retained as well, though the loss of the focus marking clitic *=l* in most contexts (cf. Street 1985 for MM *ele*) is notable. The most substantial changes occurred in the areas with the most immediate interactive relevance. Mongolian terms of address and interlocutionary final particles were replaced by Mandarin loans, and clause-final adjectival CMc constructions for epistemic and deontic modality were replaced by Mandarin modal adverbs. Conventions of politeness and human interaction changed noticeably, e.g., through the loss of everyday greetings. Counting is mostly done in Mandarin. Overall, the culture seems to be switching from a mixed Mongolian-Han pastoralist-farmer culture (as documented in Kürelbaɣatur & Urancimeg 2012, which is based on fieldwork with very old people in the 1980s, Urancimeg, p.c., 2013-01-08) to a pure farmer culture.

In the following, I will draw some comparisons between Khorchin and Mandarin TAE. Mandarin Chinese has a middle-sized aspect system, while tense and evidentiality are not grammaticalized. This contrasts with MM, which, in addition to a middle-sized aspect system, had three clearly distinguishable tenses and a three-level past evidentiality system. Data relevant to the development of non-past imperfectivity in Khorchin is shown in table 6 (Mandarin data from Xiao and McEnery 2004):

Table 6: Non-past imperfectivity in MM, Mandarin and Khorchin

	MM	Mandarin	Khorchin
future	*-QU*	*Ø*	*-na*
generic	*-yU*	*Ø*	*-na*
habitual	*-mU*	*Ø*	*-na*
progressive	*-mU, -n bu-yu*	*zài*	*-tʃɛ̂-na*
“progressive-stative”	*-jU a-mu*	*-zhe*	*-at bɛː-na*
continuative	*-jU a-mu*	*-xiàqù*	(*-at bɛː-na*)
inceptive	-	*-qǐlái*	-

While MM carefully differentiates between different low-focal notions such as future, generic and habitual notions, and even Manchu (Gorelova 2002: 293) at least commonly uses a particular future form *-ra*, Mandarin and Khorchin code these notions in the same way. Notably, the loss of the dedicated CMc habitual suffix *-təg*, to whatever extent it might have been used in earlier stages of Khorchin, is recent. Both Khorchin and Mandarin have progressives that can be compared, although Mandarin has actional restrictions absent in the presumably older Mongolian form. What is termed "progressive-stative" here exhibits only limited similarities. Mandarin *-zhe* is as compatible with states as with activities (Xiao and McEnery 2004, in the following abbreviated as X&M, 189, 208-9) and is overall less suitable to express the situational change than *zài* (cf. X&M 215). With inceptive and inchoative aktionsart, it is more prone to refer to the phase after the initial punctual change, while *zài* must refer to the initial phase (X&M 191). On the other hand, the "progressive-stative" MM and Khorchin forms yield a continuative action with activities and a resultant state with accomplishments and achievements. Mandarin *-xiàqù*, then, appears to be a dedicated means to express resumption. As Mandarin uses two highly frequent and two less frequent forms to express high-focal notions, it is not surprising that Khorchin could retain two such forms.

Structurally, MM and Mandarin perfective forms are very different. X&M state that the most common way to express perfectivity is via directional, completive and result-state auxiliary verbs (160-1),[29] but Khorchin hasn't developed auxiliaries corresponding in usage or frequency to Mandarin *wán* 'finish,' *dào* 'manage' or *kāi* 'open.' Another very frequent means for referring to short non-durative events in Mandarin is verb reduplication (X&M 150-9). Grammars written in Inner Mongolia generally record a number of aspect-related means for verb reduplication (see, e.g., Secenbaɣatur 2003: 149-50), but, depending on the converbal suffixes used, they instead express notions such as iterativity, distributivity or temporal relationships between clauses. As indicated by this last point, verb reduplication is usually reported for non-finite predicates. Even entirely unmarked predicates are possible in some contexts (X&M 239). Correspondences to the three MM pasts and one perfect form are given in table 7:

Table 7: Perfectivity in MM, Mandarin, Khorchin

	MM	Mandarin	Khorchin
simple past	*-bA*	Ø	*-tʃɛ*
firsthand past	*-lUGA*	complete: *le*	immediate: *-lɛ*
secondhand past	*-jUGU*	-	-
perfect	*-GsAn*	-	*-sən*

[29] In their corpus (X&M 159), such constructions had a token frequency of 1741, contrasting with 1165 for *-le*.

In contrast to Mandarin, Khorchin retains a "neutral" past into which it has generalized the MM secondhand past. For comparison with the MM / Khorchin Perfects, the best candidate might be the Mandarin Experiential, but none of the few attested instances of MM *-GsAn* and Khorchin *-sən* look like translation equivalents of *guò*.[30]

One form that is as semantically dissimilar as *guò* and *-sən*, but might possibly help to account for the semantic change of MM *-lUGA* into Khorchin *-lɛ*, is Mandarin (-)*le*. None of the past suffixes of MM had a future use, but Khorchin *-lɛ* is known to have developed one. Even in Khalkha, the future use of *-ɮa* is much more common than the future uses of the other past suffixes. Mandarin (-)*le*, as such, is of course not a marker of tense but of aspect, and it is even two homophonic morphemes, one used post-verbally and one in sentence-final position. Post-verbal *-le* expresses "complete" situations without introducing a final (spatial or temporal) endpoint and may, if no other delimitation is present in the overall context, be obligatory, e.g., *X sì hou* 'after X died,' but **X sì*. Sentence-final *le* refers to a currently relevant state that has newly come into being at a time of reference (X&M 105-7; 132-8 synthesizing Li et al. 1982: 22 and Henne et al. 1977: 112):

(1) *tā chū-le fàguó* (X&M 134 citing Li 1999)
he go-ACTL France[31]
"He went to France"

(2) *yī-gè lǎotàipó chū-lái, jiàn shì jǐ-gè*
one-CLF old.woman come-out, see are a.few-CLF
jǐngchá, dùnshí huāng-le shén
policeman, immediately panic-ACTL expression
"An old woman came out. She was scared out of her wits when she found that the visitors were some policemen" (X&M 108)

[30] Manchu doesn't seem to have played any role. It has a simple past *-ha* that is commonly translated as *-bA* and *-lUGA* and a perfect *-habi*, which is commonly used as translation equivalent for *-jUGU*, e.g., in the *Iledkil šastir*, an official history of the relations of the Manchu with minority peoples of their empire. Mijiddorj (1976: 117-9) probably errs, though, when he suggests that both *-habi* and *-jUGU* are secondhand past forms. The meaning of *-habi* is not entirely clear, being described as "past indefinite" by Gorelova (2002: 290-1, cf. Möllendorf 1892: 9) and as postterminal non-past (i.e., present perfect) by Rentzsch (2012: 852). In *Manju-yin ünen magad qauli*, first volume (unpublished facsimile, library of the Abteilung für Mongolistik und Tibetstudien, Bonn), which is a relatively freely translated parallel text presenting a mystical origin of the Manchu rulers, translations such as *-GsAn bu-yu* suggest present perfect meaning, and even alternative translations such as *wa-habi* (line 59) 'he has killed [XY, now we must take revenge]' as *ala-luɣa* (line 58) 'he killed [XZ {I have good [here certainly not firsthand] evidence}, so let's take revenge]' or *te-hebi* 'has settled' vs. *saɣu-mu* 'is living' (both line 22) point towards a perfect. In contrast to Khorchin, Manchu even had a participle-based pluperfect (Möllendorf 1892: 9) translated into Mongol by the evidentially relatively unmarked form *-GsAn bülüge*.

[31] The only particular glossings are ACTL 'actual aspect marker' and COS 'change-of-state.'

(3) *tā chū fàguó le* (X&M 134 citing Li 1999)
he go France COS
"He has gone to France"
(4) *xiàyǔ le* (X&M 132 citing Zhào 1968)
rain COS
"It's raining now"

Perfective uses similar to (1) and (2) and resultant states from completed events such as (3) seem to refer to the past, and in this sense they can also be expressed (or implicated) by Mongolian *-lɛ*, be it for recent or (at least in the case of Khalkha) recalled distant events. There are uses such as (4) which are non-past and don't refer to resultant states. There is still a certain similarity to an imminent future as denoted by the Mongolian equivalent, as it doesn't matter so much whether or not it is already raining or is only about to if you have to choose your clothing. Overall, several uses of (-)*le* are reminiscent of a past perfective marker.

In addition to the past, both forms of Mandarin (-)*le* can even refer to the future. For *-le*, this use is pretty restricted as it requires a reference time even after the event in question as in (5) (X&M 116, 121-3), while sentence-final *le* has fairly broad future applications, either neutral such as (6) or linked to volition such as (7), and at least the latter is easily translated by Khalkha *-ɮa* and possibly its Khorchin equivalent. Even the explicit use of future adverbials exemplified by these two sentences is typical for future uses of *-ɮa*.

(5) *míngtiān bā-diǎn sì-míng gānjǐng kěndìng*
tomorrow 8-o'clock, four-CLF policeman surely
yǐjīng líkāi-le shàoyáng
already leave-ACTL Shaoyang
"The four policemen will definitely have left Shaoyang by 8 o'clock tomorrow" (X&M 123)
(6) *liàn-le zhěngzhěng yī-nián yáng bǐngmíng*
practise-ACTL whole one-year, Yang Bingming
kuài chūshī le
soon finish-apprenticeship COS
"Having been trained for a solid year, Yang would soon complete his apprenticeship" (X&M 133)
(7) *zhè yào duōshǎo qián yī-lì wǒ quán mǎi-xià le*
this pill how-much money one-tablet, I all buy-up COS
"How much does each of these pills cost? I'll buy them up" (X&M 133)

Overall, it is conceivable that the past uses of *-le* and the present uses of *le* were perceived as analogous to Mongolian *-lɛ*, thus providing an incentive to create future uses of *-lɛ* analogous to future *le*.

Epistemic auxiliaries in Mandarin might help to complete the picture of epistemological stance in Khorchin. For instance, Mandarin modal auxiliaries like *kěndìng* 'confirm' > 'surely' and *kěnéng* 'may' > 'maybe' are both attested in my Khorchin corpus in an adverbial use, and the Mandarin illocutionary / modal particle *ba* 'probably' is commonly used in inferential contexts. The extent to which such devices might express or implicate reference to evidential notions is not clear. The auxiliary *ge-* 'say' basically seems to be restricted to quotative uses in Khalkha (not treated in my thesis) but appears to include hearsay in Khorchin. In Mandarin, devices such as *tīngshuō* 'I heard it said' (with *shuō* 'say' used as a complementizer of *tīng* 'hear') or *shuō* 'it is said' are commonly used sentence-initially to express hearsay, often with an overtone of skepticism, as in (8) (Wáng et al. 2003: 464-72, Yang & Yap 2012):

(8) *SK-II, shuō měitiān zhǐ shuì yī-gè xiǎoshí. nǐ xiāngxìn ma?*
SK-II say everyday only sleep one-CLF hour you believe Q
[A: 'Recently, I have often been burning the midnight oil. Acne has appeared on my face. What should I do?' B: 'SK-II!' A:] 'SK-II. It is said that you only need to sleep for one hour with SK-II; do you believe it?' (Wáng et al. 2003: 470)

Standard Mandarin doesn't have a hearsay particle,[32] and if *shuō* is used sentence-finally in Taiwanese Mandarin, it expresses notions such as counterexpectation or emphasis of one's own opinion (cf. Wáng et al. 2003: 272-7), possibly going back to postponed *wǒ shuō* 'I say' (Sū 2004: 28-9). The restricted but conventionalized extent to which sentence-initial *shuō* is used for hearsay marking approximately resembles what is known about its function in Khorchin. For both languages, more extensive data would be welcome, though. Extensions of Manchu *se-* 'say' don't seem to have been the subject of any research so far.

7. Mixed evidentiality: Khalkha between Central Asia and Amdo

In its current location, Khalkha Mongolian is only surrounded by other CMc and Turkic varieties (Buryat in the north and northeast, Khorchin in the northeast, east and southeast, Shilingol and Chakhar in the south, Oirat in the southwest and west, and Tuvan in the northwest; tiny Turkic varieties such as Dukhan can be found in the north as well). Remnants of Ewenki speakers are still found in the autonomous Ewenki and Oroqen banners in Hulunbuir

[32] Taiwanese Mandarin has *de shuō* (Yap Foongha, p.c., 2014-04-08), and more southern varieties such as Cantonese have, with *wá*, a full-fledged hearsay particle (Yap & Ahn).

in northeastern Inner Mongolia, as are Khamnigans, a group bilingual in Mongolian and Ewenki. Bilingualism was lost among the Khamnigans of Khentii province, Mongolia. The Khalkha don't seem to have had any direct contact with the Manchu speakers of central Manchuria and Tungusic speakers of eastern Manchuria. Contact with languages such as Kazakh in western Mongolia and Uyghur and Kyrgyz in Xinjiang is mediated by Oirat. Chakhar, which belongs to the same subgroup of CMc as Khalkha, is adjacent to the Amdo area in the south where local Tibetan, Mandarin (e.g., Wutun), Southern Mongolic and some Turkic varieties form a sprachbund (Slater 2003: 6-9, Janhunen et al. 2008: 21-2). The geographically closest Southern Mongolic variety is Eastern Yellow Uyghur, the only variety of Southern Mongolic that is similar enough to CMc to allow a limited degree of intercommunication. Khalkha and Amdo Tibetan[33] were even in direct contact, as the latter is the language of Mongolian Buddhism. This is significant as monks are reported to have constituted about one-third of the male Khalkha population at the eve of communist modernization[34] and one-fourth around 1925 (Barkmann 1999: 253).

I am not aware of studies that explicitly try to measure the precise influence that Turkic languages exerted on CMc *after* MM times. Earlier contacts led to strong lexical and structural resemblances that were numerous enough to lead to the Altaic hypothesis (see, e.g., Schönig 2003). As far as I know, non-lexical influence of Tibetan on CMc has only been studied for translations (Higuchi, e.g., 1994). I am not aware of any study that has tried to determine the extent of Tibetan loans in CMc, but it would be much easier to conduct, as Tibetan loans only started to enter Mongolian during the Late MM period and had distinctly different sound correspondences then than they had at later times (Atwood 2013). Among personal names, the most common foreign names are from Tibetan, and compound names of Khalkha and Tibetan freely occur (cf. Serjee 2010). Unfortunately, I don't have any data on bilingualism among 19th century monks nor on the switch from Mongolian to Tibetan as the language of religious services.

The tripartite past tense system of Khalkha (as well as Oirat and presumably Buryat) was directly inherited from MM and thus isn't in need of immediate explanation. The extended future uses are, but as I lack both evidence for similar areal developments (excluding Mandarin) and cannot address grammaticalization paths due to the exclusion of Classical Mongolian materials from this study, I won't be able to say anything more on them here.

[33] The language used in contemporary monasteries in Mongolia and Inner Mongolia is Amdo Tibetan (Gow-a, a doctoral student in musical sciences from the Central University of Nationalities who works on recitation in Mongolian monasteries, p.c., summer 2013), as is the language from which Tibetan loan words were taken into Mongolian (Atwood 2013).

[34] Federal research division of the Library of Congress (1986-1998): Mongolia: Buddhism. http://countrystudies.us/mongolia/47.htm, retrieved 2014-06-11

The tripartite past system, however, fits neatly into its areal context. Peripheral Turkic languages such as Yakut and Turkish retain a bipartite system based on a firsthand/confirmative/neutral past *-DI* and a secondhand / non-confirmative past in *-MIŞ* that structurally resembles Old Turkic. But Central Asiatic Turkic languages such as Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Uyghur and Uzbek have developed a tripartite system based on *-DI* (as in Old Turkic), *-GAN* (from a perfect) and *-IP* (from a perfective converb) (Johanson 2003, Straughn 2011: 164-9). Like in Khalkha, these systems don't seem to be associated with three different values for source of information. Straughn (2011: 61-82) proposes to analyze the Kazakh forms in terms of confirmativity and definiteness: *-DI* is used for events that the speaker can vouch for, often but not necessarily on the basis of firsthand knowledge, and which took place at a definite (identifiable and clear-cut) time in the past. Confirmativity outranks definiteness:

(9) *Nazarbayev Qarağandï metallurgiya zawït-ï-nda žumïs iste-di.*
NAME PLACE metallurgy factory-3-LOC work work-PST.3SG
'Nazarbayev worked in a Karagandy metallurgy factory.' (Straughn 2011: 64)

(10) *Azi Nomhon dalai-n orn-ii ediin_zasg-iin hamt-iin*
Asia Pacific ocean-GEN country-GEN economy-GEN together-GEN
ajillagaan-ii baiguullaga buyuu APEC-iin deed hemjeen-ii
work-GEN organization or APEC-GEN upper measure-GEN
uulzalt öchigdör Pyerug-iin niislel Lima-d öndörlö-löö.
meeting yesterday Peru-GEN capital Lima-DAT end-1H.PST
'A summit of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation or APEC ended yesterday in the Peruvian capital Lima.' (Brosig 2009: 133-4)

(11) *Keše sağat 3-'te düken-ge bar-dï-m.*
yesterday hour 3-LOC store-DAT go-PST-1SG
'Yesterday at 3:00 I went to the store.' (Straughn 2011: 69)

(12) *Älginde ğana bul kitap-tï oqï-p qal-dï-m.*
just now this book-ACC read-CVB PFV-PAST-1SG
'I've just now finished reading this book.' (Straughn 2011: 69)

The writer doesn't have firsthand knowledge of the event in (9), which involves Kazakhstan's ruler Nazarbayev, but she is very sure of it. While no such uses of *-ƪa* were attested in my spoken corpus, the language of Khalkha newspapers is perceived by informants in a similar confirmative way displayed in examples like (10) in which the probability that a Mongolian reporter actually attended the event personally is low. (11) illustrates the use of *-DI* with definite, very specific temporal reference. This is very similar to Binnick's (2012: 102-7, 162-4) tempting analysis of Khalkha *-ƪa* as a deictic past, even though he thinks that deictic past forms are necessary to anchor an event in time in the absence of specific time adverbials whose presence would allow for an anaphoric (~indefinite) past tense. In (12), reference is

made “to the definite time denoted by the very recent past that requires the use of the simple past” (Straughn 2011: 69). I analyzed this use of Khalkha *-ɮa* in such a context as recent firsthand perception. If some of the uses in Kazakh are register-specific, the values at play here might be rather similar to Khalkha.

The meaning of *-IP* “is characterized by strong non-confirmative meaning ... manifested as doubt, hearsay, inference, or admirativity” (Straughn 2011: 78) depending on context. It is usable in common inferential contexts, e.g., to the illness of an unhealthy-looking friend on the basis of her outer appearance, with quotative and hearsay information, unobservable first person events such as falling asleep, forgetting, even visual information from dreams or if one wants to avoid taking responsibility. Given particular social conventions, the core meaning of the form itself might be non-firsthand.

-GAN is described as neutral as far as the commitment of the speaker is concerned. It is also aspectually different in being temporally indefinite, a usage, e.g., present in experiential uses. Without any statistical data or more concrete information on how speakers choose a marker given a certain epistemological situation, the status of Kazakh *-GAN* vs. *-DI* is hard to assess. It is reminiscent of Khalkha *-saŋ*, but maybe more of Oirat *-w* and its MM cognate.

The overall similarity of the Khalkha and Kazakh past tense system points to a contact-induced phenomenon, even if the particular rationalization of certain uses by new generations of learners might have drifted apart a little during more recent times of presumably less intensive contact.

Incidentally, even Amdo Tibetan has a tripartite division of forms that are perfective [at least when used on their own, and thus also non-present]. It distinguishes (i) *=nə*/Ø for volitional participation of the speaker (or, in questions, the addressee); (ii) *=tʰœ* for firsthand evidence of events which the speaker didn’t purposefully perform herself (including uncontrolled events such as loving, smelling, non-deliberate sneezing or actions in dreams); and (iii) *=zəg* for inference or hearsay regarding events that the speaker didn’t witness at all (Sun 1993: 956-73 for the Mdzo-dge dialect, see Haller 2004: 136-49 for a similar division in the Themchen dialect). This system doesn’t resemble Khalkha. Some SMc languages exhibit a bipartite division even more dissimilar to Khalkha. They roughly draw a line between events into which the assertor (i.e., the speaker in declaratives and the addressee in questions) was involved herself (cf. Creissels 2008: 12 for this wording) and everything else (Slater 2003: 194-220, Faehndrich 2007, Åkerman 2012, on varieties of Monguor; Fried 2010: 186-93 on Bonan, cf. the distinction between *βe*/*βa* vs. *βai* in Eastern Yellow Uyghur, Chuluu 1994).

The fact that Khalkha has innovated non-past evidentiality is somewhat surprising. After all, in its current location it is only surrounded by Turkic varieties that don’t have it grammaticalized and other CMc varieties from which this change can hardly have originated. Taking a look at CMc first, it

can be seen that Khorchin and Oirat don't systematically mark present evidentiality, while it seems to be present in Chakhar and Buryat. Next to *-ža bajg-aa* as in (13), even forms like *-dag bajg-aa* (which presumably fit better into encyclopedic style than most other registers) can be found on Buryat Wikipedia (as a corpus), and corresponding forms in *-na* exist as well.

(13) *hüülš-yn žel-üüd-te müren-ej uhan aža[_]üjledberilel-ej*
last-GEN year-PL-DAT river-GEN water production-GEN
boxirdol, xüdöö aža_axuj-n xajagdal gexe_mete xün-ej
pollution rural economy-GEN waste etc. human-GEN
üjle_ažalalgaan-haa bol-ood jexe boxirdo-žo bajg-aa.[35]
activity-ABL become-CVB very become.polluted-CVB COP-¬DIR
'During the last years, its water became much polluted due to industrial pollution, agricultural waste and similar human activities.'

Much further towards the northeast, in the Khabarovsk region, an opposition between finite and participial verb forms can be found in Nanai and Ulcha (Malchukov 2000: 449-52) that could be interpreted as expressing evidential distinctions in the present. In nearby Udihe, an evidential contrast arises between Progressives such as (14), which must be firsthand, and the neutral present tense, as in (15), which has neutral imperfective and evidential semantics (cf. Nikolaeva and Tolskaya 2001: 251, 262).[36]

(14) *bi xunazi: tege-we wo:-mi bi:-ni*
me sister.1SG gown-ACC make-INF be-3SG
'My sister is making a gown.' {in a situation in which the speaker has returned home and witnessed the situation he describes} (262)

(15) *bi xunazi: wo:-ni*
me sister.1SG make-3SG
'My sister is sewing.' (constructed, Irina Nikolaeva, p.c., 2014-03-10)

Thus, a marker similar to the Khalkha Direct Evidential exists, whereas the Udihe equivalent of the Khalkha Indirect is both evidentially and aspectually unspecific. A firsthand vs. secondhand contrast might be most salient for ongoing one-time situations, while Khalkha also can include habitual but not

[35] https://bxr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Хүхэ_мүрэн, retrieved 2014-04-25. I'm using the same abbreviations here as in my papers on Khalkha in this volume.

[36] There is also a Habitual (Nikolaeva and Tolskaya 2001: 258-62), which can certainly be used in secondhand contexts, but seems to be acceptable in firsthand contexts as well. While a "normally" (260) reduplicated use of the Habitual Participle can refer to an intensive action in progress with atelic verbs, it is not so clear to me whether the nonreduplicated use in *bi xunazi: wo:-i bi:-ni* me sister.1SG make-PRES.PTCP be-3SG 'My sister is sewing' {said when outside his home} (262) is accurately translated as a progressive. If not, this example would just illustrate non-progressive, but not non-firsthand meaning.

potential situations. Contemporary speakers of these Tungusic languages are approximately in the same location as in the 15th century (Janhunen 1996: 30, 92), far beyond the grazing grounds of the easternmost Mongols after the collapse of the Yuan Khanate in 1388. As *-a* appears to be absent in all of Khorchin-Kharchin, the development of present evidentiality in Khalkha cannot have predated the time when the Khorchin left the Onon River in the 15th century.[37]

Therefore, any direct contact between Mongols and Tunguses from the far eastern regions can be ruled out. There were contacts between the Tungusic Ewenki that formed a new bilingual ethnicity, the Khamnigans, in eastern Mongolia and western Manchuria, but Ewenki is not reported to have present evidentiality.

In the Turkic languages, with the possible exception of Western Yellow Uyghur (mentioned en passant by Johanson 2003: 285) and Salar, present evidentiality was never grammaticalized but is confined to non-obligatory tense-neutral evidential particles:

(16) *Keše* *tüngi* *smena-da* *iste-p-ti* *de, qazir* *demal-ïp*
yesterday night shift-LOC work-CPST-3 and now rest-CVB
žat-ïr *eken.*
PROG-PRES EVID
'He worked the night shift yesterday; he must be resting now.'[38]

(17) *Yag* *odoog-oor* *Terelji-d* *amar-ch* *baig-aa* *aj*.[39]
exact now-INS PLACE-DAT rest-CVB COP-¬DIR IP.HEARSAY
'[The actress Zhao Wei (...) has come to Mongolia. She (...) says that she wants to travel to historical sites of our country.] Right now she is resting at [the tourist resort] Terelj.'

(18) *Qazaq* *eken-der*
Kazakh EVID-PL
'They are (apparently) Kazakhs.' (Straughn 2011: 99)

In (16) from Kazakh, the particle *eken* (< *är-GAN* COP-PST) marks inference or hearsay but doesn't contribute to time reference. This is reminiscent of the literary hearsay particle *aj* (< *a-juɣu*), as exemplified in (17). However, the dividing lines within the evidentiality system of Kazakh and spoken Khalkha are different: an example that signals inference on the basis of synchronic firsthand evidence such as (18) (and similar sentences in Yakut such as given in Buder 1989: 92) would be translated into Khalkha with the direct evidence form of the copula *pai-n* rather than *pai-[ɢ]-a*.

[37] Incidentally, the innovation of present tense evidentiality is more likely to have taken place after the westward migration of the Oirat in the early 17th century, as this event discontinued the areal continuity of speakers of different CMc dialects.

[38] Straughn 2011: 114. CPST 'converbal past' (i.e., PST < CVB), EVID 'evidential.'

[39] D. Dolgor (news.mn): Jüjigchin Zhao Wei (Huan Ju Geg) mongold irjee, http://www.itismovie.co/2011/07/zhao-wei.html, retrieved 2014-04-28

Among the present evidentiality systems that I had a look at, the one that comes closest to Khalkha is found in Amdo Tibetan (all information taken from Sun 1993). In the Progressive *=ʰkə jod* ~ *=ʰkod*, Amdo Tibetan differentiates between (i) evidence about events in which the assertor was involved marked with zero, (ii) "perceptible evidence directly present in the immediate speech-act situation" (Sun 1993: 977) marked with *=ʰkə*, and (iii) previous direct evidence for synchronically still ongoing events marked with the Perfective Firsthand *=tʰœ* in the same manner as used for past progressive events:

(19) *tœ ŋə tɕœ ntʰoŋ=ʰkə jod*
now I(ERG) tea drink=PROG AUX
'I am drinking tea now.' (Sun 1993: 975)

(20) *tœ kʰu tɕœ nthöŋ=ʰkə jod=ʰkə*
'He is drinking tea now (I just found out).' (Sun 1993: 976)

(21) *ʈʂaɛʰi=kə tœ mumu li=ʰkod=tʰœ*
name=ERG now momo make=PROX.AUX=DIR
{The speaker, who is not in the kitchen now, saw Bkras-shis making Tibetan momos (...) in the kitchen a short while ago and is reporting what he assumes Bkra-shis must still be doing now} 'Bkra-shis is now making *momos* (I saw him do it just now).' (Sun 1993: 978)

As Khalkha doesn't differentiate between volitional acts of the assertor and events that the assertor merely observed firsthand, both (19) and (20) can be translated into Khalkha with the Direct Progressive *-ʧai-n*. In contrast, *=tʰœ* in (21) corresponds to the Indirect form *-ʧai[ɢ]-a*, which is also used with hearsay information for which Amdo Tibetan would use the defective quotative verb *se* together with the indication of the source of information originally used by the cited speaker.

As the following examples suggest, an evidentiality distinction similar to the Amdo Tibetan Progressive might also be possible with its firsthand perfect forms in *jod=tʰœ*:

(22) *kʰu mumu zəg li jod=tʰœ.*
he(ERG) momo some make AUX=DIR.EV
'He has made some *momos* (I saw it).' (Sun 1993: 981)

(23) *ʰløbzaŋ tɕoŋ=du mɔ gœ jod=tʰœ*
NAME small=when her(DAT) love AUX-DIR.EV
'Blo-bzang loved her when he was small.' (Sun 1993: 969)

For (22), Sun (1993: 969) suggests that the speaker witnessed the event in its entirety (though I am wondering whether it might even be possible that the speaker saw only the results). In (23), the perfect firsthand form is required to talk about emotions of another person, i.e., to refer to some kind of signs of these inner states that can be sensorily perceived, while the speaker could

use simple *=tʰœ* if talking about her own emotions. Khalkha Mongolian is less restrictive with inner states; they can receive firsthand marking if the link between the outer appearance, etc. of the referent and her inner state is considered to be straightforward by the speaker, while secondhand marking would be used if the visible signs are more ambivalent. But like in Amdo Tibetan, the Direct Perfect *-saŋ pai-n* can both be used for events perceived in their entirety and events deduced from their results.

The most obvious difference between the Khalkha dichotomy *-n*/*-a* and the Amdo Tibetan system is the greater complexity of the latter and the different categorial borders reflected in the apparent lack of schematic translation equivalents. The interesting similarity, on the other hand, lies in the ability of both Amdo Tibetan and Khalkha to express current direct perception and contrast it to other notions. Amdo Tibetan is thus more similar to Khalkha than are the SMc languages, most of which express a two-fold distinction where volitionality seems to interact with evidentiality.

8. Closing words

In this section, I will address some issues that might be of interest for further research. As the papers of this thesis contain rather detailed assessments of knowledge gaps that remain in the research on TAE in MM, Khorchin and Khalkha, I will restrict myself to a partial synthesis of the two independent papers on Khalkha, some additional comments on areal developments in Greater Mongolia, and a short note on the classification of CMc.

8.1 Evidentiality in Khalkha: a synthesis

Evidentiality in Khalkha turns out to be of some interest from a theoretical viewpoint. The language has two distinct systems, one for the present and one for the past. Both systems contain prominent neutral elements, so that neither can be accounted for by an explanation that restricts the overarching epistemological notion, be it called “evidentiality” or differently, to “source of information.”

For past evidentiality in Khalkha, the first notion is the time of acquisition of information, and while this notion can be connected to surprise, attempts to draw too close of a link between it and to grammaticalized mirativity are suspect (see Hill 2012). Similarly, non-assimilated non-sensory evidentiality in Khalkha doesn’t exhibit any clear resemblance to “mediativity” (Lazard 1999) or “indirectivity” (Johanson 2006) if the latter is understood as a grammaticalized reference to cognitive or perceptive processes as the basis for asserting a particular state of affairs - which would thus relativize an assertion by mentioning that the information was acquired in some way. In contrast to the above, the difference between newly acquired vs. assimilated

information might at any rate merit closer attention, if not as an integral part of evidentiality, then at least as part of the heuristic notions considered during language description. Next to Khalkha and Tibetan (cf. Tournadre 2008), it also plays an important role in Kashaya, a Pomo language spoken in North America. Here, the distinction between different forms of direct and indirect sensory evidence available to the speaker is only drawn for non-assimilated information (see Oswalt 1986, esp. 30, 33).

Subordinate to the time of acquisition are the canonical evidential notions "source of information" (speaker vs. known or unknown other person) and "mode of access" (sensory vs. inferential, plus subcategories): the speaker's direct sensory perception of the event contrasts with inference and, arguably, information from other people. At least for the sample of spoken materials investigated, extended modal notions such as "confirmativity" (Friedman 1981) don't seem to obtain in "spoken" Khalkha: the only use of a narrowly evidential marker in the corpus that diverges from a firm evidential notion is the use of *-l=uu* for recollection of events that need not be based on earlier direct sensory perception. It wouldn't be surprising, though, if written language usages, both in novels and newspapers, diverged towards an affirmative respective distancing stance for *-laa* resp. *-jee*.

Languages like Khalkha and Udihe also point to an interdependence of imperfective aspect and the expression of evidentiality. Knowledge about events that are unambiguously ongoing is likely to be firsthand, so Udihe uses a dedicated Firsthand Progressive, while reference to non-firsthand events that are ongoing can only be made by an aspectually unspecific form. On the other hand, direct synchronic access to an event that is ongoing is much more straightforward than assessing such evidence for habitual or generic events. This justifies evidentiality as an obligatory category for ongoing events and persisting resultant states. While the synchronic access to evidence seems to indicate that the event has not yet been assimilated by the speaker, the synchronic absence of evidence is not as clearly determined in this respect. While the prototypical progressive event has not yet been assimilated, progressive first person forms verbs of cognition do refer to information about which the assertor has already made up her mind. Conversely, evidential marking is non-obligatory and, indeed, strongly dispreferred (in a ratio of 1:60 in my corpus) with habitual events, because they already tend to be established as valid and, thus, favor a factual, source-neutral stance. However, if such marking does occur, it seems that direct and indirect synchronic evidence is used to draw conclusions about a habitual event. In contrast to progressive, continuative, perfect and prospective predications, the phase from which this evidence is taken would then be detached from any actual phase of the event, which should not facilitate processing.

It is of interest that both the past and present system make a very similar primary distinction. On the one hand, they code synchronically available information (*-n*, *-ɮa*, *-ʧe*) or, in the case of the past events, information that

is still vividly accessible and cognitively activated in the mind. On the other hand, they code information already known to the speaker (*-sǎŋ*, unmarked) which might already be reified in her mind as a fact. Only for indirect evidence (*-a*), both assimilated and non-assimilated information is common, and finer distinctions are made through conventionalization of particular forms. One might speculate that this overall distinction was first developed on the present tense level. The past tense system might well have started out as a simple opposition between events taken to be factual and unproblematic and events about which the addressee should be enabled to judge herself on the basis of the speaker's source of information / mood of access. A reinterpretation into the present contrast might then have taken place subsequently. However, as I undertook my investigation into MM *before* I investigated Khalkha and even in that investigation mostly relied on Street (2008, 2009), I cannot tell whether a nuance such as recent acquisition of information might be traced back to quotes of direct speech in MM.

While they are not part of the evidentiality system, the non-interrogative uses of *-w* (see 4.4), the non-habitual use of *-tǎg* (see 4.3), and the idiosyncratic suffix plus particle combination *-n ɮe* (briefly treated in Brosig 2012) are devices usable in contexts in which a narrator presents surprising, interesting events. Past *-w* seems to focus on the surprise that the speaker felt herself at the time of the event, and preventive *-w* focuses at an undesirable event that the addressee isn't expecting. Non-habitual *-tǎg* might mainly focus on a conflict between the speaker's expectations given a normal course of events and the actual course of events. *-n ɮe* might mostly be about catching the addressee's attention by suggesting that some event is unusual. Inasmuch as Eerdunmengke (2009: 3.6.1.1) describes this form as expressing recollection in the closely related Ordos dialect, one may speculate that the recollection of an interesting detail has been conventionalized here. None of these markers mark "information which is new or unexpected to the speaker" (DeLancey 2001: 370): *-w* either concerns information that WAS unexpected or information that is unexpected (and, in the speaker's opinion, undesirable) for the ADDRESSEE. The information marked by *-tǎg* is usually not new, and while unexpectedness applies, it can be restricted to the past in narrative contexts. With *-n ɮe*, again, it is mainly the addressee who is at issue. If one is willing to define mirativity as "a linguistic category that characterizes a proposition as newsworthy, unexpected, or surprising" either to the speaker or addressee (Hengeveldt & Olbertz 2012: 488), then ALL of these uses are mirative. I think it is crucial to consider, though, that all three devices are peripheral usages of rather old morphemes, and, in the case of *-w*, even the last surviving ones. In all three cases, the usages are so specialized that their text frequency is low. In the case of *-w*, one might speak of degrammaticalization (see Norde 2010) in the senses of resemantization of the bleached perfective past *-bA* and deparadigmaticalization. Semantically, if *-sǎŋ* can indeed be presumed to express an evidentially neutral, but an already assimi-

lated claim to the validity of a statement, one might conceive that a MM suffix *-bA* that was presumably neutral towards time of acquisition of information retained as its last domain the expression of evidentially unproblematic, but still not fully assimilated information.

8.2 Perspectives for areal studies on TAE in Greater Mongolia

In sections 6 and 7, I have tried to put the development of evidentiality in CMc from section 5 into an areal context. For Khorchin, it was found that the decline of evidential and aspectual constructions can be understood in the context of contact with Manchu and Mandarin, languages which lack grammaticalized evidentiality. For Khalkha, the situation turned out to be more complicated: The past tense system, as inherited from MM, resembles the Turkic languages of Central Asia in that evidentiality is expressed by three markers that only seem to express two evidentiality values (in the canonical sense of the word). Detailed research into the function of such systems (such as Street 2009, Straughn 2011) is rather rare, while they seem to absent from the larger discussion of evidentiality.[40] On the other hand, the marking of present tense evidentiality differs substantially from Turkic and SMc, but shows recognizable parallels to eastern Tungusic languages and Amdo Tibetan. Only the latter could directly have influenced Khalkha via religious contacts, though. If contact-induced change was due to Amdo Tibetan, the result seems rather notable, as I am not aware of languages other than Khalkha and probably Buryat that have two relatively independent, tense-dependent, fully grammaticalized evidentiality systems (e.g., in comparison to non-tensed or tense-independent systems such as in Quechua [Faller 2002] or the Greater Tibetan area [e.g., Sun 1993, Tournadre and Dorje 2003, Åkerman 2012]).

Another issue is the overall complexity of tense-aspect systems. In descriptions of neighboring languages, I didn't find anything comparable to Khalkha when it comes to the complexity of TA markers. This might be due to underdescription or, more likely, the restricted number of sources I was able to use.[41] Conversely, the TA systems of neighboring varieties might actually be smaller. Then, Khalkha is quite reminiscent of Nakh-Dagestanian

[40] Funnily, when Aikhenvald (2014: 9, 42, *passim*) discusses some characteristics of the evidential system of Kalmyk, she takes it to be a system with two basic markers because she exclusively relies on Skribnik & Seesing (2014). The latter don't mention *-w* but probably felt they didn't have to because they didn't intend to describe evidentiality in Kalmyk within its aspecto-temporal context and conceived of *-w* as evidentially neutral.

[41] In particular, the collection of papers edited by Yakup et al. (2013) contains a number of important descriptions, many of which indicate additional problems and require the reader to follow up on cited references that are not easily accessible. As there is always the additional language barrier, I had to concede that I had obtained this book too late to make responsible use of it for this dissertation.

languages such as Chechen (as described by Molochieva 2010) that apparently show a similar ability to build up aspectually complex forms. For instance, it is possible in Chechen to mark an event as in progress at habitually reoccurring occasions merely through morphology and the use of one copula, as it is in Khalkha. If these similarities are due to one sprachbund, the Turkic languages in the west of Mongolia are the most likely link, though languages in the northwest such as Tuvan and Ket should probably not be excluded *a priori* from investigation either.

As far as mature linguistic phenomena such as irregular verb stems are concerned, their lack in Mongolic, Turkic, Mandarin and by and large Manchu forms a consistent area, while languages in geographically less accessible areas such as Tibetan, the other Tungusic languages or Nakh-Dagestanian languages employ irregular stems in verb inflection.

Another topic which merits areal investigation is the existence of temporally discontinuous markers such as *-ɮa* that, depending on the overall context, can refer to both past and future, but not to the present (also cf. Nelson et al. 1998). While I argued in section 6 that the influence of Mandarin *le* might be at work here, this would mean that a phenomenon spread from Khorchin to Khalkha and, in the latter, even extended to the other past markers. This is not entirely impossible, but similar markers in other languages bordering Khalkha might provide a more convincing areal context. It is possible that a detailed analysis of Classical Mongolian sources could reveal the precise grammaticalization paths.

8.3 A short note on the classification of Central Mongolic

The classification still used in the "Ethnologue" (Lewis et al. 2014) is that of Oirat-Khalkha containing Khalkha-Buryat, which in turn consists of Khalkha Mongolian and Peripheral Mongolian. The latter is more or less defined as Mongolian spoken in China. The logic behind this classification is the existence of Kalmykia, Buryatia, and Manchu-ruled Mongolia as political entities of the 19th century and the more recent independence of Outer Mongolia as the Mongolian state in the early 20th century. There is also a strong tendency to (more often implicitly than explicitly) take the language produced in writing by speakers of different dialects as a coherent entity, as is done systematically by non-dialectologists in Inner Mongolia and the Mongolian state. Chuluu (1998) from Eastern Inner Mongolia, for instance, considered his own idiolect as representative of Mongolian as spoken in Inner Mongolia, which is hardly appropriate even if we take the common Inner Mongolian standard (e.g., Qaserdeni et al. 2006), which is based on the Chakhar dialect (Secenbaɣatur 2003). Batzayaa (2008), in turn, compared the standards of the four largest political entities, also taking "Inner Mongolian" (*övörlögch ayalguu*) as an entity of description instead of calling it "Chakhar." Howev-

er, given that the title of her book is "A phonological comparison of the major Mongolian dialects," her point seems to lie in the justification of existing territorial divisions on a linguistic basis rather than finding out anything about actual Mongolian dialect groups. The problem is not a lack of data-based classifications (e.g., Cinggeltei 1957-58, Luvsanvandan 1959, Janhunen 2006) but that these are conveniently ignored. One of the points that I hopefully was able to show in this dissertation is that Khalkha-Chakhar, Oirat and Khorchin-Kharchin of CMc are all linguistically distinct enough to merit separate investigation. While I didn't discuss the evidence, both the (rather brief) analysis of Secenbaɣatur (2003) and my own impression from interacting with Chakhar speakers indicate a TAE system that very closely resembles Khalkha and, in particular, its southern dialects. My point is that in not considering closely related varieties spoken in other countries, scientists miss applicable research results, and in taking countrilects as objects of description, grammarians must either become selective without a proper scientific basis or describe very fuzzy entities. You can either be politically overcorrect, or a scientist.

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Aspect, tense and evidentiality in Middle Mongol

This paper contains an analysis of aspect, tense and evidentiality in Middle Mongol. This language has a fairly complex aspectual system, consisting of mostly periphrastic constructions built up from converbal, participial and final suffixes, and two different stative copula verbs. These express progressivity, habituality, genericity, perfectivity, perfect and resultativity on the present and past tense level. Present progressivity and resultativity can both be expressed by two different constructions that differ by their aspectual scope and/or actional properties. The three past tense suffixes mark factual, firsthand and secondhand information. This evidential trichotomy is restricted to the perfective aspect, while all other aspectual past tense markers only receive firsthand or secondhand marking. No aspectual distinctions seem to be made in the future, though both the future participle and the resultative participle can form contrafactual constructions.

В этой работе предлагается анализ категорий вида, времени и эвиденциальности в среднемонгольском языке. Видовая система данного языка достаточно сложна и состоит, главным образом, из перифрастических конструкций, построенных средством конвербальных, причастных и финальных суффиксов и двух связочных глаголов. Эти конструкции выражают прогрессивность, хабитуальность, перфективность, перфект и результативность на настоящем и прошедшем временных уровнях. И прогрессивность в настоящем, и результативность могут выражаться двумя разными конструкциями, которые различаются видовыми или акциональными свойствами. Три суффикса прошедшего времени выражают фактуальную информацию и информацию прямого и косвенного свидетельства. Эта трех-элементная оппозиция ограничивается перфективным видом, в то время как все другие видовые маркеры прошлого времени различают лишь прямое и косвенное свидетельство. В будущем времени видовые различия отсутствуют, хотя и причастие будущего времени, и результативное причастие могут образовать контрафактивные конструкции.

In this paper, I will discuss aspect, tense and evidentiality in Middle Mongol (MM), the language of the Mongol Empire of the 13th and 14th century.[1] MM had a fairly developed system of simple and periphrastic markers for signal-

[1] While some classifications do assume "Ancient Mongol" as a language spoken e.g. up to the beginning of the 13th century (cf. de Rachewiltz 1999: 241-4), there is no distinct cut-off point except for intervocalic **h* (cf. Svantesson et al. 2005: 121-4) justifying this distinction, while the decline of social gender marking spans throughout the MM period (cf. Bayarmendü 1986). Therefore, despite its name, MM is the oldest attested form of Mongolic proper.

ing aspectual and evidential distinctions. The generic marker *-yU*, the progressive-habitual *-mU*, and the progressive *-n bu-yu* divided present tense imperfectivity among each other, while both the past imperfective *-jU bülüge* / *a-juɣu* and the future in the past *-QU bü-lüge / a-juɣu,* which could also be used in habitual contexts, were used for past imperfectivity. Perfective notions were covered by the simple perfective pasts *-bA*, *-lUGA* and *-jUGU*, differing from each other evidentially; the present and past perfect *-GsAn* and *-GsAn bü-lüge* / *a-juɣu*; the resultative-progressive *-jU a-mu* in the present; and *-jU bü-lüge* / *a-juɣu* in the past and the resultative *-GA (bülüge)*. Separate notions such as the future -QU, inceptivity as expressed by some constructions containing *-QU bol-*, and the aspectually unclear marker *-d* are also discussed, with the overall goal of showing for the first time how these different markers formed a system.

The scope of this paper is limited to indicative final verbal predicates. It excludes aspect marking in non-finite clauses [§200, 8144: *Öreele kilgün bol-ulca-ju a-asu* '[Now] that he have become to each other like the shafts of a cart'); clauses ending in non-indicative mood suffixes [§225, 9365: *minqa mede-jü a-tuqai* lit. 'he be commanding a thousand,' i.e. 'let him be in command of a thousand') and non-verbal predicates. As interrogative and most negated clauses are based on finite verbs, clauses with interrogative clitics or negational adverbs are included.[2]

The order of this paper is as follows: In section 1, the inventory of morphemes and morpheme combinations that constitute the aspectual system of MM is discussed. Section 2 introduces the corpus. Then, the imperfective and perfective domains are discussed in section 3 and 4, respectively. Conclusions are drawn in section 5.[3]

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[2] The transcription of the Secret History of the Mongols (SH) used here is the one by John Street made public in 2013 at https://mywebspace.wisc.edu/jcstreet/web in version 24. I worked with version 23g, but removed some annotations concerning syntax and derivational morphology. Morpheme boundaries differ in a few instances. Amendations of the transcriber were accepted without further notice. The first information provided is the paragraph number necessary to locate the translation. The four-digit code following it consists of, first, the number of the chapter (X, Y, Z representing chapters 10, 11, 12), second and third, the leaf number and, forth, the line number (0-4 recto, 5-9 verso). Thereafter, the source of the translation is mentioned, with slight modifications of my own, which are indicated by cursive letters. If a translation was modified substantially, no source is given. Words in translations that have no direct equivalent in the original sentence are sometimes added in square brackets. If the translation is not mine, neither are these insertions. As the SH is the source used most extensively in this paper, only paragraph and line number are provided, while the abbreviation for the source, "SH", is skipped.

[3] I want to express my gratitude to John Street, who not only helped me with a number of helpful suggestions and corrections for this paper, but in his many publications on MM impressed me with a precision and meticulousness to which this paper can only aspire. I am grateful to Volker Rybatzki, too, who provided me with the preliminary version of his dictionary of MM, thereby greatly facilitating the glossing of rare or ancient words.

1. Inventory

As in all Mongolic languages, morphological verbs forms in MM can be divided into non-finite converbs, facultatively finite participles, as well as finite indicative forms and mood forms such as imperatives. Sentence-final predicates can maximally consist of: 1. a verb stem; 2. the converbal suffixes *-n* and *-jU* plus a copula verb stem; 3. a participial suffix plus copula; and 4. a finite or participial suffix. Only the positions 1 and 4 are obligatory, and if position 3 is occupied, position 4 can only be occupied by a finite suffix. **Finite indicative suffixes** in MM are as follows:

Table 1: Finite indicative suffixes in MM [adapted from Rybatzki 2003: 75]

	citation form	variants	U=Ch=Ph	A
progr.-habitual	*-mU*	*-m, -mU, -mUi*	X	X
generic	*-yU*	*-yU, -yi*	X	
?progressive	*-nAm*	*-nAm*		X
past factual	*-bA*	*-bA, -bi, -bAi*	X	X
past firsthand	*-lUGA*	*-lUGA, -lUGAi, -liGi*	X[4]	
past non-firsth.	*-jUGU*	*-JUGU, -JUGUi, -JiGi, -JiGAi*	X	

Table 1 shows the distribution of suffixes and their variants in different sources in the U(yghur), Ph(ags-pa) and A(rabic) scripts and in Ch(inese) characters. The Chinese and Uyghur materials include many different sources and styles, including the Secret History of the Mongols (SH), which was transmitted in Chinese letters, while Phags-pa documents mainly consist of edicts and Arabic documents of dictionaries with isolated example sentences. Except for *-m*, which is restricted to 14th century dictionaries, different variants of suffixes are probably due to the categories male singular, female singular and plural. This has been established most firmly for the past perfective forms, especially the factual past with male singular *-bA*, female singular *-bi* and plural *-bAi* [Ozawa 1961, Tümenceceg 1990, Street 2008: 408-20; Mandaqu et al. 1997: 491-4 make a claim about present forms].[5]

[4] Rybatzki does not list *-lUGA* for documents in Uyghur script, but even if the somewhat grammaticalized *bü-lüge* 'was' and *keme-le* 'said' are not counted, the Stone of Cinggis Qan, Xiao Jing, the Sino-Mongol inscription of 1335, and Gasan's letter to Pope Boniface from 1302 contain one instance of *-lUGA* each.

[5] Reconstructing proto-forms for these suffixes is usually not an easy task. As Toγtambayar [2012: 171-85] suggests, *-mUi* probably goes back to *-n bu-yu* or *-n bu-i* where the locative meaning of the copula plus the ancient generic suffix *-yu* were reinterpreted into present tense. Note that this explanation seems to require that *-i* was reanalyzed as a plural marker at a later stage, possibly in analogy with pre-existing verbal or adjectival paradigms. Toγtambayar further suggests *-mUi* > *-m* / *-nAm* > *-nA*, but a sound change to directly convert *-mUi* into *-nam* seems unlikely. Rather, *-nAm* was an innovation of the Arabic texts, and thus the west-

There are also the rare suffix *-d* and the fairly frequent but distributionally restricted suffix *-i/u*. While Rybatzky [2003: 76-7] classifies the latter as a participial suffix, I am uncertain as to whether all copula forms classified here indeed show an attributive use; however, an attributive use of *-d* might also have existed."

The participial suffixes of MM were *-GsAn* (*-GsAd*); *-Gci* (*-Gcin*, late MM *-Gcid*); *-QU* (*-QUi*, *-QUn*); and *-GA* (*-GAi*).[6] The variants can be accounted for as plural forms occasionally extended to exalt subjects or insult them with sarcasm. *-QU* vs. *-QUi* might be exceptional in drawing distinctions between future and present. According to Bayarmendü [1986], 86.3% of *-QU* forms in the SH have future and 86.5% of *-QUi* forms present-time reference.[7] *-QU* frequently occurs in sentence-final position and so does the much rarer *-GA*, whereas *-GsAn* and *-QUi* are only rarely used sentence-finally. *-Gci* already appears to refer to the agent and is basically absent from sentence-final predications.

The copulas used in MM were *a-* (< 'exist, be located' < 'live, be alive') and *bü-*[8] (< 'exist, be located', arguably also 'stop doing') [Nasunurtu 1989: 90-6]. The copula *bayi-* (< 'exist, be located' < 'stop+stand') found in all modern Central Mongolic varieties had not yet emerged [cf. Secen 1993: 39-40], and even the peripheral copula-like *bolai*, based on the stem *bol-* 'become' and the suffix *-u/i*, is not attested for non-dynamic uses in early MM texts [cf. Secen 1993: 46-8, Secen 1989]. Both *a-* and *bü-* have an incomplete paradigm, but while *a-* (as copula and as a full verb) is lacking only the zero imperative, the semantically bleached *bü-* is not attested with *-bA*, *-mU*, *-Gci* and *-GA*; the converbal suffixes *-n*, *-bAcU* and *-GsAGAr*; and the

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ernmost dialects of MM can be analyzed as consisting of the converb *-n*, the recent copula *a-* and the recent suffix *-mU* or *-m*. Its genesis would have exactly paralleled the genesis of *-mUi*, except that semantically less bleached morphemes were used. The third form that allows for reasonable guessing is *-jUGU*. Bese [1970: 29-30] reconstructs *-jU.GU* as [converbum] "imperfecti" and [participium] "futuri.potential". The morphemes are probably identified correctly, but no variety of Mongolic allows a converb and a participle to combine freely. Assuming *-JU a-QU(i)* would solve the problem, but this requires making the problematic assumption that the copula use of *a-* is older than *-jUGU* itself. Imperfective converb plus copula would be a strange source for non-firsthand perfective semantics, but the meaning of *-jU* plus copula was perfective in MM (see 4.1.2). This indicates a resultative construction from which a secondhand marker could have emerged in a cross-linguistically common way [Aikhenvald 2004: 279-81].

[6] Rybatzki [2003: 76-7] also lists *-dAG*, but as Bayarmendü [1986: 50-1] correctly points out, it behaves like a deverbal adjective in MM. *-dAG* is rare, doesn't take direct objects and [as Matsuoka 2008: 126-8 notes] might have been a Turkic loan.

[7] Street [1957: 18] had previously noted that SH *-QU* expresses future, while *-QUi* is unmarked for time. Bayarmendü [1986] states that the use of *-QU* for future is down to 60% in later MM sources.

[8] The nature of the vowel in *bü-* is highly problematic [see Nasunurtu 1989: 96-9], varying as it does between *ü, ö, u, i*, but the distribution of these vowels is complementarily tied to particular suffixes, so this need not concern us here.

moods *-yA*, *-dQUn*/*-GtUn* and *-sUGAi* [Ozawa 1965: 92-3, Nasunurtu 1989: 100].[9] However, *bü-* is much more common (60-100:1) with *-yU* and *-lUGA*, and *a-* with *-jUGU* [Nasunurtu 1989: 99-100, 104], and it is *bol-* rather than *a-* (at 50:1) that combines with the most frequent past suffix *-bA* [Ozawa 1965: 94, Street 2009: 130].[10] *a-* tends to combine with *-QU*, whereas *bü-* is much more common with *-QUi* [Ozawa 1965: 95].

The periphrastic constructions of MM, as is equally true for all of Mongolic studies, have not been the subject of much research. Matsuoka [2008] analyzes them as combinations of converbs plus copulas without suffixes, assuming that aspect and tense[/evidentiality] can be strictly separated. For the SH, he gives the following form count for quoted speech within the narrative and non-quoted, narrative sentences:

Table 2: Combinations of converbs/participles with auxiliary roots in the SH [Matsuoka 2008: 146]

	-n bü-	*-n a-*	*-jU bü-*	*-jU a-*	*-QU bü-*	*-QU a-*	*-GsAn bü-*	*-GsAn a-*	sum
quoted	44	37	30	45	57	4	10	5	232
other	29	14	23	6	9	1	1	8	91
sum	73	51	53	51	66	5	11	13	323
	124		104		71		24		

Table 2 shows that progressives in *-n* are the most frequent non-finite aspectual construction, followed by resultative-progressives in *-jU*, relative futures in *-QU* and past perfects in *-GsAn*. It also indicates that some combinations such as *-jU a-* and *-GsAn bü-* are relatively more frequent in direct speech

[9] *-Gci* and *-bAcU* are only listed by Ozawa; *-QtUn* is only listed by Nasunurtu. Following Ozawa, my listing assumes *bui* and *amu(i)* to paradigmatically correspond. The rare *-d* appears to be attested with neither form.

[10] While combinations of *a-* with uncommon suffixes mostly represent its use as a full verb, the letter of Argun to Nikolai IV of 1290 contains the following sentence in which *a-ba* cannot mean 'lived sending' but rather means 'was sending.' Yet, this combination cannot be considered part of the aspectual system of MM as represented in larger texts.

> *ta kiristan irgen-dür ada büü kür-tügei keme-jü kedün-te ba*
> 2PL Christian people-DAT3 evil NEG.IMP reach-3IMP say-PFV.C several-times FOC
> *duɣul-ɣa-n ilci-n ile-ged [ü]g[ü]le-ci kü **ile-n***
> listen-CAUS-CVB messenger-PL send-CVB.then speak-V>N FOC send-CVB
> ***a-ba** je.*
> COP2-PST.FC IP
> 'vous avez aussi à plusieurs reprises, nous faisant des communications, envoyé des ambassadeurs et dépêché des porteurs de messages verbaux disant: "Que du mal ne soit pas fait aux peuples chrétiens!"' [Mostaert and Cleaves 1952: 451, cf. 461 for reconstructing *ügüleci* from the illegible deverbal substantive *[...]g[...]le-ci*]

than in narrative contexts, and that *-QU a-* is rare in general. Such phenomena become clearer when the finite suffixes are also included in the picture:

Table 3: Combinations of converbs/participles with inflected auxiliaries in MM [cf. Nasunurtu 1989: 109-10]

	-n	*-jU*		*-GsAn*	*-QU(i)*
bu-yu	17	0	*bü-lüge*	3	73
a-mu	1	17	*a-juɣu*	68	4
sum	18	17		71	77

If converbal constructions are non-past, there is a strong tendency for *-n* to combine with *bu-yu* (and thus, importantly, it combines with *-yU* rather than *-mU*), and the reverse holds for *-jU*. The participle *-GsAn* has a strong tendency to combine with *a-juɣu* rather than *bü-lüge*; the reverse holds true for *-QU*. Moreover, the SH does not contain a single instance in which a present copula directly follows a participle. Apparently, it is combinations of forms that need to be investigated. The core inventory of contrasting aspect markers in sentence-final position in the sources that were evaluated (see section 2) consists of the following forms (plus plural and gender variants):

Table 4: Temporal, aspectual and evidential form inventory of MM

Imperfective	Perfective
-mU	*-JUGU*
-yU	*-lUGA*
	-bA
-QU	*-GA*
-QUi	*-GsAn*
-d	
-QU bol-ba	
-QU(i) bü-lüge	*-GsAn a-juɣu / bü-lüge*
	-GA bü-lüge
-n bu-yu	*-jU a-mu*
-n bü-lege / a-juɣu	*-jU bü-lüge / a-juɣu*

The newer finite verb *-nam* that seems to have emerged in the West in the 14th century was excluded from this analysis, as it did not reach the other MM areas and is only attested in lexicon entries. Due to the very limited material available for *-i/u* with non-copula verbs, this form was not included either, even though the copula form *bu-i* will be mentioned occasionally in the discussion.

2. Corpus

Given what was previously known about the inventory of MM, a set of MM texts had to be selected from MM sources to investigate the functions of this inventory. Because surviving MM texts are relatively few, an electronically readable corpus containing texts, reading variants and translations would have made it possible to analyze the entire corpus. As such a corpus does not exist as yet, a subset of materials had to be selected. Due to their formulaic nature, decrees in Phagspa script and dictionaries in Arabic script could not contribute much to this study, leaving me with the texts in Mongol and Han script. Texts that were fully analyzed are as follows:

- the Secret History of the Mongols (SH), by far the largest, stylistically most diverse and best-analyzed MM text, which mainly narrates the life of Cinggis Qan[11]
- four of the Sino-Mongol inscriptions (SMI 1335, 1338, 1346, 1362), which are largely secondhand narratives about the lives of important vassals of the Yuan court that were embedded in firsthand notes by the authors and translators
- the Mongol version of the Xiao Jing (XJ), a Confucian writing about timeless social relations (translated within the Yuan period)

Some additional sources were used eclectically. For instance, the Subhāṣitaratnanidhi, the MM translation of a Buddhist scripture from Tibetan that consists of several hundred wise sayings in four stanzas each, was an important source for generic and habitual meanings, but no other verbal forms from it were evaluated.

3. Imperfective domain

The imperfective domain consists of the generic *-yU;* the progressive-habitual *-mU;* the present progressive *-n buyu*; the past progressive *-n büge / a-juɣu*; the future *-QU*; the complex forms *-QU(i) bü-lüge* and *-QU bol-ba;* and possibly the suffix *-d,* which, beyond the meaning of plural, is semantically unclear. These markers will be discussed in this order.

[11] The year in which the SH was written is subject to ongoing debate. De Rachewiltz (2008) argues that most of it was written in 1229, while Atwood (2007) argues that it was written in its entirety in 1252. Even 1228, 1240 and 1264 have been suggested by scholars (see discussion in de Rachewiltz 2004).

3.1 The generic *-yU* and the progressive-habitual *-mU*

Previous research. No specialized studies seem to exist for the finite verbal suffixes *-yU* and-*mU*. Street [1957: 17-8] and Manduqu et al. [1997: 491-4] just call both "non-past." Poppe [1954: 91-2] considers *-mU* to be a normal non-past and *-yU* to be a "deductive present" that "expresses actions considered a logical result of previous actions or antitheses to the latter," which is denied by Bosson [1969: 21] for all of MM. Toɣtambayar [2012: 177-9] argues that *-yU* is used to represent actions and customs in a timeless, abstract way, while *-mU* is said to refer to present and future. Nasunurtu [1989, cf. Ozawa 1965: 104] perceives *a-mU* and *bu-yu* as harmonious combinations of copula and suffix expressing a modal category of objectivity (without referring to one's own perception of the action, possibly implying suddenness) and subjectivity (reference to the subject's personal perception of the action), respectively, but he doesn't analyze *-yU* and *-mU* on their own or example clauses in detail.

Corpus representation. The frequency of *-yU* and *-mU* in the SH is quite similar (86 vs. 109 tokens) but excluding copula verbs shows significant differences. The ratio of *bu-yu* vs. *a-mU* is 59 vs. 16 tokens, leaving a ratio of 27:93 (1:3̨4) for *-yU* vs. *-mU* with other verbs. *A priori* including *bu-yu* in the analysis of *-yU* would thus be inappropriate. In contrast, the ratio in the philosophical XJ (excluding *bu-yu* and *bu-i*, including *a-yu*; *a-mU* does not occur) is 18:4 (4,5:1) in favor of *-yU*. Likewise, *-yU* predominates in the Subhāṣitaratnanidhi.

Uses of *-yU*. *-yU* occurs in main clauses of conditional sentences. The protasis marked with the conditional converbal suffix *-bAsU* specifies a generic condition from which a particular consequence follows *with necessity*. This use is especially frequent in the XJ, accounting for 30-32 of 41 total uses of *-yU*:[12]

(1) *ede=ger* *üile-s-i* *irgen-i* ***jasa-basu*** *irgen_oryan*
DPROX.PL=FOC act-PL-ACC people-ACC order-COND.C people
coɣ *jali-d-aca* *ayu-ju* *aɣali_aburi* *in-u* ***taɣala-yu***,
sparkle flame-DAT2-ABL fear-PVF.C character 3SG-GEN love-GN
üligerle-jü ***enggesige-yü***.
take.as.model-PVF.C put.on.rouge? [13]-GN[14]

[12] In the two unclear cases, the conjunction *tula* 'because' is between *-bAsU* and *-yU*.

[13] There's a noun *engeseg* 'rouge' in Khalkha, but as nominals cannot directly convert to verb stems in MM, one would expect an additional suffix as a means of derivation here.

[14] By and large, the glossings in this paper follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules. Diverging glosses are the following: 1H - direct sensory perception, 2H - inference or hearsay, FC - factual; GN - generic, VOL - voluntative (mood), .P - participial suffix, .C (next to cvb) - converbal suffix, CVB.PRAEP - converbum praeparativum (the meaning of this morpheme is somewhat

'If he [can] manage these deeds and the people, the people will be awed by [his] glory and will love his virtue. They will take him as a model and imitate him.' [XJ 20b:6-21a:2, de Rachewiltz 1982: 46]

(2) *Qoyar gürdü-tey tergen nököe gürdü-ben* ***ququra-asu***
two wheel-POSS cart other wheel-RPOSS break-COND.C
newü-n yada-yu.
move-CVB can.NEG-GN
'If a two-wheel cart breaks *its* second wheel, it cannot move.' [§177, 6233-34, de Rachewiltz 2004: 97]

In agreement with Toɣtambayar's analysis, *-yU* occurs in individual-level predications such as (3) and generic predications as in (4) to (7), including in the necessary results of causes, as in (6) and (7):

(3) *Ecige min-u Naqu bayan* ***kee-gde-yü***
father 1SG-GEN N. rich say-PASS-GN
'My father is called Naqu the rich.' [§90, 2298-99]

(4) *boɣda sayi-d öber-ün gem-iyen* ***üje-yü***
holy good-PL self-GEN fault-RPOSS see-GN
maɣu-i kümün busu-d-un gem-i ***eri-yü***
bad-PL person other-PL-GEN fault-ACC seek-GN
'The saintly see their own faults / The knaves seek the faults of others.' [Subhāṣitaratnanidhi §109, Bosson 1969: 224]

(5) *ɣarudi sibaɣun qoro-tu moɣai-yi* ***ala-yu*** */ turaɣun ülü*
garuda bird poison-POSS snake-ACC kill-GN jackdaw NEG.IPFV
cida-yu
can-GN
'The garuda bird kills the poisonous snake; the jackdaw cannot.' [Subhāṣitaratnanidhi §4, Bosson 1969: 201]

(6) *Tende Uruud Maŋqud kee-n irgen in-u bu-y.*
there U. M. say-CVB people 3SG-GEN COP1-*i/u*
Tede irgen in-u qadqu-ldu-muy je. Toori-quy ***tutum***
DDIST.PL people 3SG-GEN stab-RECP-IPVF IP turn-FUT.P every.time
toyi ***joki-yu***. *Derelgü-gü* ***tutum*** *dem* ***joki-yu***.
battle.array fit-GN turn.around?-FUT.P every.time order? fit-GN
'(Ong Qan asked Jamuqa about those people on the side of the enemy who were likely to fight hard. Jamuqa answered:) There are his people called the Uru'ut and Mangqut; those people of his *will fight indeed*: Every time they turn about / Their battle array holds / Every time they

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unclear, but see Öljeyibürin 1989 for a first analysis), COP1/2 - copula (in the forms *bü-*/*a-*), RECP - reciprocal (both for *-ldu-* and *-lca-*); IP - illocutionary particle, EX.NEG - existential negation, DIM - diminutive, ATTR - attributive, RPOSS - reflexive-possessive, DDIST - distal demonstrative, DPROX - proximal demonstrative, DAT1/2/3 - dative-locative (*-a*/*-da*/*-dur*) for differences between the three morphemes, see especially Toɣtaqu 1987).

wheel round, too / Their ranks hold.' [§170, 6032-6035, de Rachewiltz 2004: 90]

(7) ***tegü-ber*** *aɣali_aburi-ban soyül_surɣal-i bütü-ge-ged*
DDIST-INS character-RPOSS teaching-ACC become.complete-CAUS-PFV.C
ulus-un üile-yi ba tungɣaɣa-n ***cida-yu***
state-GEN action-ACC FOC promulgate-CVB can-GN
'Therefore, having perfected his virtue and teaching, he *[the sage ruler]* is also able to promulgate (carry out) the affairs of state.' [XJ 21a:2-4, immediately after (1), de Rachewiltz 1982: 46]

Note that (6) employs a temporal construction with some similarities to conditionals and that (7) is a necessary consequence not within a conditional, but within a causal sentence. On the other hand, *-yU* does not appear to be used in merely habitual, attitudinal and potential predications [see Bertinetto and Lenci 2012 for these categories].

The use in rhetorical questions as in (8) below, the almost identical Z318 and the additional Y238 doesn't in any obvious way seem to follow from the generic meaning discussed above. A detailed investigation would require additional material.

(8) *Jusurid-cu yeki-n teyin šiliun aqa*
flatter-PVF.C do.what-CVB so upright elder.brother
deü-yü-en ulki-n jiŋkü-n ***ügüle-yü***
younger.brother-ACC-RPOSS backbite-CVB slander-CVB speak-GN
'[At these words of Jamuqa, Gürin Ba'atur of the Ubciq said,] "How can you speak so deceitfully, backbiting and slandering of your upright brother?"' [§160, 5309-5311, de Rachewiltz 2004: 81]

The only instances of *-yU* in the SH outside of quoted speech are three instances of *bu-yu*. One is a complement of the verb 'know' [2395-96]; one is strictly *-n bu-yu* [1202]. The last instance is the unclear (9). There are two debatable past uses in the XJ presented in (10), but one might argue that if the preconditions of the past still obtained, the causal relationship would still hold and that we are thus dealing with regular generic conditionals.

(9) *Üje-esü qaqca güün metü* ***bu-yu***.
see-COND.C single person like COP1-GN
'[Then, a moment later, another man approached. He advanced and drew closer, his feet dangling under him; yet,] when one looked, it *was* like a single person. [When he came up and drew to a halt, it was Boroqul mounted double behind Öködei] *[the latter being seriously wounded]'* [§173, 6136, de Rachewiltz 2004: 93]

(10) *ecige eke-dür in-u tabiɣla-n cida-juɣui.* ***egün-ü***
father mother-DAT3 3SG-GEN serve-CVB can-PST.2H DPROX-GEN

siltaɣa-bar *esen* *bü-küi-dür* *ecige* *eke-yin* ***sedkil***
reason-INS healthy COP1-FUT.P-DAT3 father mother-GEN mind
amu-yu *taqil* *taqi-basu* *sür-tür* *an-u* ***kür-te-yü***.
rest-GN sacrifice sacrifice-COND.C soul-DAT3 3PL-GEN arrive-PASS-GN
tegü-ber *delekei* *ulus* *joqira-ju* *tübsigeridü-ged* *ada*
DDIST-INS world people suit-PVF.C pacify?-CVB.then misfortune
tüligen *ülü* *bolu-n* *todqor-tu* *samaɣu* *üile-s*
adversity NEG.IPFV become-CVB calamity-POSS disturbance act-PL
ese *kü* *edü-jügü.*
NEG.PFV FOC start-PST.2H

'*... he [the servant in the days when the enlightened rulers of old were still governing the world by means of the norm of filiality] was* able to render service to his parents *[i.e. his masters]*. Because of this, when they were alive, the parents had peace of mind; [and when they were dead,] if one offered a sacrifice to them, *it* attained to their spirits. Therefore, the world was in harmony and peace, and as there were no calamities, noxious and troublesome affairs did not, indeed, arise.'[XJ 15a:3-15b:3, de Rachewiltz 1982: 45]

Uses of *-mU*. As noted by Matsuoka [2008: 118-22],[15] *-mU* can yield present reference with both states and activities. Reference both to activities as on-going, as in (11) and (12), or as stretching over a long period in time (either habitual as in (13) and (14), or attitudinal, as in (15)) is quite frequent:

(11) *Eke* *eke* *öter* *bos-Ø.* *Qajar* ***derbelü-müy;*** *tübüriün*
mother mother quick rise-IMP ground tremble-IPVF sound.of.feet
sonos-ta-mU
hear-PASS-IPVF
'[Old Qoaqcin ... got up and said,] "Mother, mother, rise up quickly! The earth is shaking and one can hear the sound of trembling hoofs ..."' [§98, 2425-27, de Rachewiltz 2004: 31)

(12) *Edöe* *noqa-n-u* *dawun* *idüre-küy* *qucal* ***quca-mUy***.
now dog-PL-GEN sound arrive.CAUS(<Turkic)-FUT.P bark bark-IPVF
'(You have cut off the dead [qan's] head and brought it here; the next [thing] you [do is to] crush it to pieces. This is not right. The sound of our dogs' barking has turned nasty. Inanca Bilge Qan [formerly] said: "...") Now the sound of the dogs is barking a [gloomy] bark of [what] you have [just] caused to arrive [in the future]' [§189, 7105-06, translation of text preceding example from de Rachewiltz 2004: 111]

(13) *Üdür* *büri* *man-tur* *ire-jü* *esügcile-jü*
every day 1PL.EXCL-DAT3 come-PVF.C drink.kumis-PVF.C

[15] Matsuoka talks of "zero" as he contrasts *-mU* with analytic forms, but as he does not look at *-yU*, I take these statements as pertaining to *-mU*.

od-umu. *Söni maqa qaa qono-[suffix missing]*
proceed-IPVF night actually? where spend.night-[?]
a-juu. *Hörene ümere-ece key bol-uasu qarciqay-bar*
COP2-PST.2H west north-ABL air become-COND.C hawk-INS
bari-ul-uqsan noqu-d qalawu-d-un ödün hüsün an-u
grab-CAUS-PRF.P duck-PL goose-PL-GEN feather fluff 3PL-GEN
burqaliq casun metü butara-ju ***keyis-cü*** ***ire-mü***.
swirling snow like scatter-PVF.C fly.with.wind-PVF.C come-IPVF
'Every day he comes to us, drinks kumis, then leaves. Where he spends the night no one really knows; but when the wind blows from the north-west, the fluff and feathers of the ducks and geese caught by his hawk are scattered and *come flying* over here like swirling snow.' [§31, 1193-97, de Rachewiltz 2004: 6]

(14) *edüge-ki Monggol irgen bicig erdem ese ber*
today-ATTR M. people script science NEG.PFV FOC
sur-basu *nige-ken üge ügüle-kü dütüm üile üi[l]edü-kü*
learn-COND.C one-DIM word say-FUT.P each.time deed do-FUT.P
dütüm erten-ü sece-d sayi-d[-un] üile-dür toqiyaldu-n
each.time early-GEN wise-PL good-PL[-GEN] deed-DAT3 agree-CVB
neyil-mü
unite-IPVF
'Although the present Mongolian people do not study the [Chinese] classics, each time they speak [but] a single word or each time they perform an action, they are in accord with the actions of the wise and good of antiquity. (If one say, "What [is] the reason?" it must be that they have, indeed, been born by the destiny of Heaven.)' [SMI 1338:17-18, Cleaves 1951: 69]

(15) *Basa bida elci-n haul-urun ulus bitü-ül-ün*
also 1PL.INCL messenger-PL haste-CVB.PRAEP people roam-CAUS-CVB
haul-qa-mUy. *Haul-qu-n elci-n-ü ba yabudal udaan*
haste-CAUS-IPVF haste-FUT.P-PL messenger-PL-GEN FOC movement slow
bu-y.
COP1-*i/u*
'Further, when the messengers ride in haste, we make them ride in haste, [but] let them roam among the people. The movement of these hasty messengers is slow.' [§279, Z489-90]

Individual-level or generic predications do not seem to be attested with *-mU* in the SH or the SMIs. There are, however, 93 uses of *-mU* in the Subhāṣitaratnanidhi,[16] and some of these are used in sentences exactly parallel to sentences in which *-yU* is used. This often happens in conditional clauses [e.g. §§127, 130, 132] but is not restricted to them:

[16] Bosson does not provide a count for *-yU*, but given that there are 457 stanzas apparently with zero to four instances of *-yU* each, *-yU* appears to be about ten times as frequent as *-mU*.

(16) *maɣu-i ijaɣur-ta-n busu-d-un sayin-iyar bolu-ɣsan-i öber-ün*
bad-PL root-POSS-PL other-PL-GEN good-INS become-PRF.P-ACC self-GEN
erdem-e toɣa-yu luu-s-un kiciye-jü oro-ɣulu-ɣsan
merit-DAT1 count.as-GN dragon-PL-GEN strive-PVF.C enter-CAUS-PRF.P
qora-yi tariyacin öber-ün öljei keme-n ***sedki-müi***
rain-ACC farmer self-GEN fortune say-CVB think-IPVF
'Those of base origins consider what has come about through the goodness of others as their own attainment. The farmer thinks that the rain the nãgas have exerted themselves to bring is his own good fortune.' [Subhāṣitaratnanidhi §157, Bosson 1969: 235]

However, *-yU* is used to indicate a general rule, while only the exemplary instance takes *-mU*, thus preserving a semantic difference even here. Some of the exemplifications in the Subhāṣitaratnanidhi clearly refer to particular events or stories, and the statement about the farmer *can* be construed as specific.

Future time reference of *-mU*? Both Toɣtambayar [2012: 178] and Matsuoka [2008: 120-1] claim there to be future uses of *-mU*. The latter even claims that future is the most conventional meaning of *-mU* with activities. However, this must be taken with a grain of salt. Future uses do occur, but only in a number of specifiable conditions, namely, preceding the particle *je* and in conditional sentences. The meaning of the particle *je* still requires a more detailed analysis: it might turn out to be either epistemic (high probability, necessity) or illocutionary ('you can trust me that ...'). There are a few instances containing *-mU je* that might be analyzed as referring to either future or present [X216, Y314], but while there are a number of clear instances with future reference, no clear instances with present reference are found. The use with conditional clauses differs from how *-yU* would be used in similar contexts. For instance, the condition-consequence relation in (18) appears to be meant to pertain to a specific general of Cinggis Qan during a specific campaign. In contrast to Confucius in (1), Cinggis is not raising the relation between condition and consequence to a law of nature. (19) is specific as well. It is worthwhile to point out that SH *-mU* in questions such as (20) does not refer to the future.

(17) *sayin aɣali_aburi uruɣ-un uruɣ-a barasi_ügei tusa*
good character kin-GEN kin-DAT1 without.stopping help
bolumu j-e
become-IPVF IP
'good character will be of unceasing help for generation upon generation' [SMI 1335:12-13]

(18) *Bidan-i ecine ber bö-esü ile metü qolo ber bö-esü*
1PL-ACC behind FOC be-COND.C clear like far FOC be-COND.C
oyira metü sedki-jü yabu-asu deere teŋgeri-de ber
near like feel-PVF.C go-COND.C above heaven-DAT2 FOC
ihee-gde-müy ***je*** *ta*
protect-PASS-IPVF IP 2PL
'If you constantly think that even though We are out of sight it is as if visible, and even though We are far as if We were near, you <u>will</u> also <u>be protected</u> by Heaven Above.' [§199, 8107-10, de Rachewiltz 2004: 128]

(19) *Qahan soyurqa-asu nama-yi güün-e bodo-da*
Khan deign-COND.C 1SG-ACC person-DAT1 substance?-DAT2
bol-qa-ju ***asara-mU****.*
become-CAUS-PVF.C care-IPVF
'If the Qa'an[17] shows favor to me, he will regard me as a human being and something of value and <u>take care</u> of me.' [§155, 5225-26]

(20) *"Yau* ***saara-mUy****. Nidün-ü ecine ge-dkün"*
what diminish/weaken-IPVF eye-GEN behind cast-IMP.PL
kee-be. Tedü gü mökörі-ül-bAy.
say-PST.FC similar FOC perish-CAUS-PST.FC.PL
'"Why <u>hesitate</u>? Cast him out of my sight!" He was cut down immediately.' [§154, 5264-65, de Rachewiltz 2004: 79], more lit. 'What <u>is weakening / restraining</u> us? (...)'

Several examples that are neither preceded by conditional clauses nor followed by *je* such as (21) show potential ambiguity between present imperfective and future reference; however, it might be the case that all are imperfective. On the basis of this evidence, I tentatively conclude that *-mU* alone is incapable of expressing future.

(21) *Nayman-u Taya qan qor cin-u ab-ura*
N.-GEN T. qan quiver 2SG-GEN take-CVB.in.order
ire-müy*. Nama-yi baraun qar bol-Ø kee-jü*
come-IPVF 1SG-ACC west hand become-IMP say-PVF.C

[17] Note that *Qan* for the lord of a clan and *Qa'an* for the head of a major empire are different titles. Cinggis received the title *Qan* during his lifetime but was only made *Qa'an* posthumously. The SH (that is, if we presume it was written in 1228 or 1229) was edited later, and *Qan* was replaced by *Qa'an* almost throughout (cf. de Rachewiltz 2004: 222, 457-62, 466-7, 759-60). When talking of Temüjin, I refer to him as Cinggis *Qan*.

ire-jüü;[18] *bi* *ese* *bol-BA.*
come-PST.2H 1SG NEG.PFV become-PST.FC
'Tayang Qan of the Naiman is coming (arguably not: 'will come') to take your quivers. He approached me saying that I should be the right wing, but I refused.' [§190, 7145-47, de Rachewiltz 2004: 112]

Past time reference? Another question is whether *-mU* can refer to the past [as claimed in passing by Aalto [1970: 14]. There are three cases of *-mU* with apparent past reference in non-quoted sentences. Except for (22), these occur in prophetic visions [3385-92, X280-82], but these passages are too short and lack any other past-referring forms that could be taken as the basis for an analysis. There is one intriguing example from quoted speech in (23) for which I have been unable to arrive at another explanation than a past imperfective one, but a better rendering of this example might be possible (note that both this example and 5360 contain a converbum praeparativum that might be part of the solution). The other, more numerous examples are instances of an extended reference time that includes both the time the event took place and the present [Klein 1994: 138]. Events in the more recent past, to which this use mostly pertains, are thus presented as part of the present. Most examples such as (24), 1213, 3306-09, 6047, X282 contain verbs of saying, but some other instances such as (25), X400 are found as well.

(22) *Naqu_bayan-u* *ger-tür* *gür-BA;* *Naqu_bayan* *köün-ben*
N.-GEN tent-DAT3 reach-PST.FC N. son-RPOSS
Boorcu-yi *jabqa-ju* *nisun* *nilbusu-bar* *a-juu.* *Genete*
B.-ACC lose-PVF.C mucus tear-INS COP2-PST.2H sudden
gür-te-jü *köü-ben* *üje-jü* *niken-te* ***uyila-mU***
reach-PASS-PVF.C son-RPOSS see-PVF.C one-times cry-IPVF
niken-te ***doŋqod-umu***.
one-times scold-IPVF
'They arrived at the tent of Naqu Bayan. Naqu Bayan, having lost his son Boorcu, was in tears. When he was suddenly arrived at [by them] and he saw his son, he both wailed and scolded.' (§93, 2346-48)

(23) *Qan qan* *bü-tügey.* *Ecine* *bü-gü* *köü* *eri-rün* *elbesün*
qan qan be-3IMP behind be-FUT.P son seek-CVB.PRAEP magic
jalama *ki-jü* *Abuy_babuy* *kee-n* *eri-n* ***jalbari-mUy***
magic.strip make-PVF.C A. say-CVB seek-CVB pray-IPVF
bida. *Edü-n* *törü-n* *bara-qsan* *köü* *Seŋgüm-i*
1PL.INCL that.much-PL be.born-CVB finish-PRF.P son S.-ACC

[18] This instance of *-jUGU* might pose a problem for the evidential analysis outlined in 4.1.1 below. The solution might be to interpret *-jUGU* as pertaining to *kee-* instead of *ire-*. Tayang Qan did not make this request in person, but relied on a messenger [cf. §190], so the speaker doesn't have actual firsthand knowledge that these words are Tayang Qan's.

asara-ya.
take.care-VOL
'Qan, Qan, desist! Pleading for a son who was yet to come, we made magic strips and uttered [the prayer] Abui babui - we prayed, pleading for him. So at last [your] son Senggüm was born, let us take care of him!' [§174, 6166-68, de Rachewiltz 2004: 94] [This sentence introduces a plea to Ong Qan not to try to finish off Cinggis Qan's forces now but to withdraw in order to be better able to take care of his wounded son Senggüm.]

(24) *köün-i ker tebci-sü* ***kee-müy*** *ta. Cida-n ele*
son-ACC how renounce-VOL say-IPVF 2PL can-CVB FOC
üyiled-üdkün ta. Mede-dkün
do-IMP.PL 2PL know-IMP.PL
'You say: "How shall we do away with the son?" Just do what you can - it is for you to decide.' [§167, 5446-48, de Rachewiltz 2004: 86] [Ong Qan is addressing his natural son, Senggüm, about how to kill his adopted son, Cinggis Qan.]

(25) *Yeki-gse-d Qoŋqotan tede. Öcigen Qasar-i*
do.what-PRF.P-PL Q. DDIST.PL yesterday Q.-ACC
ömöre-jü janci-ju gü bü-leey. Edöe basa ene
team.up-PVF.C beat-PVF.C FOC COP1-PST.1H now also DPROX
Odcigin-i yeki-n qoyina-ca-an ***sögöd-ge-müy****.*
O.-ACC do.what-CVB back-ABL-RPOSS kneel-CAUS-IPVF
'(Before Cinggis Qa'an could utter a sound, Lady Börte sat up in bed, covering her breasts with the edge of the blanket. Seeing Otcigin weep, she [herself] shed tears and said,) "What are those Qongqotan doing? They recently ganged up and beat Qasar. And now, why do they make this Otcigin kneel down behind them? ..."' [§245, X363-66, de Rachewiltz 2004: 171]

Evidentiality? Following the (inconclusive) studies on *bü-* and *a-* quoted above, one might ask whether there is an evidential difference between *-mU* and *-yU*. Judging from the examples discussed so far, this seems unlikely. (13) refers to firsthand visual knowledge, and (23) is likewise firsthand, while (25) refers to hearsay. Thus, *-mU* is evidentially neutral. As for *-yU*: while (3) and (6) refer to firsthand knowledge, (7) and (10) refer to circumstances that Confucius himself only knew from hearsay. Other modal distinctions could still exist, but concepts like subjectivity and objectivity do not constitute a linguistic domain, but much higher-level pragmatic phenomena [Mushin 2001]. Rather, the difference between a generic marker such as *-yU* and a progressive-habitual marker such as *-mU* may correspond to different epistemological nuances: generic statements are claimed to be very reliable by the speaker, while statements about activities in progress are less so.

Summary. Overall, *-yU* marks generic predications, while *-mU* refers to progressive or habitual contexts in MM. While some evidence remains unclear, no past reference can be established for *-yU*, and past reference that cannot explained as extended present time reference seems so rare for *-mU* as to be exceptional. Both forms can be used in conditionals, but these only specify generalizable rules with *-yU*. *-mU* can express future time reference both in conditionals and when followed by the particle *je*; these are *condiciones sine quibus non*. Both forms are purely tempo-aspectual without any evidential denotations.

3.2 The present progressive *-n bu-yu*

-n bu-yu appears to refer to events in progress, but compared to *-mU* this form is quite rare. If we confine our attention to the SH, *-n bu-yu* is used 8 times, compared to the 109 times that *-mU* is used. Among these, however, there are only 10 clear and 10 arguable instances of *-mU* referring to actions in progress, so *-n bu-yu* codes a significant percentage of progressive events. *-n bu-yu* / *bu-i* is frequent in some later documents such as the letter of Argun to Nicolas IV of 1290 and an undated poem (document no. 6, *ögülebesü jirubasu tamu-yi,* etc., too long to quote here) from Turfan.

(26) *Jöb=üü tab=uu* ***ügüle-n bu-yu***
right=Q ?=Q speak-CVB COP1-GN
‘(When he was told this, Ong Qan said, “How can you think such [things] about my son Temüjin? Until now we had him as our support, and if now we harbor such evil intentions towards my son, we shall not be loved by Heaven. Jamuqa has a glib tongue.) Is he speaking rightly, correctly?’ [§167, 5426-31, de Rachewiltz 2004: 85]

(27) *“Yaun güün-ü eme teyin* ***qayila-n bu-yu****” kee-n*
what person-GEN woman like.that cry-CVB COP2-GN say-CVB
asa-ura güün ile-be; tere güün od-cu
ask-CVB.in.order person send-PST.FC DDIST person proceed-PVF.C
asaq-basu tere eme güün ügüle-rün “Sorqan_šira-yin
ask-COND.C DDIST woman person say-CVB.PRAEP S.-GEN
ökin bi; Qadaan nere-tey. Ere-yi min-u ende ceri-üd
daughter 1SG Q. name-POSS male-ACC 1SG-GEN here soldier-PL
bari-ju ***ala-n bu-yu****. Ere-yü-en ala-qda-run*
grab-PVF.C kill-CVB COP2-GN male-ACC-RPOSS kill-PASS-CVB.PRAEP
Temüjin-i ere-yi min-u abura-tuqay kee-n uŋši-ju
T.-ACC male-ACC 1SG-GEN rescue-3IMP say-CVB call-PVF.C
qayila-ju uyila-BA bi´ kee-be.
cry-PVF.C cry-PST.FC 1SG say-PST.FC
‘(Cinggis Qa’an himself heard a woman in a red coat who, standing on tip of a ridge, was wailing loudly, crying “Temüjin!”) He sent a

man to inquire whose wife was the woman who was crying like that. The man went and, having asked her, that woman said, "I am the daughter of Sorqan Sira and my name is Qada'an. The soldiers here captured my husband and <u>*are killing*</u> him. As *I was undergoing the killing of my own husband*, I cried and wailed and called on Temüjin to save my husband."' [§146, 4455-4464, de Rachewiltz 2004: 67-68, Poppe 1965: 373-4]

(28) *[da]l[a]i-yin. busud ali be irgen öber-ün nom bicig-iyer*
ocean-GEN other who FOC people REFL-GEN scripture text-INS
jal[bari-qu-n] aran ***qudalciya-n*** ***jalbari-n*** ***bu-i***.
[worship-FUT.P-PL] subjects be.deceived?-CVB worship-CVB COP1-*i/u*
'Les autres peuples de l'univers, quels qu'ils soient, [étant des] gens qui prient selon leurs propres religion et écritures, <u>prient mensongèrement</u>.' [Argun to Nicolas IV 1290, Mostaert and Cleaves 1951: 451]

Apparently, *-n bu-yu* was an unambiguous device to express present progressivity, coexisting with its contracted form *-mu(i)* < *-n bu-i/-yu*, which had acquired additional habitual and contextually determinable future uses.

3.3 Past imperfective *-n a-juɣu* / *bü-lüge*

-n a-juɣu / *-n bü-lüge* seem to express general past imperfective meaning including both activities in progress at a past point of reference and past habitual contexts. The two forms differ from each other evidentially, as discussed in 4.1.1.

(29) Tere qurim bidan-aca Belgütey jasa-ad Ciŋgis
DDIST feast 1PL.INCL-ABL B. organize-PVF.C C.
qahan-u aqta bari-ju ***bayi-n*** ***bü-lee****; Jürki:n-ece*
Khan-GEN gelding grab-PVF.C stop+stand-CVB COP1-PST.1H J.-ABL
Büri_ bökö tere qurim ***jasa-n*** ***bü-lee***. *Bidan-u*
B. DDIST feast organize-CVB COP1-PST.1H 1PL.INCL-GEN
kirüese-ece Qadagiday güün cilbur qulaq-uqsan-i qulaqay
horse.station-ABL Q. person tether steal-PRF.P-ACC thief
bari-juuy. Büri_ bökö tere güü-ben hoyimas-cu ...
grab-PST.2H B. DDIST person-RPOSS protect?-PVF.C
'The feast had been arranged on our [side] by Belgütei. He <u>was standing</u> [outside the camp] keeping Cinggis Qa'an's geldings. From the Jürkin's side Büri Bökö <u>*was organizing*</u> the feast. A man of the Qadagin tribe stole a tether from our horse station. Belgütei caught the thief, but Büri Bökö took that man under his protection.' [§131, 4083-87, de Rachewiltz 2004: 55]

(30) *Daidu balɣasun-dur job ese bol-juɣu. An-u ordu*
Peking town-DAT3 right NEG.PFV become-PST.2H 3PL-GEN ordu

dotur-a aqa degü-yü-gen alda-ɣsan metü
in-DAT1 elder.brother younger.brother-ACC-RPOSS lose-PRF.P like
med[el]-ün irgen in-u ecige eke-yü-gen
[authority]-GEN people 3SG-GEN father mother-ACC-RPOSS
*keküdeglece-gsen sitü **emgeni-n a-juɣu**. kedün ödür-ün*
lose?-PRF.P[19] like grieve-CVB COP2-PST.2H some day-GEN
qoyin-a an-u balɣasun-u ɣadan-a emüne öröne jüg
after-DAT1 3PL-GEN town-GEN outside-DAT1 south east direction
Qon_si_ling dabaɣan-u uɣ-tur buɣu-ɣsan a-juɣu.
Q. pass-GEN foot-DAT3 lay.away-PRF.P COP2-PST.2H
'[When ...], he died in Beijing. Within their ordu they *were grieving* as if they had lost their elder or younger brother and the people of the district *were grieving* as if they had lost their father or mother. After several days, they buried [him] at the foot of Qon si ling, in the southwestern quarter outside of their city.' [SMI 1338: 9-10, Cleaves 1951: 68]

(31) *irgen imayi ecige [me/si]tü **kündüle-n a-juɣu** ... mön nasu*
people 3SG.ACC father like honour-CVB COP2-PST.2H same year
büri ügüler-ün namayi irgen mede-gül-ün
every speak-CVB.PRAEP 1SG.ACC people have.authority.over-CAUS-CVB
tüsi-besü. mön ene kü jasa-n cida-qu
appoint-COND.C same DPROX FOC organize-CVB can-FUT.P
*bü-lüge bi **keme-n a-juɣu**.*
COP1-PST.1H 1SG say-CVB COP2-PST.2H
'The people were honoring him like a father. ... He used to say every year: "If one had appointed me to govern the people, I would also have been able to administer [them] in the very same manner."' [SMI 1338: 3-5]

In (29), *-n bü-lüge* marks a temporary activity, pertaining to one particular person at one particular occasion. The predicates themselves are an "inceptive state" (cf. Breu 2005), *bayi-* 'stop+stand,' and an activity, *jasa-* 'organize.' Another presumably inceptive state is illustrated in (87) below. *emgeni-n a-juɣu* in (30) also refers to a temporally delimited event that is located in (while not necessarily confined to) the time span after the referent died, but before he was buried. (31) differs by presenting a habitual activity that reoccurred over several years, only ending with the death of the subject. This example seems to give a clear indication that *-n a-juɣu* functions not only as a past progressive, but as an imperfect past. While even the form *-QU bülüge*, which was discussed in 3.1.5, is used for past habitual situations, it

[19] Cleaves [1951: 81-3] discusses this word in some detail, but even if his explanation of the root and the daring metaphor he suggests should turn out to be correct, he doesn't have an explanation for the confusing third and fourth syllables. Therefore, my gloss follows the Chinese original.

might express a more specific potential meaning as well, thus avoiding identical semantics. Note that *-n a-ɣsan a-juɣu* appears to be an imperfective form as well, as discussed in 4.1.3.[20]

3.4 Future *-QU* and the form *-n a-qu*

The form *-QU* expresses future [cf. Rybatzki 2003: 77]. In the SH, it occurs at least 68 times in finite position, but only 14 of these uses are positive declaratives. 6 have passive morphology, but only 2 of these, which are based on intransitive verbs, can be interpreted deontically as 'one has to' [Poppe 1965: 371]. 16 future uses are negated declaratives, and the remaining 38 are questions. As elsewhere in the SH, these are usually rhetorical.

(32) *Merkidey caqaan Aman caqaan keer qoyar-i bari-ju*
M. white mouth? white steppe? two-ACC catch-PVF.C
abcira-Ø. Huya-ju söni erte ***morila-qu***
bring-IMP tether-PVF.C night early ride-FUT.P
'(Having spoken thus, Narin Ke'en also told Kišiliq, his horse-herder,) "Fetch and bring the white Merkit [horse] and the bay with the white muzzle, and tether them: tonight, towards daybreak, we'll ride out"' [§169, 5493-95, de Rachewiltz 2004: 87-88, cf. 612]

(33) *Teb_teŋgeri edöe* ***ire-gü.*** *Cida-quy-aca ker ba üyiled-üesü*
T. now come-FUT.P can-FUT.P-ABL what FOC do-COND.C
ci mede-Ø
2SG know-IMP
'Teb Tenggeri will come now. Know yourself what you [want to] do [to him] out of what you are able to do [to him]!' [§245, X379-80]

(34) *Delegey edöe belen bol-uqsan-tur nököce-jü yaun* ***tusa***
world now ready become-PRF.P-DAT3 befriend-PVF.C what help

[20] Matsuoka [2008: 108-11] assumes that *-n bü-* can refer to resultant states, but this is doubtful: *ayisun (gu) ajuu* [§120, 3340-41] might mean 'had even approached ~ had even come' at a point when Temüjin was mustering his people in the morning after his split from Jamuqa, but it is conceivable that even though both Temüjin with his people **and** his future vassals traveled through the night after his split, the future vassals were lagging behind. Having not been notified of Temüjin's split in advance, they might have started pursuing him only after his people had already departed, and only arrived in the morning when the proper subjects of Temüjin had already settled to rest. In the other example, *kituqay juqul-un bü-küy qar* (§214, 9141 and *kituqay juqul-uqsan qar* [9156] (both 'the hand that held the dagger') might refer to the same phase even if we do not assume a resultative meaning on the part of *-n bü-*, provided that one reconstructs the verbal aktionsart as 'grab+hold' akin to a verb like *bayi-* 'stop+stand.' In this case, the progressive could refer to the second activity phase, while the perfect participle would refer to the situation obtaining after the dagger had been drawn. Because *-n bü-* could just be taken as referring to a phase in the aktionsart of a verb, if all other things are equal, Matsuoka's hypothesis would be disfavored by its avoidable complexity.

bol-qu *bi. Munda anda-yin qara sönin-ü jewüdün-tür*
become-FUT.P 1SG however friend-GEN black night-GEN dream-DAT3
cin-u ***oro-qu*** *bi; gegeen üdür-ün sedkil cin-u*
2SG-GEN enter-FUT.P 1SG bright day-GEN mind 2SG-GEN
joba-a-qu *bi. Jaqa-yin cin-u böesün jahi-un*
suffer-CAUS-FUT.P 1SG collar-GEN 2SG-GEN louse inner.lapel.of.coat?-GEN
cin-u örgesün ***bol-qu*** *bi.*
2SG-GEN thorn become-FUT.P 1SG
'Now that the world is at your disposal, of what use would I be as a companion to you? On the contrary, sworn friend, I *will* intrude into your dreams in the dark night / I *will* trouble your heart in the bright day, / I *will* be a louse in your collar, / *A* thorn in the inner lapel of your coat.' [§201, 8184-89, de Rachewiltz 2004: 131]

(32) either implicates an intention or a scheduled event; (33) implicates an underlying schedule. In (34), Jamuqa (in the fictional universe of the SH) makes a prediction about the future in a fictional world in which he would accept Cinggis Qan's offer to spare his life, which he, however, is about to reject.

Modal nuances in context. Negated instances of *-QU* can always be interpreted as future, but in contrast to the non-negated examples, a potential reading often seems possible, too. In some non-negated rhetorical questions that suggest that the equivalent to the interrogative pro-word in the question corresponds to an indefinite pro-word plus negation in the answer, e.g. that the question asks for an empty set of entities, the future marker can always be reinterpreted as implying lack of possibility, ability, etc. However, while this is one of its major uses, this modal nuance should not be seen as part of the meaning of *-QU*.

(35) *Ciŋgis qaan-u ed_aurasu ecineün yeki-n qulaq-cu*
C. Khan-GEN possessions stealthily do.what-CVB steal-PVF.C
abcira-ju ög-ümü ci. Bi ***ülü*** ***ab-qu***
bring-PVF.C give-IPVF 2SG 1SG NEG.IPFV take-FUT.P
[The city of Jungdu has just surrendered to the forces of Cinggis Qan. The former steward of the city has taken satins with him to give as presents to the new stewards sent by Cinggis Qan. But upon his offering, one of these stewards says: 'Formerly, the goods of Jungdu, and the very [city of] Jungdu, did belong to the Altan qan. Now Jungdu surely belongs to Cinggis Qa'an.] How can you give us the goods and satins of Cinggis Qa'an, stealing them and bringing them [here] behind his back? I shall not take them.' [§252, Y158-59, de Rachewiltz 2004: 180]

(36) *Edöe oyi in-u oro-ju a-mU; sedkil in-u*
now reason 3SG-GEN enter-PVF.C COP2-IPVF mind 3SG-GEN

seŋtere-jü *a-mU* *kee-gde-müy.* *Temüjin* *nama-yi* ***ülü***
open-PVF.C COP2-IPVF say-PASS-IPVF T. 1SG-ACC NEG.IPFV
ükü-ül-gü.
die-CAUS-FUT.P
'They say that now his reason has set in and that his mind is opened. Temüjin won't make me die.' [sic!] [§149, 5044-45]

(37) *Edöe* *min-u* *emüne* *ken* *teyin* ***ölümle-jü*** ***ög-gü***.
now 1SG-GEN before who so fight.to.death-PVF.C give-FUT.P
'(To secretly injure [=?kill by poisoning] Doqolqu was also a fault [of mine]. And why was it a fault? [Because] to secretly injure Doqolqu who strove fiercely in the service of his rightful [lord], my father the Qan, was a fault and a mistake.) Who will now strive so fiercely in my service?' [§281, Z570-71, de Rachewiltz 2004: 218]

While impossible in the intentional (35), the incorrect prediction in (36) would allow for an alternative (but probably incorrect) reading 'is not likely to kill me,' and the translation 'Who could now strive so fiercely in my service?' for (37) might, due to a conventionalized implicature, even be correct. Likewise, the passive of intransitive verbs with *-QU* yield obligation (i.e. a state of socially imposed necessity) instead of future in the SH. This does not yet hold for transitive verbs (see (40) below), but in the Mongol XJ (which might have been written as little as a decade or as much as 130 years later than the original version of the SH) the combination of passive with *-QU*(*i*) marks an obligation of the subject even with transitive verbs, *siguud-qui-ban* in (39) being the direct object of *emige-*.

(38) *Bedüün-ü* *mojirqaq-un* *tula* *bi* *mawuyla-ju* *yabu-ju*
B.-GEN stubbornness?-GEN because 1SG speak.bad-PVF.C go-PVF.C
minqan *ese* *ög-be.* *Ci* *ima-da* *jöb* *bu-y je.* *Cima-lua*
1000 NEG.PFV give-PST.FC 2SG 3SG-DAT2 right COP1-*i/u* IP 2SG-COM
minqala-ju ***eyetü-ldü-jü*** ***yabu-qda-qu***
command.thousand-PVF.C be.harmonious-RECP-PVF.C go-PASS-FUT.P
'Because of Bedü'ün's stubbornness, I was displeased with him and did not give him a unit of a thousand. You are the right [person to manage] him! You shall be the commander of a thousand together with him and you will proceed in consultation with each other.' [§209, 9026-28, de Rachewiltz 2004: 142-3]

(39) *öber-ün* *ecige* *eke-yü-gen* *taɣala-basu* *busu* *kümün-i*
own-GEN father mother-ACC-RPOSS love-COND.C other person-ACC
siɣuud-qui-ban ***emige-gde-kü-i***
despise-FUT.P-RPOSS be.afraid.of-PASS-FUT.P
'If one loves his own parents, one should be afraid lest other people hate him.' [XJ 3b:3-4, de Rachewiltz 1982: 41]

Habituality? Matsuoka's [2008: 143-4] assumption that *-QU* can express habituality next to future is probably based on the impression of the related potential meaning that it sometimes implies. The only example that he provides, in a footnote, is the following:

(40) *Olon-ta-wu quyu-ul-ju ög-besü* ***deejile-gde-gü****.*
many-times-Q ask-CAUS-PVF.C give-COND.C honor-PASS-FUT.P
Cöen-te-wü quyu-ul-ju ög-besü ***doromjila-qda-qu****.*
few-times-Q ask-CAUS-PVF.C give-COND.C despise-PASS-FUT.P
何回も求められて与えれば尊敬されるのです。数回か求められて与えれば軽蔑されるのです。(Matsuoka 2008: 143)
'If I gave her away after much asking [on your part], you would respect me; if I gave her away without much asking, you would despise me.' [§66, 1465-1467, de Rachewiltz 2004: 15]

De Rachewiltz assumes a specific reference that is compatible with the specific situation of the subject of this sentence, who is being asked to affiance his daughter to the son of Yesügei, but which is not contextually required. Matsuoka obviously assumes an unspecific reference to a general principle of social interaction in MM society, but funnily enough, his Japanese translation allows for both readings. Except for (40), I have not found any declarative examples of *-QU* that might be interpreted as habitual, so Matsuoka's claim should be rejected.

Copula ellipsis? While Rybatzki [2003: 77] noted that the absence of the copula is the normal case, Matsuoka [2008: 143] claims that sentence-final *-QU* is elliptic, and Street [2010: 57-8] makes the more general claim that the copula may be truncated in quoted and thus colloquial speech when preceded by any nominal or adjectival element. While *-QU* as a participial suffix certainly qualifies as a nominal element, it does not seem to be the case that there are any sentences in which *-QU* is followed by the copula *bu-i* (or any other non-past form of *a-*/*bü-*) *without* an interrogative particle in between. Therefore, the interrogative particle is a necessary (while not sufficient) condition for the presence of an imperfective copula, and unless one believes in such a thing as obligatory deletion, this cannot be a case of ellipsis.

(41) *Ayi torluq qan* ***joki-quy=u bu-y****.*
oh emaciated? qan fit-FUT.P=Q COP2-*i/u*
'Oh foolish qan, is [that] proper?' [§190, 7136, Street 2010: 57]

***-QUi* and *-QUn*.** There are only 7 finite instances of *-QUi* in the SH: 5 are questions, 1 [§64, 1452] appears to refer to an attitudinal activity, and 1 [§181, 6422] seems to refer to a future situation. No conclusion can be drawn from such data. *-QUn* is very clearly the plural form of *-QU* [Bayar-

mendü 1986: 63], so no careful analysis of instances of this form has been undertaken.

***-n a-qu* as future progressive?** The form *-n a-qu* in finite usage is attested in the SH thrice, and another example is cited from a letter. Compositionally, one would expect a future progressive meaning. Such an interpretation is conceivable in §189, 7113 and (42). Both examples also allow for a present progressive interpretation. In §277, Z344-Z346 and (43) only the latter reading seems to be possible, thus the meaning of the suffix *-QU* in *-n a-qu* cannot be established with any confidence.

(42) *edüge nama-yi silam-dur ese ora-juɣu keme-n*
now 1SG-ACC Christianity-DAT NEG enter-PST.2H say-CVB
*maɣuila-n ba **sedki-n a-qu** ci*
blame-CVB FOC think-CVB COP-FUT.P 2SG
'Now, you [=Pope Nicholas IV] will be offended and <u>think</u> ill [of me] because I have not become a Christian. [letter from Il-Khan Argun to Pope Nicholas IV, 1290, Street 2013: 48]

(43) *Teŋgeri **idqa-n a-qu=yu**?*
heaven warn-CVB COP-FUT.P=Q
'[the saddle had loosened and remained behind even though the breast-strap was still attached and the saddle girth was still fastened. He said, "The saddle-girth could of course [have loosened up,] but how could the breast-strap also have worked itself loose?] <u>Is</u> Heaven <u>warning</u> me / <u>holding</u> me <u>back</u>?"' [He turned back and spent three more [days and] nights there.]' [§80, 2157, translation of preceding and following sentences de Rachewiltz 2004: 22]

Overall, *-QU* on its own seems to function as a simple future. While deontic nuances are possible in context of negation and rhetorical questions, actual deontic meaning seems to be limited to the combination of *-QU* with the passive marker. Hypotheses that it expresses habituality or that uses of it on its own are elliptic have to be rejected. *-n a-qu* is non-past and progressive, but its exact meaning vis-à-vis *-n bu-yu* remains unclear.

3.5 Future in the past *-QU bü-lüge* / *a-juɣu*, and *-QU bol-*

-QU bü-lüge* / *-QU a-juɣu is most commonly used in contexts of past habitual meaning, as illustrated by the following examples:

(44) *Sönid büri cewgen šira güün ger-ün erüge*
night every resplendent yellow person tent-GEN smoke_hole
dotoqa-yin gege-er oro-ju keeli min-u bili-jü gegeen
lintel-GEN light-INS enter-PVF.C belly? 1SG-GEN caress-PVF.C light

in-u keeli-tür min-u ***šiŋge-gü bü-lee.***
3SG-GEN belly?-DAT3 1SG-GEN seep.in-FUT.P COP1-PST.1H
'Every night, a resplendent yellow man entered by the light of the smoke-hole or the door top of the tent, he rubbed my belly and his radiance penetrated my womb.' [§21, 1130-32, de Rachewiltz 2004: 4]

(45) *Ede üge-s eyin ügüle-gde-jü Seŋgüm ügüle-rün*
DPROX.PL word-PL so speak-PASS-PVF.C S. speak-CVB.PRAEP
"Keli `Qan ecige'* ***kee-gü bü-lee.*** *`Kiduaci ebügen'
when qan father say-FUT.P COP1-PST.1H murderer old.man
ese=ü ***kee-gü bü-lee.*** *Nama keli `Anda'*
NEG.PFV=Q say-FUT.P COP1-PST.1H 1SG.OBL when sworn.friend
kee-n bü-lee. `Toqtoa böe sartaqcin qonin-u seül
say-CVB COP1-PST.1H T. shaman S. sheep-GEN tail
jübci-jü yabu-yu' ese=ü ***kee-gü bü-lee."***
attach-PVF.C go-GN NEG.PFV=Q say-FUT.P COP1-PST.1H
'Having been told these words in this way, Senggüm said, "When would he call [you] '[our] father the Qan'? Wouldn't he [rather] say 'the old murderer'? When was he calling me 'sworn friend'? Wouldn't he [rather] say 'Toqto'a the shaman walks about wearing the tail of a Sartaq sheep'?"' [§181, 6415-20]

(46) *Duwa_soqor maŋlay dumda qaqca nidü-tü qurban neüri:d*
D. forehead middle single eye-POSS three stretch.of.way
qajar-a ***qara-qu bü-lee.***
distance-DAT1 see-FUT.P COP1-PST.1H
'Du'a Soqor had a single eye in the middle of his forehead: with it he could see for a distance of three stages.' [§4, 1033-34, de Rachewiltz 2004: 1]

In (44), Alanguua admits to having had sex habitually, and the second and third instance of *-QU bü-lüge* in (45) refer to the way in which Temüjin regularly used to talk about Senggüm and Ong Qan. In (46), an ability of Duwa Soqor is mentioned using this form. Matsuoka [2008: 140-4] recognizes this habitual use but in addition suggests that it is also used in contexts where 今にも起こりそうだ 'it was likely to occur at any moment' and するところであった 'was about to do it' as in (47); contexts of intention (意志) as *kee-gü bü-lee*[21] 'I would have said' in (48); and estimation (推量) as the other two forms in (48):

(47) *Edöe Nayaa-d-aca busu-d ceri-üd-tür ucira-asu*
now N.-DAT2-ABL other-PL soldier-PL-DAT3 come.upon-COND.C
samawu-tur tüyid-küy-tür ***oro-quy=u a-juu***
disturbance-DAT3 be.hindered-FUT.P-DAT3 enter-FUT.P=Q COP2-PST.2H

[21] Matsuoka misspells it as *kee-n bü-lee* but discusses it as an instance of *-kü bü-lee*.

‘Now, if we had met with other soldiers than those with Naya, wouldn’t we (conceivably) have got into an interception and into trouble?’ [§197, 7476-77]

(48) *bari-qda-asu ... **kee-gü** **bü-lee**. Namayi ünen*
grab-PASS-COND.C say-FUT.P COP1-PST.1H 1SG.ACC true
*bol-qa-ju qubcasun nada ög-cü **asara-qu***
become-CAUS-PVF.C clothes 1SG.DAT give-PVF.C care-FUT.P
***bü-lee**; bi morin unu-ad üje-tele edüy*
COP1-PST.1H 1SG horse mount+ride?-PFV.C see-CVB.until such
*jaura ülü=ü **ire-gü** **bü-lee***
moment NEG.IPFV=Q come-FUT.P COP1-PST.1H
‘If somehow I got caught, I would have said, “...” They would have regarded me as sincere, they would have given me clothes and looked after me. Then, I would have jumped on a horse, and while they were [astonished] watching me [flee], in that brief moment I would have surely come back!’ [§145, 4421-28, de Rachewiltz 2004: 66-7]

In all instances in (47) and (48), the speaker can be said to predict a certain development at a reference point in the past provided certain circumstances that didn’t obtain. In (48), this includes a context where the event depends on what the speaker can do himself and a context where it doesn’t; thus ascribing labels such as “intention” and “estimation” might be too specific. Claiming particular prospective semantics for (47) is most likely not warranted, as the example can be explained as the speaker’s estimation, which in turn is a subcase of the speaker’s prediction. Matsuoka [2008: 144] suggests a smallest common nominator of all forms with *-QU bü-/a-*: これから（も）起こる動作 ‘an action occurring from here [and now] onwards (, too).’ Temporal location of the reference time is then done by a suffix, which in our examples is always a past marker, i.e. an action occurring from there and then onward without indication as to whether it was occurring before.[22] But one can probably go a step further towards a gesamtbedeutung. In all cases except (46), a high likeliness of an event that did not actually occur is claimed at a reference point in the past. This would allow describing *-qU bü-lüge* as a future in the past: “[the situation] was [so that] it would *VERB*.” So this form expresses an inherent disposition of a past situation to develop in a certain

[22] De Rachewiltz translates *Ögödey-in urug-i ... töre-esü min-u uruq-tur nikeǹ=üü sayin ülü töre=gü a=juu?* Ö.-GEN offspring-ACC ... be.born-COND.C 1SG-GEN offspring-DAT3 one=Q good NEG.IPFV be.born-FUT.P COP-2H.PST ‘Supposing that the descendants of Ögödei are [all] born [so worthless that] ... is it [possible] that among my descendants not [even] a single one will be born who is good?' [§255, Y334-Y337, de Rachewiltz 2004: 188] as future, which would contradict this generalization. But a past interpretation ‘wouldn’t [at that time] one have been born who is good’ is conceivable (and actually suggested by Street 2009) if the deictic center of this sentence is understood to be shifted to a future time.

way, whether or not the situation ever came about or not. If the conditions required for the event to happen existed at multiple time points in the past, the interpretation is habitual past as in (44) and (45). If they did not (as can be indicated by a conditional converb as in (47) or by context as in (48)), *-qU bü-lüge* is to be interpreted as an estimation about what was to happen in those possible worlds were a given condition actually obtained. A completely general past habitual use such as (46) might then be explained as an extended use of habitual past in realis contexts.

The construction *-QU bol-* occurs in seven instances of *-QU bol-ba* that refer to having entered a situation where something is destined to happen, whether it actually has come about or not, and in one instance with *-QU bol-un a-juɣu,* in which the entry into the new situation is still underway.[23]

(49) *Qara kerie qarambay_noqosu* ***bari-qu*** ***bol-BA***.
black crow black_duck grab-FUT.P become-PST.FC
Qaracu bool qan-tur-iyan qar ***gür-ge-gü*** ***bol-BA***.
commoner slave qan-DAT3-RPOSS hand reach-CAUS-FUT.P become-PST.FC
'Black crows have gone so far / As to catch a Mandarin duck. / Black skins and slaves have gone so far / As to raise their hands against their lord.' [§200, 8129-8131, de Rachewiltz 2004: 129]

(50) *Qaracu mawu Cilger qara teriün-dür-iyen* ***gür-te-gü***
commoner bad C. black head-DAT3-RPOSS reach-PASS-FUT.P
bol-BA
become-PST.FC
'Lowly, bad Cilger / I have come to the point / [That] my black [=non-noble] head shall be reached for.' [§111, 3185]

(51) *Nayman-u qadqu-ldu-qci Kögseü_sabraq Bayidaraq belcir-e*
N. stab-RECP-actor.p K. B. junction-DAT1
cerig jasa-ju ***qadqu-ldu-qu*** ***bol-un*** ***a-juu***.
soldier organize-CVB stab-RECP-FUT.P become-CVB COP2.PST.2H
'[As Cinggis Qa'an and Ong Qan were returning from the place], the warrior Kögese'ü sabraq of the Naiman *was preparing to array* his troops at the Bayidaraq Confluence and prepared to fight them. [Cinggis Qa'an and Ong Qan likewise decided to fight and arrayed their troops.]' [§159, 5294-98, de Rachewiltz 2004: 80]

In (49), Jamuqa has already been delivered to his enemy Cinggis Qan by his own subjects. In (50), the wrath of the Mongols is upon the Merkit and their subject Cilger, but in contrast to many others it appears that Cilger was actually not cut down during the routing and managed to make his escape into historical oblivion. In (51), the speaker narrates about having received word

[23] There are even 18 instances of non-finite *-QU bol-un* -FUT.P become-CVB and 2 instances of non-finite *-QU bol-ju bü-küy-tür* -FUT.P become-CVB COP1-FUT.P-DAT3.

that the enemy is preparing to array his troops. A single parallel form with *-GsAn bol-ba* is attested in (52), in which the speaker addresses a sensible issue with the utmost care and then justifies why she dared to mention it.

(52) *Köü-d-te* *deü-ner-e* *olon* *qaracu-s-a*
son-PL-DAT2 younger.brother-PL-DAT1 many commoner-PL-DAT1
man-a *ber* *mawu:n-a* *uqa-ju* *a-quy-a*
1PL.EXCL-DAT1 FOC bad-DAT1 understand-PVF.C COP2-FUT.P-DAT1
uqa-qsan-iyan ***duradqa-qsan*** ***bol-ba***
understand-PRF.P-RPOSS remind-PRF.P become-PST.FC
'[That is why] [I] decided to remind [you] of what [I] have understood about what has been understood among your sons, younger brothers, the many common people and the bad one [=I].' [§254, Y214-16][24]

Thus, *-QU bü-lüge* / *a-juɣu* refers to a past situation at which a certain event would occur provided some conditions obtained. *-QU bol-ba* refers to having entered such a situation, with conditions obtaining, and *-GsAn bol-ba* refers to having entered a situation where the result of some past event already obtains. There is at least a strong tendency for *-QU bol-* to be used for describing adverse events.

3.6 *-d*

-d occurs at least 25 times in the SH. All but two of these have plural reference,[25] and in all but three instances[26] their subject is an overt pronoun. In 13 instances, *-d* is combined with the particle *je* and then expresses what the speaker intends to happen. In 10 of these including (53), the first person subject commits himself and his associates to an action, and in 3 of these the speaker makes statements about what ought to happen with other third-person entities. Two [§21, 1136; §176, 6201] are in conditional clauses and could in principle

[24] This passage is extremely difficult to translate. Mostaert [1952: 313] suggests 'J'ai suggeré ce qui, quand nous avons réfléchi, a été compris par les fils, les frères cadets, les nombreuses gens du commun et aussi par nous 'mauvaise'.' De Rachewiltz [2004: 182] translates in a similar fashion: 'I have given you [this] advice of what, thinking of it, we - the sons ... - understood [to be an important question].' I can neither properly understand how they translated *bol-ba* nor how *quand nous avons réfléchi* should correspond to *uqa-qsan-iyan*. An alternative way to make sense of *bol-ba* might be an impersonal translation: 'That is why it has come about that I reminded you ...'

[25] In the two exceptional sentences, it is still the plural form *ta* that is used by Kögseü Sabraq to address his overlord Tayang Qan in a context in which he expresses his disdain at Tayang's foolish and dangerous actions. Here, *ta* seems to emphasize distancing rather then deference.

[26] I am including *müd* [§176, 6201] here among the pronouns. Its anaphoric use in MM is quite common and is preserved in southeastern dialects of modern Mongolian [Bayancoɣtu 2002: 232-6]. Furthermore, I assume that the two *-d*-forms in §278 are under the direct scope of the same pronoun *bida*, even though they belong to two (adjacent) sentences.

also be interpreted as mere predictions with high probability deriving from *je*, and one is an indirect order by Cinggis Qan in which he indicates to one of his generals that his addressee's troops are to set camp as well [§259, Y433]. The two forms used by Kökseü Sabraq in (54) have past time reference, and the third in (55) should probably be interpreted in the same vein. Four forms occur in the words in the SH in which Januqa tells Tayang Qan about Cinggis Qan's army. Of these, (56) is clearly generic, whereas the other three forms in (57) allow for either habitual or attitudinal readings. Either commitment or attitudinal readings are conceivable for the two parallel forms in §64, and either habitual or past readings for the plain two parallel forms in §21. One form seems to be used attributively [§248, Y068]. All three occurrences in the Subhāṣitaratnanidhi [§130, §333, §358] are based on verbs of saying that are either habitual or past habitual. Given this data, I am not able to propose a common meaning for these multiple uses beyond the obvious statement that *-d* is a plural agreement marker.[27]

(53) *Mökörі-ül-kü-n yosu-tan bö-esü bida*
perish-CAUS-FUT.P-PL custom-POSS.PL COP1-COND.C 1PL.INCL
mökörі-ül-üd je. Niši-qda-qu:n yosu-tan bö-esü
perish-CAUS-*d* IP hit-PASS-FUT.P-PL custom-POSS.PL COP1-COND.C
kebte-ül-jü ***niši-d*** ***je.***
lie-CAUS-PVF.C hit-*d* IP
'(Elders of the companies, do not reprimand my guards ... without my permission ... If [any of them] breaks the law report it to me.) Those liable to execution We shall certainly cut down. Those liable to be beaten We shall certainly compel to lie down and <u>*beat*</u> them.' [§227, 9435-37, de Rachewiltz 2004: 156-7]

(54) *Tende Kögseü_sabraq ügüle-jüü. "Ükü-gsen qan güün-ü*
there K.. speak-PST.2H die-PRF.P qan person-GEN
teriün in-u ta gü hoqtol-ju ***abcira-d****. Nököe-te ta gü*
head 3SG-GEN 2PL FOC cut.off-PVF.C bring-*d* other-times 2PL FOC
kemgeri-d*. <u>Y</u>aun joki-quy."*
crush-*d* what fit-FUT.P
'Thereupon Kökse'ü Sabraq said, "You have cut off the dead qan's head and <u>brought</u> it here; next you <u>crush</u> it to pieces! This is not right.' [§189, 7098-7100, cf. de Rachewiltz 2004: 111]

(55) *Ayi yeke üge* ***ügüle-d*** *ta.*
alas big word speak-*d* 2PL
'Alas! You <u>speak</u> a great boast....' [§190, 7135-36, Street 1957: 14]

[27] As noted by Rybatzki [2003: 76], it has the exact shape of the plural marker that words ending in *-n* take. However, within the aspect system *-n* is a converb that never occurs in finite position like *-d*, Aalto's [1970:11] statement to the contrary being based on material that does in fact allow for an adverbial reading. While the perfect participle *-GsAn* ends in /n/, which in the plural form is replaced by *-d*, a parallel analysis of *-n*/*-d* as proposed by Poppe [1954: 116] is hard to sustain functionally or distributionally.

(56) *Tede jida-tu ere-yi jiu-ju cisu-tu tonoq*
3PL.DDIST spear-POSS male-ACC ?-PVF.C blood-POSS clothes
tono-qci-n üldü-tü ere-yi hülde-jü una-qa-ju
strip-ACTOR.P-PL sword-POSS male-ACC chase-PVF.C fall-CAUS-PVF.C
ala-ju üb tonaq ab-uqci-n Uruud Maŋqud
kill-PVF.C property clothes take-ACTOR.P-PL U. M.
kee-gde-d *tede.*
say-PASS-*d* 3PL.DDIST
'Those who / Driving [before themselves] the men with spears / Are strippers of their bloody clothes / Pushing [before themselves] the men with swords / Causing [them] to fall and killing [them] / Are takers of their treasure and clothes / Are called the Uruut and Manggut.' [§195, 7353-56]

(57) *Tede dörben noqa-s ... key unu-ju* ***yabu-d*** *tede.*
3PL.DDIST four dog-PL air ride-PVF.C go-*d* 3PL.DDIST
Ala-ldu-quy üdür haran-u miqa ***ide-d*** *tede.*
kill-RECP-FUT.P day people-GEN meat eat-*d* 3PL.DDIST
Gür-ülce-gü üdür güün-ü miqa ***günesüle-d*** *tede.*
reach-RECP-FUT.P day person-GEN meat feed.on-*d* 3PL.DDIST
'Those "four dogs" ... advance ... riding on the wind. On days of mutual killing, they eat human meat. On days of mutual encountering, they feed on human meat.' [§195, 7337-41]

4. Perfective domain

Forms within the perfective domain of MM are the simple past markers *-bA*, *-lUGA* and *-jUGU*, the resultative *-jU a-mu* / *a-juɣu* / *bü-lüge*, the perfect *-GsAn (bü-lüge / a-juɣu)* and the resultative *-GA (bü-lüge)*.

4.1 Perfective past *-bA*, *-lUGA* and *-jUGU*

Aspect. The best-understood part of the tense-aspect-evidentiality system of MM is the simple past forms, which have been discussed in considerable detail by Street [2008, 2009]. Aspectually, the three forms do not seem to differ [Street 2009: 131].[28] All can be used in the storyline, as exemplified for *-bA* with (58) below; a good example for *-jUGU* is the poem summarizing the life of Ying Šui in SMI 1335.

(58) *"Eke öter bos"* ***kee-bi****.* *Höelün eke ügüle-rün*
mother quick get.up-IMP say-PST.FC.f H. mother tell-CVB.PRAEP

[28] Rybatzki's [2003: 75-6] opinion that *-bA* usually functions as a perfective recent past, *-lUGA* as a marker of certainty and *-jUGU* as a pluperfect lacks a factual basis, as does the account of Manduqu et al. [1997: 494-500], who agree that *-bA* is past perfective but consider *-lUGA* to be a recent past and *-jUGU* as a past continuous.

”Köü-d-i öter seri-ül-üdkün” ke-ed Höelün
son-PL-ACC quick wake(intr)-CAUS-IMP.PL say-PFV.C H.
*eke öter gü **bos-bi**. Temüjin-tEn köü-d öterle-n*
mother quick FOC get.up-PST.FC.f T.-POSS.PL son-PL make.haste-CVB
gü bos-uad mori-d-iyan bari-ju Temüjin niken mori
FOC get.up-PFV.C horse-PL-RPOSS grab-PVF.C T. one horse
***unu-ba**. Höelün eke niken mori **unu-ba**. ... Temülün-i Höelün*
ride-PST.FC H. mother one horse ride-PST.FC T.-ACC H.
*eke ebür-tür-iyen **deür-be**; niken mori*
mother lab-DAT3-RPOSS transport.in.front.of.rider -PST.FC one horse
*kötöl **jasa-ba**; Börte üjin-e mori **duta-ba**.*
spare.horse organize.PST.FC B. lady-DAT1 horse lack-PST.FC
'[Old Qoaqchin said] "Mother, get up quick!" *Mother* Höelün said "Get the boys up fast!," and rose in haste. After the sons including Temüjin had also got up *hastily*, [they] grabbed their horses and Temüjin mounted *a horse*; *Mother* Höelün mounted a horse. . . . [Six others *unu-ba* 'mounted a horse'.] As for [young] Temülün, Höelün had her ride in front of her. [They] prepared one horse as a spare. There was no horse [left] for Lady Börte' [§98-99, 2428-39, Street 2008: 407]

There are 11 instances in the SH where *-bA* is combined with *edöe* ‘now,’ which refers to a time after the terminal point of telic predications has just been reached. A few clear instances in which the present-time reference is not made explicit by an adverb are also attested. Thus, *-bA* is used like a perfect:

(59) *Soqor elci-yen ile-esü asgi-ju yabu-qa-n*
S. messenger-RPOSS send-COND.C beat-PVF.C go-CAUS-CVB
*ile-jüü. Edöe bi irge-ben quyi-ra **ire-be***
send-PST.2H now 1SG people-RPOSS beg-CVB.in.order come-PST.FC
‘When I sent my messenger Soqor [to you], you beat him and sent him back on foot; now I have come [myself] to request the return of my people.’ [§245, X341-43, Street 2008: 407]

In a few instances, *-bA* marks the beginning of a particular action, as in the example below:

(60) *Ciŋgis qaan-u nere aldar sonos-cu ayu-ju*
Gh. Khan-GEN name fame hear-PVF.C get.afraid-PVF.C
a-laay ba. Edöe sülder-tü beye cin-u gür-cü
live-PST.1H.PL IP now majesty-POSS body 2SG-GEN arrive-PVF.C
*ire-gde-jü sülder-ece **ayu-ba**.*
come-PASS-PVF.C majesty-ABL get.afraid-PST.FC

‘Hearing of Cinggis Qa'an's fame we *lived* in awe [of you]. Now your august person has arrived, you have come to us, and we are [indeed] awed by your majesty.’ [§249, Y084-86, Street 2008: 408]

It is clear that the examples above are not to be subsumed under the label perfect, but rather of those of a past perfective. The perfect-like uses can then be explained by an unmarked perfective interpretation (in the sense of Johanson’s [2000] -INTRA -POST), i.e. that the form is perfective due to its opposition to other markers that overtly express perfect or imperfective values, but in contrast to these overt markers is so versatile as to be not completely incompatible with contexts in which an imperfective or perfect form might be used.

Evidentiality. Instead, the difference between the three suffixes is evidential. Ozawa [1961, cf. 1965: 96-9] previously described *-lUGA* as “already known or naturally foreboded” to the speaker/writer OR hearer/reader [when it happened], while the *-jUGU* was either unknown or unexpected for them. Nasunurtu [1989] draws a distinction between objective *a-juɣu* and subjective *bü-lüge*. But Ozawa, Nasunurtu and Secen [1993] focus more on establishing the copula forms *a-* and *bü-* as modal rather than on the verbal suffixes themselves. Street [2009: 132] suggests differentiating *-lUGA*, *-jUGU* and *-bA* as “attestive,” “presumptive” and “factual” past, respectively. A speaker who uses the *attestive* “claims to have personal, first-hand knowledge ..., and in effect assumes responsibility for the accuracy of his statement,” and the *presumptive* indicates “that the speaker’s knowledge is based merely on information received from others or on circumstantial evidence”, while the *factual* “implies nothing about the speaker’s certainty or source of information.” The following are examples of the first two forms:

(61) *Moŋqol-un ceri-üd Saari keer-i büte-tele* ***bawu-lua***
M.-GEN soldier-PL S. steppe-ACC fill.up-until.C encamp-PST.1H
‘The Mongol troops have set up camp so as to cover the [whole] Saari Steppe’ [§193, 7251-52, de Rachewiltz 2004: 116]

(62) *Üdür geyi-n bara-asu šitüldü-jü qono-qsa-d*
day dawn-CVB expire-COND.C resist.REPR-PVF.C spend.night-PRF.P-PL
ceri-üd söni bö-ed ***budara-juuy****; güreele-gse-d irgen*
soldier-PL night COP1-PFV.C disperse-PST.2H encircle-PRF.P-PL people
‘küŋke-n ülü coda-qu-n’ kee-n güreele-gse-d
get.free-CVB NEG.IPFV can-FUT.P-PL say-CVB encircle-PRF.P-PL
qajar-aca ese ***gödöl-jüüy***
place-ABL NEG.PFV move-PST.2H
‘When the day had dawned, it turned out that the soldiers who had stayed the night in opposition to us had dispersed during the night; the people who were encircled, saying “We cannot get away,” had

not moved from the place where they were encircled.' [§146, 4450-53]

(63) *Erte üdür kē-esü Qurcaqus Buyiruq qan ecige-yü-en*
early day say-COND.C Q. B. Qan father-ACC-RPOSS
qoyin-a "Döcin köü-d-ün aqa" kee-jü qan
after-DAT1 40 son-PL-GEN older.brother say-PVF.C Qan
bol-juu *je ci.*
become-PST.2H IP 2SG
'"If we speak of former days, after your father Qurchaqus Buyiruq Qan, it must surely have been because [you] were the eldest of forty sons that you became qan"' [§177, 6235-37, Street 2009: 143]

(64) *Köü-d minu qa-d* ***bol-juu*** *kee-gde-müy*
son-PL 1SG.POSS qan-PL become-PST.2H say-PASS-IPVF
'My sons are said to have become Qans' [§3208-09, Street 2013: 59]

(61) with *-lUGA* is a message sent by a patrol to their Qan that tells of events that the patrolmen have attestedly [§7247-49] witnessed. (62) with *-jUGU* is a clear instance of inference, and so is (63), with the peculiarity that the inferred fact is denoted by a subordinate verb [cf. Street 2009: 143]. (64) with the same marker is hearsay used in combination with the quotative verb. Hearsay examples without this combination are attested as well. These examples are quite representative.

Statistics. *-lUGA* is extremely frequent in quoted speech (9:1 among ca. 100 examples, contrasting with 1:2 among ca. 1000 instances of *-bA* and somewhat more than 1:5 among 250 instances of *-jUGU*). Discounting its apparently anomalous use in the copula *bü-lüge*, there are 63 spoken instances of *-lUGA* in declaratives in the SH. In all instances, the speaker could have witnessed the event. In 23 instances, the witnessing is directly confirmed by the SH, while 22 instances have overt or implied first-person subjects. The non-quoted examples are not so clear, as the author of the SH is unknown, but none is about events that a contemporary of Cinggis Qan could not have witnessed, and the examples in other MM texts fit well into the analysis [Street 2009]. If we concentrate on quoted sentences without the copula verbs *a-juɣu*, *bü-lüge* and *bolba*, the speaker is a participant in 77% (n=313) and 80% (n=88) of quoted sentences with *-bA* and *-lUGA*, respectively, whereas this only holds true for 13% (n=47) of the quoted sentences with *-jUGU* [John Street, p.c., 2011-04-01].

Mirative meaning of *-jUGU*? Following Poppe [1954: 93], Ozawa [1965] and, less convincingly, Street [2009] argues that *-jUGU* can be used to mark an action as surprising in some cases, as in the following example:

(65) *Basa qar-cu ayisu-quy-tur šiquy-in amasar-a*
also exit-PVF.C approach-FUT.P-DAT3 thicket-GEN opening-DAT1

qošiliq-un tedüy caqan gürü amasar-a bögle-n
tent-GEN so.much white rock opening-DAT1 block-CVB
una-juu. *Teŋgeri idqa-n a-quy=u kee-jü*
fall-PST.2H heaven warn-CVB COP2-FUT.P=Q say-PVF.C
*qari-ju basa qurban **qono-BA***.
return-PVF.C also three spend.night-PST.FC
'When he [Temüjin] started out again, a white rock the size of a tent fell at the opening of the thicket, blocking the opening. He said, "Is this a warning of Heaven?" He turned back and spent three more nights there. [§80, 2155-58, de Rachewiltz 2004: 23]

Ozawa [1965: 97-8, also cf. 111-2] persuasively argues that if (65) was to be understood in a resultative way, i.e. Temüjin finding that a rock has blocked the exit of the thicket upon his arrival at the entrance, we should expect an accusative suffix on *amasar* 'entrance' corresponding to *bögle-* 'block' to yield 'had fallen down blocking the entrance,' rather than a locative one corresponding to *una-* 'fall' to yield 'fell down on the entrance blocking it.' Moreover, a resultative form like **unu(ɣ)san ajuɣu* might have been chosen instead of the aspectually neutral *-jUGU*. So the more likely reading of this sentence seems to indicate that the rock unexpectedly fell down before Temüjin's eyes, sending him a celestial warning that he should not leave the thicket. An alternative explanation might be that the narrator does not take Temüjin's, but his own perspective - Temüjin had no company at that time. Still, as *-bA* is used in the sentence immediately following (65), when Temüjin still was alone, this approach is insufficient. However, if we assume that the length of Temüjin's stay in the thicket is easier to objectively assess, e.g. based on the duration of how long his many enemies stood watch, whereas the rock falling down is not, the narrator might be making a difference between what he considered facts and that which he consciously relates as having heard from others.

In questions. Of the 22 questions with *-lUGA* in the SH, 2 are information-seeking questions answered by the addressee relying on firsthand knowledge marked with *-lUGA*, while the others are (usually angry) rhetorical questions to which both speaker and addressee know the answer. Less frequent rhetorical questions in *-jUGU* have a more probabilistic meaning: even though the speaker is not asking for information, an answer to this question would have to be based on estimation, not firsthand knowledge [Street 2009: 135-8, 145-7]. For instance, Cinggis Qan utters (66) shortly after the referent of his sentence has been interrogated, making sense of his answers.[29] This is followed by his execution, which is, naturally, also the case for the addressees of (67).

[29] Alternatively, the non-firsthand marking in (66) might indicate that the referent came unnoticed.

(66) *Mün gü dayisu sedki-jü oorcaq bol-ju* ***yabu-juu***.
same FOC enemy think-PVF.C outcast become-PVF.C go-PST.2H
Edöe yau görü-re ***ire-jüü****?*
now what ?-CVB.in.order come-PST.2H
'"All the same, he has been living as an outcast, with hostile intentions; what has he come to spy upon now?'" [§156, 5262-63, de Rachewiltz 2004: 79]

(67) *Erte üdür bida yau* ***kee-ldü-leey****?*
early day 1PL.INCL what say-RECP-PST.1H
'What did we agree upon in the old days?' [§136, 4203-04, de Rachewiltz 2004: 59]

On copulas. The copula *bü-lüge* is used in genealogical contexts that are too remote for the author of the SH to have had firsthand experience with them. Street speculates that the absence of **bü-be* might have led to a use in which *bü-lüge* lost its peculiar firsthand semantics [Street 2009: 138-41]. This, one might add, is even more likely due to the fact that *a-ba* is very rare and *bol-ba* is dynamic in nature. The use of *bü-lüge* after converbs and participles is more in accordance with the normal semantics of *-lUGA*, but the number of deviating instances is still too great to claim that the semantics are the same. On the other hand, *-jUGU* in *a-juɣu* seems to have the same semantics as in other contexts [cf. Street 2009: 143-5]. (68) exemplifies a normal use, (69) an estimation concerning a situation that has not (yet) come about, and (70) deferred realization:

(68) *Bayi-ju qono-ju üdür geyi-ül-ün*
stand-PVF.C spend.night-PVF.C day dawn-CAUS-CVB
bügüdge-esü, Öködey Boroqul Boorcu qurban ***ügey a-juu***.
muster-COND.C Ö. B. B. three absent COP2-PST.2H
'[They] spent the night standing [in battle order]. At daybreak, when they held a roll-call, *it turned out that* Ögödei, Boroqul and Bo'orcu were not there' [§172, 6111-12, de Rachewiltz 2004: 92, modified by Street 2009: 144]

(69) *Bida ene an-u yeke üge-tür šoqa-n*
1PL.INCL DPROX 3PL-GEN big word-DAT3 lean.against-CVB
morila-ju od-cu an-u qor ab-uasu
set.out-PVF.C proceed-PVF.C 3PL-GEN quiver take-COND.C
berke-tü=ū ***a-juu****?*
difficulty-POSS=Q COP2-PST.2H
'"If [now], grasping the chance their boasts [afford us], we set out on a campaign and removed their quivers, would [this] be [so] difficult?"' [§190, SH 7163-65, de Rachewiltz]

"If we ... took their quivers, would [that turn out to] have been so difficult?" [Street 2009: 146]

(70) *Üdür gegeen bol-qa-ju, üje-esü qoyin-a-ca niken*
day bright become-CAUS-PVF.C see-COND.C behind-DAT1-ABL one
güün ayis-u; gür-cü ire-esü ***Boorcu a-juu****.*
person approach-*i/u* arrive-PVF.C come-COND.C B. COP2-PST.2H
'Waiting for day to dawn, when they looked [out], [they saw] a man approaching from the rear; as he came closer, it turned out to be Boorchu.' [§172, 6118-19]

Performatives. The expression of performatives in MM is not entirely clear, but *-bA* in (71) might be an instance of one. Here, either de Rachewiltz' conservative translation is right, and Cinggis, who has just been declared qan, merely reminds his vassals of favors he bestowed upon them earlier, or he is immediately following his own promotion with the promotion of two of his vassals.

(71) *Jüg jüg* ***tüši=bAy*** *tan-i.*
direction direction appoint-PST.FC 2PL-ACC
'[Further, Cinggis Qa'an said, 'When Heaven and Earth increased my strength and took me into their protection, you, the senior ones, who for my sake came [over] from sworn friend Jamuqa wishing to become companions, will you not be my lucky companions?] I have appointed each of you to your respective office.' [§125, 3497, de Rachewiltz 1004: 52]

Additional textual evidence for evidential uses. Unfortunately, the evidence for the evidential properties of *-bA* that Street presents is not as detailed as his evidence for *-lUGA* and *-jUGU*. It dominates in edicts and is the only form used to convey editorial information.

(72) *jarliq manu morin jil jun-u teri'ün zara-yin*
decree 1PL.excl.POSS horse-/n year summer-GEN first month-GEN
qorin qurban-a Taydu-da bü-küi-dür ***bici-bei***
twenty three-DAT1 Peking-DAT2 be-FUT.P write-PST.FC.PL
'[We] wrote our decree in the year of the horse at the 23rd of the first month of summer while we were in Peking.' [Buyan-tu qaɣan-u jarliɣ, 1318, transcription Tömörtogoo 2002: 32]

It is both applicable to events in times of yore and to events that the speaker witnessed. In the SMI of 1335, 1338, 1346, 1362, where great care was exerted to attribute each and every piece of information, it appears to function like a firsthand marker. Let's take a sequence that puzzled Street [2009: 157] as an example. SMI 1362 has different forms of the verb *ög-* 'give' concern-

ing the granting of titles, four times taking *-bA* and two times *-jUGU*. Lines 10 and 18 refer to titles conveyed at the occasion correlated to the erection of this stele, which is contextually clear for 10 and made clear by the adverbial *ene ayan* ('[on] this journey' → 'on this occasion') in 18, 35 and the second example in line 25. So the author of the stele had firsthand knowledge of these events and (as somebody who resided in Beijing at that time and had personal access to the emperor, cf. Chan [1976]) might well have been present at the ceremony in question. Thus, *-bA* was used. The first title in line 25 was conveyed before the author was given the task of composing the stele, and he thus was not aware of this event when it happened. It is not obvious when the title in line 33 was granted, but it is followed by another title granted *ülü udan darui-dur* 'not long afterwards,' so it seems to be another event that the author had no occasion to witness personally, even though he has no reason to doubt either event. Therefore, *-jUGU* was used for these two events. *-lUGA*, on the other hand, is certainly a firsthand marker but seems to be restricted to contexts in which the speaker deems it appropriate to refer to his personal perception of the events and thus avoids presenting them as objective facts:

(73) *bi urida imayi kümün bolu-mU je keme-n* ***sedki-lege****.*
1SG former 3SG.ACC person become-IPVF IP say-CVB think-PST.1H
sedki-gse-ber min-u bol-ba.
think.PRF.P-INS 1SG.GEN become-PST.FC
'Formerly, I thought that he would surely become a man. It happened as I had thought.' [SMI 1335: 42]

This is similar to a passage in the Twelve Deeds of the Buddha in which the Buddhas remind the Bodhisattva to bring forth his task and to remember his former lives, thus focusing on what they clearly remember (and want him to remember) rather than what is clearly the fact. While visual and endophoric uses are thus attested, it is somewhat unclear whether auditive perception and other uses can be marked with *-lUGA* as well. The following example might or might not be accepted as evidence:

(74) *soyül_surɣal-i sonus-ta-luɣa*
teaching-ACC hear-PASS-PST.1H
'I was affected by hearing your teachings about ...' [XJ 29a:2]

In the light of the evidence discussed above, it is now time to revise Street's labeling. The term "attestive" for *-lUGA*, pertaining to an action that was directly witnessed visually or auditively, may be replaced by the more common "firsthand," while the term "presumptive" for *-jUGU* that refers to inference, deferred realization and hearsay would be "non-firsthand" in Aikhenvald's [2004: 65] terminology. The label "factual" for *-bA* and the

whole idea of an evidentially and not overtly epistemically modal marker is more problematic, as the conditions under which it can be used have not been investigated in detail either by Street for MM nor by linguistics in general for the languages of the world. Following Mushin [2001: 74-79], one may assume different epistemological stances that can guide how a speaker, among other tasks, chooses evidential forms. These range from subjective, conceptualizer-evoking stances like private experience over perceptual experience, inferential, reportive and imaginative (relating something as made up) to the "factual epistemological stance." The latter disassociates the speaker and her source of information from the statement, which thus becomes perfectly objective, implying "that the source of information is unimportant to the establishment of the validity of the information" [Mushin 2001: 74]. This can be so because it is common knowledge anyway or not likely to be challenged, the exact circumstances of which are culturally defined. In the SH, the narrative might simply be presumed to be factual in this sense by the authority of the narrator who only sometimes takes recourse to evidential forms to relativize his authority for certain events such as the divine warning in the cave. Historians in the SMI, on the other hand, don't adapt a factual stance from anything they might have reconstructed from documents at their disposal. Yet, they don't feel the need to provide editorial information from a subjective perspective either. Non-factual evidential markers might thus imply the presence of epistemic modality, as suggested by Mushin [2001: 32, contra Aikhenvald 2004] for small evidential systems.

4.2 Resultative-progressive *-jU a-juɣu* / *bü-lüge* / *a-mu*

As Matsuoka [2008: 104-112] observes, *-ju a-* / *bü-* refers to ongoing activities with activities and states, but to results with telic predications:

(75) *Tumad irgen-ü noyan Dayduqul soqor-i ükü=esü eme*
T. people-GEN lord D. blind-ACC die-COND.C woman
in-u Botoquy tarqun Tumad irgen-i ***mede=jü a=juu****.*
3SG-GEN B. fat T. people-ACC command-PVF.C COP1-PST.2H
'When Daiduqul the Blind, leader of the Tumed, died, his wife Botoqui the Fat was governing the Tumed.' [§240, X178-80]

(76) *junu teriün sara-yin harban jirwaan-a hulaan tergel*
summer-GEN first month-GEN ten six-DAT1 red circle
üdür Tayiciud Onan-u ergi deer-e qurimla-ldu-ju naran
day T. O.-GEN shore on feast-RECP-PVF.C sun
šiŋge-esü tarqa-BA. Temüjin-i tere qurim-tur gelbüre köün
set-COND.C disperse-PST.FC T.-ACC DDIST feast-DAT3 weakling boy
güün ***abcira-ju bü-lee****. Qurim-un haran-i*
person bring-PVF.C COP1-PST.FC feast-GEN people-ACC

tarqa-ul-un *tere* *gelbüre* *köün-ece* *buqau* *tata-ju*
disperse-CAUS-CVB DDIST weakling boy-ABL cangue draw-PVF.C
ab-cu *heki in-u* *niken-te* *deled-üed* *güyi-jü*
take-PVF.C head 3SG-GEN one-times strike-PFV.C run-PVF.C
'on the sixteenth of the first month of summer, the day of the Red Circle, the Tayiciut held a feast on the bank of the Onan. At sunset they dispersed. Temüjin had been brought to this feast by a weak young man. After the people of the feast had dispersed, [Temüjin] pulled [the leash of his] cangue away from that weakling, hit him once on the head and ran away.' [§81, 2171-76, de Rachewiltz 2004: 23]

(75) obviously cannot refer to a result or repetition but must refer to a state that holds at the time of reference. While *mede-* 'come to know+know' is an inceptive state verb in its basic meaning, its meaning 'be in command' does not seem to have an inceptive component like 'assume command,' at least if judging from contemporary Khalkha Mongolian. Part of (76), an accomplishment, is cited by Matsuoka as well, but I cite it in full here to demonstrate that no progressive interpretation is conceivable. As it is first mentioned that the people dispersed at sunset, it would have been nonsensical to state that he was being brought to this feast by a young man at this point. Rather, he must already have been there. Such a translation is also very suitably applied to (77) where *-jU a-mu* indicates present time reference:

(77) *Ki_yem* *kiged* *ögüle-rün* *Jang_Ying_šui-a* ... *wungsing*
K. et.al say-CVB.PRAEP J.-DAT1 posthumous.name
nere ***ög-te-jü*** ***a-mU****.* *Jang_Ying_šui* *keme-besü* ...
name give-PASS-PVF.C COP2-IPVF J. say-COND.C
'when Ki yem and others spoke, [they said]: "The posthumous title ... is [now] granted to Jang Ying šui. As for Jang Ying šui, he was ..."' [SMI 1335: 10, Cleaves 1950: 95]

This passage would be very surprising if Cleaves' translation is correct. Both the context and the Chinese parallel text [cf. Cleaves 1950: 22] indicate that the title had already been granted, and this is why Ki yem et al. were ordered to compose an inscription in Jang Ying šui's memory. So the translation should rather read "... has been granted ..." Cleaves [1950: 100] translated the same grammatical construction correctly in line [35-36]: *edüge kui jing ön-ü önsi bolγa-n tüsi-gde-jü a-mu* 'Now he has been appointed as önsi of the kui jing ön.' *-ju a-* / *bü-* can thus be described as a resultative marker with telic and as a progressive marker with atelic predications. Presumably, it differed from a normal present progressive or past imperfective in some way or another in all contexts, but distinguishing e.g. a continuative or durative marker from a progressive is difficult on the basis of very limited evidence.

4.3 Perfect *-GsAn* (*a-juɣu* / *bü-lüge*)

While *-jU a-* / *bü-* seem to express a resultative meaning, *-GsAn a-juɣu* / *bü-lüge* has a morphological structure suggesting a perfect in the past (i.e., past relevance) or pluperfect (i.e., past in the past). A pluperfect use might have existed, but it is doubtful:

(78) *teün-i* *ösö-n* *hacira-n* ***od-cuuy***. *Temüjin-i*
DDIST-ACC revenge-CVB reciprocate-CVB proceed-PST.2H T.-ACC
Burqan_ qaldun-i *qurban-ta* *quci-ul-quy-tur* *Börte üjin-i*
B.-ACC three-times circle-CAUS-FUT.P-DAT3 B. lady-ACC
tende erüs-cü *Ciledü-yin deü* *Cilger_bökö-de* ***asara-ul-uqsan***
there catch-PVF.C C.-GEN younger.brother C.-DAT2 care-CAUS-PRF.P
a-juu; *tere* *asara-qsa-ar* *a-ju* *Cilger_bökö dayiji-ju*
COP2-PST.2H DDIST care-PRF.P-INS COP2-PVF.C C. desert-PVF.C
qar-urun *ügüle-rün ...* *kee-ed* *dayji-n* ***dutaa-juu***.
exit-CVB.PRAEP say-CVB.PRAEP ... say-PFV.C desert-CVB escape-PST.2H
'and they [[the Three Merkit tribe]] set out to take revenge for that. It was at the time when Temüjin circled Burqan Qaldun three times that they captured Lady Börte. They entrusted her to Cilger Bökö, the younger brother of Ciledü. As Cilger Bökö had been looking for her ever since, when he fled, deserting his own companions, he said. ... Thus he said and escaped, deserting his own companions.' [§111: 3177-95, de Rachewiltz 2004: 41-2]

In (78), there are three events in a row in temporal sequence. The first and third event take simple past marking in *-jUGU*, but the second is marked by *-GsAn a-juɣu*. This event of entrusting had the effect explicitly referred to by a non-finite form in the next clause that she was taken care of by him from that moment until shortly before these words were said. On the other hand, the rescue of Börte by Temüjin after the defeat of the Merkit had been described in §110, followed by this paragraph, which first recollects past events and mentions the flight of one of the main "culprits," thus setting the stage for the physical extermination of the Merkit in §112. The possible reference made here to §110 is the closest thing to a past in the past that can be found in the SH. On the other hand, most uses clearly show past relevance:

(79) *Erde* *üdür-ece* *Tatar* *irgen* *ebüge-s* *ecige-s-i* ***bara-qsan***
early day-ABL T. people ancestor-PL father-PL-ACC use.up-PRF.P
bü-lee. *Ebüge-s* *ecige-s-ün* *ösöl* *ösö-jü* *kisal*
COP1-PST.1H ancestor-PL father-PL-GEN revenge revenge-PVF.C revenge

kisa-ju *ciün-tür* *üli-jü* *kidu-ju* *ala-ju* *ög-üyE.*
revenge-PVF.C linchpin-DAT3 compare-PVF.C slay-CVB kill-PVF.C give-VOL
'From olden days the Tatar people have destroyed our fathers and forefathers. To avenge our fathers and forefathers, and requite the wrong, for them we shall measure [the Tatars] against the linchpin of a cart, and kill them to the last one.' [§154, 5194-97, de Rachewiltz 2004: 77]

(80) *Altan qan Juŋdu-da-ca qar-urun Juŋdu dotor-a Qada-yi*
Altan Qan J.-DAT2-ABL exit-CVB.PRAEP J. in-DAT1 Q.-ACC
lyušyu ***bol-qa-n*** ***tüši-jü*** ***od-uqsan*** ***a-juu.***
留守 become-CAUS-CVB appoint-PVF.C proceed-PRF.P COP2-PST.2H
Ciŋgis qahan Juŋdu-yin altan möŋgün ed aurasun yau ke
Gh. Khan J.-GEN gold silver goods satin what FOC?
in-u toola-ul-urun Öŋgür bawurci Arqay_qasar
3SG-GEN count-CAUS-CVB.PRAEP Ö. steward A.
Šigi_qutuqu qurban-i ***ile-bAy.*** *Ede qurban-i*
Š. three-ACC send-PST.FC.PL DPROX.PL three-ACC
ayis-ay kee-n Qada esergü uqdu-n alta-tay
approach-RES.P say-CVB Q. against greet-CVB gold-POSS.PL
har-tay aurasu bari-ad Juŋdu dotor-a-ca qar-cu
satin-POSS.PL satin grab-PFV.C J. in-DAT1-ABL exit-PVF.C
esergü ***ire-bAy.***
against come-PST.FC.PL
'When the Altan Qan moved out of Jungdu, he appointed Qada as *rearguard defender* in Jungdu before leaving [the city]. When Cinggis Qa'an had the inventory taken of the gold, silver, goods, satin and [other] things [gathered] in Jungdu, he sent the steward Öndgür, Arqai Qasar and Sigi Qutuqu [to do it]. As these three were approaching, Qada went ahead to greet them, taking with him gold[-embroidered] and patterned satins.' [§252, Y148-55, de Rachewiltz 2004: 179-180]

(81) *nayan qoyar nasula-ju. job ese bolu-ɣsan-u*
eighty two reach.age-PVF.C right NEG.PFV become-PRF.P-GEN
qoyin-a türün A nere ***ög-cü*** [... destroyed ...] *[wun]gsingla-ju*
after-DAT1 first A name give-PVF.C award_PT-PVF.C
C nere ***ög-cügü.*** *gergei in-u D wusin nere* ***ög-ciɣi.***
C name give-PST.2H wife 3SG-GEN D PT name give-PST.2H.F
qoyin -a basa E wusin nere ***wungsingla-gsan*** ***a-jiɣi.***
after-DAT1 also E PT name award_PT-PRF.P COP2-PST.2H.F
Ying_šui-yin ecige Bai_sang-a türün F nögüge-te G nere
Y.-GEN father B.-DAT1 first F other.additional-times G name
neme-n mön kü uridu yosu-ɣar H nere-ber ***wungsingla-ɣsan***
add-CVB same FOC former custom-INS H name-INS award_PT-PRF.P
a-juɣu. *Bai_sang-un gergei Ong_si-da J nere* ***wungsingla-jigi.***
COP2-PST.2H B.-GEN wife O.-DAT2 J name award_PT-PST.2H.F

‘[Ying Šui] lived 82 years, and after he died, [the Emperor] gave him first the title A, then posthumously awarded [B], then gave the title C (*-cügü*). To his wife, he gave the posthumous title (*-ciɣi*) D. Afterwards, he had also posthumously awarded her the title (*-GsAn ajiɣi*) E. To Ying Šui’s father, Bai Sang, first [giving] the title F, then moreover adding the title G (*-n*), in the very same manner as before he had posthumously awarded him with the title (*-GsAn ajiɣi*) H. To Bai Sang’s wife, Ong Si, he posthumously awarded the title (*-jiɣi*) J.’ [SMI 1335: 28-30]

In (79), the deeds of the Tatars in days of yore have resulted in a state that justifies slaying them all. In (80), Qada beckons Cinggis Qan’s emissaries because he was left as Altan Qan’s representative after the latter left Beijing. Note the difference in evidentiality: in the first case, the speaker has personal knowledge of the deeds of the Tatars in days of yore, as his father was poisoned by Tatar people, while the second sentence relates to what happened during a military campaign on the enemy side, well beyond what the author of the SH could have had firsthand knowledge about. In (81), the titles conveyed with *-GsAn a-juɣu* appear to have been conveyed at later occasions, which is conceivable given the adverbials such as ‘afterwards,’ whereas the titles marked with *-jUGU* were conveyed at the occasion of Ying Šui’s death and thus at a definite point in time. *-GsAn a-juɣu*, on the other hand, appears to refer to the fact that these people held those titles at the time of reference.

While space prevents me from discussing all the problematic cases, most uses that I saw in several MM documents can be fitted into this analysis and be read as perfects. After all, relevance at a reference point in the past is a somewhat vague notion. But there is another use found in at least one text: the SMI 1362. In this text, there are basically two narrative forms besides *-GsAn a-juɣu*: *-bA* for witnessed events and *-jUGU* for non-witnessed, but fairly certain events like the emperor conveying titles. The perspective is that of the Yuan scientist and politician Su Wei (not of his translator), who in the Mongolian version of the text bases his knowledge on tradition (11: *ulam-aca bolɣabasu*) and in the Chinese version [Cleaves 1949: 31] even more explicitly on what he has heard. There are a number of events clearly located in a complex narrative sequence that is not just the prelude to some later events. I quote a part of it here:

(82) [SMI 1362: 18-24, Cleaves 1949: 86-87]

1. *ebüge inu Ataibuqa qataɣu joriɣ-tu baɣatur jirüke-tü bökü-yin siltaɣa-bar ada-tu üile-dur ucira-basu ber qataɣu joriɣ-*	(1) ‘Because his grandfather, Atai Buqa, had a firm will and a valiant heart, whenever he encountered a dangerous affair, he ***would***

iyan ülü ***qariɣulu-n a-ɣsan a-juɣu***.

2. *qoyin-a elincüg inu Qara yiucing ebedcin kürte-jü aljangɣu boluɣsan-dur köbegü-d-iyen ire-gül-jü geriyes üge talbi-run* [put-PRAEP.C] ... *keme-gde-gsen-ü tula* [say-PASS-PRF.P-GEN because] *mön Ataibuqa bingjang üiledde-kü ken üiles-i inu ülede-n cida-qui-ca güicege-n* [execute-CVB] ***üiledü-gsen a-juɣu***.

3. *qoyin-a Duua Busma-tan köbegü-d bulɣa bol-basu* [revolt become-COND.C] *mön Ataibuqa .... Duua-tan köbegü-d arban qoyar tüme-d cerig-üd-iyer qoton-u caɣada kür-cü* [reach-PFV.C] *bürin qadqu-ldu-qui-dur mön Ataibuqa ... beyenggedün sitügeleldü-n qadqu-ldu-ɣad* [resist.RECP-CVB stab-RECP-CVB.then] *olan-ca uruɣsi yabu-ju* [go-PFV.C] *temdegtei-e kücü öggü-gsen-ü siltaɣa-bar* [give-PRF.P-GEN reason-INS] *ima-yi itegel-tü tug-tu cerig-üd-ün noyan bolɣa-n tüsi-ged darqan nere ber* ***öggü-gsen a-juɣu***.

4. *qoyin-a iduɣ_qud deger-e aɣulja-n ɣar-cu ire-besü* [set.out-PFV.C come-COND.C] *mön Ataibuqa aɣruɣ-iyan abu-ɣad daɣa-n ire-küi-dür* [come-FUT.P-DAT3] *jobalang-ud-i ülü talɣa-n jaɣur-a berke cölnugud-i tuɣulu-ɣad Yungcang-*

not let his courage sink *[lit. was not letting his firm will return]*.

(2) Afterwards, when his great-grandfather, Qara, the yiucing, fell sick and became feeble, he had his sons come [to him] and he uttered his final recommendations. Because he *was told* "(...)", the same bingjang, Atai Buqa, without leaving aside whatever matters he had to perform, **performed** [them], accomplishing [them] to the best of his ability.

(3) Afterwards, when the princes Duua and Busma revolted, (...) the same Atai Buqa ... *[tried to throw down the rebellion and, when failing, retreated to Qara Qoco and raised troops and fortified it. Then]* (...) the princes Duua and others arrived in the vicinity of the town with 120,000 troops and, when they all engaged in battle with one another, the same Atai Buqa was mindful of the Empire, without considering that he might die, and engaged in battle, participating personally in the resistance. Because he went more in advance than the multitude and rendered service pre-eminently, [the Emperor] appointed him an officer of the trustworthy troops with banners and also **granted [him] the title darqan**.

(4) Afterwards, when the idug qud *[i.e., his people]* came for an audience with the Emperor, when the same Atai Buqa *took his camp and came following [him]* and when he arrived at Yungcang, having traversed the difficult deserts in between, without consid-

dur kür-besü [arrive-COND.C] *ɣajar usun-u nayir joɣis-tu amun künesün elbeg-tü-yin tula dotura-ɣan oyisiya-ju* [like?-PFV.C] *orusi-n Yungcang-a **nuntuɣla-ɣsan a-juɣu***.

ering his sufferings, because the harmony of land and water was suitable and millet and provisions were abundant, inwardly he delighted in it and **encamped permanently** in Yungcang.

5. *mön Ataibuqa jöb ese boluɣsan-u qoyin-a* [become-PRF.P-GEN after-DAT1]

(5) After the same Atai Buqa passed away ...'

As we can observe, instances of *-GsAn a-juɣu* form the storyline and are thus perfective, while *ülü qariɣulu-n a-ɣsan a-juɣu* is an instance of a general behavior attributed to Ataibuqa and is thus to be understood as simply past imperfective. (A second instance of this form, *kündüle-n a-ɣsan a-juɣu* 'were venerating him,' can be found in line 30.) So these forms are not to be interpreted as perfects but are applied to those events that Su Wei has reconstructed from his sources. They therefore indicate an additional layer of evidential marking. As *-jUGU* is already used for other non-witnessed hearsay events, *-GsAn a-juɣu* could probably be specified as reconstruction from a source and thus as inferential.

-GsAn on its own is very rarely used in sentence-final position. The eight or nine instances in two or three passages quoted below are all that are contained in my corpus; the first two end poetic lines, while the third is prose.

(83) *ene Qunan / qara söni gendü_cino / gegeen üdür qara kerie*
DPROX Q black night male_wolf bright day black crow
*bol-ju / newü-qüy-tür ese **ünji-gsen** / ünji-küy-tür*
become-PVF.C move-FUT.P-DAT3 NEG.PFV rest-PRF.P rest-FUT.P-DAT3
*ese **newü-gsen**; / busu güün-lüe / buši niur ese*
NEG move-PRF.P different person-COM different face NEG.PFV
***jübci-gsen** / öš-tü güün-lüe / öere niur ese **jübci-gsen**.*
?-PRF.P vengeance-POSS person-COM other face NEG.PFV ?-PRF.P
'This Qunan was A male wolf in the dark / A black crow in the bright day / When we were on the move he did not stop, / When we halted he did not move on. / With a stranger / He did not put on another face, / With a mortal enemy / He did not put on a different face.'
[§210, 9038-42, de Rachewiltz 2004: 143]

(84) *ɣaliɣu dayisun-i qalqala-ju oyira ese **qalga-ɣsan**,*
hot enemy-ACC ward.off-PVF.C near NEG.PFV let.approach-PRF.P
*qaltaril ügei qadqu-ldu-ju sayi-ban **ol-da-ɣsan**,*
dodging EX.NEG pierce-RECP-PVF.C good-RPOSS find-PASS-PRF.P
*qadaɣala-gsan mingɣan-iyan abu-ɣad Qamil-a **talbi-ɣsan**,*
supervise-PRF.P thousand-RPOSS take-PFV.C Q.-DAT1 put-PRF.P

qaɣan-a kücü öggü-n negü-jü Yungcang-a ***nuntugla-ɣsan***.
Khan-DAT1 strength give-CVB move-PVF.C Y.-DAT1 camp-PRF.P
'He warded off evil enemies and let them not come near. / He battled without shirking and his success was found. / Having taken the thousand of which he was in charge, he put them in Qamil. / Rendering service to the Qagan he removed and encamped at Yungcang.' [SMI 1362: 49-50, Cleaves 1949: 92]

(85) *Qorci ire-jü ügüle-rün Bodoncar boqdo-yin bari-ju*
Q. come-PVF.C say-CVB.PRAEP B. august-GEN grab-PVF.C
ab-uqsan eme-de-ce ***töre-gsen*** *ba Jamuqa-lua*
take-PRF.P woman-DAT2-ABL be.born-PRF.P 1PL.EXCL J.-COM
keeli nike-ten keke qaqca-tan bü-leey
womb one-POSS.PL amniotic.fluid single-POSS.PL COP1-PST.1H
ba; Jamuqa-da-ca ülü qaqaca-qu-n bü-lee ba
1PL.excl J.-DAT2-ABL NEG.IPFV separate-FUT.P-PL COP1-PST.1H 1PL.EXCL
'Having come, Qorci said, "We have been born from a woman who the august Bodoncar captured for himself. We had the same womb [to originate from] with Jamuqa and one single amniotic fluid. [Normally,] we would not have separated from Jamuqa.' [§121, 3376-79][30]

In spite of the small number of examples, it seems possible to arrive at a congruent analysis here, even if it cannot be conclusively proven. In (83) Cinggis Qan discusses the merits of Qunan in order to assign a position to him, i.e. the past deeds of his subordinate have great present relevance. In (84), the great deeds of Atai Buqa previously narrated in (82) are remembered. They acquire present relevance as they, in contrast to the other considerations and events narrated in the poem, constitute the reasons why Atai Buqa is now to be venerated. Note that at least the third sentence cannot refer to the actual result of the event: the defense of Qara Qoco ~ Qamil was successfully completed in the past, and the troops stationed there for that event have certainly left since. Finally, in (85) Qorci is mentioning a past event that renders the split from Jamuqa that he is in the course of undertaking as treason under normal circumstances, so this past event is highly relevant at the time of speech. Now while *-GA* in each example could be explained as a simple past, there are already three simple past suffixes in MM, but there is no present perfect. The past perfect consists of *-GsAn* plus a past

[30] Given the intervening personal pronoun in (85), it is difficult to assume that *bülee* has *töregsen* in its scope. However, it might have been possible for a relative clause to modify the pronoun *ba*, as was assumed by Haenisch [1948: 32], here. The sentence would then contain two instances of *ba*, but this might be explained, on the one hand, by the general tendency for MM pronouns to occur in sentence-final position and, on the other hand, by the impossibility of placing a nominal modified by such a heavy relative clause after the main predicate. So this analysis, which would exclude *-GsAn* in (85) from the evidence for final predicates, cannot be ruled out entirely.

copula. So the assumption that the meaning of *-GsAn* is indeed present perfect seems plausible. The absence of **-GsAn bu-yu / a-mu* then corresponds to the absence of **-QU bu-yu / a-mu*.[31] Overall, *-GsAn* as a present and *-GsAn a-juɣu* / *bü-lüge* as past forms seem to be used for expressing results or relevance at a point of reference and can thus be designated as perfects.

4.4 *-GA, -GA bü-lüge*

-GA appears to be attested 15 times in finite position in the SH, but one instance [6044] has to be amended to a voluntative plural, and another instance [X040] is preceded by something that, if not emended, would be an irregular form of the passive suffix [de Rachewiltz 2004: 834]. This leaves 13 instances, but these are based on only three verbs. Bayarmendü [1986: 72-4], also mentioning the Mandarin gloss 了, characterizes *-GA* as a simple past marker when used in finite position but notes that its meaning is less clear when followed by a copula. The latter is the case only five times in the SH, four of these being parallel sentences with the auxiliary *ög-* 'give' in a benefactive auxiliary construction with four different main verbs (6362-70). But considering how it might have turned into a resultative (with very restricted application) in Khalkha [see Song 1997: 243-85, Brosig forthcoming], if it started out as a perfective, one might be compelled to check the feasibility of ascribing a resultative meaning to *-GA*.[32] This approach explains the use with the negative particle 'not yet' in (86), which is preserved in Khalkha and can offer a common meaning to the sentence-final uses in (87) and (88) and the periphrastic use in (89).

(86) *Širgüetü nama-yi ala-n bu-yu. Ala-n bara-asu ükü-gsen*
Š. 1SG-ACC kill-CVB COP2-GN kill-CVB finish-COND.C die-PRF.P
amin ügey beye min-u ab-cu od-cu yeki-üjey
life NEG body 1SG-GEN take-PVF.C proceed-PVF.C do.what-PREV
*ta. Nama-yi **ala-ay üdüüy-e** öter qari-dqun. Temüjin*
2PL 1SG-ACC kill-RES NEG?-DAT1 quick return-IMP.PL T.
nama-yi ülü ala-qu.
1SG-ACC NEG.IPFV kill-FUT.P
'Sirgü'etü is killing me. Once he has killed me, what will you achieve by taking away my dead and lifeless body? Draw back *while*

[31] Cleaves [1949: 129] assumes that the forms in (84) are shortened variants of *-GsAn a-juɣu*. But this text passage is no longer part of a narrative, so the past level to which past perfect forms (as used elsewhere in the same inscription) could have referred to does not exist any longer.

[32] Something in this vein is also assumed by Rybatzki [2003: 77], who translates *-GA* with the English present perfect but does not discuss its meaning. It is not significant that he labeled *-GA* as "Imperfective particle" because this was not his choice but that of his editor, Juha Janhunen.

he has not yet killed me! Temüjin will not kill me.' [§149, 5034-37, de Rachewiltz 2004: 71] (Sirgü'etü has taken Taqutai Kiriltuq as prisoner and is to deliver him to Temüjin. His relatives are trying to free him, but his capturer is using him as a hostage. Hoping in vain that his life might be spared by Temüjin, he convinces his relatives not to attack his capturer.)

(87) *tede* *Tatar* *tani-n* *a-juu.* *Yisügey* *Kiyan* ***ire-ey***
DDIST.PL T. recognize-CVB COP2-PST.2H Y. K. come-RES
ke-ed *... qoro* *qoli-ju* ***ög-ciüy***.
say-PFV.C ... poison mix-PVF.C give-PST.2H
'*[*But*]* those Tatars *were recognizing* him. "Yisügei the Kiyan has come," they said, and (...) they gave him poison mixing it [with his food].' [§67, 1480-82, de Rachewiltz 2004: 16]

(88) *Öci-n* *melje-n* *a-qsa-d* *Sartaul* *irgen-ü* *soltan-i*
report-CVB bet-CVB COP2-PRF.P-PL S. people-GEN sultan-ACC
doroyida-ul-ju *balaqa-d* *irge* *an-u* ***ab-uay*** *bida.*
submit-CAUS-PVF.C town-PL people 3PL-GEN take-RES 1SG.INCL
'We *have* caused the Soltan of the Sarta'ul people, who had refused to submit, to abase himself and we conquered his cities and people.' [§260, Y448-50, de Rachewiltz 2004: 192]

(89) *Möŋlig* *ecige ci* *ese* *idqa-asu* *huyil-un* *bü-küy*
M. father 2SG NEG.PFV dissuade-COND.C whirl-CVB COP1-FUT.P
usun-tur *hulal-un* *bü-küy* *qal-tur* ***oro-qda-ay***
water-DAT3 glow.red?-CVB COP1-FUT.P fire-DAT3 enter-PASS-RES
bü-leey *je.*
COP1-PST.1H IP
'Had you, Father Mönglik, not dissuaded me, I would to my distress have entered whirling waters, a blazing fire.' [§204, 8338-40]

In (86), Taqutai Kiriltuq urges his relatives to withdraw at a time when the result of the action of killing him does not yet obtain. In (87), the presence of Yisügei can be taken as an opportunity to poison him. In (88), some generals of Cinggis Qan are petitioning him, starting with details of the current situation by stating this sentence. They stress that the enemy people are conquered and now under their command. In (89), without the warning of Mönglig, the result of Temüjin's having entered whirling waters (by which he means a trap in which the enemy would have caught him) would have obtained at the time of speech. The other instances in which this construction is used also refer to irreal results that would have obtained given a precondition that did not materialize.

This approach comes at a cost, however. One might try to explain the attributive use with the verb *yabu-* 'go' in the Phags-pa edicts as exemplified in (90) as based on a verb meaning 'set.out+go' or might content oneself with the observation that *yavaa* in Khalkha is the only form other than *baigaa* (historically deriving from 'having stopped and still standing') that

lacks a synchronic resultative meaning in that dialect. It might also be possible to explain all instances of *ayis-ay* [4040, 7317, 7334, 7343, 7352, 7357, Y153, Z042] as 'having approached,' 'having come close' being a rather relative notion, but a translation as 'approaching' appears to be more natural.[33] Even so, (91), in which the verb *ab-* 'give' is used as an auxiliary, seems to pose insurmountable difficulties for a resultative account.

(90) *Sun jin[ž]in* ***bari-ju*** ***yabu-ayi*** *jarliq ög-bei*
S. holy.person grab-PVF.C go-RES edict give-PST.FC
'Darüber gebe ich (hiermit) einen Erlass, den Sun, der Heilige, bei sich behalten soll.' [Buyantu qaɣan-u jarliɣ, 1314, Haenisch 1940: 62]

(91) *Basa bida ... Buyiruq qan-i ... hülde-jü ... Kicil_baš naur-a*
also 1PL B. Qan-ACC pursue-PVF.C K. lake-DAT1
muqudqa-ju ***ab-uay*** *je bida.*
finish.off-PVF.C take-RES IP 1PL
'Then we pursued Buyiruq Qan (...) and (...) *[finally]* finished him off at [Lake] Kicil Baš.' [§177, 6284-87, de Rachewiltz 2004: 99]

(91) is part of a sequence of events that Temüjin sends as a message to Ong Qan, bemoaning his treason in the face of these past events of cooperation. The fact that Buyiruq Qan is dead is irrelevant here, and emphasis is instead put on the fact that they killed him jointly. So a simple past form would have been the expected choice. An experiential perfect would still be conceivable, but a resultative does not fit the bill. So, while designating *-GA* as a resultative seems to account for the functions of this marker better than alternative explanations such as designating it as a past participle, this position is still problematic. A study that uses all MM materials as well as materials from all of modern Mongolic as evidence would be highly desirable.

5. Conclusion

Overview of the system. MM had a verbal system that, in addition to number and gender, marked aspect, tense and, depending on the subsystem, evidentiality. It seems most feasible to divide the aspectual system into two domains: imperfective and perfective. The imperfective domain has the following structure:

[33] An aktionsart-based explanation is logically possible, but 'set.out+approach' appears like an unnatural meaning for a verb to have.

Table 5: Imperfective domain for MM

	progressive	habitual	generic
future	*-QU* (*-mU je*, *-d je*)		*-yU*
present	*-mU*		
	-n bu-yu		
past	*-n bü-lüge* / *-n a-juɣu*	*-QU bü-lüge* / *-QU a-juɣu*	

On the present level, MM differentiated between the generic marker *-yU*, the progressive-habitual *-mU* and the old progressive *-n bu-yu* / *-n bu-i*. Late western MM dialects must have had the progressive marker *-nam* < *-n a-mu*, the only of these markers to survive in modern Mongolian. While *-d* occurs in some present habitual contexts, it is questionable that such a meaning can be assigned to it. On the past level, the simple past imperfective *-n bü-lüge* / *-n a-juɣu* (with evidential distinction) dominated. While *-mU* was sometimes used for ongoing events in the recent past, this use is understood here as an extended present. The rare use of *-yU* in past contexts might have linked some entity to some behavior irrespective of whether it still existed or not, but conclusions are hard to draw from two attested past usages. *-QU bü-lüge* expressed past habitual or counterfactual epistemic certainty. One might derive these two meanings from a future in the past. Actual future was expressed by simple *-QU*, but both *-mU je* (in contexts of strong prediction) and *-d je* (in contexts of intention) could (through the epistemic or illocutionary meaning of *je*) refer to future events as well. The perfective domain, in turn, might be sketched as follows:

Table 6: Perfective domain for MM

	perfective	perfect	resultative	
factual	*-bA*	*-GsAn*	*-jU a-mU*	*-GA*
past firsthand	*-lUGA*	*-GsAn bü-lüge*	*-jU bü-lüge*	*-GA bü-lüge*
past non-firsthand	*-jUGU*	*-GsAn a-juɣu*	*-jU a-juɣu*	

There are three past tense suffixes, *-bA*, *-lUGA* and *-jUGU*, that differentiate between a factual, a witnessed, and an inferred / secondhand perspective. Used on their own, they express an unmarked perfectivity. *-bA* is not used in complex perfect and resultative constructions, which are thus either marked as firsthand or secondhand past. When not followed by a copula verb, the perfect and resultative forms *-GsAn* and *-GA* are non-past. Due to their place within the overall language system and the restriction of explicit evidential values to past forms in MM, they may be taken to express a factual perspective. If one defines evidentiality as the marking of the source of information

alone [most prominently Aikhenvald 2004], MM would have a split between evidential and non-evidential markers. But if notions such as field of knowledge (e.g. with a division into personal vs. factual knowledge), access to information, and time of acquisition are also included in evidentiality [see Tournadre 2008: 297-8], or if evidentiality is seen as an epistemic strategy [in the sense of Mushin 2001], one could take MM to have an evidentiality system with three different grammaticalized categories.

The rarity of the firsthand past perfect *-GsAn bü-lüge* vis-à-vis the secondhand *-GsAn a-juɣu* (3:68) could possibly hail from textual bias within the corpus of surviving texts. The SH as the textually most diverse MM source has a somewhat more balanced ratio of 2:7. Still, this frequency indicates that *bü-lüge* in complex aspectual forms could have included a neutral or past factual perspective. Given the overall rarity of the resultative *-GA* and the *-GA bü-lüge* (which occurs only twice in the SH), the absence of **-GA a-juɣu* is probably coincidental. The other resultative, *-jU a-mu*, is based on the converb *-jU*, which cannot be used in final position, so that it always must be followed by a copula, which for present reference is always *a-mu*. With atelic aktionsarten, *-jU a-mu* highlights a non-resultant phase inherent to the predication, while the rare *-GA* seems to be attested only with telic predications.

The markers with which counterfactual meaning is expressed (*-GA bü-lüge*, *-QU bü-lüge* / *-QU a-juɣu*, but not *-GsAn bü-lüge* / *-GsAn a-juɣu*) are all based on participle plus copula constructions that have some referential overlap with converb plus copula constructions (*-jU bü-lüge* / *-jU a-juɣu*, *-n bü-lüge* / *-n a-juɣu*), which appear to have been incapable of expressing counterfactual meaning. For *-GA bü-lüge*, as all two attestations in the SH are counterfactual, little can be said of whether this form could refer to actual events.

Questions for future research. There are a substantial number of questions meriting future research. *-QUi* in the SH is only rarely used in finite position, but its aspectual meaning is not clear at all. Likewise, the meaning of rare morphemes like *-GA* and *-d* might benefit from research based on the entire MM corpus, always being mindful of the spatial and diachronic diversity of MM.

The contrast between the three perfective markers requires further research insofar as the conditions have to be determined under which the factual can or must be used. My impression is that evidential forms are only used if the speaker or writer feels a need to emphasize the conscious perception [cf. Lazard 1999, Johanson 2006] of the information in question, and this means usually distancing oneself from it even in firsthand cases (cf. (61), which is what the patrol, being deceived by the additional Mongolian camp fires at night, has observed, referring explicitly to having seen these

fires as the source of their evidence two sentences later).[34] Any entirely reliable information would have been marked by the factual. Such research would also have to explore the ambivalent status of *bü-lüge* with nominal predicates.

Finally, a more detailed account of the perfect would be desirable. As the uses of perfects are very hard to pin down cross-linguistically, it would be desirable to elaborate on its use in MM in more detail. Its relation to perfect-like uses of *-bA*, the periphrastic past resultative, the simple past imperfective and the morphological resultative forms could be a subject for further research as well.

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[34] There is evidence that excludes such a distancing hypothesis for parts of the Twelve Deeds of the Buddha mentioned above, but as this source was modified by later copyists, it can usually only provide supporting evidence, but not establish any phenomenaon its own.

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The tense-aspect system of Khorchin Mongolian

Khorchin, a Mongolian dialect spoken in eastern Inner Mongolia, has a tense-aspect system slightly simpler than Middle Mongol and considerably simpler than Central Mongolian dialects (Khalkha, Chakhar). While it can express the time stability of ongoing events with many nuances, present habitual and generic events are not distinguished. The existence of a present perfect category is doubtful, but in any case it doesn't extend to the past as participle-copula-combinations are impossible. Evidentiality was lost in the central verbal system, but a non-obligatory quotative/hearsay marker exists. This article is an attempt to fit these phenomena into a coherent system of tense, aspect and related notions and to explore some of its diachronic implications.

1. Introduction

This paper deals with the tense-aspect (TA) system of Khorchin, a major Mongolian dialect in north-eastern China spoken by a population mostly consisting of farmers. Khorchin is notable for having restructured its TA system to exclude evidentiality and for narrowing down imperfectivity to a two-way distinction, while still partaking in the innovation of prospective and continuative constructions with dialect-specific peculiarities.

This paper is structured as follows: in the preliminaries, basic information on the the linguistic characteristics of Khorchin and its transcription are provided. In chapter 3, data collection and use of linguistic evidence are addressed. Chapter 4 addresses the morpheme inventory and structural properties of TA in Khorchin. Finite and non-finite TA constructions are then discussed in detail in chapter 5. Chapter 6 concludes by providing some outlines of an areal and diachronic context in which this data is to be understood and points out some topics for further research.[1,2]

[1] This paper wouldn't have come into being without the assistance of many people. The data in 2011 was collected together with Sarana (from Naiman) and Xiaohua. Гuua (library of Inner Mongolian University) and Qascimeg (phonetics) organized the transcriptions then mainly executed by Shuping & Lu Yan, Lu Man, Qasküü, Mandala (computational linguistics), Udbal (sociolinguistics) and, before all others, Han Guojun (phonetics). Juu Engkebayar, Juu Yungsheng, Köke (phonetics), Kürelbaɣatur, Li Shumei and Sodu helped plan my fieldwork in 2012. Bao Hongli, Bao Kögjiltü, Bao Yunguan, Guo Baɣatur, Ma Fuchuan, Wang Qous and several others then enabled me to work on-site, and numerous mostly one-time-only informants contributed the largest part of my data. I want to express my thanks to

2. Preliminaries

The Khorchin phoneme system (by and large as presented in Bayancoɣtu 2002) is transcribed according to Table 1. While there is a vowel length distinction in the first syllable, non-initial syllables contain either a full vowel or non-phonemic schwa (and some variants due to contamination from consonants rather than vowel harmony). Therefore, non-initial vowels except for long <ee> vs. short schwa <e> are written as single vowels.

Table 1. Khorchin phonemes and their transcription

IPA	ɑ	ɛ	ə	i	ɔ	œ	ʊ	u	y	n	ŋ	p	p^h
Latin	a	E	e	i	o	O	v	u	U	n	ng	b	p
IPA	x	g	m	l	s	ʃ	t	t^h	tʃ	j	r	w	k^h
Latin	x	g	m	l	s	q	d	t	z	y	r	w	k

these here. I am even more grateful to Bao Hongli, Miaomiao, Zhao Haixia, Zhao Secen and the landlords of my hotel in Shebertu for trying to keep my spirits up under adverse conditions, and to Guo Bayatur for being an example of Khorchin culture as it once must have been. On the academic level, I am grateful to Bao Manliang and Γuua from the Central University of Nationalities for discussing (142), to Guo Shumei for help with some critical English translations, and to John Street for proofreading the entire paper. Special thanks go to Bayancoɣtu for his reference grammar that greatly facilitated my work.

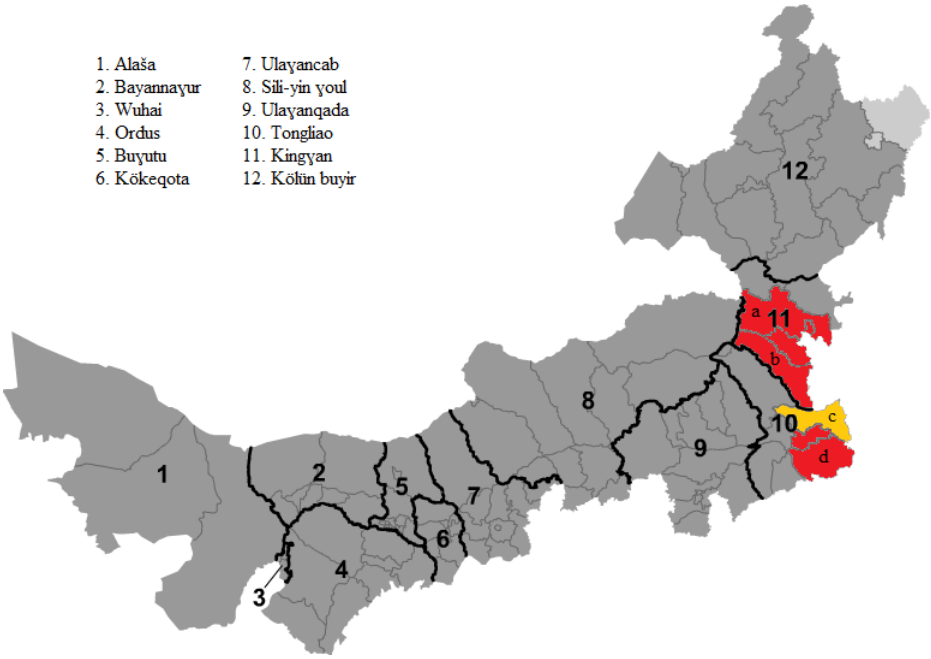
[2] ᠬᠥᠪᠡᠭᠡᠨ ᠪᠠᠶᠠᠨᠴᠣᠭᠲᠤ ᠪᠢ ᠬᠣᠷᠴᠢᠨ ᠬᠡᠯᠡᠨ ᠤ ᠨᠢᠭᠡᠳᠦᠭᠡᠷ ᠬᠡᠪᠯᠡᠯ ᠶᠢᠨ ᠰᠤᠯᠤᠩᠭᠠ ᠳᠤᠷ ᠪᠠᠶᠢᠭᠤᠯᠵᠤ ᠪᠤᠢ ᠪᠠᠶᠠᠨᠴᠣᠭᠲᠤ ᠶᠢᠨ ᠰᠤᠯᠤᠩᠭᠠ ᠳᠤᠷ ᠬᠣᠷᠴᠢᠨ ᠤ ᠬᠡᠯᠡ ᠶᠢᠨ ᠤᠭᠭᠠᠯᠠ ᠵᠢ

Suffix vowels are cited in their most frequent vowel-harmonic form (unrounded, without advanced tongue), while alternating affricates / stops are cited in their non-aspirated form. Khorchin has morphological patterns similar to those of other agglutinating languages in Central Asia. Compounding and prefixation are relatively rare, while suffixation is used extensively. In contrast to other Mongolian dialects, zero conversions of Mandarin verbs are common (cf. Bayancoγtu 2002: 529–535). While they exhibit some peculiarities, the converbal system (Bayancoγtu 2002: 312–329) and the case system seem to be as developed as in other dialects.

3. Data collection and research methdology

Khorchin is a Mongolian dialect spoken in the Tongliao City region (formerly Jirim League) and the Hinggan League in Inner Mongolia, the Dörbed Mongol Autonomous County in Heilongjiang and the Qian Gorlos Mongol Autonomous County in Jilin. It is the principal dialect of the Eastern Mongolian dialect group which also consists of dialects such as Kharchin proper, Tümed, Mongoljin and Naiman. The other major dialect groups are Central Mongolian with Khalkha as the official language of Mongolia and Chakhar as the de facto standard of Inner Mongolia, Buryat (northern) and Oirat (western).

Map 1. The core Khorchin territories on a map of Inner Mongolia (from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inner_Mongolia, modified)



This study specifically focuses on about 6 hours of transcribed language data containing more than 2100 finite positive verbal predicates from the Khorchin Eastern Central banner (Qorcin jegün ɣarun dumdadu qosiɣu, historically also Darqan qosiɣu after its feudal lord, marked as "c" on Map 1) that Sarana, Xiaohua and I collected during four days in June 2011. Data from speakers from the Khorchin Western Front ("a") and Middle banner ("b") and the Eastern Back banner ("d") has been taken into account to a minor degree, while more deviant dialects such as the subgroup consisting of Jalaid, Dörbed and Gorlos (Jiāng 2012: 41–43) as well as Jarud have been excluded.

The data was discussed with a large number of informants exclusively from the Eastern Central banner, more specifically from the rural municipalities Bayantala, Quvatoɣul and Quvaqosiɣu and from Shebertu Township, during two stays in August and December 2012 lasting overall around 27 days in the field, but with an estimated average elicitation time of as little as 3 hours a day. Elicitation was usually done by presenting informants with language material in a variety of Mongolian script modified to reflect some of the verbal contractions found in Khorchin. Mandarin loans were written in Hanzi or mixed script (e.g. 安排ᡮᠠ *anpai-na* employ-NPST). Informants were to compare the meaning of two different TA forms in a given context, and I noted down the gist of their answer. Elicitation was done in Standard Mongolian with as many Khorchin features as I could muster. While I have an Extended Limited Working Proficiency (2+) if not a General Professional Proficiency (3) in Khalkha Mongolian which corresponds to at least a Limited Working Proficiency (2) in Standard Southern Mongolian, my communicative skills in Khorchin probably don't exceed an Extended Elementary Proficiency (1+) (following the Interagency Language Roundtable scale, http://www.govtilr.org, retrieved 2013–07–11), so I often had to ask informants to paraphrase answers. 29 of 60 informants had Higher Middle school education and beyond, allowing for smoother communication with more standard elements and less misunderstanding, while the other half had Lower Middle school education and below, allowing to identify and exclude influence from the standard. While a given set of examples was never discussed with more than 10 and sometimes as few as 5 informants, education-based counterbalancing took effect for all of my data. Irrespective of education, no informant was accepted that had stayed in the area of any other Mongolian dialect for 3 years or longer, and very few had actually left Tongliao for an extended period.

Analysis was done based on morpheme combinations instead of morphemes. In order for a morph in two different morpheme combinations to be assigned the same meaning, its meaning was established for both morpheme combinations separately (see 5.1 for additional discussion). The basic idea is that morphs that take part in different oppositions may express different meanings (cf. Johanson 1971: chapter I, especially 17, 26–27, 30–31): func-

tion is more important than morpheme class, thus participial and finite verbal suffixes in the same position and function have to be compared. As they take part in different oppositions, the meanings of cognate morphemes / morpheme combinations in different functions (e.g. a participle in attributive and in finite position) are not directly comparable. This principle has all too often been ignored in descriptions of Mongolian, with disastrous consequences. The separate handling of morphemes in different combinations and paradigms takes due caution against overgeneralizations, even if this may mean that some possible generalizations will be missed due to the limited data.

4. Structure of the Khorchin TA system

Verbal suffixes in Mongolian can usually be divided into finite suffixes restricted to the sentence-final position, participial suffixes that can be used attributively and often also in sentence-final position and converbal suffixes that appear as predicates of non-finite clauses and mostly cannot occur in sentence-final position. Participial forms and semantically neutral linking converbs can usually also be part of complex predicates, while specialized converbs with specific meanings such as 'if' and 'when' can't.[3] Fusions among such elements can yield regular suffixes. A number of morphemes are attested in positive finite declarative Khorchin predicates:

1. The finite suffixes *-z(E)* and *-n(a)* for past and non-past.
2. The finite adhortative (mood) suffix *-i* which in questions can assume habitual meaning.
3. The participle *-sen* that in finite position seems to express past or perfect meaning.
4. The suffixes *-lE* and *-ad(a)* which are both used as finite verbal and as converbal suffixes. If *-lE* is not used as a specialized converbal suffix that expresses a condition or temporal background, it refers to an immediate or recent event. *-ad(a)* expresses propulsive and continuative meaning both as finite and as a linking converbal suffix.
5. The linking converbal suffix *-z*.
6. The prefinal suffixes *-tqEg-* (dissatisfaction) and *-nzE-* (prospective aspect).
7. The auxiliary verbs (*b*)*EE-* 'be' and *ge-* 'say'.
8. The clitic *=l* (originally restrictive focus 'only').
9. Interrogative clitics and illocutionary particles.

[3] For the terms "specialized converb" and "linking converb", see Nedjalkov 1995.

The minimal verbal predication consists of a verb stem plus a finite suffix.[4] The verb stem may be followed by non-final constructions that can combine in the order *-tqeg-* + *-ad bEE-* + *-z=EE-*. The restrictive focus clitic *=l* may occur after *-ad* or *-z*.[5] No more than two of these four elements may occur in one predicate, and *-tqeg-* and the progressive *-z=EE-* don't combine. *-ad* needn't be followed by the copula *bEE-*, but if it is missing, no finite suffix can attach either. *-nzE-* can attach to word stem as well, but doesn't combine with other aspectual elements. The most common finite suffixes are *-na* and *-zE*, but as the combination *-ad bEE-z=EE-na* is rejected by a majority of informants, it is not clear whether they can combine with all combinations of aspect constructions. This is schematized in (1), which also summarizes post-verbal elements.

(1) a. verb + (converbal suffix+auxiliary) +
b. [(*-tqeg-*) (*-ad* (*bEE-*)) (*-z=EE-*)|=*l* after converb]$_{\text{max. 2 adjacent units}}$ / [*-nzE-*] +
c. finite suffix +
d. ([[((interrogative clitic) + (*da*)) / (confirmative particle)] + (*xui*)] / [*bilE* / *ba* / *gene*])

Combinations of complex TA markers with interrogative and illocutionary markers determine the choice of TA markers to some degree. *bilE* is only attested after finite *-z*. *-ad* and *-lE* are not attested with the illocutionary particles *da*, *ba*, *qu* and with interrogative clitics (except for *-ad=u*). Informants reject *-z=E-n=i*, whereas *-n=i* is attested and acceptable. The only interrogative or illocutionary element which the Voluntative *-i* is attested to combine with is the interrogative clitic *=me*. Semantically, *ba* is an important device to express inference and *ge-ne* (in contrast to other forms of the verb *ge-*) may not only indicate a quotation, but (at least when following short variants of finite suffixes and not being followed by other particles) even hearsay. Even though other combinations might turn out to be relevant, particles other than *ba* and *gene* and the subtleties of different question clitics will be ignored below.

[4] The verb stem can belong to a full verb, or to an auxiliary which is linked to its main verb by a converbal suffix, e.g. *erge-z yolo-* turn-CVB can(NEG.POLARITY?) 'be able to turn'.

[5] In contrast to e.g. Khalkha Mongolian, *=l* is restricted to occuring with converbs (*-z*, *-ad* and the clause-connecting *-sar*) and a few connective words such as *base=l* 'also'. It does not modify noun phrases such as in Khalkha *chamaig=l hairl-ii* 2SG.ACC=FOC love-VOL 'I will love only you (and nobody else)' (internet).

Table 2. Frequencies of TA markers in Khorchin declaratives and questions

		_	_ *gene*	*-tqeg-*	*-zE-*	*-ad bEE-*	*-ad bEE- zE-*	*-nzE-*
-na	D	642	30	103	305	17	0	40
	Q	97	0	3	59	2	0	11
-zE	D	334	40	48	60	2	1	0
	Q	17	0	6	4	0	0	0
-sen	D	34	0	1	8	0	0	0
	Q	91	0	0	5	0	1	0
-ada	D	65	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Q	3	0	1	0	0	0	0
-lE	D	≤20	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Q	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
-i	D	>10	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Q	59	2	0	3	0	0	0

Table 2 shows the actual frequency with which certain non-finite and finite TA constructions combine in the corpus in declarative and interrogative sentences. *-tqeg-* is only attested with simple forms (while informants do accept *-tqeg-ad bEE-*), while *gene* in combination with non-simple forms seems to be restricted to simple quotative meaning and is thus treated as if absent.

The difference between declarative and interrogative forms (marked as D and Q in Table 2) is most relevant for the suffixes *-sen* and *-i*. The total count of simple *-sen* amounts to 6% of the entire data (excluding *-i*), but declarative *-sen* merely amounts to 2% of all declarative suffixes. *-i* functions as adhortative in declaratives (where it has not been counted systematically), while *-i* in interrogatives seems to express habituality. A preliminary approximation of the system indicated by Table 2 is shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Combinations of Khorchin TA markers

	Neutral			Progressive[6]	Continuative-resultative		Prospective
		Dissatisfaction	Hearsay		Resultative	Continuative	
non-past	*-na*	*-tqegne*	*-n gene*	*-zEna*	*-ad bEEna*	*-ad bEEna*	*-nzEna*
past	*-zE*	*-tqzE*	*-z gene*	*-zEzE*	*-ad bEE-zEzE,-ad bEEzE*	?	*-nzEzE*
?perfect	*-sen*	*-tqegsen*	?	*-zEsen*	?	?	?
?immediate	*-lE*	*-tqeglE*	*-tqeg-lE*	?	?	?	?
?continuative	*-ada*	?	?	?	?	?	?
voluntative	*-i*	?	?	*-zEi*	?	?	?

Apparently, the non-past and past morphemes form nearly complete paradigms, while the older Perfect and Immediate retain some of their combinability. The more recent Continuative and Voluntative have rather gappy paradigms.

5. Markers of the Khorchin TA system

Casting the forms mentioned in the last chapter into some kind of coherent system is not an easy task, and less so in the absence of more material. For presentational purposes, I will first deal with what could be called the "Core system" of TA in Khorchin consisting of the Past, the Non-Past and the non-finite constructions that taken together express the vast majority of TA meanings grammatically expressable in Khorchin. This is completed by a discussion of minor finite suffixes that can contribute some fine-grained additional nuances or appear in non-declarative positive contexts. While no attempt has been made to deal with aktionsart in detail, non-verbal predicates as a very obvious expression of actional peculiarities through word classes are then taken up briefly. The discussion is completed by addressing a set of morphemes that express non-TA meanings but which are structurally and even partly semantically related.

[6] For present forms, the meaning is progressive, but for past forms it is imperfective. Both terms could be referred to joinedly by the very useful, but not widespread term "intraterminal" (Johanson 2000).

5.1 Core system

The most central and semantically most neutral forms within the Khorchin TA system are the suffixes *-na* and *-zE*. They combine with almost all aspectual constructions and in these combinations express the simple values present and past, respectively. On its own, however, lone *-na* is more specific and in expresses habituality, genericity and future. These notions, which could also be summarized under the label "non-past non-progressivity" become clear from the paradigmatic opposition of lone *-na* to the Present Progressive in *-zE-na* in the present tense. Similarly, *-zE* in combinations does not express perfectivity, while lone *-zE* becomes associated with this value due to its opposition to the Past Imperfective *-zE-zE*.

5.1.1 The Non-Past Non-Progressive *-na*

Simple *-na* is the simplest and most general non-past marker in Khorchin. If it follows /l/, it assimilates to it, thus bol-lo 'you may' is an instance of *-na*, not *-lE*. It is used for habitual to generic present time reference, for performatives and for future intentions. It is thus a typical instance of a low to non-focal intraterminality marker (Johanson 2000: 87–92) that cannot focus on any ongoing events, but either links the event to a very large time period or no current time period at all. As far as its non-future application is concerned, it is also a typical marker of gnomic imperfective (Bertinetto & Lenci 2012) that can refer to habitual (repetitive), attitudinal (presuming at least one instance of an event that is taken to be characterizing), potential (instantiation not required, but still eventive), individual-level (properties of one individual) and truly generic events.

Simple *-na* is used generically to refer to properties that are constant over time, either for individuals or entire genera like in (1) and arguably (2):

(1) *man-E* *end* *uguE* *ter* *modo* *xvv*,
1PL-GEN DPROX.LOC NEG.LOC DDIST tree complete XY
XY gedeg=tqen *vse-n* *doter* ***vrge-na***
COMP?=2POSS water-ATTR in grow-NPST
'That tree doesn't grow in our region here. XY grows in water.'

(2) A: *unger-sen-d* *terge-n* *xurd* *iim* *bEE-sen*
pass.BY-PRF.P-DAT cart-ATTR wheel so COP-PRF.P
B: *ee,* *m-iim* *bE-zE-z,* *en=tqen* *temer* *tereg*
eh just-so COP-PROG-PST DPROX=2POSS iron cart
ge-z ***xele-n***
say-CVB say-NPST
A: 'In the past, cart wheels were like that.'
B: 'Eh, they used to be just like that. You call this an iron cart.'

It is furthermore used to refer to activities that characterize individuals or groups without being completely unchangeable such as (3).[7] It is also used as a neutral device with states such as in (4) and for events that take place habitually such as in (5) or have become customs such as in (6).

(3) A: *malze-x soyel yilu qii*
herd-NPST.P culture more IP
B: *teden sEE vv-na, Erx-an* ***vv-na,***
3PL good drink-NPST spirits-RPOSS drink-NPST
max-an ***ide-ne***
meat-RPOSS eat-NPST
A: 'The herder culture is better, isn't it?'
B: 'They drink a lot, they drink their liquor, they eat their meat.'

(4) *man bol base=l xudeen-E-an xamgen amttE*
1PL TOP also=FOC country-GEN-NOM? most tasty
sane-gde-na
think.of-PASS-NPST
'To us, the rural one seems most tasty, too.'

(5) *eng-gul odo gEE-nE loo tuiqiu-sen*
do.so-COND.CVB now outside-GEN old retire-PRF.P
bagqe-nar xvv zoos-tE qii, ung-gul
teacher-PL complete money-COM IP do.so-COND.CVB
odo ud-lE ud-lE bagq-nare=n
now lunch-TIME lunch-TIME teacher-PL-3POSS
tqingkee-ne, *fandEn-da*
treat.to.meal-NPST restaurant-DAT
'And the retired old teachers in the town really have a lot of money, don't they. So now at every lunch time these teachers pay for the meals at the restaurant [for the people they eat with].'

(6) *odo bas tErE yangs-uE* ***oqe-n***
now also grain remove.wheet-CVB.in_order go.to-NPST
qiide, mooke daagua. ter gazer odo gazer
IP sunflower watermelon DDIST place now place
vvzu=tqen ter gazer xvv xun uguE,
wider=2POSS DDIST place complete person NEG.EX
eng-gul odo mookeyeede=n tqix
do.so-COND.CVB now sunflower etc=3POSS [ear

[7] Narrative II in Bosson and Ünensecen's paper (1962: 34–35, 38–39) about birth customs in one village in the Eastern Back banner almost exclusively consists of similar examples.

max-i=n ***yElge-na***, *zu odo namer*
flesh-ACC=3POSS differentiate][8]-NPST then now autumn
bol lUUdu ***xade-n***
TOP mung.been cut.down-NPST
'Now we also go to weed out the fields, the sunflowers and watermelons. Because the area is so vast, there is nobody around at all. Then we also take off unnecessary extra fruits from the sunflowers and other crops. Then, when it becomes autumn, we cut off the mung beens.'

One and the same event can be viewed, so to speak, with higher or lower focality, thus as a general instance of a habit and then as the current approach in (7), thereby switching from Non-Progressive to Progressive.

(7) A: *tan-E me- ter paadu xuangdu*
2PL-GEN just-DDIST white. bean soya.bean
lUUdu
green.bean
B: *bad* ***tEr-na***
also grow-VOL
A: *bad tEr-i?*
also grow-NPST
B: *ee, lUUdu bol m-ene xvv sEEn*
eh, mung.bean TOP just-now complete good
gazer ***tEr-zE-na***
place grow-PROG-NPST
A: 'That white beans, soya beans, mung beans ...'
B: 'We plant those as well.'
A: 'You plant those as well?'
B: 'Yes, we are [now] growing mung beans in [our] best soil.'

Simple *-na* is also used in performatives, conditionals and independent future-referring utterances. For performatives, I presented informants with the setting of a testament in which the author wants to bequeath a horse to his friend, and with a judge who at the end of a legal process was to bestow a penalty of two years upon the defendant. In the first case, all eight informants unanimously opted for using the verb form *uge-n* give-NPST. In the second case, too, six informants opted for sentences like (8) with *-na* suffixed to the verbs *qiidge-* 'punish' and *togto-* 'establish'. One used *-zE* (surprisingly, but also considered by one informant in the testament setting), another *-lE* (probably influenced by the standard).

[8] This idiom seems to refer to taking off an unnecessary fruit.

(8) *xoyer* *zil-nE* *yal* ***togto-n***
two year-GEN penalty establish-NPST
'I determine a penalty of two years.'

Simple *-na* is the most common and neutral marker in the apodosis of conditional sentences as in (9). It even occurs in the protasis before the conjunction *bol* as in (10) that requires a participle in Khalkha.

(9) *bendi* *tExa-nE* *zuu* *qul-i=n*
rural chicken-GEN then broth-ACC-3POSS
vv-bel ***zib=zibur-ne***
drink-COND.CVB RED=detest-NPST
'If you drink the broth of a rural chicken, you will be disgusted.'

(10) *ug=meg* ***xele-n*** ***bol*** *geng* *abqantE* *xele-n* *qvv*
word=RED say-NPST if very properly say-NPST IP
'When s/he speaks, s/he really speaks very well.'

Future reference is not well represented in the original corpus and was supplemented with some additional elicitations about future events from pupils and parents. For expressing an intentional future, the Voluntative as in *kompan azel xii-i* (company work do-VOL) 'I want to work at a company' and the Non-Progressive as in *uze-n* lit. '[I] will see [(script)]' (as answer to the question whether he wanted to continue studying in school) are attested. Predictions are usually expressed by *-na* as well, e.g. (11) [asked whether he as an adult will manage to pursue a career as a doctor and writer at the same time] *yolo-n ba* can-NPST IP 'I will probably manage to do so'. A scheduled future event is illustrated in (12), whereas preparative future events are rather expressed by *-nzE-* (see 5.1.4).

(11) *ewr-in* *qadel-tE* *bEE-vel* ***yawe-n*** *qtee*
own-GEN ability-COM COP-COND.CVB go-NPST IP
'If it lies within her abilities, she will go [to university]'

(12) *sanshihao* *mini* *neg* *chuzhong* *tongxue*
thirtieth 1SG.GEN one middle.school classmate
jiehun-n ***gene***, *nad* *dianhua* *ir-tqE*
marry-NPST HEARSAY 1SG.DAT phone come-PST
'On the 30th, one of my Middle school classmates will marry. I got a phone call [from him].'

Example (13) is the only instance where *-na* refers to a past habitual event. The expected Past Imperfective *ampai-zE-zE* would denote that they were

employing a lot of people who had actually acquired education, while *ampai-na* emphasizes that there was such a rule that would apply to every single case. That is, *ampai-zE-zE* is habitual, while *ampai-na* is potential.

(13) *ter man-E ter quuqu-nE*
DDIST 1PL-GEN DDIST father's.younger.brother-GEN
uiyse-d[9] *_ ter uiyse-d tqireg-d yab-ul*
time-DAT DDIST time-DAT soldier-DAT go-COND.CVB
sEEn ge-ed, ter uiyse-d. m-ene dal
good say-PFV.CVB DDIST time-DAT just-DPROX seventy
xur-zE-xe=n ter uiyse-d
reach-PROG-NPST.P=3POSS DDIST time-DAT
soyel-ud-tE yab-sen uyeng xun-i
culture-PL-COM go-PRF.P because person-ACC
anpai-na.
employ-NPST
'At the time of our uncle, at that time it was really good to join the military. ... At that time, if one had [also] gone along with people of culture [i.e. received formal education], they would employ you.'

The use of *-n* in questions has its own pecularities. First, I assume *-n* to be assimilated to the question clitics *=mu* (with polar questions) and *=me* (with either type of questions) in contexts such as (14) and (15). Both clitics are attested on their own such as *=me* after the negator *=guE* and *=mu* as in *no-gon=mu, xar=mu* 'Is it green or black?' There is one instance of *uge -n=mu* 'will XY give?' that lends support to the analysis as assimilation.

(14) *zaqi-d yuu **xii=me**?*
Jarud-DAT what do[-IPFV]=Q
'What will you do in Jarud?'

(15) *engeed yUr-d=een*
do.so-PFV.CVB general-DAT=RPOSS
wenxuazan-d=an bol tan mvngl-ar
culture.office/center-DAT=RPOSS TOP 2PL Mongolian-INS
*xel=mu, xEdt-ar **xel=mu**?*
say[-NPST]=Q Chinese-INS say[-NPST]=Q
'Then at the culture office, do you generally speak Mongolian or Chinese?'

[9] While *uiysed* might correspond to *üye-s-tü* time(of event)-PL-DAT 'at these times' in Mongol script, it does not seem to have any plural meaning in Khorchin.

Simple *-na* is used together with other question clitics such as *=u* in (16) and (17) and *=i* in (18). The latter is infrequent, unless *=i* is followed by the illocutionary particle *=dee* as in (19), forming a particular epistemic / illocutionary device (reportedly restricted to older people and equivalent to the Mandarin loan particle *ba* 'probably, right?') rather than an actual question. Similar, (16) can be taken as a request/invitation to a single future action. As can be seen from the lexically stative (17) and the situationally stative (15), questions with *-n* can also be construed as habitual.

(16) *tqii* *en-i* ***vv-n=v****?*
2SG DPROX-ACC drink-NPST=Q
'Would you drink this?'

(17) *zeel-z* *ba* ***bol-n=u*** *ter-i=n ?*
borrow-CVB also become-NPST=Q DDIST-ACC=3POSS
xvvr=maar-i=n *ba* *zeel-z* *bol-i?*
violin=RED-ACC=3POSS also borrow-CVB become-VOL
'Can you also borrow that? Can you also borrow his violins?'

(18) *m-ene* *ax-xuE* ***oqe-n=i****?*
just-DPROX take-CVB.in.order go.to-NPST=Q
'Will you go there to get it?'

(19) *teden* *xoo* *alx-ad* ***yir-n=i=dee***
3PL complete stride-PFV.CVB come-NPST=Q=IP
'They might all come here on foot?!'

5.1.2 The Past Non-Imperfective *-zE*

The suffix *-zE* is the past counterpart to *-na*. It occurs in a long variant *-zE* and a short variant *-z*, as well as in an aspirated form *-tqE* / *-tq*. While its short variant is homophonous with the converb *-z*, my Khorchin corpus data indicates that this converb is only used to link 1. two adjacent verbs that are conceptualized as one single activity including non-conventionalized verb combinations such as in *xoo xvlgaa xii-z advl-zE-na* all theft do-CVB graze(TR)-PROG-NPST 'they all graze their cattle illegally', 2. lexicalized compounds such as *xvdelde-z ab-z qiide* trade-CVB take-PST IP 'bought it, definitely',[10] and 3. matrix verb plus auxiliary combinations such as *or-z yolo-xuE* enter-CVB can-NPST.P.NEG 'can't enter'. In all other contexts, one can assume that a verb-final morph *-z* is the short variant of the past tense

[10] Bosson and Ünensecen (1962: 32), relying on very limited data, note only this use and the use in the Progressive. But they thus confirm the very restricted use of this converb.

suffix *-zE*. *-zE* is used for events that can be either temporally distant or close, firsthand or secondhand, and controlled or inherently uncontrollable.

20) *ii, ter-i=n bi ba ten deer*
EXCL DDIST-ACC=3POSS 1SG also DDIST.ATTR on
tEb-z
put-PST
'Yeah, that one I also put on there.'

(21) *uu, öör id-z yolo-xu=lE,*
EXCL other eat-CVB can-NPST.NEG=PRES.RELEVANCE
tqaz=tqade-zE
RED=get.full-PST
'Oh, I can't eat more now, I am completely full.'

(22) *bii=qin* ***mart-ad=ug-qE***
1SG=2POSS forget-PFV.CVB=give-PST
'I had forgotten about it'

(23) *man-E aab-in uyesu-d bol riben-tqud*
1PL.EXCL-GEN father-GEN time-DAT TOP Japanese-PL
bEE-z *qu*
COP-PST IP
'In the days of my father, there were Japanese [in Shebertü].'

Simple *-zE* is the standard marker in storylines such as in (24). It does not seem to be used for marking the background in the incidence scheme.

(24) *tangarin sum yeedeer xo* ***tOOrzE****. manE tend oqod qewerted oqodo. ergeed yolenmod yeed vrv* ***yawzE****.* (...) *dolon gertee, tiin qii. dolon gert bad neg* (*...*) ***xonzE****. neg xonod ereed ter _ gada mEErnEten deer bad diaocha xoo* ***otqzE****.*
'We visited (*-zE*) Tangar Temple and other sites. Having gone there, we went (*-ad*) to Shebertu. Then again we went (*-zE*) towards the Yolonmod area. (...) to Doloon Ger, to be exact. In Doloon Ger we stayed one night (*-zE*). Having stayed one night there, we went to (⁻*zE*) that statue of Gada Meiren for field research.'

In the apodosis of conditional clauses when attaching to the verb *taar-* 'fit' as in (25), *-zE* refers to an event that would definitely be appropriate in the future. It can be replaced with *-na* in such a context, but informants say that this would reduce the emphasis on the appropriateness of the event. In past

polar questions, the short variant of *-zE* plus the clitic *=u* are commonly used irrespective of whether there is any present relevance or presumed resultant state or not, cf. (26).

(25) A. *yab-a* *yab-a* *vrqan* *yab-a*
go-IMP[11] go-IMP southwards go-IMP
B. *ungguE,* *metg-eed* *asgen* *yaw-ul*
NEG.LOC do.just.so-PFV.CVB straight go-COND.CVB
taar-tq, *odo* *m-en* *zam=a*
fit-PST now just-DPROX way=EMPH
A. 'Go, go! Go southwards!'
B. 'No, it's appropriate to go straight, now that way here.'

(26) *zooxiangzi-gan* *suuderle-x* *maqen-an*
still.camera-RPOSS take.photo-NPST.P machine=RPOSS
ab-z=u*?*
take-PST=Q
'Did you take your Fotoapparat ... your still camera with you?'

5.1.3 Present Progressive and Past Imperfective

Present Progressive and Past Imperfective are formed by combining the past and non-past suffixes with the non-final aspect suffix *-zE-*. While the phonological shape of this suffix looks the same as the long variant of the past tense suffix, they have distinct immediate origins: *-zE* is cognate with the Middle Mongol (MM) secondhand past suffix *-juɣu*, while *-zE-* is the contraction of the converb *-z* with the copula *bEE-*.[12] The Present Progressive is most commonly used to refer to an ongoing activity such as (27) or prototypical temporary state such as (28).

(27) A: *en* *max-i=n* *id-Ø*
DPROX meat-ACC=3POSS eat-IMP
B: *eng* ***id-zE-na***
eh eat-PROG-NPST
A: 'Eat this meat!'
B: 'Eh, I'm eating.'

[11] I am not sure whether *–a* should be represented as an imperative suffix by itself or whether it should be added as an emphatic clitic to an actual zero imperative suffix. Bayancoɣtu doesn't mention this morph at all.

[12] The uncontracted form can still be used in the Standard, but it doesn't occur in Khorchin anymore. It is thus inaccurate of Matsuoka (2008) to provide an analytic form.

(28) ***talxer-zE-na***. ***bayrel-zE-na***
feel.grateful-PROG-NPST feel.happy-PROG-NPST
'I'm feeling glad and happy.'

In contrast, verbs like *tEn-* 'be acquainted with' encode states that are usually conceptualized as enduring. The use of the Progressive in (29) is explained by informants as indicating a merely superficial familiarity with professor Guo or even mere momentary recognition of the name, while the Non-Progressive would indicate that the speaker is indeed well acquainted with Guo. In (30), the simple *yolexuE* would constitute a straight, definite answer, while the actual *yoloxuE bEEzEn* (which is considered as basically equivalent to *yoloxuE bEEn* by informants) refers to a temporal inability, implicating that he might be able to take it later. Achievements as in (31), in contrast, may lead to iterativization. *xur-* 'reach' is an achievement verb, and so is the entire predication. *-zE-n=u* refers to the prices that rural chickens are reaching in several events of selling them ranging from the past up to the present. In contrast, a past form (*-s=i=me* in a question, *-zE* in a declarative) would refer to the current price that chickens have reached now, while simple *-n=u* would be understood as referring to future prices.

(29) A: *qii* *guo* *bagq-i* ***tEn-zE-n*** *ba?*
2SG G. teacher-ACC know-PROG-NPST IP
B: *tEn-n* / ***tEn-zE-n***. (constructed)
know-NPST / know-PROG-NPST
A: 'I guess you know professor Guo?' –
B: 'I know him.'

(30) ***ab-z*** ***yolo-xuE*** ***bEE-zE-n***
take-CVB can.NEG -NPST.P.NEG COP-PROG-NPST
'[I]'m unable to take it, currently.'

(31) *tan-E* *tenti-x-i* *bendi* *tiixa*
2PL-GEN DDIST.LOC-NOM-GEN rural chicken
xedi ***xur-zE-n=u****?*
how.much each-PROG-NPST=Q
'What's the price for your local rural chicken now?'

In questions, the Present Progressive assumes the form **-zE-n=i* > *-zE=i* > *-zE*, which is at least nearly homophonous with the long variant of the Past *-z(E)*. As the Non-Imperfective Past cannot be used in content questions such as (32) and can only occur in its short variant *-z=u* in polar questions such as (33), and since questions are also marked by intonation, there is usually no ambiguity.

(32) *mii* *ab-sen* *gazer-an* *eng-eed* *xoo*
coal take-PRF.P place-RPOSS do.so-PFV.CVB all
yaa-zE*?*
do.what-PROG.NPST.Q
'So what are they doing with the places where they mine for coal?'

(33) *tqaiyeuzii(g)-ar* ***vsel-zE****?*
diesel_engine-INS water-PROG.NPST.Q
'Are you watering with a diesel engine?'

Like the Present Progressive, the Past Imperfective is able to refer to an event that was ongoing at reference time. (34) is an instance of an incidence scheme. For (35), informants judge A's thinking as an inadvertent one upon meeting B for the first time, while using simple *-zE* instead would indicate a previous or evidence-based assumption.

(34) *or-od* *ir-lE* *ter* *xOO-gur*
enter-PFV.C come-CVB.when DDIST behind-PROS
gui-zE-z
run-PROG-PST
'When XY came in, s/he was running behind XY.'

(35) A: *nas=tqen?*
age=2POSS
B: *tEben* *negee*
fifty one
A: *xedi* *zalu=mE,* *duq* *ge[z]*
how young=Q forty COMP
bod-zE-z, *unn* *zalu* (...) *bEE-sara*
think-PROG-PST true young COP- CONTI.CVB
B: *zalu* *gene*
young HEARSAY
A: 'How old are you?'
B: '51'
A: 'How young! I was thinking you are 40, you really keep on [looking] young.'
B: 'Young she says! (Right!)'

However, the Past Imperfective is even more commonly applied to past habitual situations such as (36) or to stative events that endured in the past such as (37). This is necessary as the Non-Imperfective is perfective by default, and while it is compatible with habitual events, it cannot express them as such by itself. A common connotation is that the events are more distant than

those simply expressed by *-zE* even to the point of implicating hearsay, e.g. that they cannot any longer be in living memory. For instance, (36), which was presented to informants without the hearsay-indicating *gesen*, would look to informants like a recent event if *-zE* had been used, and a speaker choosing *-zE* in (37) might be perceived as somebody who has witnessed the fifties. As indicated by the progressive use, such implicatures are defeasable.

(36) *uguE, xaan vrtEn m-iim yangz-tE mOr yeed*
no king before=RPOSS just-such type-COM horse etc.
mengee-z ***tize-zE-zE*** ***ge-sen***
do.just.so-CVB nourish-PROG-PST say-PRF.P
'No, it is said that the king in times of yore was breeding horses just like this.'

(37) *tEben on-E uyis-ud bol odo mal*
fifty year-GEN time-DAT TOP now cattle
malz-xar ... *golele-z* ***Emder-zE-zE***
herd-CVB.means concentrate.on-CVB live-PROG-PST
'In the fifties, people were making a living by herding cattle.'

As the Present Progressive contrasts with a marker that expresses habituality and genericity, it cannot express habituality. This doesn't preclude a rather wide conceptualization of temporary situations, though. In (38), B refers to a here and now that is conceived of broadly, so broad that B ultimately has to switch to the Non-Progressive when using time adverbials that refer to instances within the yearly cycle. Similar to an eating habit that in principle may change over the years, the delimited duration of working on a doctoral thesis is quite appropriately marked with the Progressive in (39). (40) is a rare example where no temporal delimitation is obvious from the context, even though the use of *-zEna* safely prevents a future reading. Still, the delimitation must be taken as implied here.

(38) A: *tquufang, ene=n bada ide-x*
kitchen DPROX=3POSS meal eat-NPST.P
gazer=a
place=EMPH
B: *tan bol endoron* {...} ***id-zE-n*** ***ba***
2PL TOP DPROX.LOC eat-PROG-NPST IP
A: *m-endor* ***id-zE-na***
just-DPROX.LOC eat-PROG-NPST
B: *m-endor* ***id-zE-n***
just-DPROX.LOC eat-PROG-NPST
A: *zvn bol endor* ***ide-ne***, *endor*
summer TOP DPROX.LOC eat-NPST DPROX.LOC

ebel *bol*
winter TOP
A: 'The kitchen, this is the place where you eat meals?!'
B: 'I guess you eat in here?'
A: '[We] eat right here.'
B: '[You] eat right here.'
A: 'In summer we eat in here, in here we eat in winter.'

(39) *en* *vda* *eng-ul* *matqral* *tqvglvl-ad*
DPROX time do.so-COND.CVB material collect-PFV.CVB
öör-in *uglel-een* ***bitqe-zE-n*** ***qdee***
self-GEN paper=RPOSS write-PROG-NPST IP
'So collecting material this time, he is working on his thesis.'

(40) *m-en-dor* ***yab-zE-na,*** *m-en* *da*
just-DPROX-PROSECUTIVE go-PROG-NPST just-DPROX big
tvngdo=tqen *me-ter* *ziizE* *ter* *tEEluzU-d*
gate=2POSS just-DDIST direct DDIST railway.office-DAT
'[400 km. No. From Tongliao, from here it's also 50 km, now it's 350 to 400 km to the north, so that's 50 km too little!] It is passing through here, just this railway direct to that railway office.'

While the Khorchin Present Progressive cannot be used by itself to indicate habituality, Present Progressive marking is compatible with a habitual adverbial in Khorchin. Usually, such an adverbial would combine with the Non-Progressive, but if both the internal structure of an event and its repetition have to be indicated e.g. to express simultaneity at every occasion, the use of the Progressive can be required. In such cases, the adverbial takes higher scope than the corresponding aspectual construction (or, alternatively, one might claim that *-na* in such contexts exceptionally bears the habitual meaning particular to simple *-na*):

(41) *naade-na,* *man-E* *endi-x-i* *vls-ud*
play-IPVF 1PL-GEN DPROX.LOC-NOM-GEN people-PL
naad-na, *xvvr* *yeed* *tate-x* *xun* *bEE-na,*
play-IPVF violin etc. draw-NPST.P person COP-NPST
m-en *zee* *zam-nE* *zuun* *tal-x-i*
just-DPROX street way-GEN east side-NOM-GEN
ger-nE, *odo* *qii,* ***uder-t=een***
house-GEN now IP day-DAT=RPOSS
xvvr ***tat-tqE-n***
violin draw-PROG-NPST
'They play [music]. Our people here play [music]. There are people playing the violin. The people of the house on the eastern

side of this way, now as for these, they are playing the violin every day.'

(42) ***uder-t=een*** ***yab-zE-na*** *tere, en*
day-DAT=RPOSS go-PROG-NPST DDIST DPROX
buuxing+zEE deer ***uder uder*** ***otq-zE-n****,*
walk+street on day day go.to-PROG-NPST
xun-E ter zEr gar-ad dal
person-GEN DDIST 60 cross-PFV.CVB 70
xure-nzE-na, öör neg yim
reach-PROSP-NPST other one thing
xii-z=ugE, odo en=tqen UUlee(g)-eed
do-CVB?=NEG now DPROX=2POSS entertain-PFV.CVB
uder-tee=n xvvr=an uur-eed
day-DAT=RPOSS violin=RPOSS carry-PFV.CVB
m-eng-eed
just-do.so-PFV.CVB
'He is going every day, that guy. Walking the street, he goes there every day. He's over sixty and about to reach seventy. He's doing nothing else. Now, this guy is entertaining [people?!] and carrying the violin every day and doing so.'

(43) A: *dvr bag-tE xun ge-z=u*
liking little-COM person say-PST=Q
B: *ungguE m-ene neg xed tat-lE,*
NEG.LOC just-DPROX one several draw-CVB.when
eden xun-i=n uz-zE-lE,
DPROX.PL person-ACC=3POSS see-PROG-CVB.when
ba neg xed dvvl-na. ter ba dvvl_maal
also one several sing-NPST DDIST also poetry
tqEde-n qvv. xun-E ter vgdan
can-NPST IP person-GEN DDIST basically
tiim weni-d aixo-tE
such culture-DAT fond.of-COM
A: *xvvr tate-g*[13] *xun bol* ***dvvl-zE-n***
violin draw-NPST.P person TOP sing-PROG-NPST
tat-tqE-n *qii*
draw-PROG-NPST IP

[13] The same assimilation from *-x* is exemplified by *ariljā hī-g hun* (Bosson and Ünenceceg 1962: 33) trade do-NPST.P person 'people doing trade'. But in contrast to my materials that generally indicate *-x*, Bosson and Ünenceceg write the non-past participle as *-g* in all contexts.

A: ‘A person with little liking [for the arts]?’
B: ‘No. This one played quite a bit. When they are looking at him,[14] [it seems] he can also sing quite a bit. He is also versed in poetry! He is basically very fond of such art.’
A: ‘A person who plays the violin plays and sings [at the same time], right?’

Commenting on (41), informants observe that *xvvr tat-tqE-n* refers to a period within the day that in contrast to *tate-n* may be perceived as lengthy e.g. due to dislike at somebody’s practicing or as confined to a definite period of the day, but no informant suggested anything along the line ‘every day for an unspecified period’. A similar relation holds in (42) where the reduplicated *uder uder* ‘every day’ is used next to the adverbial in *uder -t=een*. In (43), even though the speaker discusses the abilities of such musicians in general, the use of *-na* would fail to express that such musicians can sing and play in parallel. In Khalkha Mongolian, such examples would presumably not be fully acceptable, as that dialect has both *-n* (marking direct evidenence in complex predicates) and *-dag* (habitual-generic): *-n* combines with *-jii-* to express regular progressivity, while *-jii-dag* would indicate progressivity in the scope of habituality. A habitual adverbial would be expected to only combine with the latter form.

As was already indicated in the introduction, the integrity of the “suffix” *-zE-* can be violated by the restrictive focus clitic *=l* which attaches to what used to be a converb. *-z=l=E-n* apparently indicates that an event continues (activity) or iterates (achievement) without failing to the speaker’s dismay, as in (44) which is the answer to the question in (32).

(44) *yaa-y* *m-etg-eed* *nug*
do.what-VOL just-do.so-PFV.CVB hole
gar-ze=l=E-n *qiide*
come.up-CVB=FOC=COP-NPST IP
‘Alas, now holes keep on popping up.’

5.1.4 Prospectives

In Khorchin, the suffix *-nzE-* is used to express prospective aspect, i.e. a current state that (given a normal course of events) would lead up to a certain event that is imminent in the current situation:

[14] I don’t properly understand this clause. *eden* as attributive to *xun* (thus ‘this person’) seems to make more sense, but is ungrammatical. Neither do I have any evidence that *eden* can be used for an unspecified impersonal subject. But the transcription is accurate.

(45) *daatvngdon deer* ***ore-nzE-na****, en zam*
motorway on enter-PROSP-NPST DPROX way
datvngdon deer ore-n
motorway on enter-NPST
'We're about to enter the motorway. This way leads to the motorway.'

(46) *uzemz bEE-x gazere-n, uz-Ø ter=tqen*
view COP-NPST.P place-3POSS see-IMP DDIST=2POSS
zuu man-E mongl-en erten-E xvdeg,
then 1PL-GEN Mongolian-GEN early-GEN well
odo-d=on bur bEE-x=ku=lE, iim yim
now-DAT=RPOSS complete COP-NPST=NEG=CR such thing
uguE, zoo-z ***uge-nzE-[n]=mE****?*
NEG.LOC take.picture-CVB give-PROSP-[HAB]=Q
'A place with a nice surrounding. Look! That is an old Mongolian well! Now they are completely absent, these things don't exist anymore. Are you going to take me a photo?'[15]

(47) *ba zoos=maas* ***uge-nzE-n*** ***ba****? en.*
also money=RED give-PROSP-NPST IP DPROX
'He will probably also pay the money, right?'

A clear instance of an imminent event inherent in the dynamics of the current stage of affairs is (45). It would be possible to add the adverbial *arben minut-in dara* 'after ten minutes' here, as one informant did when paraphrasing this example. By doing so, she referred to the presupposed time of the imminent event. Another instance is *xoo xate-nzE-n* 'it (the glue) is about to dry completely'. In (46), the subject is left unexpressed, and simple *-na* could be interpreted as an offer due to the presence of the benefactive auxiliary *ug-*, while the Prospective here excludes the speaker as possible subject and conveys an indirect, less demanding request. In (47), the speaker wonders whether the other person has made up her mind to give money, while not imposing a demand that the money should actually be given, as would be expressed by *-na*. While *-nzE-na* appears 62 times in my materials from the Eastern wing, *-nzE-zE* is not attested. However, informants accept *daatvngdon deer ore-nzE-zE* 'was about to enter the road'.

Historically, *-nzE-* probably goes back to a form **-na ge-ju bayi-* (-NPST say-CVB stand/COP-). With the elision of *ge-*, *-nzE-* looks like an unseparable unit as *-n* and *-zE-* cannot combine directly. The corpus also contains four instances of unreduced forms as in (48).

[15] Because Xiaohua addressed this sentence to me, it contains several standard features such as *-en* instead of *-nE*, *bEE-x=ku* instead of *uguE* and *bur* instead of *xoo*.

(48) *neimeng-es* *xun* ***ir-ne*** ***ge-zE-na***
Inner.Mongolia-ABL person come-NPST say-PROG-NPST
en *uder*
DPROX day
'Somebody is about to come from Inner Mongolia, on this day.'

5.1.5 Markers of resultativity, iterativity and continuativity

There are two major accounts of the Resultative *-ad bEE-* in Eastern Mongolian dialects that I will summarize here, the older one by Cinggeltei (1959: 8–12) who tries to describe a common Inner Mongolian written and spoken usage, but is a native speaker of Kharchin, and the more recent one by Matsuoka (2008: 33–39, 58–63, 71–75) who describes Mongolian as elicited from two Khorchin informants on the basis of grammatical judgments about constructed sentences.[16]

Cinggeltei notes two central meanings of *-ad bEE-*: 1. A resultative meaning where something happened in the past yielding a result that is still valid at the time of reference. 2. A continuative or iterative meaning where either some state pertains or some action repeats itself. While the written language doesn't differentiate between these two meanings, he claims that the spoken language expresses the resultative meaning by the analytic form *-ad bEE-*, while the continuative / iterative meaning is expressed by the synthetic form *-adE-*. The difference between the continuative and iterative interpretation, he suggests, can be explained through recourse to different verb classes: verbs like *sayu-* 'sit down+sit', *joysu-* 'stand still+stand', *alad-* 'walk', *ajilla-* 'work', *bayi-* 'be', *kebte-* 'lie', *güyü-* 'run' and *umta-* 'sleep' [i.e. undirected activities and inceptive states] have some duration and usually yield a continuative meaning, while verbs like *ire-* 'come', *oci-* 'go to', *bos-* 'get up', *qarayi-* 'jump', *asayu-* 'ask', *ög-* 'give' and *ab-* 'take' [i.e. directed accomplishments and cyclic achievements][17] lack duration and thus yield an iterative meaning. Cinggeltei (1959: 12) further assumes that the complex form *-yad bayi-ju bayi-* (i.e., a Resultative Progressive) excludes iterative readings, but without providing similarly detailed examples. For Cinggeltei's account, we have to keep in mind that it tries to account for the spoken and written language at the same time; the examples (49)–(52) below are contex-

[16] The only information that Matsuoka (2008: 21) provides about his two Khorchin informants are name, year of birth (1939 resp. 1978), sex (male resp. female) and place of birth (Tongliao city resp. Western Central banner). The urban place of birth of his first informant makes a comparatively strong influence of the standard language probable, while the places of residence and the level of education of the younger speaker are necessary information without which her linguistic peculiarities cannot be estimated.

[17] I am adapting actionality classes from Croft 2012, but in contrast to Croft (who uses them to describe clauses) I am inclined to understand them as skeletons to which aspect markers apply, thereby following older models such as Johanson 2000 and Breu 2005.

tualized fairly well and wouldn't cause any ambiguity in writing. (49) is not intended to be identified with an iterative or (50) with a resultative reading, even if one could conceive of larger contexts where they could just have such a meaning. (51) could be conceived of as resultative. The second thing to remember is that Cinggeltei as a speaker of Kharchin might have described just that variety.

(49) *ta tegün-tei agulja-na=u? tere kümün odo*
2PL DDIST-COM meet-NPST=Q DDIST person now
ire-ged bayi-na.
come-PFV.CVB COP-NPST
'Will you meet her? She has arrived now.'

(50) *buu ire ge-jü bayi-qu-du tere*
NEG.IMP come-IMP say-CVB COP-NPST.P-DAT DDIST
kümün ***ire-ged bayi-na***.
person come-PFV.CVB COP- NPST
'While *i* keeps on saying "Don't come!", *j* keeps coming.'

(51) *tere udaɣa-yin qural degere, bügüdeger-iyen*
DDIST occasion-GEN meeting on all-RPOSS
bos-cu joɣsu-ɣsan bayi-qu-du tere kümün
get.up-CVB stand-PRF.P COP-NPST.P-DAT DDIST person
saɣu-ɣad bayi-jei.
sit-PFV.CVB COP-PST
'At that meeting, while everyone had stood up, that person kept sitting.'

(52) *bi öcügedür orui-yin doluɣan caɣ-tu*
1SG yesterday evening-GEN seven time-DAT
sengden=mengden güyü-jü kür-kü-dü
IDEO(hurry)=RED run-CVB reach-NPST.P-DAT
bügüdeger-iyen oru orun-daɣan ***saɣu-ɣad bayi-jei***.
all-RPOSS bed bed-DAT.RPOSS sit-PFV.CVB COP-PST
'When I hurriedly came running in at seven in the evening, all had sat down on their beds.'

In contrast to Cinggeltei, Matsuoka (2008: 33–39, 58–63, 71–75) assumes that different interpretations of *-ad bEE-* can always be explained from the aktionsart of the actional phrase. With transformational actional phrases, he argues, it yields a resultative meaning, while with inceptive predications it may refer to the same phase as the Present Progressive. On the other hand, activities are said to yield iterative readings, unless they are reinterpreted as accomplishments due to spatial delimitation, while additionally using the

clitic *=l* (no example given) conversely leads to iterativization. He notes that *-ad bEE-n* cannot be used for permanent actions, in which case *-deg* would be used instead, and that the past form *-ad bEE-sn* is ungrammatical if the action is limited to a specific number of repetitions.

(53) *Bilig guojia tushuguan-d oč-j bai-n* /
B. national library-DAT go.to-CVB COP-NPST /
oč-ood bai-n.
go.to-PFV.CVB COP-NPST
'Bilig is going to the National Library / has arrived at the National Library.'

(54) *Batu odoo herm-ii tüš-j bai-n* /
B. now wall-ACC lean.on-CVB COP-NPST /
tüš-eed bai-n.
lean.on-PFV.CVB COP-NPST
'Bat is leaning against the wall (is in a state of having leant).'

(55) *Batu* (*surguli-d xür-tel*) *gii-geed bai-n.*
B. school-DAT reach-CVB.until run-PFV.CVB COP-NPST
'Batu is always running.' ('Batu has run to school.')

(56) *delx-in bümbülčig #erg-eed bai-n.*[18] /
world-GEN globe turn-PFV.CVB COP-NPST /
erg-deg.
turn-HABITUAL/GENERIC.P
'The world is rotating.'

(57) **Batu nidünün gurban udaa mongol-d*
B. last.year three times Mongolia-DAT
oč-ood bai-sn.
go.to-PFV.CVB COP-PRF.P
intended:
'Batu went to Mongolia three times last year.'[19]

[18] Matsuoka doesn't comment on the circumstances in which this example could be used felicitously. According to what *Khalkha* informants told me in 2008, a speaker who is surprised that the world rotates or didn't know it before could say so, as could a speaker who is pessimistic about whether it will continue to rotate.

[19] My English translations follow the Japanese translations: (53) ビリグは国家図書館に行っている（行きつつある/行った状態にある）(54)バトは壁にもたれている（もたれた状態にある）(55)バトはいつも（何度も）走っている（バトは学校まで走っている(56) 地球は回っている(57)バトは去年三回モンゴルに行った(Matsuoka 2008: 34, 36, 38, 61, 61)

However, the last two examples contain incongruencies: contemporary Khorchin speakers don't seem to use the Habitual *-deg* at all (instead they use *-na*) and even the use of *-sen* instead of *-zE* in (57) runs counter to what we would expect from the discussion in 5.2.1. This data suggests that Matsuoka's informants told him about the standard language instead. However, it is difficult to tell whether their use of *-ad bEE-* was subject to similar distortions.

On the basis of the limited data that the Khorchin corpus provides, the following observations can be made: in accordance with Matsuoka's (2008) analysis, telic predications with a transparently defined final boundary yield a resultative interpretation. The majority of present tense examples and all past tense examples in the corpus exhibit such a boundary.

(58) *gaada_mEEren-i* *tendor* *ba* ***zogo(g)-od***
G.-GEN DDIST.LOC also build-PFV.CVB
bEE-n ***gene***
COP-NPST HEARSAY
'Reportedly, they have also erected [a monument] in that area of Gada Meiren.'

(59) *tab* ***vv(g)-ad*** ***bEE-na***
five drink-PFV.CVB COP-NPST
'I have drunk five (glasses with liquor).'

(60) *ug-xe=n* *ux-eed* *yEb-tq*,
give-NPST.P=3POSS give-PFV.CVB go-PST
ug-xuE(ge)=n ***uld-eed*** ***bEE-tq***.
give-NPST.P.NEG=3POSS remain-PFV.CVB COP-PST
'Those who were to give gave and departed, those who were not to give had remained behind.'

(61) F1: *loobenge-n* *ur=een* *ab-s=i?*
carrot-GEN seed-RPOSS take-PRF.P=Q
F2: *loobenge-n* *ur-i* *ab-vdE*
carrot-GEN seed-ACC take-NEG.yet
F1: *ab-vdE=y?* *me-ter* *odo* *gadtE* *terge-n*
take-NEG.yet=Q just-DDIST now outside cart-ATTR
deer ***xat-a(g)-ad*** ***bEE-na***
on dry-CAUS-PFV.CVB COP-NPST
'Have you taken your carrot seeds? - I haven't taken the carrot seeds. - You haven't taken them? Then you have those dried up by now in the cart outside!'

(58) and (59) are examples of directed accomplishments. The amount that measures the result in (59) differs from the adverbial in (57) which measures events that took place at different times and therefore cannot yield one single resultant state. (60) is an achievement, while (61) is a directed activity that is understood as yielding a resultant state as well. Constructed variants of (61) in which adverbs like *ulem* 'gradually' were inserted before *xata-* or its intransitive equivalent *xat-* were rejected by three informants who amended *-ad bEE-* to *-zE-*. Informants were divided (3:3) on whether a spatial delimitation in (55) yields actions in progress or results. The doubling of the copula after *-ad* is attested (with *-zE-* < *-ju bayi-*) twice in the corpus including (62). As both predicates are achievements or directed accomplishments, it is not obvious how *-ad bEE-zE-* could serve any disambiguating function, as Cinggeltei suggested. It may be noted, though, that a constructed Present Resultative *-ad bEE-zE-n* is rejected by a majority of informants, whatever implications that might have.

(62) *wei, xaa* ***otq-od*** ***bEE-zE-s=i****?*
hello where go.to-PFV.CVB COP-PROG-PRF.P=Q
'[Receiving telephone call:] Hello, where have you been?'

With non-directed activities and inceptives, informants didn't get a resultative reading (as correctly predicted by Matsuoka 2008), but arrived at continuous or iterative interpretations; as discourse context and adverbials in all cases specified the context beyond a reasonable doubt, it could not be clarified whether activities (as opposed to inceptives that in both accounts get a continuative reading in my terminology) favor continuative (as suggested by Cinggeltei 1959) or iterative readings (as suggested by Matsuoka 2008).

(63) *ee, neg {ba vga-seng=guE} ore-n xöi,*
eh one also wash-PRF.P=NEG enter-NPST IP
eng-gul odo qEd-[n]=mie qEd-xu=ol
do.so-COND.CVB now can-NPST=Q can-NPST.P.NEG=if
zaa-z=ug-yee qEd-na qEde-n ge-zE, en
teach-CVB=give-VOL can-NPST can-NPST say-PST DPROX
zeulang-ar {gare-x ui-lE} yuu ge-ne,
street-INS exit-NPST.P time-TIME what say-NPST
zugeer aiya=maiya aiya=maiya ge-ed
just IDEO=RED IDEO=RED say-PFV.CVB
gUU(g)-eed bEE-n*, eng-eed odo*
run-PFV.CVB COP-NPST do.so-PFV.CVB now
bii=tqen eden odo naadem xii-zE-n qiide
1SG=2POSS 3PL.PROX now game do-PROG-NPST IP
ge-ed bod-z
say-PFV.CVB think-PST

‘Yeah, one person came here without ever having washed his body once. Then upon “Can you do it? If you can’t, I’ll show you!”, he said “No problem!”. Well, when he got out onto the street, what did he say? He was just running along bawling. I thought: “Now those guys are making fun of you!”’

(64) *ung-gul* *odo* *da* *gua* *töö-lge-ne,* *da*
do.so-COND.CVB now big melon pick-CAUS-NPST big
gua *töö-lge-x=ul* *odo*
melon pick-CAUS-NPST.P=COND.CVB now
töö-xe=n *zoose=n* *yuE*
pick-NPST.P=3POSS money=3POSS the.more
yag-kul *yuE* ***us-eedbEE-n***
go-COND.CVB the.more grow-PFV.CVB COP-NPST
‘Then, next, we have the big melons picked. As we are having the melons picked, the money for the picking is increasing more and more the longer it takes.’

(65) *zee* *eng-gul* *bEEn_bEEn* *tqii* *xUUten*
EXCL do.so-COND.CVB sometimes 2SG cold
vsen-d=an ***zogs-od*** ***bEE-n***
water-DAT=RPOSS stand-PFV.CVB COP-NPST
‘Well, so you are occasionally standing under cold water.’

In (63), the undirected activity of running takes place within the course of a single day, therefore an iterative interpretation cannot apply. In (64), the gradual adverb *yuE* (from Mandarin *yuè*) only allows for a continuative interpretation of the directed activity *us-* ‘grow’. In (65), the iterative adverbial *bEEn bEEn* ‘sometimes’ makes a purely continuative reading impossible, and while one informant had the adverbial take scope over the predicate, thus yielding repeated prolonged stays under a cold shower, the others rather took the position that the stay under the shower can be reasonably short.

The contraction of *-ad bEE-* to *-adE-* that Cinggeltei mentioned is widely noted by dialectologists of Khorchin such as Tulɣaɣuri (1991: 63) and Bayancoɣtu (2002: 336). While the literature is usually not explicit about it (being interested chiefly in the inventory of morphological forms and not in their function), this contraction only takes place for continuate / iterative meaning, while an analytic form is still used to express resultative meaning (Bayancoɣtu, p.c., 2012-12-14). The contraction is specifically attested for the Eastern Central Banner (Tulɣaɣuri & Sodu 2008: 126). But while my corpus contains 23 simple Resultatives, they are never contracted to *-adE-*. When I orally presented my informants with constructed sentences, most of them didn’t recognize *-adE*. Others recognized it, but reported that they don’t use it themselves. Two informants from Dahuofan and Shebertu sys-

tematically replaced *-adE* with *-ad=l=E-* when repeating my examples. One 62-year-old teacher from Bayantala accepted *-ad=E-* as an optional variant with activities, but rejected its use with accomplishments. The most likely immediate explanation is the age of informants. My corpus data is from people aged 25 to 55. Most of my informants were between 20 and 45. But Tulɣaɣuri and Sodu (2008: 169–172) elicited their data at some time between 2000 and 2008 from 46 informants with an average age of 74 and none younger than 57 at the time of elicitation and Bayancoɣtu (p.c., summer 2010) made intensive use of data from elderly informants in the 1950s. *-adE-* thus seems to have been phased out by younger speakers.

An iterative or continuative meaning can be expressed by 1. *-ad=E-*, 2. *-ad=l=E-* and 3. *-ad*. Examples with *-ad=l=E-* are very rare in the corpus, but informants occasionally inserted *=l* into examples in iterative / continuative contexts that didn't already contain it. It seems that (in accordance with Matsuoka's statement) *-ad=l=E-n* indeed prevents a resultative and yields an iterative reading.

(66) *qii* *endor* *sv-zE-ad* *ba*
2SG DPROX.LOC sit-PROG-PFV.CVB also
yuu ***kaolU-ade=l=E-n*** *döi?*
what think-PFV.CVB=FOC=COP-NPST IP
'Sitting here, what are you keeping on brooding over?'

(67) *man-E* *ende-x-i* *xun* *arse-n*
1PL-GEN DPROX.LOC-NOM-GEN person leather-ATTR
daatqang *ems-eed* *tqitqer-eed*
jacket[20] put.on-PFV.CVB shiver-PVF.CVB
bol-xuE *bEE-lE* *ter* *zuu*
suffice-NPST.NEG COP-CVB.when DDIST but
tquns *ems-eed* *meng-eed*
dress put.on-PFV.CVB do.just.so-PFV.CVB
yib=yingxen *ems-eed* *me-ter* *xaaorbin-d*
RED=thin put.on-PFV.CVB just-DDIST H.-DAT
tOOr-od ***yab-ade=l=o-n***.
circle-PFV.CVB go-PFV.CVB=FOC=COP-NPST
'While our people from here would still shiver when putting on a coat, she rather puts on a dress, thus puts on very thin clothes and walks around in Harbin.'

In (66), the absence of *=l* would indicate a process of thinking that won't extend into the future, while exchanging *-ad* with *-z* would yield a process that includes less of the past, possibly only one occasion of intensive brood-

[20] possibly 大衫?

ing, while *-ad=l=E-n* makes multiple occasions more likely. For one informant, *-ad=l* in (67) mainly puts emphasis on the dislike or distance with which the speaker views the scene (or on the uselessness of the thinking in the previous example), while simple *-ad bEE-n* would yield a more neutral iterative reading. Overall, informants often associate *=l=E-n* with a period of repetitions that is too long.

The suffix *-ad* is a typical linking converb as illustrated in (68), but it is also used in finite position on its own. As observed by Qasgerel (2000: 79) and Bayancoɣtu (2002: 314–315), *-ad* can be used as finite predicate with the help of exclamatives such as the emphatic *=a* and the interrogative *=u*. For (69)–(71) that all contain the verb *gy:gəda:* (*gUU(g)-eed=ee*) 'run', Qasgerel (2000: 79) claims that the meaning of *-ad=a* is diverse and dependent on the wider discourse context [rather than on aktionsart]:

(68) *man-E* *yolenmo(n)-d* *ir-zE.* *man-E*
1PL.EXCL-GEN Y.-DAT come-PST 1PL.EXCL-GEN
yolenmo(n)-d ***ir-eed*** *odo* *man-E*
Y.-DAT come-PFV.CVB now 1PL.EXCL-GEN
loo+ziang+zE-d *neg* *xon-zE*
old+Jiang+surname-DAT one spend.night-PST
'... and then came to our Yolonmod. They came to Yolonmod and stayed one night at our Jiang hotel.'

(69) *bi:* *tan-i:* *jab-x-a:s* *umən* *dʒabdə-dʒ*
1SG 2SG.HON-ACC go-NPST.P-ABL before manage-CVB
ir-n *gə:d* *ʃinə:(g)-ə:r-ə:n*
come-NPST in_order strength-INS-RPOSS
gy:(g)-əd=ə:
run-PFV.CVB=EMPH
'In order to manage to come to you before you leave, I keep on running with all my strength'

(70) *ʃi:* *man-ɛ:-d* *ir-n* *gə:d*
2SG 1PL.EXCL-GEN-DAT come-NPST in_order
ʃinə:(g)-ə[:]*r-ə:n* ***gy:(g)-ə:d=a:?***
strength-INS-RPOSS run-PFV.CVB=EMPH
'Have you run here with all your strength in order to come to us?'

(71) *dʊta:-x* *ujsu:-d* *ʃini:* *tər* *xʊrdn*
run.away-NPST.P time-DAT 2SG.GEN DDIST fast
gy:(g)-ə:d=a:
run-PFV.CVB=EMPH
'When he ran away, that guy was running really fast'

Of these, (69) and (71) are continuative, while (70) is resultative (Qasgerel, p.c., 2013-11-22, plus three informants). Qasgerel further claims that *-ad=a* implies a subsequent action.

My corpus indicates that simple *-ad* without any kind of auxiliary device is more frequent than occasional forms such as *xii(g)-eed=u* and *ab-ad=a*. But still, how to make sense of such diverse data as Qasgerel presented? We may start with the question of whether *-ad* emerged due to loss of a following copula as in *-ad bEE-* or whether it is a reanalyzed use of the converb *-ad* in subordinate clauses as in (68). Qasgerel's claim that *-ad=a* implies a subsequent action would obviously agree with the second explanation. While no diachronic data will be discussed here, implications from synchronic data will be considered. The corpus contains two kinds of use that slightly differ from the prototypical clause-linking use, but that can still be deemed converbal. The first one is that of an afterthought as in (72). The converbal clause follows the matrix clause, but specifies its precondition. The speaker realizes that some crucial contextualization was lacking in her original utterance and provides a non-finite clause that would else have preceded the matrix clause. Example (73) only differs from a normal converbal clause sequence in that the converb and the matrix clause predicate are separated from each other by a major juncture, here about 520 ms. Even so, as overall sentence intonation indicates, *saatvlad* is not a final predicate.

(72) *en=tqen* *xOren zil* *bol-s=ugE=mE*
DPROX=2POSS twenty year become-PRF.P=NEG=Q
ter-i ***bEgul-ad***
DDIST-ACC found-PFV.CVB
'Haven't 20 years passed? Since it was founded, I mean.'

(73) *man-E* *zeezee-nE* *ixn-i* *axr-ad*
1PL-GEN older.sister-GEN girl-ACC bring-PFV.CVB
m-etg-eed *anga* ***saat-vl-ad***
just-do.so-PFV.CVB child be.hindrance-CAUS-PFV.CVB
_ *xOtqer-tq-tq*
be.late-DISS-PST
'She brought the child of her older sister with her, and doing so she was hindered by the child and _ came late.'

The converbal uses in (68) and (73) are semantically close to the meaning that finite *-ad* assumes with predicates of directed spatial movement that stress entering, leaving or arriving. In a handful of examples like (74) and (75), informants basically agree that the activity marked with *-ad* is conceptualized as completed at a reference point in the past and that the result of the action (a certain person having moved to a certain location) still pertains at

reference time. Still, informants perceive the resultant state as more salient (basically, as of longer duration) with *-ad bEE-*. Moreover, *-ad* is temporally neutral, while the resultative would need to assume a past form in (74) and a present form in (75). In contrast, the use the Past *-zE* in (75) would not imply that the colleague is still here, while the subject would probably be gone for good in (74). So *-ad* in these examples refers to a transition plus the state shortly after.

(74) *zvvr-ad* *xeer=maar* ***gar-ada.*** *xeer*
mix-PFV.CVB field=RED go.out-PFV.CVB field
gar-ad *or-z* *ir-lE* *mangmangdi*
go.out-PFV.CVB enter-CVB come-CVB.when hurriedly
gal=mal-an ***xii(g)-eed***
fire>meal=RED-RPOSS make-PFV.CVB
'Having mixed (something), she had left for the field. Coming back after having left for the field, she is hurriedly preparing a meal now.'

(75) *en-dooro,* *YS-nE* *tvnglio-nE* *tvngque-gen*
DPROX-in YS-GEN T.-GEN fellow_student-3POSS
ir-eede
come-PFV.CVB
'Here, a colleague of YS from Tongliao has come to us.'

However, if phases are readily available in the aktionsart of predicates, these are always selected. In (74), the preparation of food (a directed accomplishment) is not completed, but taken to be in progress. In contrast to the Progressive *xiizEna*, informants say, it emphases the hurriedness also expressed by the adverb *mangmangdi*. *-ad bEEn* would yield a resultative meaning. In (76), another directed accomplishment, the speaker talks about a process of learning that is unlikely to ever be successfully completed. A resultative interpretation is thus not plausible even for *-ad bEEn* (though some informants would follow the aktionsart and actually interpret *-ad bEEn* this way here), but it could presumably (judging from similar examples) be taken to refer to a long, but temporarily delimited sustained effort to memorize that vocabulary. Example (77), an interrogative sentence around an undirected activity, is a better bridge to resultative meanings. Here, *-ad* indicates that engaging into the process of hurrying would not make sense, while *-ad bEEn* would assume that the referent is actually hurrying for some time. Thus, in contrast to the resultative or at least temporally delimited *-ad bEEn* and the temporally delimited Present Progressive, *-ad* in these examples indicates an activity that stretches out from a reference point (whether or not it started earlier) into an indefinite future.

(76) *odo biden mvngel dvv svr-x-ar*
now 1PL Mongolian sound learn-NPST.P-INS
dalE odo xar tqeez-eer=een svre-n odo,
in.order now black breast-INS-RPOSS learn-NPST now
odo tErxe-n dotr=on ***tqeezel-eed***
now brain-ATTR in=RPOSS learn-PFV.C
'[Now if you say it in written style, in that western Mongolian, I can cope somehow, too. Western Mongolian is exactly literary Mongolian.] Now in order to learn Standard Mongolian we just learn by heart, we memorize it in our brains.'

(77) *xulee-zE-ya, yuu* ***yaar-ad***
wait-PROG-VOL what hurry-PFV.CVB
'Hey, let's wait! Why hurry?'

In a few cases such as in (78), the availability of phases is a question of contextualization. If informants take going out into life as a complex process that consist of a number of particular decisions of self-emancipation from the village life, they take it as an unfinished process of which the examples are just parts. If, as I infer, they take it as a single conscious decision to change one's lifestyle (going along with the aktionsart of *gar-*), the speaker rather might understand it as something already achieved. In one single sentence, (79), a context induced resultative interpretations to a directed activity. *xoo* can mean 'all' or 'completely', and the latter meaning made 3 of 6 informants choose a resultative reading here.

(78) *Emdrel deer* ***gar-ad***
life upon exit-PFV.CVB
'[There are many things. Drinking together with one's university friends, no calamities, just pleasant.] Getting out into life / I've got out into life.'

(79) A: *tErE=marE ge-lE xoo bar-tqE*
grain=RED say-CVB.when complete end-PST
tiin qii?
so IP
B: *xoo bar-tqE, xoo* ***xat-ada***[21]
complete end-PST complete dry-PFV.CVB
A: 'As for the grain, it's all finished, right?'
B: 'It's all finished, it has all dried / it is all drying.'

[21] What I heard in this example was something like *xat-ad=a-dn* dry-PFV.CVB=EMPH-? which I cannot make sense of, but the form that I presented to informants was just *xatada*.

With other types of aktionsart, a continuous reading may acquire iterative nuances, either at one or multiple occasions. In (80), the old men were continuously making other people drink at a celebration. A number of single directed accomplishments iterate, but here they can be taken as one activity that the old men as a group continuously engaged in. In (81), the activity stretches over a period of time that is basically not delimited, and the only difference to *-ad bEEn* is the nonchalance with which the subject teaches those people: a process continuing from now into the future vs. a determined, enduring process in the here and now. Even stative predicates like finite *bayerl-ad* 'were happy (then, maybe ranging up to now)' are attested with *-ad*.

(80) *man-E* *neg* *qiizEE-nar-dud*
1PL.EXCL-GEN one older.female.fellow.student-PL-PL
xOrem-d *canzia(g)-ad* *looteur-d(e)=n*
party-DAT take.part-PFV.CVB old.man-PL=3POSS
ir-eed ***bEr-ada.*** *eng-eed* *odo*
come-PFV.CVB grab-PFV.CVB do.so-PFV.CVB now
xun-E *looteu* *ir-eed* *bEr-zE-lE*
person-GEN old.man come-PFV.CVB grab-PROG-CVB.TIME
xen *vv-xuE* *da* *odo,* *tqom-xen*
who drink-NPST.P.NEG IP now all-DIM
vv-lga-n *gene*
drink-CAUS-NPST HEARSAY
'When some older fellow students of mine took part in a celebration, old men came and presented vodka. Now that these old men (from another family) had come and were presenting vodka,[22] who wouldn't drink, now, they made them all drink, it is said.'

(81) *med-xue-nE* *bEE-n,* *mede-x-nE*
know-NPST.P.NEG-GEN COP-NPST know-NPST.P-GEN
bEE-n . *eng-xe-lE-gan* *or-od _*
COP-NPST do.so-NPST.P-TIME-RPOSS enter-PFV.CVB
odo ***zaa-z*** ***ug-eed*** ***xei***
now show-CVB give-PFV.CVB IP
(In the washing hall, there are showers with warm and cold wa-

[22] It is a common Mongolian custom that somebody with a tray and a specified number of glasses with liquor addresses every guest (usually in turn, according to how people are seated) and makes them drink it. When people try to chicken out, the person who is handing out the drinks may be lenient with women and old people, but young and middle-aged males have a hard time. This custom (both according to my own observation and to what I heard from the Khorchin linguist Engkebayar about his fieldwork in Xinjiang) seems to be less well enforcable in Khorchin, so the fact that the old man could indeed make everybody drink seems notable. It doesn't take an old man to accomplish as much in Ordos.

ter faucets, but people from the countryside have not always come in contact with such devices.) 'There are those who don't know it and those who do. So then I go in and show them.'

Overall, finite *-ad* seems to denote a continuous phase of activity that pertains at the time of reference and that extends into an indefinite relative future. The phase is usually already inherent in verbal aktionsart, but for achievements that cannot be repeated (in the relevant period under consideration) even the resultant state can be referred to. It is a non-tensed marker that can at least be used for past and present time reference. The original converbal use is closer to this minor use with achievements.

5.2 Peripheral simple forms and their combinability

There are four suffixes that assume a peripheral aspect function. The Continuative *-ad* was already discussed together with the Resultative. The Voluntative *-i* is more prominent as a mood form, but also functions as an aspectual marker for habituality in questions. The finite suffix *-lE* indicating imminence has lost most of its original territory to the Past *-zE* and the Prospective *-nzE-*, and was mostly reanalyzed as a converbal suffix. *-sen*, arguably a perfect in MM, has turned a simple past in Khalkha, while it seems to have lost ground in Khorchin during the 20th century even as a perfect. The common property of these suffixes is that they are used less frequently and have more combinatory restrictions than the finite suffixes *-na* and *-zE*. Conversely, they don't form any semantically or structurally homogeneous class vis-à-vis *-na* and *-zE*.

5.2.1 *-sen*

The use of *-sen* (reduced to *-s* in the presence of clitics) is substantially restricted in Khorchin, but it is used to some extent by all speakers. Its two well-established uses are in negation and content questions. Roughly speaking, events that failed to occur at a definite point in the past are negated by *-s=guE* (< *-sen uguE*, this *uguE* being a negative copula particle), while events that have not yet occurred are marked by *-udE*. *-z(E)* cannot be negated directly. Similarly, content questions in Khorchin don't allow for *-z(E)* to be used:

(82) *te[r]* *neg* *ir-ed* *looker-de-n*
DDIST one come-PVF.CVB chatter-N>V-NPST
ge-lE=qen *xEted* *bol-lE*
say-CVB.when=2POSS Chinese become-CVB.WHEN

looker-d-s=guE.
chatter-N>V-PRF.P=NEG
'S/he came in order to talk, but because [the people there] were Chinese, they didn't talk.'

(83) *ax-xuE* ***oq-udE***, *yolenmode-n* *zengfu*
take-CVB.in.order go.to-NEG.yet Y.-ATTR government
deer *bEE-n* *ge-n*
on COP-IVPF say-NPST
'She$_i$ said that she$_{i/j}$ hasn't yet come to take it and that it is at the government building in Yolonmod.'

(84) *en-i* *xaan-as* ***ol-si=me****?*
DPROX-ACC where-ABL find-PRF.P=Q[23]
(/**en-i xaan-as ol-z=me?*)
'From where did you find that?'

(85) *man-E* *en* *El-nE* *ner-ee* *yaa-z*
1PL-GEN DPROX village-GEN name-? do.what-CVB
yir-sen=mE*?* (/**...yir-tq=mE?*)
come-PRF.P=Q
'How did the name of our village come about?'

(86) *xen* *xen* *ide-n* ***ge-si*** (/**... ge-z(u)*?)
who who eat-NPST say-PRF.P
'Who all will eat, you say?'

Beyond this point, discrepancies between the available data and informant judgments prevent definite conclusions. Most speakers reject most or all examples with *-sen* presented to them as standard language not used in their area, either outright or when specifically asked about it. Elicitation on this point was not sufficiently standardized, so that looking for a pattern in the examples they accepted is not an option. At any rate, informant intuition should not be relied on too extensively or uncritically as both social perception and acceptability judgements can be extremely messy. Both the standard language and migration factors play a major role here, so these would have to be controlled for in an improved study. Such a study might pick out different villages with clearly differing migration patterns and collect data from families that perfectly conform to those patterns both in lineage and social interaction. It could then compare this data with additional data collected from dialect areas *from* which such migration took place (Mongoljin, Kharchin etc.), from contact varieties (Baarin) in order to see if we are deal-

[23] The interrogative clitic *=mE* is restricted to information questions.

ing with a dialect continuum, and from the Standard. One might then be able to identify finite Khorchin *-sen* as a suffix making inroads from the Standard, a suffix coming into use or falling out of use due to migration patterns, or as a suffix firmly positioned within a dialect continuum that runs from westernmost *-sen* to easternmost *-zE*.[24] In the absence of such data, all I can hope to do here is to point out some common properties of these uses.

In my corpus, finite *-sen* is attested on its own and in the combinations *-zE-sen* and, once, *-tqeg-sen*. There are a few instances of perfect-like uses with telic predications as in (87), without past-referring adverbial, with some result implied. All polar questions containing *-sen* are also reminiscent of perfects, e.g. (88) and (89). Several informants reported on a number of examples including (90) that a recent action with *-sen* contrasts with a more distant one with *-zE*. This is in line with the connotations of a perfect. The unit *-zE-sen* in (91), presented out of context, was interpreted by the single informant as part of a longer report that introduced the person possessing that yard to the addressee. Informant intuitions about (92) vary: while one informant claimed it sounded like written language, most informants accepted it. (Overall, the chance that speakers rejected the rare *-zEsen* was lower than that they rejected *-sen* alone.) But while two people claimed *xelzEzE* would be hearsay and the other form not, two people claimed just the opposite, saying that *xelzEzE* would have been a lot of people sitting together and speaking, while *xelzEsen* would refer to a situation where I have heard that some people said so. Two more speakers thought it was not at all connected to evidentiality, but to completeness: *-zEzE* would be restricted to the past, while *-zEsen* would include the here and now. As an evidential gesamtbedeutung can obviously not be arrived at, a perfect that includes the present (if only as time where the past act is relevant) vs. a past habitual reading (for *-zEzE*) might fit the bill.

(87) A: *en* *gere=n* *[x]oo* *eden-E*
DPROX house=3POSS complete DPROX.PL-GEN
öör=een *bEr-sen=i?*
build-PRF.P=Q self-RPOSS
B: *öör=een* ***bEr-sen=a*** *en=tqene*
SELF-RPOSS build-PRF.P=EMPH DPROX=2POSS
A [a Naiman speaker]: 'Have these people here built this building themselves?'
B: 'Yes, we've built it ourselves, this one.'

[24] The Inner Mongolian branch of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences has been collecting data from community-level administrative units from all of Inner Mongolia. This data might suffice for such an analysis, though the lack of focus on interaction and the overall rather short data sets for individual informants might cause problems. In any case, access to this data is restricted to senior members of the Academy.

(88) ***id-s=i****?*
eat-PRF.P=Q
'Has s/he eaten already?'

(89) *loobeng-en* *ur=een* ***ab-s=i****?*[25]
carrot-GEN seed=RPOSS take-PRF.P=Q
'Have you taken the carrot seets [out of the car]?'

(90) *odo* ***tEnel-tqeg-sen***
now get.acquainted-DISS-PRF
'Now we've come to know each other.'

(91) *ter* *xurE(g)-i=n* ***uz-zE-sen***
DDIST enclosed.yard-ACC=3POSS see-PROG-PRF.P
'[I] have seen (/been seeing) that yard.'

(92) *vs* *gvan-zE-na* *ged* *zam* *deer* ***xel-zE-sen***
water do-PROG-NPST COMP way on say-PROG-PRF.P
'I_i am/He is watering the plants', he_i/they said on the way.

5.2.2 *-lE*

While MM *-luga* used to be a finite suffix denoting firsthand past (see Street 2009), Khorchin *-lE* has mostly turned into a converbal suffix. Building on previous analyses by Tungɣalaɣ (1995) and Mönggüngerel (1998), Ashimura (2002) divides up the uses of *-lE* into converbal and finite ones. In its converbal use, *-lE* may indicate a point in time within a larger state as in (93), a condition causing some naturally following main clause result as in (94) or a condition in spite of which some main clause result follows as in (95). (Example (95) is not convincing, though, as it only demonstrates that *-lE* can express such a meaning in connection with the Progressive *-zE-*.) The first meaning, he argues, inherits part of its meaning from an older *-x-lE* also illustrated in (93) where *-x* is the non-past participle and *-lE* is cognate with the MM comitative that turned into a Khorchin case suffix for an event

[25] *-s=i* might seem like instances of *yum*, cf. Khalkha *–san yum* > *–siin* > [sĩ], yet [i] must be identical with the interrogative clitic *=i* at least synchronically. There are two clearly declarative, non-nominal tokens *sanan-d or-se=m=a* 'entered my mind' and *en-ii kai-s=im* 'opened it' in which *yim* fused with *–sen* (also cf. example in Bosson & Ünensecen 1962: 36). They were uttered by two speakers in their 50s with low formal education. Influence from the standard is unlikely, but an original Khorchin form *-s=im(=i)* might have been replaced by a *Mongoljin* form *-s=i* (Bayancoɣtu, p.c. 2012-12-14; see also He 2008: 21–24), resulting in the demise of *yim* as a modal particle.

that happened at exactly that time of the day.[26] The possibly older constructions in (96) and (97) that (still) feature *ge-* 'say' disambiguate *-lE* to a conditional and a concessive meaning, respectively.

(93) *gər-t* ***ɔrə-x-lɛː (~ɔr-lɛː)*** *xun* *uguɛ*
home-DAT enter-NPST.P-COM>LE person NEG.LOC
(Tungɣalaɣ 1995: 51)
'When SUBJECT$_i$ came home, nobody was there.'

(94) *undg-əːn* ***xɛːr-lɛː*** *id-dʒgaː-jaː*
egg-RPOSS fry-LE eat-PLURATIVE_VOICE-VOL
(Tungɣalaɣ 1995: 101)
'When/As soon as SUBJECT$_i$ have/has roasted the eggs, let's eat them!'

(95) *xun* *təg-dʒ* ***xəl-dʒ*** ***ug-tʃɛː-lɛː***
person do.so-CVB say-CVB give-PROG-LE
sɔns-xoi
hear-NPST.P.NEG
'Although folks are saying such stuff, I won't listen.'

(96) *tɔlgɔː=tʃin* ***obd-lɛː*** ***gə-səːr*** *ən*
head=2POSS ache-LE say-CONTI.CVB DPROX
əm-iː *ʊː-Ø*[27]
medicine-ACC drink-IMP
'As soon as your head is aching, drink this medicine!'

(97) ***jɛb-lɛː*** ***gəːd*** *dʒabt-xuɛ*
go-LE say-PFV.CVB be.in.time-NPST.P.NEG
'Although SUBJECT$_i$ wanted to go, SUBJECT$_i$ didn't manage.'[28] (Mönggüngerel 1998: 112)

According to Ashimura, finitely used *-lE* can be used to refer to recent events or to warn of imminent future events. In (98) with *-lE*, Dorj just went out, is still visible and could maybe still be called back, while he would have

[26] Toɣtambayar (2010: 65–66) suggests that the case marker evolved from the finite verbal suffix via the converbal suffix in the first place, arguing for its linking potential. But he doesn't properly explain how the old Common Central Mongolic form *-qu-luɣa* (attested in MM, too, cf. Toɣtambayar 2010: 64) fits into the picture, while a converbal use isn't attested at that stage. So his analysis probably has to be rejected.

[27] Mönggüngerel 1998: 115.

[28] Ashimura (2002: 9, 10, 33, 12, 12)'s translations are (93)「家に入ったら，人がいない」(94)「卵をいためたら，すぐにみんなで食べてしまおう」(95)「人がこうして言ってあげてるのに，聞かない」(96)「頭痛がしたらすぐに，この薬をのみなさい」(97)「いっても間に合わない」. (95) is provided by Ashimura.

left for good with *-zE*. Similarly, (99) could be appropriately uttered if a motorcycle was seen from the window as approaching [a use that I had occasion to observe myself]. (100) is used as a warning of a possible future event.

(98) *dɔrdʒ gar-aːd* ***jab-lɛː*** / ***jab-dʒɛː***
D. exit-PFV.CVB go-LE / go-PST
'Dorj just left. / Dorj left.'

(99) *nəg mɔtɔr* ***ir-lɛː***
one motorcycle come-PST
'One motorcycle just arrived.'

(100) *xaiː aŋaː* ***on-lɛː***
EXCL child fall-LE
'Look out! The child might fall!'[29]

Looking at my own corpus, the converbal use illustrated in (101) and (102) is prevalent; while no attempt has been made to systematically count non-finite *-lE*, the pro-verb *enge-* 'do like this' is most frequent and occurs 56 times. *-x-lE* is attested in a few cases as well, e.g. *eng-xe-lE(g)-an* do_so-NPST.P-TIME-RPOSS. *-lE ged* is attested as well, cf. (103).

(101) *ir-ee* ***ge-lE*** *odo yEbe-n ge-zE-n ba tqi*
come-IMP say-LE now go-NPST say-PROG-NPST IP 2SG
'Now that [I] say 'Come!', you are about to leave, right?'

(102) *tiim bol* ***id-lE*** *amerxan*
so TOP eat-LE easy
'If that is so, it is easy to eat.'

(103) *yol-seng-guE, yag geeming-i bol sEExen*
can-PRF.P-NEG exact revolution-ACC TOP beautiful
goo-zE. ***goo-lE ged*** *tenn-ees qio*
do-PST do-LE COMP DDIST-ABL small
ziaqiu-de=n xvv baize-z
comrade-PL=3POSS all get.rich-PST
'He didn't manage. The revolution itself he did admirably, but even though he did it, the small comrades [that opportunistically

[29] The examples are originally from Ashimura (2002: 27, 27, 28). He translates (98)「ドルジはでていった」(99)「オートバイが一台やってきた」(100)「ほら，子供が落ちるよ．The slightly annoyed German "heh da!" might be a better fit for Mongolian *xaiː* than English "Look out!"

took part] all became rich [at the cost of the people].'

There aren't many finite (declarative)[30] examples in my data, and they are therefore hard to describe. A few of these even seem to be subject to vowel harmony, e.g. *asge-la* 'spill-LE', but *ateg-lE* 'clasp-LE', hinting at the morphological distinction observed by Bosson and Ünensecen (1962: 32–33) according to whom the past suffix *-la* follows vowel harmony, while the converb *-lE* is exempt from it. Informants did tend to realize finite *-lE* according to vowel harmony when reading examples aloud. While informants (possibly due to influence from the written language) seem to be fine with constructed examples that contain adverbials referring to distant times, the small set of attested examples refers to events such as (104) which either just took place or are just about to happen. In such immediate past/future uses, *-lE* seems to portray the situation as imminent [/having just come about], thus alerting the addressee to it (Yuvan cuu 1992: 31) so that she can act, while a Present Prospective would rather focus on the future consequences of a present situation. In the rather different example (105), the rare *-tqeg-lE* (with *-tqeg-* contributing epistemic modality) is deemed the most appropriate way to express an unrealized past possibility by three informants who would neither accept *-tqeg-ne* nor *-lE* instead. While a use like that in (104) is reminiscent of a marker for recency, this doesn't seem to hold for the use in (105), the only such example in my corpus. The temporary properties of *-lE* can thus not be fully established here, but as (106) from a narrative provided by Bosson and Ünensecen (1962: 35–36, 40) contains the same pattern as in (105), we may at least assume an irrealis construction *-tqeg-lE*, be it compositional or not.

(104) *qangcai-lee*[31]
put.dishes.on.table-LE
'I just put the dishes on the table.' / 'I am about to put the dishes on the table (be ready for it)!'

(105) *m-ene* *ui-d* *m-iim* *yangz-tE-ar-an*
just-DEM.PROX time-DAT just-such sort-COM-INS-RPOSS

[30] There is one irregular use of *ge-lE* in a question asking somebody's name, but as *ge-* 'say' is often connected irregular uses, I ignore it here. All other instances are declarative.

[31] Even though it was surrounded by Mongolian utterances in its discourse context, this example could also be read as purely Mandarin, i.e. *shàngcài le* with *le* as marker of current relevance. This would render the event past, though, while my informants were presented with the graphically clearly Mongolian 上菜ᠠᠪᠤᠭᠠ with its two interpretations. Another example in my data is *qul asge-la* soup spill-LE 'The soup might spill over (watch out)!' which might conceivably also have a past reading in a fitting context.

bEE-sen *bol=u* *xeden* *tumen* *yuEn*
COP-PRF.P if=Q several ten thousand yuan
xur-tqeg-lE
reach-DISS-lE
'If there had been just such things at that time, they would have reached several 10000 yuan.'

(106) *hėrbē* *ėn* *hū* *ortē* *odā* *hun-ī*
if(ADV) DEM.PROX boy before occasion person-ACC
hōr-suŋwē *ɔl=n=ī* *ėn* *odā*
fool-PRF.P.NEG if(CONJ)=3POSS=EMPH DEM.PROX now
terē=śin *ols* *ɔśi-j* *tėr-ī*
DIST.PROX=2POSS people go.there-CVB DEM.DIST-ACC
tėŋhrėl-ēd *ab-śig-nē*
rescue-PFV.CVB take-DISS-NPST
'So if this boy hadn't fooled the people like that the last time, the farmers would have gone this time and taken him and rescued him.'

5.2.3 *-i*

The Voluntative has a short form *-i* and a long form *-ya* (i.e. *-y(a)*). Similar to declarative suffixes, the long form is restricted to assertive contexts. Next to its normal function of expressing an intention or suggestion that includes the first person, the Voluntative has been claimed to be usable to order or remind a second person, and to "order, remind, demand from and advise"[32] a third person (Bayancoɣtu: 296–298). However, *-i* as used in (107) and (108) goes a step further by expressing habitual or attitudinal polar questions. This focus on habituality contrasts with the more particularized, even request-oriented *-n=i*. There are a few non-habitual counterexamples, but these are questions about the future intention of a first person as in (109) and thus resemble the original adhortative semantics of the suffix.

(107) *gaxE* ***tezee-i****?*
pig take.care.of-VOL
'Do you breed pigs [in Germany]? '

(108) *öör-een* *ba* *sEEn* ***dvvl-i****?*
self-RPOSS lso good sing-VOL
'Can you also sing well yourself?'

[32] *jakiqu, sanaɣulqu, šaɣardaqu, jöbsiyekü, taɣasiyaqu* in Mongolian. I didn't translate the last word, as it is unclear how 'feel glad', 'express gladness', 'be fond of' could fit in here.

(109) *mendor=n* ***biq-i****?*
just-DPROX.DAT=3POSS write-VOL
'Shall I sign here?'

The form of the Non-Past plus question particle *-n=i* and the Voluntative in questions *-i* as in (18) are somewhat similar, and a reduction of *-n=i* to *-i* parallel to the reduction in *bEE-n=i* > *bEE-i* (cf. (113) cannot be ruled out, although verbs with consonant stems wouldn't have been conducive to such a development. If elision did take place, the Voluntative and *-n=i* would have become homophonous and, ultimately, probably one and the same suffix.

5.3 Non-verbal predications

In noun- and adjective-based predications, the use of the copula is not obligatory with present time reference, while past time reference requires it. Contrasting forms that will be treated here are 1.1 *Ø* 1.2 *bEEn(a)* 1.3 *bEEzEn(a)* 2.1 *bEEzE* 2.2 *bEEzEzE*. Finite *bEEzEsen* and non-finite *bEEzElE* are attested, but will not be discussed. Also excluded from discussion are numerals. Due to unclear elicitation results on a tiny set of examples, it seems prudent not to extend conclusions about adjectives and nouns to numerals without further research.

When permanent group membership is expressed, informants seem to consider the presence of the copula as typical for the Standard language only, e.g. most informants rejected (constructed) *m-eter xun ba zhuāngjià bEE-n* just-DDIST person also farmer COP-NPST 'That person is farmer, too/as well'. One person accepted it by constructing it as a temporary state, e.g. that person now gets money from the state, but is *also* still a farmer. Similarly, insertion of *bEE-n* into a predication about the early 20th century nationalist fighter Гada Meiren as a Mongolian revolutionary (*ГM=qin man-E mongel-tqvd-nE bosleg-nE xun qii* GM=2POSS 1PL.EXCL-GEN Mongolia-PL-GEN uprising-GEN person IP) is not acceptable: either he is timeless (*Ø*), or he was a hero of his time (*bEE-z*). With adjective predicates, the copula seems to point to a temporary state as well:

(110) A: *zame=n* *yex* ***sEEn*** ***bEE-na***
way=3POSS very good COP-NPST
B: *baren-qan* *zam* *geng sEEna ... datvngdo*
west-towards way very good autobahn

gedeg=tqen
COMP=2POSS
A: 'The street is very good.'
B: 'To the west, the street is very good...it's an autobahn, after

all.'

(111) *moo gazer deere=n tEr-bel* ***sEEna***
bad place on=3POSS sew-COND.CVB good
'It's good to plant on bad soil.'

In (110), four informants consider A's statement to be a report about the current situation in the car or before her eyes, while one informant has it as inference from previous experience. In contrast, the statement of B is based on general, well-established knowledge. In (111), four informants reject or disprefer *sEEn bEEna*, while one would take the presence of the copula to indicate uncertain inference in contrast to sure knowledge.

Locative predications as in (112) and the presence of a question particle as in (113) require the copula. The contrast between *bEEzE* and *bEEzEzE* and the contrast between *bEEn* and *bEEzEn* are difficult to assess from the little data that is available. In (114), the main difference seems to be between one statement that just comes to mind (*bEEzE*) and one well-established (i.e. past habitual) statement (*bEEzEzE*). Note that informants were only presented with B's statement, so that the correct prediction of the meaning of A's statement by two informants is good evidence for the accuracy of their intuition. In (115), according to four informants, either *bEEzEn* or *bEEn* mark a temporary state in contrast to zero; the difference between the two forms (both of which are attested, cf. (116)) did not become clear.

(112) *man-E loo qiree yeed xoo zuun ger-d*
1PL.EXCL-GEN large table etc. all eastern house-DAT
bEE-n qvv
COP-NPST IP
'Our large tables and the like are all in the eastern house.'

(113) *bareg xedi xolo* ***bEE-[i]*** / ***bEE-n=i*** / ****Ø=i***
almost how far COP-VOL / COP-NPST=Q / Ø=Q
'About how far is it?'

(114) A: *ee, vg-in ui-de=n m-iim tereg*
eh original-GEN time-DAT-3POSS just-such card
zar-zE-zE, man-E ***bEE-zE***
sell-PROG-PST 1PL.EXCL-GEN COP-PST
B: *m-en tereg man-E xuree-n ba*
just-DPROX card 1PL.EXCL-GEN yard-ATTR also
bEE-zE-z tqöi
COP-PROG-PST IP
A: 'Yeah, in times back, they were selling such cards. We [actually] had one.'

B: ‘Hey, we had such a card in our yard as well!’

(115) *ab-z* ***yolo-xuE*** ***bEE-zE-n***
take-CVB can-NPST.P.NEG COP-PROG-NPST
‘I don’t manage to come and take it right now.’

(116) *m-ono* *bol* *tioozEn* *ba* ***bol-xuE***
just-now TOP condition also become-NPST.P.NEG
bEE-na
COP-NPST
‘Currently, the conditions are not sufficient either’

5.4 Notions that are neither temporal nor aspectual

This section consists of three discussions about the morpheme *-tqeg-*, the verb form *gene* (including comments on *ge-* and *ba*) and the contrast between long and short suffix variants. While *-tqeg-* seems to relate to the evaluation of events in relation to speaker and addressee, *gene* expresses evidentiality and related notions, and the length contrast seems to relate to assertivity. While *gene* and *ba* might be connected by their post-verbal position, *-tqeg-* precedes finite suffixes and thus belongs to another formal class. But all have a function pertaining to the relationship between speaker and addressee, even though one might be hard pressed to fit them into a single system.

5.4.1 *-tqeg-* as a marker of dissatisfaction

The suffix *-tqeg-*[33] is used to express dissatisfaction towards an action apparently combined with a cooperative stance towards the addressee. *⁻tqeg-* is mostly attested to combine with simple *-na* and *-zE*, and only these combinations are taken as the basis from which the general meaning of *⁻tqeg-* is abstracted. Combinations of *-tqeg-* with *-lE* and *-sen* are attested and both *-tqeg-ad bEE-* and finite *-tqeg-ad* are acceptable to informants, but little can be said about any of these forms due to insufficient token frequency. In the literature, *-tqeg-* is usually taken as a suffix denoting completion (e.g. Cinggeltei 1999: 290 on Standard Southern Mongolian, even *-tq-zE* as a completive/resultative in Cilaɣu 1998: 178–180 on “Common Inner Mongo-

[33] The exact phonetic form of this suffix is a problem. Is it aspirated or unaspirated in a given environment? Tulɣaɣuri and Sodu (2008: 123) claim, contradicting the renderings of my transcribers, that Written Mongol *-ciqa-jei* is contracted to *-dʒ-tʃɛː* [i.e. *-t͡ʃ-t͡ʃʰɛ*] in the Eastern Central banner. Worse, while the transcribers were rather consistent in indicating an affricate *tq*, even the rather more expected fricative *q* can be identified in some contexts. I did not try to verify whether the suffix was pronounced as *-tq(eg)-* or *-q(eg)-* in the instances cited.

lian"[34]) and sometimes as expressing intention on the part of the subject (Bayancoɣtu 2002: 333 on Khorchin, cf. Byambasan et al. 1988: 76 on Khalkha), but none of these meanings seem to be applicable to Khorchin data. However, if *-tqeg-* used to express perfective notions at some point, it could be explained why Khorchin informants reject all combinations of *-tqeg-* and the Progressive *-zE-* (as holds for Naiman, cf. Mönggüngerel 1998: 110, Khalkha and Oirat, cf. Goto 2009), which else doesn't seem motivated synchronically.

Summarizing elicitation results, speakers associate the presence and absence of *-tqeg-* with the following three notions:

1. The speaker expresses a helpful / friendly / cooperative stance towards the addressee
2. The speaker expresses dissatisfaction about the event
3. The event is described as only partially completed / successful or as occurring with a lesser probability (in future interpretations of *-na*) or less consistently (in habitual interpretations of *-na*)

In examples where completion is not at issue and where the addressee is not an involved party, the expressed notion is taken to be dissatisfaction. In (117), informants either point out that getting used to this smell took great effort, or that the speaker has gotten used to it only to some limited degree. In (118), the annoyance of the speaker is independently also coded by *-ad=l=E-n*, which in contrast to *-ad bEE-n* suggests excess. Dissatisfaction is additionally expressed by lexical means in (119). Even together with *xoo* (either 'all' or 'completely') as in (120), the basic notion of *-tqeg-* as described by most informants is rather regret than completeness.

(117) A: *en* *uner* *doter* *tese-n=uu?* *das-tq=vv?*
DPROX smell in bear-NPST=Q get.used.to-PST=Q
B: *eng,* ***das-tq-zE***
yes get.used.to-DISS-PST
A: 'Can you stand this smell? Have you gotten used to it?'
B 'Hmhm, I've gotten used to it, somehow/somewhat.'

(118) *eng-eed* *man-E* *tongxue* *uze-ye*
do.so-PFV.CVB 1PL-GEN fellow.student see-VOL
ge-ed=l=E-n, *eng-ee[d]*
say-PFV.CVB=FOC=COP-NPST do.so-PFV.CVB

[34] As the Chakhar and Khorchin dialects are very dissimilar, Common Inner Mongolian doesn't exist, and the reader is ultimately left to take Cilaɣu's own introspective data as his ideolect which, as the ideolect of an intellectual speaker of Khorchin with good command of the Standard oriented on Chakhar, is at best representative for a Zehntausendschaft Khorchin intellectuals.

uze-tq-tqE
see-DISS-PST
'So our fellow student keept on saying "I want to see it", so [we] went and saw it.'

(119) *unn xöi, zuun ger-nE xvdeg ba uguE, zuu*
true IP east family-GEN well also NEG west
m-en qio yuEnsa=n m-en neg
just-DPROX small farmyard=3POSS just-DDIST one
guar-tE, vs ir-la dvr-are=n
pipe-COM water come-CVB.when desire-INS=3POSS
***tEb-tqeg-ne**, odo kaiy-ad **tEb-tqeg-ne**,*
release-DISS-NPST now open-PFV.CVB release-DISS-NPST
xartqa=n vrs-tqe=l=E-n (...), en
yard=3POSS flow-CVB=FOC=COP-NPST DPROX
nengcu-nE xun=tqen suuzi uguE
village=GEN person=2POSS manners NEG
'That's true, really! Our eastern neighbors [e.g. within the village] don't even have a well. The eastern small farm yard just has this single pipe. When water comes, they just let flow at will. Now when it's opened, they just let flow. It's just flowing on the yard. (...) These rural people just don't have any decency.'

(120) *en beltqeer yeed-i xoo _ **xvrlde-tq-zE**,*
DPROX pasture etc-ACC all sell-DISS-PST
man-E endee
1PL.EXL-GEN here
'[Now we don't have any grazing grounds left.] Round here, they sold all these pastures and other things.'

If the addressee is directly involved, *-tqeg-* is mostly taken to express politeness towards her, and the absence of *-tqeg-* might then be perceived as rude, cf. (121). Annoyance figures more strongly in past time reference, so four informants were evenly split about whether the speaker was mostly disappointed or forgiving in (122). But even in past time reference to a third person, a lenient stance can be so favored by context that informants opt for it. In (123), the variant with *-tqeg-zE* is perceived as clearly more supportive, both not blaming the subject for being late and (by connotation) diminishing the time by which she came late.

(121) *sons-[s]or=l=E(g)-ada teren-d*[35]
listen-DURATIVE.C=FOC=COP-PFV.CVB DDIST-DAT

[35] Amended from *tend* 'there' following repeated informant suggestions.

ug *xErul-z=uge-n* *gede* *yEder-tqege-n,*
word answer-CVB=give-HAB COMP tire-DISS-HAB
neemsen ***yEder-tqeg-n***
completely tire-DISS-HAB
'Keeping on listening, you will get tired trying to answer him, you will get completely tired.' [While not originally stated about my work, informants thought that this sentence fits my approach to elicitation very well, and in such a context, especially when said in my presence, the use of *yEder-na* here would be unacceptably rude.]

(122) A: *ab-qg-ee*
take-DISS-IMP
B: *bol-xvE*
become-NPST.P.NEG
A: *zobvr* ***bol-tq-zE***
suffering become-DISS-PST
A: '[Hey, you can't make a seam like this! (...)] Take this!'
B: 'It doesn't work.'
A: 'It has gone wrong.'

(123) *man-E* *zeezee-nE* *ixn-i* *axr-ad*
1PL-GEN older.sister-GEN girl-ACC bring-PFV.CVB
m-etg-eed *anga* *saat-vl-ad,*
just-do.so-PFV.CVB child be.hindrance-CAUS-PFV.CVB
xOtqer-tq-tq
be.late-DISS-PST
'She brought the child of her older sister with her, and doing so she was hindered by the child and came late.'

With verbs expressing appropriateness such as *taar-* 'fit' in (124) and *bol-* 'become > work fine' which have other predications in their scope, the speaker suggests that the subordinate event will probably be adequate, if not perfect, thus possibly setting the addressee's mind at ease. Also, if neither dissatisfaction nor cooperativeness can be taken to be at issue as in (125), *-tqeg-ne* is taken to be a probable rather than a certain future development.

(124) *xelq-tqE-x* *Edel* *xelq-ul*
conversate-PROG-NPST.P like conversate-COND.CVB
taar-tqeg-ne
fit-DISS-HAB
'If you converse just as you do normally, that should work fine.'

(125) *zErem* *gazer* *moo* *gazere=n* *ba* ***tEr-tqege-ne***
some soil bad soil-3POSS also sew-DISS-NPST
'We will also plant crops in bad soil.'

As construals of situations may widely differ between speakers (the more so given the lack of visual and intonational clues), examples are difficult to predict. While *argeltqegne* in (126) might *a priori* easily be taken as an expression of disgust, informants rather opt for an imperfect performance on the speaker's part. About (127), one of the messiest examples in my data, two informants think that the speaker is completely satiated, and one says that *tqad-zE* wouldn't be convincing if the speaker was speaking dishonestly. Another informant takes this sentence to be an indirect complaint that there was only soup and nothing else, while a fifth assumes that even though there was other food, the speaker already got completely satiated after eating the delicious soup, while *-tqeg-* only constitutes a deferential device to address a higher-ranking addressee. In contrast, if we do assume that the first three informants assumed that a guest ought to eat more than just the soup among all those laboriously prepared dishes, their being satiated completely would indeed require deferentiality and a humble excuse towards the inviter, while *tqad-zE* would be too nonchalant to convince any listener that the speaker is actually satiated, requiring the host rather to encourage the potential eater a bit more. In (128), the unpleasant event is not the leaving, but having stayed at a family instead of in a hotel (something about which the speaker had actually complained earlier), so *-tqeg-* in *gar-tq-zE* rather pertains to the converb *xon-od*.

(126) *odo* *yag* *ter* *bitqg-in* *ug-eer* *xel-xuE*
now exactly DDIST script-GEN word-INS say-NPST.NEG
ter *barentEn-E* *mvngl-ar* *xel-xuE* *bol*
DDIST westerner-GEN Mongolian-INS say-NPST.NEG if
argel-tqeg-ne *basa*
find.ways-DISS-NPST also
[A: You surely have no problems understanding the deeper meaning of Mongolian words?] B: 'Now if you don't say it in written style, not in that western Mongolian, I can cope somehow.'

(127) ***tqade-z-tqE***, *quul-i=n* *vv(g)-ad*
become.full-DISS-PST soup-ACC=3POSS drink-PFV.CVB
'I'm completely full now, having drunk the soup.'

(128) *qewerte-d* *ir-eed* *neg* *EEl-ar* *or-od*
Sh.-DAT come-PFV.CVB one family-INS enter-DAT

diaocha xii-z bar-ad _ter
survey do-CVB finish-PFV.CVB DDIST
EEl-de=n neg xon-od
family-DAT-3POSS one stay.night-PFV.CVB
gar-tq-zE
set.out-DISS-PST
'We went to one family in Shebertü, finished recording materials there, stayed the night at that family and then left.'

While regret is associated especially with the examples with past reference, dissatisfaction is probably the most salient notion here, for past events cannot be influenced anymore. Conversely, a cooperative stance towards present events in the case of partial failure makes sense. Still, it is only the speaker's dissatisfaction that necessitates such a cooperative stance in the first place. And while incompleteness is a very salient feature in many examples, (127) clearly contradicts this, leaving only an imperfect result that induces dissatisfaction. Thus, on the basis of the available data, I tend to conclude that dissatisfaction can (with some stretching) be constructed as the central notion from which the other notions evolved, even if these derived notions are probably conventionalized to some degree.

5.4.2 *gene* and other means related to evidentiality

This section discusses the expression of quotative, hearsay and inferred notions in Khorchin. The overt expression of inference seems to coincide with the illocutionary particle *ba*. The quotative is expressed by the verb *ge-* 'say' that in a converbal form can also combine with some other *verba sentiendi et dicendi*. On its own, *ge-* can link some statement back to a speaker. Hearsay is expressed by the tense-neutral, probably not fully compositional *gene*.

The expression of inference is not grammaticalized in Khorchin. Obviously inferred statements were usually coded with the illocutionary particle *ba*, borrowed from Mandarin 吧, which indicates a guess and at the same time asks the addressee for confirmation (cf. Ürececeg 2011: 85).

(129) A: *neg bag vde-na xööy*
one small last-NPST IP
B: *yinggai neg* ***gar-tq=ir-z*** ***ba***
necessarily one come.out-CVB=come=PST IP
A: *neg gar-tq=ir-sen bel Exr-a*
one come.out-CVB=come-PRF.P if bring-IMP

A: 'Mind you, it might take a moment.'
B: 'One must have come out.'
A: 'If one has come out, bring it!'

(130) A: *en-i* *ba* ***uze-z*** ***yole-n*** ***ba****?*
DPROX also see-CVB manage-NPST IP
B: *eni* *uz-ez* *yol-uE.*
DPROX-ACC see-CVB manage-NPST.P.NEG
A: 'I guess we will also manage to see this [site]?'
B: 'We won't manage to see it.'

The verb *ge-* is used to introduce what somebody said, as in (131) where it refers to information obtained from the merchants. It can be used in an interpretative way, i.e. referring to speech content and meaning rather than wording, as demonstrated by (132). It can combine with *ba* if the speech content of a previous statement is not entirely clear. (133) from an elicited retelling is a case in point: the reteller is rather unsure and seeks confirmation from the listeners some of whom have firsthand knowledge about the events that he is retelling. Other *verba sentiendi et dicendi* require *ge-* followed by one of the converbs *-ad* and *-z-*, as illustrated in (134) and (135).

(131) *man* *xar* *borqeg* *tEr-ad* *m-ene* *xar*
1PL.EXCL black bean plant-PFV.CVB just-now black
borqeg *xEmder-tqE* ***ge-zE-n***
bean become.cheap-PST say-PROG-NPST
'We planted black beans, and now they are telling us that the price of black beans has fallen.'

(132) *xvvr=en* *zogo-z* *tqEde-na* ***ge-z=u***
violin=3POSS build-CVB can-NPST say-PST=Q
'Does that mean that you can make violins?'

(133) *aandur-nE* *ter* *angan-E*
recent-GEN DDIST younger.person-GEN
xel-sene=n *bol* *qEmE-tE* *vrd-ar,*
say-PRF.P=3POSS TOP 2SG-COM before-INS
SR *ge-z* *ba,* *xameg* *turu*
SR say-PST IP most first
tEneltq[-tq], *bagq-tE=n* ***tEneltq[-tq]***
come.to.know-PST teacher-COM=3POSS come.to.know-PST
ge-z ***ba*** (...) *en-nE* *dara* *xoi-l*
say-PST IP DPROX-GEN after two-COLL
xeezö(g)-ed ***tOOr-z*** ***ge-z*** ***ba***
work.together-PFV.CVB go.around-PST say-PST IP
mi-tim *qii,* *aandur* *mi-tin* *yangz-tE* *xel-zE-zE*
just.so IP recently just-so manner-COM say-PROG-PST
'What that girl just said is: he first came to know you, {eh} SR,

right {eh}, she said he came to know your teacher, right {eh} (...) after that, she said, you two cooperated and visited the area, right, wasn't it like that {eh}, she was just telling it just like this.'

(134) *odo* *musmel* ***ge-ed*** ***xele-n***
now icecream say-PFV.CVB say-NPST
'Well, you say "musmel" [in our region].'

(135) *bi* *xun-E* *vrtE* *gar-z* *yol-xuE*
1SG person-GEN before exit-CVB manage-NPST.P.NEG
ge-z *bi* ***med-ne***
say-CVB 1SG know-NPST
'I know I don't manage to get out before anyone else.'

The form *gene* seems to be special. While it transparently consists of *ge-* plus the Non-Past suffix *-na*, it is compatible with both present and past reference for the time when the information was acquired, while the time of the event referred to is indicated by the predication in its scope, as indicated by (136). Consequently, the meaning of *gene* does not include time reference, but is restricted to its quotative / hearsay meaning. *gene* in (136) is a device for quoting a concrete speaker verbatim, as indicated by the Imperative. In contrast, (137) illustrates a hearsay use where no concrete source of information is provided or, according to informant intuition, presumed.

(136) *bi* *en* *doore-n* *uld-e-i* *ge-lE*
1SG DPROX in=3POSS remain-CAUS-VOL say-COND.CVB
qii *qEn* ***aa-tqE-Ø***[36] ***gen***,
2SG in.advance take-PROG-IMP HEARSAY
metqg-eed *ergeed* *EEr-sen-guE*
do.just.so-PFV.CVB again bring-PRF.P-NEG
zengfu *deer-een* *tEb-tqE,* *man-E*
government at-RPOSS put-PST 1PL-GEN
ter *tvngxuE-nE* *tende* *tEbe-tq-tq*
DDIST fellow.student-GEN DDIST.LOC put-DISS-PST
'When I said "Let it remain in here!', X said "You can take it beforehand!" But then I didn't bring it here, but placed it in the government building, I put it at that place of that fellow student of ours.'

(137) A: *m-en* *qeeberte-d* *qangban-zE-sen=tqen,*
just-DPROX Sh.-DAT work-PROG-PRF.P=2POSS

[36] The Progressive here doesn't turn the action into an iterative, but renders it more polite.

eng-eed *tenq-een* *zoos* *Erben*
do.so-PFV.CVB DDIST.LOC[37]-RPOSS money plenty
ol-zE-n *ged* *odo* *xun=man*[38]
find-PROG-IPVF COMP.PFV.CVB now person=RED
töö(g)-eed *zoos* *xua(g)-ad*
ask.favor-PFV.CVB money expend-PVF. CVB
tenq-en *yab-z*
DDIST.LOC-RPOSS go-PST

B: *ee,* *tend* *ol-lo,* *xulinxe-d* *EEmar*
eh DDIST.LOC find-IPVF Kh.-DAT terrible
ole-n ***gene***
find-IPVF HEARSAY

A: 'He was working right there in Shebertu, yeah. So, saying "they are earning a lot of money there", now, he was asking a lot of people for favors and paid (them a lot of money) and moved there.'
B: 'Yeah, you earn a lot of money there. Reportedly, you [also/particularly] earn terribly much in Khoolingol.'

Given that *gene* is not obligatory, one would like to know when informants actually perceive the need to use it. Even in the absence of grammaticalized hearsay marking, the process of deciding whether or not to indicate that something is secondhand information is quite complex. A speaker has to classify her information source [according to a grammatically, culturally and subjectively determined ontology], to assess her interactional setting, [also] taking into account cultural conventions and, on this basis, to adopt an epistemic stance such as conveying something as a private experience (focusing on the conceptualizer), knowledge due to a certain source of information, imagined circumstances or factual information (dissociating the conceptualizer from the information which is portrayed as valid without any need for a source), which in turn serves as the basis for her linguistic choices (cf. Mushin 2001: 81–82, see also 59–79). And speakers of different languages set different priorities: While both English and Japanese have not grammaticalized evidentiality, an average retelling by Japanese speakers had 53% of clauses marked for evidentiality, whereas English came only up with 7%.

[37] Bayancoɣtu (2002: 251, but cf. 235–236) provides four different demonstrative distal locative forms related to the stem *ten-*, but he doesn't discuss their differences. Three of them, namely *tende*, *tendor* and *tenq*, are also present in the corpus.

[38] In this example, *xun=man* serves as a direct object to the Mandarin loan verb *töö-* 'ask a favor', and an informant, paraphrasing it, used an overt accusative *xun-i* with the Mongolian verb *gUU-* 'beg'. Khalkha, in contrast, overwhelmingly uses the ablative in such circumstances, although *Bi chamaig gui-j bai-na, en-iig hii(g)-eech gej* 1SG 2SG.ACC beg-CVB COP-FUT DPROX-ACC do-IMP COMP 'I implore you, please do so!' would be possible. Very intensive begging and the presence of a complemtentizer seem to favor the use of the accusative, but even here using the ablative always seems to be possible.

Speakers of Japanese thus clearly follow a cultural convention that suggests a reportative stance to them, while speakers of English give higher priority to retelling a coherent story and thus freely adapt an imaginative stance, thereby assuming authority over what they are telling "without apparently violating any cultural conventions" (Mushin 2001: 146–164). The marking of evidentiality also depends on how well established some piece of information is, and how the addressee and the referent are related to the speaker. For instance, it would be quite odd in Japanese for a father to tell to a colleague (but apparently not to his daughter) that his son is ill by using a hearsay form, even if he only got that information via a long-distance-call from his wife (Kamio 1994: 72–73, 79). Conventions for fairytales and other genres differ across languages as well.

I have no data that can clarify the epistemological stance common among Khorchin speakers. (138) is the first sentence from a fairytale probably from the 1950s in which the first and last sentence are marked by *-z gene*, providing the proper evidential frame, while all sentences in-between lack evidentiality marking. This contrasts with the more recently told legend in (139) which starts out without any evidential marking. It is not known whether either tale is representative of its genre.

(138) *qon* *bolod* *uneg* *xoj-el* *zam* *deer-ees* *neg*
wolf and fox two-COLL way on-ABL one
xeseg *eex* ***ol-z*** ***gene***. *qon*
piece fat find-PST HEARSAY wolf
"bidn *en-i* *id-tqeg-yee"* *ge-z*.[39]
1PL DPROX-ACC eat-COMPLETIVE?-VOL say-PST
'Wolf and fox had (reportedly) found a piece of fat on the way. The wolf said: "Let's eat it up!"'

(139) *erte-nE* *uyis* *wang* *izen* *bol* *[o]do*
early-GEN time king master TOP now
yamatin_berex-d *yix* *abel* ***tEb-zE***
Y.-DAT big hunt put-PST
'In times of yore, Wang Ezen organized a big hunt on the Yamatin Berex.'

In seven retellings (by people from the Eastern Central banner, Eastern Back banner and one of the Western banners), most retellers used *-z gene* quite extensively in both introduction and storyline. Some used it for every single utterance. Some marked some of their utterances in this way (but not particularly those in the beginning or end of the retelling), but sometimes neglected *-z gene* in order to use other narrative devices such as a Historical Present.

[39] Bayancoɣtu 2002: 582; transcription adapted from Bayancoɣtu's IPA.

Only one person who used a kinship term for the original narrator (which might have been due to politeness, but even in that case signals a close relationship) entirely refrained from using *gene*, though she did frame her story with metalinguistic comments in the beginning and end that indicated her source. So did the other retellers. One particular approach of a reteller was illustrated in (133) above where back-referencing and confirmation-seeking from the audience are combined.

Hearsay markers were employed with great frequency when native speakers made reference to strange foreigners suspicious to the police either in times following civil unrest (demonstrations in May and early June 2011 in Sili-yin qota and other parts of Inner Mongolia, with the military reinstating order afterwards) or due to lack of a local research permission (as in August 2012). In (140), the speaker is Xiaohua, the master student from the East Back banner who was accompanying me to the field. While she might have had to depend on oral information from me to state that I am a German doctoral student, she didn't use evidential marking here. However, she used *gene* to mark that I do or intend to do field work. She actually did have partial firsthand knowledge, but chose not to vouch for it personally. In (141), hearsay marking is not obligatory, but the speaker, a farmer at whose house I had stayed for two days, chose not to represent that information with a factual stance either. In the same situation, the party secretary of another small village that had met me just one hour earlier but had been introduced to me via phone by the respected vice-rector of an elementary school answered without *gene* while representing me to one of his villagers. Informants state about these examples that while *gene* doesn't express doubt as such, it does indicate that the speaker belongs to another group than the referent and that the speaker doesn't vouch for the proposition.

(140) *ugE, ene=n, deguo-nE neg xun=n*
no DPROX=3POSS Germany-GEN one person=3POSS
deguo-nE neg boqi uz-zE-x
Germany-GEN one doctoral.student see-PROG-NPST.P
svregtq=a. eng-eed en bas mongel
student=EMPH do.so-PFV.CVB DPROX also Mongolian
xel-i ***bEEtqa-n*** ***gene***
tongue-ACC investigate-IPVF HEARSAY
'No, this here ... this person from Germany ... this is a student from Germany that studies as a doctoral student. And he is also doing (/will also do) fieldwork on Mongolian.'

(141) A: *Xaan-ex-in xun?*
where-NOM-GEN person
B: *deguo-nE* ***gene.***
Germany-GEN HEARSAY

A: ‘Where is he from?’
B: ‘From Germany.’

A related, fairly complex example is (142). The larger context indicates that it is a direct quote, as indicated by the bracketed material. However, I had initially overlooked this and just presented my informants with the two sentences at hand out of context. The reduced context indicates that XH paraphrases a longer statement, apparently to provide information to others who didn’t manage to hear the first statement. *magt-* was not part of the statement cited, so it could neither be cross-referenced nor directly quoted by *gen*. *magtez gen* would thus merely interpret the way in which the preceding statement was said, and it was accepted in such an interpretative use by informants. Informants repeatedly emphasized that the speaker forwarded information and that four parties must be involved. So if A had referred to a statement by XH, it would have been infelicitous of XH to use *magtez gene*. On the other hand, several informants were puzzled about the use of *talerx-ezEna geed xeltq gen* as A hadn’t uttered anything to that effect. Overall, the existence of an interpretative construction as indicated by speaker intuitions about (142) should probably not be taken for granted, but be confirmed or rejected on the basis of additional research.

(142) A: *mongel* *ug* *ba* *yex* *sEEn* *xel-z*
Mongolian word also very good say-CVB
tqEde-n *teden=e*
can-NPST 3PL=EMPH
XH: ... *yex* *sEExen=a* *ge-ed* ***magte-z*** ***gene***,
very good=EMPH say-PVF.C admire-PST HEARSAY
eng-lE *talerxe-zE-na* *ge-ed*
do.so-CVB.when be.glad-PROG-NPST say-PFV.CVB
xel-tq ***gen***
say-PST HEARSAY
A: ‘Those [Pakistani students] can also speak Mongolian very well.’
XH: ‘“[You can speak Mongolian] very well”, he said admiringly. And [the Pakistani student] said “Thank you!”.’

Judging from the rather incomplete and possibly biased evidence we have seen in this section, it seems that speakers consider it important to indicate their source of information. Unmarked utterances cannot be taken to be non-hearsay, but they can be taken to be factual. Most speakers seem to be somewhat wary not to assume such responsibility and endanger themselves without need. Assuming a territory of information (in the sense of Kamio 1994 as indicated above), it might conversely even be possible to affiliate oneself with somebody by vouching for the correctness of what she says.

5.4.3 Long vs. short suffix variants

It seems difficult to discuss the difference between long and short variants of such suffixes as *-n(a)*, *-z(E)*, *-ad(a)* and even *-sen*/*-sna* (and of predicative adjectives, cf. (110)) on the basis of the available data alone. During elicitation, informants seemed indifferent as to whether an absolute sentence-final suffix was read out as a long or short variant. The difference is largely ignored in writing, though a long vowel can be indicated explicitly by writing an unattached emphatic vowel. However, Table 4 and Table 5 give a hint at a partial solution.

Table 4. *-na*/*-n* alternation in different syntactic positions

	-na	*-n*	*-zEna*	*-zEn*	*-tqegna*	*-tqegen*	*-ad bEEna*	*-ad bEEn*	*-nzEna*	*-nzEn*
Ø	288	187	152	79	47	46	5	9	23	11
IP	6	82	0	38	0	7	0	1	0	0
Q	0	96	0	60	0	3	0	2	0	11
xui	3	2	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
ge-	15	81	9	21	1	2	1	1	5	1

Table 5. *-zE*/*-z* alternation in different syntactic positions

	-zE	*-z*	*-zEzE*	*-zEz*	*-tq-zE*	*-tq-z*
Ø	170	126	33	15	29	16
IP	3	17	0	9	0	2
Q (polar)	0	17	0	4	0	6
xui	3	1	0	0	0	0
ge-	17	33	6	3	2	0

As the frequencies show, the short variant is the only option in questions and with illocutionary particles after complex aspectual predicates. An exception to this is the illocutionary particle *xui* (a general device to draw attention that presumably converted from the homophonous interjection) which is used with both long and short variants. Illocutionary particles after simple tense suffixes are preceded by long variants in a small, but not negligible number of cases. Before *ge-*, short variants are still more frequent, but the percentage of long variants is much higher than in the previous contexts, which might correlate to a functional difference. *ge-* can be used to quote both direct speech and mere speech content, and a long variant might indicate a direct quote (while the neutral short variant doesn't give any indications). If not

followed by anything, the long variant is usually more frequent and informants lack the understanding that they deal with different forms. Therefore, a purely semantic difference is improbable. But the obvious interaction with different assertion-attenuating particles might indicate that long variants are more assertive than short ones. Yet to confirm such an analysis, dedicated research into Khorchin discourse organization would be required.

6. Areal and diachronic factors: a preliminary evaluation

To fully appreciate the development of the Khorchin TA system, one would have to know where it originated, how other Mongolian dialects developed, and how these developments were influenced by their respective contact varieties. At this stage of investigation, only some of these factors are known, but I will address a few points nonetheless, drawing evidence from MM (Brosig forthcoming 1) and Khalkha (Brosig forthcoming 2, under review), taking the imperfective, future and perfective domains as the basis.

The future domain (see Table 6) has been completely changed in Khorchin; *-na* has basically taken over the function of *-qu* as a general future marker and is even used in speech acts (for which Khalkha speakers use *-laa*, the Voluntative *-ii* or the Progressive). MM didn't have a Prospective, but Khorchin innovated *-nzE-* (< *-na ge-ju bayi-* -NPST say-CVB COP-) which is very similar to Khalkha *-x gejii-* (< *-qu ge-ju bayi-*). But in contrast to the latter, it uses the modern Non-Past *-n(a)* which in Late Western MM must have been a Present Progressive (*-nam* < *-n a-mu* -CVB COP-PROG/HAB). Khalkha uses a cognate of MM *-qu* instead which cannot be used in absolute sentence-final position anymore in either dialect. Therefore, one might wonder whether the construction in Khalkha is older, *-qu* retained more uses for a longer time in Khalkha or *-na* acquired future meaning in Khorchin faster than in Khalkha. Given that Khalkha *-n* is already limited to future and potential uses (cf. Brosig forthcoming 2) and that *-nam* originated in the west, the last explanation is unlikely. Khorchin might indeed have copied the structure of the Khalkha Prospective construction. However, if this explanation was to hold, even the Xinjiang Oirat equivalent exemplified in (143) which is the only way to express this notion (Orulamjab, p.c., 2013-04-26) would have to be a structural borrowing.[40] On this problem, more evidence is clearly needed.

(143) *χø:(g)-œ:n* *tyrgyn* *χœ:ʧil-ʦgœ:-Ø,* *bɔra:n*
sheep-RPOSS fast shear-PLURATIVE.VOICE-IMP rain
ɔrɔ-nœ: *gi-ʤ* *bœ:-nœ:*
enter-NPST say-CVB COP-NPST

[40] For Kalmyk Oirat, Skribnik and Seesing (2014: 151) report that both constructions exist with different meaning: *kel-n gi-* 'having almost said', *kel-x gi-* 'be about to say'.

(Orulamjab 2013, part on *-tsgæ:-*)
'Let's quickly shear the sheep, it's about to rain!'

Table 6. Future domain in MM and Khorchin

	speech act	intention	schedule	prediction	preparative
MM future	*-ba*? (§125)	*-qu, -d je*	*-qu*	*-qu, -mu je*	?
Khorchin future	*-na*	*-i, -na,* other	*-na*	*-na*	*-nzEna, -lE*
future in the past		?	?	*-na, -tqeg-lE* (irreal)	*-nzEzE*

In the imperfective domain (see Table 7, Table 8), Khorchin has innovated the Continuative *-ad*, as has Khalkha. It is non-temporal and depends on aktionsart for its aspectual interpretation. Khalkha informants emphasized that the resultant situation requires or required immediate action on the part of a participant or discourse-participant, a semantic approach that, while not particularly emphasized by Khorchin informants, might even go together with the Khorchin data. A concrete comparative analysis would have to take into account that Khalkha even allows for sentence-final *-ad=l*, while Khorchin does not. On the other hand, other innovations present in Khalkha such as the dedicated Habitual *-dag* and the second variant of the Progressive *-jii-gaa* (differing from *-jii-n* with respect to evidentiality; historically *-(g)aa* corresponds to the MM Resultative *-ga*) were either restricted to Khalkha or are not retained in contemporary Khorchin anymore. Thus, in contrast to both MM and Khalkha, Khorchin has no dedicated means to express present and past habituality, and past evidentiality differentiations got lost as well.

Table 7. Imperfective domain in MM

	Progressive	Habitual	Generic
Present	*-mU*		*-yU*
	-n bu-yu / -nam		
Past	*-n bü-lüge / -n a-jugu*	*-QU bü-lüge / -QU ajugu*	

Table 8. Imperfective domain in Khorchin

	Prospective	Continuative	Progressive	Habitual	Generic
Present	*-nzE-na*	*-ad*	*-zE-na*		*-na*
Past	-nzE-zE		*-zE-zE, -zE-sen*		

In the perfective domain (see Table 9 and Table 10), Khorchin has clearly lost ground. It has a structural equivalent to the analytic resultative of MM, as MM *-ju* is functionally similar to contemporary *-ad* and the MM copulas (*a-* 'be' < 'live', *bü-* 'be', possibly from 'stop+stand') were replaced by *bai-* (< 'stop+stand'). But the complex forms expressing perfect meaning are not retained in Khorchin (and the status of *-sen* itself is not clear at all), whereas Khalkha uses an even larger set of forms. The past evidentiality distinction of MM got lost entirely in Khorchin, while Khalkha created additional non-past evidential forms. Khalkha relegated the old Factual *-ba* to exclamations and questions (and little can be said about whether or not it remains as a very low-frequent modal suffix in Khorchin as well) and turned *-san* into a factual past, whereas Khorchin replaced *-ba* by *-zE* and thus collapsed the evidential system. *-lE* was retained for immediate past / future, but this is not particular to Khorchin: the function of Khalkha *-laa* as either evidential past or immediate past/future has been discussed repeatedly (e.g. Song 1997, Binnick 2012, Brosig under review).

Table 9. Perfective domain in MM

	Perfective	Perfect	Resultative	
Factual	*-bA*	*-gsAn*	*-jU a-mU*	*-gA*
Past firsthand	*-lUgA*	*-gsAn bü-lüge*	*-jU bü-lüge*	*-gA bü-lüge*
Past non-firsthand	*-jUgU*	*-gsAn a-jugu*	*-jU a-jugu*	

Table 10. Perfective domain in Khorchin

	Perfective	Perfect	Resultative
Immediate	*-lE*		
Present		*-sen*	*-ad bEE-na*
Past	*-zE*		*-ad bEE-zE,* *-ad bEE-sen,* *-ad bEE-zE-zE*

Now WHY did Khorchin change as it did? As far as the system has been enlarged, innovations such as *-nzE-* are not particular to Khorchin structurally, but are to be explained within a Central Mongolic Sprachbund. However, it is not obvious which other influences are to be reckoned with. Bayancoγtu (2002), relying substantially on data from the 1950s (p.c. summer 2010) and not incorporating changes that he observed during his last field studies in the late 1970s (p.c. 2012-12-14) into his description, documents a Khorchin dialect that, while apparently lacking forms such as a tensed Habitual **-deg bEE-*, a tensed Perfect **-sen bEE-* and the copula form **bEE-ga*, does make use of finite *-deg*, *-xim* and *-sar*. While finite *-sar* was mostly replaced by

finite *-ad* in both Khorchin and Khalkha, only the latter retains *-deg* and *-xim*. This indicates that the probably less complex system of Manchu (judging from Gorelova 2002: 286–294, 526–529) did not play a role here. The intensive flux of Kharchin, Mongoljin and Naiman speakers into Khorchin territory might have played a role, but this process began in the late 19th century and was largely completed by the 1930s, with minor changes during the Japanese period (Oyungerel, p.c., 2013-11-21), and possible later movements are not well-reported. Even so, the information that can be retrieved from basic grammars of southeastern dialects is very limited. Naiman (Mönggüngerel 1998) employs the suffixes *-lE*, *-zE*, *-x* (in any case when followed by a question particle), *-sen*/*-sa* and *-deg* in final position, while it does not have **bEEga*. Kharchin also has *-lE* (only future),[41] *-zi* and *-x* (followed by *yimi*), but not **bEEga* (Sodubaɣatur 2007). Finite *-deg* seems to be possible (Qasbaɣatur n.d.: 44), while examples of finite *-sen* are not provided. Edquriyaɣci and Urana (1996: 55) state that finite suffixes in Mongoljin "are the same [as in the Standard]", which cannot be true, but deprives us of any further information. In the light of this data, Kharchin, Naiman and Khorchin could have had completely identical systems in the 1950s or could have had roughly similar systems with a few important functional differences. Social changes during the Cultural Revolution (1966-76), followed by the incorporation of Jirim League into Jilin Province (1969-79), might have created a situation where various dialect-specific complexities were lost. In Inner Mongolia, the Cultural Revolution was organized more centrally than in other areas and soon started to concentrate on opposing a perceived separatism and, as the ultimate root of it, everything related to traditional Mongolian culture and language, which included an extension of agriculture on the expense of pastoralism into the agenda (Sneath 2000: 102-125). The official number for excess deaths (usually of Mongolians, only rarely Han) during the Cultural Revolution in Inner Mongolia is 20.000, while demographic calculations point towards 100.000 (Brown 2007: 176). No dedicated research on the incorporation of Jirim into Jilin exists (Oyungerel, p.c., 2013-11-21), while the Cultural Revolution continues to be a sensitive topic in Chinese history writing. A final factor to be considered is the increased influx of Han settlers during the communist period. I am not sure which variety of Mandarin is to be taken as contact variety, but IFF the Han settlers were mixed, then probably it was something close to Standard Mandarin. Mandarin has a small non-tensed system with a Perfective, a Progressive, a Stative and an Experiential Perfect that doesn't resemble contemporary Khorchin, but it could at least explain a tendency towards simplification and downsizing.

[41] Sodubaɣatur (2007: 312) is definite about this, while Qasbaɣatur (n.d.: 42) says that it "in general" expresses future meaning.

In a nutshell, Khorchin has a medium-sized TA system that is small for a Mongolian dialect. Evidentiality is not a part of this system, but is rather expressed by one of many illocutionary particles, which also relate to modality in a way yet to be clarified. The system must still have been more complex in the 1950s (probably even for young people) and seems to have been simplified due to contact-induced or other socio-political changes.

Future research is needed in a large number of areas. To properly understand how the massive changes in Khorchin took place during the last 60 years, it is necessary to properly understand how the Cultural Revolution worked in the already partly agricultural areas Ulaɣanqada, Jirim and Hinggan, which would require ethnographic field work in the not-too-distant future. Sufficiently detailed synchronic descriptions of the verbal system of other dialects in this area (Mongoljin, Naiman, Khüree, Tümed, Kharchin, Tüsheet, Eastern Back banner, always with an eye on local immigration patterns and the age of informants) might still provide a background about the kind of language contact that took place. Such an areal study might also be the only proper way to come to grips with *-sen* (which, in contrast to *-deg*, could probably be investigated meaningfully in a purely synchronic study if it is due to a west-to-east dialect continuum).

For evidentiality-related issues, one might classify different contexts in which information is conveyed and see how these influence the epistemological stance e.g. in the court room, in more delightful tales, dreams and numerous other distinct registers. It would also be worthwhile to investigate whether the closeness between the person forwarding the information and the final addressee indeed plays a major role for the choice of an epistemological stance. The socio-normative basis and conceptions that underlie the choice of a narrative stance need to be illuminated as well.

Judging from the corpus, most means of expressing modality documented for Khalkha (Mönh-Amgalan 1998) and apparently also used in the central and western parts of Inner Mongolia don't seem to be present in Khorchin which, however, uses a mostly distinct set of illocutionary particles and loan adverbs from Mandarin. Therefore, the overall expression of modal notions requires detailed investigation.

Aktionsart-related issues were mostly outside the scope of this study. Such research could deepen our understanding of the constructions related to continuativity and resultativity, but this would require either at least ten times as much data as used for this study or a way to elicit reliable (not grossly simplified and decontextualized) new data from informants. Even the interpretation of *-lE* as past or future or the full semantic nuances of *-zE*, just to name two examples, could be understood in more detail.

Glossings

By and large, glossings follow the Leipzig glossing rules. Other glossings used include ATTR = attributive, CONTI = continuous, DDIST = distal demonstrative, DPROX = proximal demonstrative, EX = existential, IDEO = ideophone, IP = illocutionary particle, P = participle, RED = reduplication, RPOSS = reflexive-possessive, VOL = voluntative.

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[42] The title page also contains the information 国家教育部人文社会科学重点研究基地内蒙古大学蒙古学研究中心重大课题, but this doesn't seem particularly informative. Sodubaɣatur (2007: 665) cites a single paper by Qasbaɣatur from 1959.

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Aspect and epistemic notions in the present tense system of Khalkha Mongolian

In this paper, I will dicuss positive present tense forms in spoken Khalkha Mongolian. Khalkha is analyzed to have five non-finite aspect markers, the Progressive, Continuative, Habitual, Perfect, and Prospective. They mainly combine with the three suffixes *-n*, *-aa* and *-dag*. On its own, *-n* expresses an instantiated potential or neutral future and *-aa* combines epistemic possibility and resultativity. In combination with aspect markers, though, they express the evidential value of direct vs. indirect perception. As the resultant state of a perfect can be perceived directly, the division runs between direct sensual perception of the event and an event inferred from direct sensual perception vs. events that are concluded from assumptions, hearsay, and previous perception. The suffix *-dag* expresses habitual and generic semantics. It is most commonly used on its own, but can also take other aspect markers into its scope, e.g. expressing a habitually ongoing event. Next to its main use, it is even used to refer to mono-occasional events that diverge from what the speaker perceives as the normal course of events. In addition, absolute-final and other uses of the participle *-h* and final uses of the converb *-aad* are discussed.

This paper deals with the present tense system of spoken Khalkha Mongolian. More specifically, it treats the finitely usable Potential, Habitual, "Resultative" and "Future" markers in their uses on their own and in interaction with several non-finite aspectual markers. As attributive, nominalized and negated predications constitute a separate (albeit related) system, this discussion is restricted to finitely used positive aspect markers in declarative and interrogative sentences. While most modal notions belong to distinct systems, non-past evidentiality, epistemic modality and other modal notions will be touched upon to some degree.[1]

[1] This paper wouldn't have come about without the input of about 50 informants, most of all Saraa, Soloo, Odko and Galaa. The immense corpus was almost single-handedly transcribed by B. Zoljargal. Thanks also go to D. Guntsetseg for discussing the translations of all example sentences, to Östen Dahl, John Street and Maria Koptjevskaja-Tamm for suggestions that helped to improve both structure and wording, to Stefan Georg, Hans-Jürgen Sasse, Leila Behrens and Dagmar Jung for their inspiration earlier on, to J. Bayansan, M. Bayarsaihan and Enhmaa for their organisational help and to Gantulga, Hishigjargal, Orulamjab, Miáomiáo, Sechenbaatar and Zoljargal for their emotional support while in Mongolia. The research was financed by Stockholm University as my employer and the Sven och Dagmar Saléns stiftelse who funded a 7-month stay in Ulaanbaatar with 53270 SEK.

The paper is structured as follows: section 1 addresses the data used for this study. In section 2, the inventory of finite forms in Khalkha Mongolian is first introduced and then put into a semantic context. Section 3 treats the Potential *-n* and "Resultative" *-aa*, both as they are used on their own and as markers of evidentiality in combination with the non-finite Progressive, Continuative-Resultative, Perfect, evidentially marked Habitual and Prospective.[2] Section 4 discusses the Habitual on its own and in combination with other complex aspectual forms. Section 5 presents the "Future" participle and its functions in different constructions, while section 6 discusses finite uses of the converb *-aad*. In section 7, combinations of the particle *=l* with non-finite aspectual constructions are discussed. Section 8 concludes.

1. Corpus, informants and evaluation

The basic data for this paper are taken from a 589 minutes corpus of spoken Khalkha. In addition, materials from the Internet as well as overheard utterances were occasionally included. The corpus mainly consists of TV programs made up of unscripted, relatively free conversation such as *Tanaid honoyo* "I want to stay the night at your place" during which the reporter visits families without previous notice, or *Derik*, a report on crime in Ulaanbaatar.[3] Almost all materials were recorded in Khalkha-speaking Ulaanbaatar, but discourse participants include a few Khalkha-speaking Oirats. Most speakers seem to be between 35 and 55.

All finite aspectual forms (n=4244) found within the corpus including the sentence-final particles that follow them were semi-automatically annotated.[4]

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[2] In this paper, I'm following the convention of writing language-specific categories with capital letters, while general semantic notions or cross-linguistic categories are written with small letters.

[3] In extenso: *Derik* (Benzin: 19 minutes: Do gas stations shortchange petrol; Gazar: 17: a man gets maltreated in a dispute about land ownership; Narantuul: 13: pickpockets at Narantuul market; Yanhan: 24: prostitution in western Ulaanbaatar), *Tanaid honoyo* (Ganbaatar, bank director: 47, transcribed by Oyuuka; Ariunbold: 41; Badar-Uugan, boxer: 49; Parik Jagaa, show moderator: 56; Cergiin angi, at barracks: 38), *Hün ta: Ganbat* (20, at the home of a poor cobbler), 16+: Shwees (30, youth-related topics including tatoos), *Hoolondoo*: *Mongold* (23, cooking show), *Hurdan mor'* (32, horse racing sports report), record from a birthday party (171), retelling of a short narrative (2, transcribed by O. Mönh-Gerel, Brosig), interview with Enhzul from Töv aimag, conducted by Chuluunceceg for a youth radio station (7).

[4] The verbs *teg-* 'do like that', *ing-* 'do like this' and *yaa-* 'do how' were sometimes taken to be lexicalized adverbials and were only annotated in those cases in which their verbal characteristics were most salient. The highly grammaticalized verb *bol-* 'become' was mostly annotated, but inconsistencies related to its use with nouns and adjectives occurred during the initial phase of annotation. The verb *bai-*, often used as an auxiliary to participles and converbs, was usually not annotated when used with nominals or as locational / possessive verb and was not statistically evaluated. The complementizer verb *ge-*, originally 'say', was only included into the statistics when used within the Prospective form.

I then surveyed them and selected a large subset of relevant examples for elicitation. Elicitation in Ulaanbaatar was done during overall 267 hours between April and November 2013 with 45 informants with an average age of 25 (17-21: 17, 22-26: 11, 29-40: 8, 55-66: 2). 30 were students and 37 female. Informants were presented with transcribed sentences in their overall context and asked about the semantic difference between similar TAE[5] forms in the given environment. The analysis was then done by generalizing from my notes on their answers, both across examples and across markers.

2. Inventory

In this section, the morphemes used in finite predications in Khalkha Mongolian are introduced. Section 2.1 introduces the form inventory from a morpho-syntactic point of view. As formal and semantic classes don't coincide, the latter are discussed separately in section 2.2.

2.1 Inventory of forms

The aspectual system of Khalkha is based on the following finitely usable morphemes: the finite verbal suffixes *-n*, *-laa* (*-l*), *-jee* (*-j*) and *-v*, the participle suffixes *-sang*, *-dag*, *-aa* and *-h*, and the converbal suffixes *-aad*, *-j* and, in writing, *-saar* and the extremely literary *-n*. Due to reasons detailed in the respective sections, the use of *-v*, simple *-aa* and *-h* is rather restricted.[6]

[5] TAME - tense, aspect, modality, evidentiality, thus TAE excludes modality.

[6] Cyrillic Mongolian is converted to Latin as follows:

Cyrillic	а	б	в	г	д	е	ж	з	и	й	к	л	м	н	о	ө	п	р	с
Latin	a	b	v	g	d	ye	j	z	i	i	k	l	m	n	o	ö	p	r	s
Cyrillic	т	у	ү	ф	х	ц	ч	ш	ъ						ы	ь	э	ю	я
Latin	t	u	ü	f	h	c	ch	sh	(not transcribed)						ii	‘	e	yu	ya

Most of this reflects common Internet usage, but my transcription diverges by ө > ö and ү > ü (instead of ө > o/u resp. ү > u, avoiding underdifferentiation), ц > c (instead of ts, for convenience) and ь > ’ (instead of i or zero, preserving both palatalization and syllable structure). Unproblematic spelling mistakes or unconventional spellings in the source (especially in Latin Mongolian examples from the internet) were usually standardized without note, unless the TAME markers themselves were concerned. Suffixes are cited in their unrounded form without advanced tongue root, e.g. *-laa*, but are understood to refer to their vocal-harmonic variants (here *-loo*, *-lee*, *-löö*) as well. Most material cited in this paper is drawn from spoken data which is written down as Latin in a very similar fashion. However, historical, synchronically lost segments are not written, so /n/ <na> is transcribed as *n*, /ŋ/ <n> as *ng* and /ɢ/ <ga> as *G* (though the transcriber was somewhat inconsistent for the latter two). On the other hand, arguably monophthongized diphthongs (but see Svantesson et al. 2005: 9-11) are written as diphthongs according to orthographic convention.

The finite suffixes are used together with several non-finite morpheme combinations. Most consist of the auxiliary *bai-* preceded by one of the converbs in *-j* (mostly contracted: *-j bai-* > *-jai-* > *-jii-*), *-aad* and, in writing, *-saar*, or by one of the participles in *-dag*, *-sang* and, rarely, *-h*. The auxiliary *bol-* 'become' combines with the same participles yielding aspectual and actional meanings, while its combination with the converb *-j* expresses root possibility or permission. Non-negated *-aa* is only used finally and then almost only attached to the copula verb *bai-*. The suffix *-ch-* (~ *-chih-*; *-c-* before *-sang*) can in some cases change the actional interpretation of predications. It is mutually exclusive with *-jii-* within the morphology of one verb and with the copula/locative verb *bai-* as such, but combines with other aspectual forms.

Additionally, several clitics play a certain role. The clitic *=aa* can combine with *-n*, *-v* and *-dag* and tends to be mutually exclusive with illocutionary particles. Due to a partial analogy, *-jee* becomes *-j* when followed by an illocutionary particle, and past-referring *-laa* is reduced to *-l* if followed by the interrogative (⊂ illocutonary) clitic *=uu*. The lengthenings of *-sang* and *-v* to *-saang* (rare, but more common than *-sn=aa*) and *-aav* (more restricted than *-v=aa*) mirror this use. The modal clitic *=iin* and its variants can attach to all four aspectual participles. While neither device tends to affect the proposition, their distribution and frequency still indicate that they are among the flectional categories of Khalkha verbs. The clitic *=l* can attach to converbs and non-finite particles, occasionally interacting with aspect. Even interrogative devices (*=uu*, interrogatively used *=iin*, the more formal *ve*) can in some cases change the interpretation of aspect markers. *-h* is almost restricted to interrogative or modal contexts.

Non-interrogative illocutionary clitics or particles may be compatible or incompatible with the meanings of particular suffixes, but as they don't seem to interfere with the aspectual system in any systematic way, they are not dealt with here.[7]

Markers of modality such as finite mood forms like *-ii* for first person intention and participle suffixes like *-maar* for first person wishes exist on the same level as TAE markers. Some of them combine with aspectual forms, i.e. *manai-d ir-j baig-aarai* 'be coming to us!' or *yav-sang bai-Ø* 'be gone!' However, both adverbials such as *zaaval* 'certainly' and adjective-based constructions such as *-h yos-toi/-güi* -FUT.P custom-COM/EX.NEG expressing an obligation to do or not to do something are a central part of the Khalkha modality system which might thus be considered by and large distinct from

[7] An exception is *=lee*, a shortened form of *bilee*, that yields past meanings mit simple *-n*. The particles *bilee* and *aj(ee)* express evidentiality-related meanings.

the closely interacting system of means for expressing tense, aspect and evidentiality.[8]

2.2 Forms and their meanings

Simple *-n* tends to express potential meaning and simple *-aa* is restricted to a few peripheral constructions. In complex forms, they are widely used to express diverse present tense meanings with a contrast in evidentiality. The suffix *-dag* is mostly used to express habituality. The suffix *-sang* is a factual past marker and *-laa* and *-jee* express firsthand and non-firsthand evidential past meaning. *-v* in its basic past use is restricted to written language or interrogative sentences, while its other spoken language uses are modal. Complex aspectual forms retain evidential distinctions, but implicatures about remoteness are specific to simple forms.

Temporal semantics are less important than usage patterns. Certain contexts will result in past interpretations of *-dag* and *-n*. Future reference is normal for simple *-laa*, one of the modal uses of *-v* is future, and both simple *-jee* and *-sang* can exhibit future reference in exceedingly rare contexts.

-aad expresses non-evidential resultative notions. *-h* is used in contexts that relativize factuality, most often in future questions.

Non-finite complex forms designate aspectual notions such as perfect (*-sang bai-*), prospectivity (*-h ge-j bai-*), habituality in the scope of some other notion (*-dag bai-*), progressivity (*-jii-*), continuative progressivity (*-aad bai-*) and potential, sometimes deontic developments (*-h bai-*). PTCP *bol-* is used for the attainment of a state where the event indicated by the participle is either intended to be accomplished (*-h*), a habit (*-dag*) or already accomplished (*-sang*). *-ch-*, while apparently capable of expressing notions such as dissatisfaction, also has more systematic functions such as pinning the future-leaning *-laa* to the past and turning actionally determined continuative *-aad bai-* forms into resultatives. Conversely, *=l* can help avoiding actionally induced resultative interpretations.

Where applicable, *=aa* can be used as a device that renders utterances more agreeable to the addressee. The particles *-h* and *-aa* can connect with *=aa* via intermediate *=iin*. The meaning of *=iin* is subject to ongoing investigation.

3. The evidential forms *-n* and *-aa*

The meaning of *-n* and *-aa* on their own is quite distinct from their direct and indirect evidentiality function in complex forms. Simple *-n* (n=635, includ-

[8] For a monograph-length treatment of modality in Mongolian (organized according to degree), see Mönh-Amgalan 1998.

ing 25 tokens with *-ch-n*, 8 tokens with *-n=uu* and one with both) refers to a potential event with occasional realization, be it in the present, past or future, and simple *-aa* (n=35) expresses resultative-stative semantics. In complex forms, the semantic contrast is rather between a directly perceived event and an event for which this doesn't hold true.

3.1 Simple *-n*

Previous research on *-n* is not extensive, but mainly focuses on *-n* as a non-past marker that exhibits some aspectual restrictions when applied to the present, and only Kalchofner (1999) mentions a limited applicability to past contexts (see Brosig 2009a: 27-30 for a concise discussion). The most nuanced discussion so far is my own paper from 2009, which I will scrutinize before discussing my new evidence.

In Brosig (2009a), assuming future reference as the basic use, I tried to draw a distinction of present-tense uses that depend on aktionsart and that don't. Independent uses were assumed to be generic uses (such as the movement options of pieces on a chessboard), instructions, in complement clauses when referring to actions that are not temporally located such as in (1), or in citation forms for verbs. Some uses were said to rely on textual conventions such as a historical present used for a sequence of events and a past imperfective use in narratives (novels, jokes, history books). On actionality, I observed that written language sources sometimes use *-na*[9] with stative verbs such as *chad-* 'can' and *sanagd-* 'seem' in contexts such as (2) where spoken language sources, represented by newspaper interviews with four musicians and one athlete, had *-dag* instead. With stative predicates such as *üzeng yad-* 'hate' or *med-* 'recognize+know', a timeless use is possible, while the use of *-dag* would report what the speaker knows about the past and present. Predications of lesser time stability, i.e. accomplishments, activities and those containing position verbs, always receive a future interpretation with the single exception of the irregular verb *yav-* 'go'.

(1) *öör-öör hel-bel mongol hün dotood yertönc-öö*
other-INS say-COND.C Mongolian person inside world=RP
busd-aas nuu-na ge-dg-iig med-deg-güi.
other=ABL hide-DIR COMP-HAB.P=ACC know-HAB.P=EX.NEG
'[It's easy to guess what a Mongolian thinks when you see him. All his emotions stand inscribed into his face.] In other words, a Mongo-

[9] In written language, *-sang* is written as <san> (word-final /n/ > /ŋ/) and *-n* as <na> (loss of short vowel phonemes in non-first syllables and insertion of epenthetic vowels only between consonants). It is in principle possible to write <na aa>, but this is rarely done. Instead, readers read <na> as either [n] or [nɑ:] depending on contextual or performative factors. In other words, the written language underdifferentiates.

lian doesn't know how to hide his inner world from others.' (Brosig 2009a: 33)[10]

(2) *surgaal_nomlol-yn chiglel-eer=n' 1. buddiin, 2. hristiin,*
teaching=GEN direction=INS=3POSS Buddhist Christian
3. islamiin, 4. busad buyuu "shine shashin-ii"
Islamic other or new religion=GEN
chig_barimjaa-tai süm hiid-üüd ge-j angil-j
alignment=COM temple monastery-PL COMP-C classify-C
bolo-h sanagda-na.
be.possible-FUT.P seem-DIR
'It seems that from the perspective of their teachings, [Mongolian] temples and monasteries can be classified as 1. Buddhist 2. Christian 3. Islamic and 4. others and those belonging to the "New Religions".' (Brosig 2009a: 38)

The interpretation of some of this evidence has to be rejected, though. Movement options on a chessboard are a potential development much closer linked to future meaning than a truly generic statement about a class of entities. Secondly, the example given for a chain of subsequent past events most likely referred to an iterated process, so whereas some kind of past imperfective usage cannot be denied, the label "historical present" isn't justified.

Apparently, while it is inadequate to ascribe to *-n* a general potential to express habituality or genericity, restricting its meaning to future and providing a huge list of exceptions doesn't work either. It's probably futile to try to deduce all subtleties of *-n* from some overgeneralized *gesamtbedeutung*, but a large number of its uses can be characterized as referring to a potential event, be it in the future, present or past. In contrast to other stative markers of potential such as the rare *-huic* or *-maar* 'likely to' as used in other dialects, *-n* does suggest that the potential gets instantiated.

For the future domain, one can make a heuristic division into an intentional future for events under the control of the speaker, a predictive future

[10] Most interlinearization glosses are the same as in the Leipzig glossing rules. Abbreviations that differ include 1H - firsthand evidential marker, 2H - non-firsthand evidential marker, AT - attributive case (*-n*) / attributive form for already case-marked words (*-h*), BOU - boundary-emphasizing aktionsart modifier, C - converb, COLL - collective (numeral), CNS - consequence (for the converb forms *-hlaar* and *-haar*), D - demonstrative, DIM - diminutive, DIR - potential/direct evidence marker, ¬DIR - resultative/indirect marker, EX.NEG - existential negation, FOC - focus marker, IDEO - ideophone, ID.NEG - identity negation, INT - intensifier, INTERJ - interjection, IP - interlocutionary particle or clitic, HAB - habitual, MED - medial (close to addressee), MC - modal clitic (*=iin ~ yum*), MP - modal particle, NAME - proper name, ORD - ordinal number, .P - participle, PLACE - place name, PL.H - plural restricted to humans, POL - polite, PROS - prosecutive case (on nominals), prospective (on verbs), RES - derivative resultative suffix, RHET - rhetorical, RP - reflexive-possessive, STC - stance-marking clitic, TAG - tag question particle, TOP - topic, VOL - voluntative mood. Note that 1PL.GEN with the stem *man-* is exclusive.

for events where such control is lacking, a scheduled future (*[According to the timetable] the train leaves at noon*) and a preparative future (Dahl 2000: 309-318) that can also be grammaticalized into prospective aspect. In the corpus, numerous examples for events that the speaker intends to undertake such as (3) and a fair number of scheduled events such as (4) can be found. There are some arguable instances of predictions, but (5), drawn from a written source yet perfectly possible spoken usage, is more illustrative. As Khalkha has a specialized Prospective *-h ge-j bai-*, simple *-n* doesn't have this usage. Although future events are potential and understood as such, none of the examples below introduces an overt degree of epistemic incertainty on the part of the speaker (which could be added through modal particles or adverbials).

(3) *odoo bügd-eer=ee nege-n ail-d zor'-j ochi-n.*
now all-INS=RP one=ATTR family-DAT aim.for-C go.to-DIR
'[Here on TV 25, the TV program *Tanaid honii* is beginning.] We will now all go to one family.'

(4) *manai hüüg-iin naiz german-aas ocho-N.*
1PL.GEN boy-GEN friend Germany-ABL go.to-DIR
'The friend of our son will come here from Germany. [Let that student stay at your home!]'

(5) *OHU-iin ediin_zasg-iin ösölt 2014-2015*
Russian.Federation-GEN economy-GEN growth 2014-2015
on-d buur-na.[11]
year-DAT decrease-DIR
'The economic growth of the Russian Federation will decrease in 2014-2015.'

Instances of present potential with dynamic predications may closely resemble habitual predications. However, *-n* turns out to refer not to a habitual situation as such, but to an inherent consequence of the existing situation:

(6) *bas manai mongol-chuud yaag-aad bid nar engeed*
also 1PL.GEN Mongolian-PL.H do.what-C 1PL PL so
övl=n idesh id-deg vee ge-heer bid nar=chin
winter=AT food eat-HAB.P Q say-CNS.C 1PL PL=STC
hüiten-d ih daar-dag energe alda-N. manai
cold-DAT much feel.cold-HAB.P energy lose-DIR 1PL.GEN
mongol oron=chin hüiten oron-d tooco-gdo-N.
Mongolian country=STC cold country-DAT count.as-PASS-DIR
hün=chin ald-sang energe kloro nögöö yug-aar=aa
person=STC lose-PRF.P energy kalorie other what-INS=RP

[11] http://mongol24.mn/400, 2013-04-15, retrieved 2013-12-18. Headline of an article.

ööh tos-oor=oo nöhö-j av-dag.
solid.fat fat-INS=RP mend-C take-HAB.P
'If one wants to say why we Mongolians ... why we eat winter food stuff like this: we suffer a lot from cold. (Thereby,) we lose energy. Our Mongolia is counted among the cold countries. People regain their lost calories ... through ... what was it ... fat.'

(7) *haayaa eng-eed chölöö-t cag=aa önGrüüle-n=dee.*
sometimes do.so-C free-COM time=RP spend-DIR=IP
dur-tai yum=aa üz-N, sonin hevell=ee unshi-N,
liking-COM thing=RP see-DIR newspaper publication=RP read-DIR
hoorond=oo shatar togloom=oo toglo-N, bai-jii-dag _
between=RP chess game=RP play-DIR COP-PROG-HAB.P
gazar=daa.
place=IP
'[Well, now this is our hall for leisure and cultural activity. Our soldiers spend their free time here.] They will from time to time spend their free time like this. Watch what they like, read the press, play chess with each other. A place to hang out.'

(8) *teg-ee=l odoo ... ge-e=l ing-ee=l aimaar yum*
do.so-C=FOC now[12] say-C=FOC do.so-C=FOC awful thing
yav-jai-had=chin=l _ bii yörön odoo zöv=l yum
go-PROG-C.when=STC=FOC 1SG in.general now right=FOC thing
hii-jaiG-aa baih=daa ge-j bod-n.
do-PROG-¬DIR MP=IP COMP-C think-DIR
'Then, now, [when those police folks] keep on saying, [what, things such that Ganbaatar is a criminal], I feel awful and wonder whether I am really doing the right thing. [But when I then go forth and come to the Sühbaatar square, and the people and the elderly kiss me and then encourage me, then I feel happy (*bayarl-aa=l yav-jii-n* feel.happy-C=FOC go-PROG-DIR) again].'

In (6), the event marked with *-n* is a consequence of the first event marked with *-dag*. Informants say that if *ald-dag* were used instead, there wouldn't be any causal connection between the two events.[13] The events enumerated in (7) are exemplary options rather than frequently recurring events that could be marked with *-dag*. In (8), the conditions are not specified in the main clause as in (6), but in the subordinate clauses.

A number of stative, sometimes individual-level predications can be conceived of as referring to a present potential:

[12] While *odoo* is always glossed as 'now', it is important to note that it is not only used as a time adverbial, but also as a discourse structuring device or even as a device for the speaker to keep her turn and come up with a proper wording.
[13] Example (7) in Brosig 2009a: 32 can be reinterpreted along similar lines.

(9) *naidvar-tai, bid nar ter-iig batalgaa-tai hel-j chada-n.*
reliability-COM 1SG PL D.DIST-ACC guarantee-COM say-C can-DIR
[Being in the course of controlling whether the gas station at which B works tanks up as much petrol as they say and having explained this process to the listeners, the reporter A asks B a tag question (with ..., *te?*) whether their gas station is reliable. B answers:] 'It is reliable, we can say this with confidence.'

(10) *bii yuu ge-hleer huushuur hii-N. _ huushuur huushuur*
1SG what say-CNS.C huushuur make-DIR
huushuur. huushuur ge-heer med-N.
huushuur say-CNS.C come.to.know+know-DIR
'What will I prepare? I'll prepare huushuur. Huushuur, huushuur, huushuur. If you say huushuur, everybody'll recognize it.

In (9), *chad(a)-n* indicates a potential at the time of speaking that, due to the current ongoing investigation, doesn't exclude the past. The form *-dag* that generalizes over several points in time would therefore be infelicitous, as would be *-jii-n* which requires the results of the investigation to be available already. In (10), even the verb *med-* 'recognize+know' is interpreted in an inceptive way due to the conditional sentence it is used in. *-dag* would avoid this and suggest a permanent awareness instead.

The past potential use resembles the "imperfective" use that I assumed before. The corpus contains three passages with 3 to 5 past potential uses of *-n* each. Two of these and a literary example for comparison are cited in a slightly shortened form below:

(11) *eej buruu hereg hii-vel zod-ii=shd. (…)*
mother wrong action do-COND.C hit-DIR=IP
yamar_saindaa manai aav ih ömöörö-N (...)
at.least 1PL.GEN father much defend-DIR
manai aav teg-deg bai-sang.
1PL.GEN father do.like.that-HAB.P COP-PRF.P
'Mother would hit me if I did something wrong. At least, my father would protect me a lot. (...) My father used to do so.'

(12) *tegeed minii aav arih ih uu-dag bai-sang,*
then 1SG.GEN father vodka much drink-HAB.P COP-PRF.P
tegeed aav=maan' ter hecüü niigm-iing hünd berh
then father=1PL.POSS D.DIST difficult society-GEN heavy tough
temcel dund bas zarimdaa uu-maar sana-gd-dag
fight amid also sometimes drink-WISH.P think-PASS-HAB.P
bai-s=iim bailgüü esvel hüng am'tan-d ing-eed
COP-PRF.P=MC IP or person being-DAT do.so-C

zarGald-aad yal-uul-sn=ii daraa nögöö hüng=chin
litigate-C win-CAUS-PRF.P-GEN after other person=STC
bayarlaa ge-ed arih ögö-n. ih telviiz araadio
thank.you COMP-C vodka give-DIR much TV radio
zas-dag bai-sang, bayarlaa ge-ed arih ögö-n.
repair-HAB.P COP.PRF.P thank.you COMP-C vodka GIVE-DIR
'Then my father used to drink vodka a lot. Within all that difficult social struggles, our father probably sometimes felt the urge to drink. Or, after having helped somebody to win a trial, that person would give vodka to say thank you. He used to fix lots of TV or radio sets, they would give vodka to say thank you.'

(13) … *dur_tavi-laa. Ted heseg hugacaan-d chimee=güi*
orgasm-1H.PST D.DIST.PL part period-DAT sound-EX.NEG
bol-j biye biye-s-iig chagna-h met am'sgaa dara-n
become-C body body-PL-ACC listen-FUT.P like breath press-C
hevte-hed Zoloog-iin doog-uur noit orgi-n
lie-C.when NAME-GEN under-PROS humidity gush.forth-C
aarcag=n' zadar-san met aimshigtai höndüürle-ne.[14]
pelvis=3POSS break.up like awful ache-DIR
'And he came. When they fell silent for a while and lay there normalizing their breath as if listening to one another, Zoloo felt how wet she was beneath, and her pelvis was hurting as if broken.'

Many of the example clauses including the one containing *zod-ii=shd* (*-n* regularly taking the form *-ii* before *shd*) and both instances of *ögö-n* overtly specify a condition, and for others such a condition is inferred by the informants. While the context sometimes indicates that the condition cannot hold any longer, e.g. due to the death of the participant, informants wouldn't a priori exclude *zodiishd* from the present: the mother might still hit her son or any child if it behaved naughty, but such behavior on the part of an adult son is unlikely, so the preconditions for the consequence have by and large ceased to exist. It is not clear whether the event actually occurred often or not. *-dag bai-sang*, in contrast, would indicate that the event used to occur frequently, but doesn't anymore. Actual past imperfective uses such as in (13) with reference to a past temporary state don't seem to be present in the spoken corpus.

There are a few uses hard to account for that tend to be noticed by younger speakers. For example, *toocogdon* in (6) is given a potential interpretation (e.g. the speaker wasn't sure of her words), but such uses are at the same time associated with the speech of elderly people. (14), uttered by a rural man aged 55, probably doesn't have a reasonable potential interpretation. In such cases, informants often resorted to explanations based on a reduced frequency, which would harmonize with the adverbial of (14). But as

[14] Narantuyaa, G. 2006. *Ulaan sarnaig geesen n'*. Ulaanbaatar: 10.

-n(=aa) in other dialects is used in habitual contexts more actively and the population of Ulaanbaatar comes from diverse dialect areas, some speakers probably retain a habitual use not shared by young speakers born and raised in UB.

(14) *aa jims av-N. jims bol mongol-d baG.*
INTERJ fruit buy-DIR fruit TOP Mongolia-DAT small
shiigua jaahan tari-N.
water.melon a.bit plant-DIR
'[BB: Then you have to import fruits, don't you? A:] 'Well, we buy fruits. There aren't many fruits in Mongolia. We do plant some water melons.'

-n is also attested with another kind of use that might be characterized as atemporal and abstract. An example where any future or present potential meaning can be ruled out is (15) below. Here, little is said about the period of knowing. *-dag*, on the other hand, would present the knowledge as a fact observable over a certain period. Two other verbs capable of referring to the present with *-n* are the locational / possessive / copula verb *bai-* 'be at' and the morpho-semantically irregular verb *yav-* 'go' exemplified in (16).

(15) *yörön ah=n düüg-iin-h=ee*
in.general elder.brother=3POSS youger.sibling-GEN-NOM=RP
nevtrüülg-iig med-N.
program-ACC come.to.know+know-DIR
'In general, I know your TV show.'
(16) *chii haan yava-n?* (overheard)
'Where are you going?' / 'Where are you?'

There are a few examples where *-n* in the scope of quotative *ge-* almost seems to be used with abstract, non-localized actions akin to (1). However, elicitation indicates that the uses are not entirely abstract and that e.g. *duusa-n* in (17) refers to a concrete, foreseeable future during which the house won't finish. The more abstract *-h* could express that the house will actually never get finished. In this example, informants would only accept *-h* if a transitive verb form was used instead. In (18), speakers tend to associate the act of birth with the experience of a concrete speaker; *-h* would indicate a general statement without any reference to personal experience.

(17) *yöröösöö baishing duusa-n ge-j bai-d=güü=m*
overall building end-DIR COMP-C COP-HAB.P=EX.NEG=MC
shig bai-n shdee.
like COP-DIR IP

'[We moved into this house in 2000 and made repairs. Up to now, it hasn't ended. Now this ...] it almost seems like there is no such thing as for the building to get finished.'

(18) *tegeed bas emegtei hüng törö-n ge-deg*
then also female person give.birth/be.born-DIR COMP-HAB.P
bol hamg-iin hecüü züil.
TOP all-GEN difficult matter
'[And my mother also went to Heaven (*ööd bol-jii-song* uphill become-PROG-PRF.P) because of giving birth.] So a woman giving birth is also a most difficult thing.'

A particular clear case of abstract language usage is metalinguistic reference to verbs as words. In dictionaries, the lexical form of verbs is conventionally displayed as *-h*. An utterance from a newspaper interview and an overheard utterance show the use of *-n* instead, but both examples are problematic. First, the speaker of (19), yokuzuna Dagvadorj, is an Oirat, and the speaker of (20), the linguist Sechenbaatar, is a native of Chakhar, which is very close to Khalkha, but still not identical. More importantly, some informants assumed actual reference for (19) by which an actual action (*azargalsan shdee*) is taken up again. Such an interpretation is not available for (20), thus 4 of 5 informants preferred *-h* instead, indicating that *-n* would be deictic:

(19) R: *Yaagaad. Azargal-san shdee?*
why lord-PRF.P IP
D: *Ügüi=ee, azargal-na ge-deg=chin' muuhai üg.*[15]
EX.NEG=POL lord-DIR COMP-HAB.P=STC bad word
[D: 'Into this much-admired Sumo world, the son of a certain Dolgorsüren from the remote Mongolian steppes entered and wrestled sumo and ...' R: '... and lorded[16] it?' D: 'You cannot say so.'] R: 'Why, you did lord it!' D: 'No, "to lord" is a bad word.'

(20) *nudra-n ge-deg=chin üil üg!* (overheard)
nudge-DIR COMP-HAB.P=STC action word
'The verb[al equivalent of *nudraG* 'fist'] is *nudran*.'[17]

Next to *-n*, there are the two forms *-n=aa* and *-n=uu*. *=aa* is probably to be understood as a device that adds politeness, but doesn't have any aspectual

[15] Asashyooryüü D. Dagvadorj (interviewer B. Ganchimeg): Eej aav, nutag us, eh oron eleg zürhend min' l egshij baidag yum shüü dee. Zuunii shuudan, 2008-10-14. Even online at http://sport.news.mn/content/418.shtml and elsewhere, retrieved 2014-01-15.
[16] *azargal-*, more literally 'act as or as if one was the herd stallion'
[17] Note that out of context, this example would be interpreted as '[The word] *nudran* is a verb!' with focus on this particular word class in contrast to others.

meaning of its own.[18] Yet, *-n=aa* or *-n* paired with other illocutionary particles does seem to be somewhat more common in strictly present habitual contexts. Still, the use in (21) below can be deduced from the potential semantics of *-n*, as the main difference to the more common form *-dag* lies in the reluctance of the speaker to generalize over ALL Mongolians. Similarly, the statements in (22) and (23) are perceived as somewhat tentative in contrast to *-dag*, which could e.g. be used in (23) to remind the addressee of a regular process:

(21) *en-iig manai mongol-chuud bas ih uu-n=aa.*
D.PROX-ACC 1PL.GEN Mongolian-PL.H also much drink-DIR =POL
Bid nar bas ih hergel-deg. Süül-iin üy-d
1PL PL also much use-HAB.P recent-GEN time-DAT
... hudaldaan-d gar-aad baig-aa.
sale-DAT exit-C COP-¬DIR
'Our Mongolians drink this a lot as well. We [ourselves] use it a lot, too. It is recently entering the sale [as something that is good against tiredness.]'

(22) A: *taa heden hel-eer yar'-dg=iin?*
2SG.HON how.many language-INS speak-HAB.P=MC
J: *mm oros angl'-aar bol _ sain yar'-n=aa.*
Russian English-INS TOP good speak-DIR=POL
A: 'How many languages do you speak?'
J: 'Hmm, Russian and English I speak quite well.'

(23) *zaa sar-d=aa bol yörön neg tav-aas _ naiman*
well month-DAT=RP TOP in.general one five-ABL eight
udaa bol hon-ii=shüü.
time TOP spend.night-DIR=IP
[A: 'How many times do you stay the night here?']
B: 'Well, I stay overnight here about five to eight times in a month.'

Habitual nuances in a modally different context arise in examples where the same verb stem is used twice in a row and the first form receives a long vowel. Here, a confirmative prediction is made due to fundamental readiness / intention / probability / naturalness of a course of events that, while pointing to a future event, can in fitting circumstances also implicate a habit:

(24) A: *taa yörön her uu-h=uu?*
2SG.HON in.general how.much drink-FUT.P=Q
J: *uu-n=aa uu-n … zuu tat-ii=shüü.*
drink-DIR==POL drink-DIR 100 pull-DIR=IP

[18] Proper eliciation was done for *-jii-n=aa* discussed in 3.3.1, but its results appear to be valid for simple *-n=aa* as well.

A: 'How much do you drink, in general?'
J: 'Well, I drink alright. I empty 100 gram at a draught.'

The statement in (24) is interpreted by all five informants as pertaining to habit or ability, while *uun uun* would rather point to the readiness of the speaker to do so in general and the reversed *uun uunaa* would imply a wish to do so now (and thus wouldn't fit the context). Similarly, *bolnoo bolon* indicates a friendly, positive answer to a request for permission, whereas *bolon bolon* would rather actively invite the person to do so.

The combination of *-n* with the polar interrogative clitic *=uu* is used for polite, official imperatives. Its modal nuances vis-à-vis mood forms such as the somewhat similar *-aarai* (which can presume a positive answer, too, but is also used for advertising) cannot be treated in any detail here. For the discussion at hand, it is sufficient to note that *-n=uu* cannot be used for informational questions about the future as the semantics of its two morphemes would suggest. Informants occasionally noted that such a usage would sound like Southern Mongolian. This contrasts with the use of *-n* in complex aspectual forms where regular information-seeking questions are attested for the Progressive, Continuative and Prospective (n=49, 10 and 1, respectively; cf. (60) below).

(25) *bichig_barimt=aa shalg-uul-n=uu?*
documents=RP examine-CAUS-DIR=Q
'[Well, greetings. I am lance corporal (of the police) Enkhbold of Bayangol district.] Would you let me examine your papers?'

3.2 Simple *-aa*

-aa is described by Song (1997) as marking either an imperfective or a resultative situation. For the former, Song cites the verb forms based on the stems *bai-*, *yav-* 'go' and *hüs-* 'wish' (Song 1997: 245-7), and this is basically confirmed by my data on *bai-*, *yav-* and *taar-* (cf. (27) and (29) below). For example, he introduces the following sentence:

(26) *nad neg hüseh yum baig-aa yumsan.*[19]
1SG.DAT one wish-FUT.P thing COP-¬DIR MP
'I have a hope, but ...' (Song: 1997: 246)

He then correctly explains that *baigaa* indicates that "the speaker's hope is not sudden, but has rather been harboured in the speaker's mind for a while

[19] Note that even though the consonant *-g-* in *baigaa* is epenthetic, it is written here as part of the stem. This is in contrast to the "floating" /n of some stems that is historically and in a modified form even synchronically conditioned lexically.

and is still cherished in his mind".[20] Song (1997: 255-7, 264, 270) assumes that such a present tense continuative interpretation is said to be more likely with stative verbs or with those few verbs that can be used with *-aa* in absolute-final position such as *bai-*, *yav-* and *suu-* 'sit' and that both past and future time adverbials cannot combine with these. I will analyze *baigaa* as indirect present tense evidential marker in section 3.3, and *suu-* as an inchoative verb (in the sense of Breu 2005: 48, i.e. a progressive can either refer to the phase before and after a terminal point) should probably yield a resultative meaning. In (27), the verb *yav-* with its opaque aktionsart seems to pattern with *baigaa*: the speaker has a sleeping bag with him and had it with him even earlier (3 of 4 informants), so no result is referred:

(27) *yag en Gazar meshokoo delg-ee=l unt-ch-ii,*
exact D.PROX place sleeping.bag spread.out sleep-BOU-VOL
meshok-toiG=oo yav-aa.
sleeping.bag-COM=RP go-¬DIR
'[Today, I won't cause you much trouble,] I can spread out my sleeping bag right here and sleep, I've set out taking my sleeping bag with me.'

However, the forms *baigaa* and *yavaa* made up 83% + 10% of the overall usage of *-aa* in Song's (1997: 274) textbook corpus, and in the spoken corpus (n=557) they even account for 93% + 4% of all finitely used *-aa*. In contrast, the stem *bol-* 'become' accounts for 2% and all other stems for merely 1%. It is thus conceivable that *baigaa* and *yavaa* might require a special analysis. Song (1997: 264-8, 278) observed that *-aa* often co-occurs with modal particles that express probability (e.g. *biz*, *baih*, *boluu*) including interrogative markers, and noted that some of his informants even accepted bare *-aa* on stems such as *bich-* 'write' with a slightly confident probability interpretation. On this basis, he linked *-aa* itself to a probability interpretation and also predicted that it couldn't combine with modal particles that denote speaker confidence such as *shüü* and *yum*. If *baigaa* and *yavaa* are excluded, an analysis along the lines of weak probability or reduced factuality might indeed be feasible, although this does not allow for making generalizations about the distribution of non-modal, illocutionary devices such as *shüü*. The aspectual meaning seems to depend on aktionsart, with telic predications referring to resultatant states:

(28) *joohon davs hii-N. _ davs hiig-eed jaahan tyamyaa*
a.little salt put-DIR salt do-C a.little thyme

[20] The example is unnecessarily complex, though, due to the presence of a modal particle expressing wishing and the sequence *-h yum baigaa* which could occur within a single predicate (with possible contraction to *yav-h=iim bai-n*) if the dative *nad* didn't indicate a possessive construction with a proper noun *yum* as the possessum instead.

hiig-eed … davs temyaan ge-e=l bol-oo.
put-C salt tympan COMP-C=FOC become-¬DIR
'... and then one adds a little salt. One adds salt and a bit of tympan. Salt and tympan, then it'd be done.'

(29) *chii bid hoyor en horvooG-oos tav' yumuu jarang*
2SG 1PL two D.PROX world-ABL 50 or 60
jil-iin daraa yav-j=l taar-aa.
year-GEN after go-C=FOC fit-¬DIR
'The two of us will most probably depart from this world after fifty or sixty years.'

(30) *chii ... ugaasaa chii bid hoyor türüün hel-ee biz=dee,*
2SG basically 2SG 1PL two initially say-¬DIR IP=IP
bii hon-j chad-kuu gej!
1SG stay.night-C can-FUT.P.EX.NEG COMP
[Y: 'It's not my boyfriend, just a friend of ours. We just planned to go for a drink together.' Ö: 'Are you waiting for him?' Y: 'Yeah, I told him. I'll be waiting for him.' Ö: 'If somebody is waiting for you, can you stay the night?'] Y: 'You ... right from the start, you and I have talked about that, haven't we. That I cannot stay overnight.'

(31) *gehdee joohon yuman-d=l setgle=n gomdo-n*
but small thing-DAT=FOC mind=3POSS take.offence-DIR
shüü dee. teren-d ner hele-h=güü
IP IP D.DIST-DAT name say-FUT.P=EX.NEG
önGr-höd=l duus-aa shüü dee.
pass.by-C.when=FOC end-¬DIR IP IP
'But she gets offended by very small things. If her name isn't mentioned, everything's already over for her.'

In (28), *bol-oo* refers to a general result that has not yet come about (in contrast to certain future *-n*) and thus is subject to partial guesswork. In (29), *-aa* seems to convey that the event in question would be fitting if it should occur (with *taar-* receiving a deontic or teleological (Narrog 2012: 8) interpretation and *-aa* expressing a lowered degree of epistemic modality). *-n* would rather presume the future event as certain and *taar-* would then refer to a speaker-external standard of evaluation. (30) is taken by 3 of 4 informants as more aggressive or angry than the more neutral, factual *-sang biz dee*. Conceivably, a rhetorical question might be sharper if the presumed answer is kept more irreal and not stated as factual (by using *-sang*) outrightly. (31) focuses on the result of a possible future event, while *-n* would refer to the entire event.

Song (1997: 279-81), based on his modal analysis, argues that *-aa* cannot normally co-occur with the first and second person, yet his examples all contain the illocutionary particle *biz* which might cause incompabilities of its own. For questions with their switch of perspective, first and second person

uses can easily enough be found on the internet, possibly signalling disbelief on the part of the speaker:[21]

(32) *chi ir-ee=yuu?*
[Mother:] 'You have come?' [I: Why, are you angry?][22]

(33) *yuu? manai angi dandaa eregtei hüühed-tei ge-j*
what 1PL.GEN class always male child-COM COMP-C
chamd bi hel-ee=yüü?[23]
2SG.DAT 1SG say-¬DIR=Q
'What! "Have "I" told you that there are only male students in our class?' [you're kidding]

Given the rareness of modal *-aa* in texts and speech, providing a proper analysis would require a substantially larger corpus.

3.3 *-n* and *-aa* at the end of complex forms

In complex forms, *-n* and *-aa* differ with respect to whether the evidence for an event is based on what the speaker currently perceives or whether it is based on anything else, including what has been perceived earlier, is presumed from general reasoning or is held as general knowledge. The evidentiality systems listed by Aikhenvald (2004: 65) do not allow for distinguishing current and previous perception. However, de Haan (2001) suggested that evidentiality systems can make two different basic distinctions: either between firsthand and non-firsthand, rendering all information not perceived directly as non-firsthand, or between direct vs. indirect, grouping directly perceived evidence after the fact with visual and auditory evidence in contrast to indirect hearsay. This category of direct evidence (visual, auditory, evidence after the fact) corresponds very well to the function of *-n*, while indirect evidence as marked by *-aa* doesn't only include hearsay, but even what Aikhenvald (2004: 2-3, 52, *passim*) calls assumption, i.e. reasoning from non-sensory evidence (which de Haan 2001: 201-2 actually includes into inference and thus counts as direct information), common sense or general knowledge, plus earlier perception. In contrast to a system such as Duna spoken in the New Guinean highlands (San Roque and Loughnane 2012: 125-7) where a distinction between current and previous perception can be made both for sensory evidence and the evidence used for inference, the Khalkha Perfect form in *-aa*, first, doesn't infer any event, but only specifies

[21] It seemed to me that regular verb stems in *-aa* followed by interrogative or other particles are rather frequent in translated Korean soap operas. I didn't analyze such examples, but the notion of disbelief is not exactly foreign to this kind of TV program.
[22] http://teenblaqkiss.wordpress.com/2013/04/22/nothing-lasts-forever-парт5, retrieved 2013-12-20. From a possibly fictive dialogue posted on a blog.
[23] http://news.gogo.mn/joke/?j=533501&p=18, retrieved 2013-12-20.

how the speaker perceives the (current or resultant) state and, second, doesn't claim any previously perceived direct evidence at all i.e. if the inference is based on general reasoning.

As far as I can discern, the difference between *-n* and *-aa* in complex forms has not been properly discussed in the literature so far. Cinggeltei (1959: 34-5, 40, 43) doesn't recognize an independent meaning of the forms *-j baig-aa*, *-aad baig-aa* and *-sang baig-aa*, but explains them as rare variants of *-j bai-h* etc. This is apparently so because *-aa* doesn't play a role in Eastern Mongolian dialects such as Kharchin (cf. Cáodàobātèěr 2007) that guided Cinggeltei's native intuition. Song (1997: 277-8), relying on informant judgments on an unspecified number of sentences, describes *-j baig-aa* as signalling a lack of commitment on the part of the speaker, and *-j bai-na* as neutral in this respect. Önörbayan (2004: 189-90), without any further comment, characterizes the difference between the two Present Progressive forms *-j bai-n* and *-j baig-aa* as il 'open, visible' vs. dald 'conceiled'. None of the latter two discusses any other related forms. However, there are several other forms (*-dag (-diin)* will only be discussed in 4.3):

Table 1: Complex aspectual forms with one copula in the corpus

		-n	*-aa (-aan)*	*-dag (-diin)*
Progressive	*-jii- / -jai-*	307	53	9
	-j bai-	120	53	2
Continuative	*-aad bai-*	77	41	14
Perfect	*-sang bai-*	52	50	5
Prospective	*-h gej/geed bai-*	21	24	0
Habitual	*-dag bai-*	1	7	n.a.

So while the Progressive is clearly most frequent, both the Continuative and the Perfect readily combine with *-n* and *-aa*, as does the somewhat less frequent Prospective. Even the Habitual does occur (though not **-dag bai-dag*).

3.3.1 The Present Progressive *-jii-n/aa*

The Present Progressive takes the forms *-jii-n* and *-jaig-aa* and, in more formal contexts, *-j bai-n* and *-j baig-aa*. Except for their evidential meanings, it is assumed that both forms exhibit similar properties and can be discussed in parallel. Given the comparatively small number of forms in *-aa*, this is only a conjecture.

3.3.1.1 The following examples give a glimpse at the direct vs. indirect difference between both kinds of Progressive forms:

(34) *lion ter hoyor nadad tusla-N ge-seng. son'giN*
NAME D.DIST two 1SG.DAT help-DIR COMP-PRF.P onion
hirch-üül-jaig-aa. tegeed ter hoorond=n bii
cut-CAUS-PROG-¬DIR do.so-C D.DIST between=3POSS 1SG
maijiron=oo yanzal-jii-n.
marjoram=RP put.into.order-PROG-DIR
'She and Lion said that they'd help me. They're cutting the onions. Meanwhile, I'm taking care of the marjoram.'

(35) *horin tav-duGaar suvag telviiz tanai-d hon-ii*
twenty five-ORD channel TV 2PL.GEN-DAT stay.night-VOL
nevtrüüleg ehel-jii-n.
program begin-PROG-DIR
'Here on TV 25, the TV program *Tanaid honii* is beginning.'

(36) *bii ajl-aas-aa gar-chii-n.*
1SG work-ABL-RP exit-PROG-DIR
'I'm leaving work [just for today / permanently].'

In (34), the speaker uses *-jiin* for the event he is just busy with and *-jaigaa* for a similar activity of his helpers. Informants agree on the fact that he cannot see them at the time of speaking. In (35), the anchor is announcing that his show is starting now, using *eheljiin*. Informants would only be fine with *eheljaigaa* in a context where the speaker states that the TV show is beginning while not watching it herself. (36) was presented to informants out of context. It has two different interpretations: it can relate to the process of leaving as such (e.g. having left one's own office, but not yet the building) including its pre-phase (being in the course of putting one's things into order in preparation for leaving), or the speaker can refer to herself as (caught) in the process of quitting her job. In contrast, *garchaigaa* could only envisage the process of quitting as underway during a longer period and without the speaker's immediate involvement at the time of speaking.

If directly accessible information is coded by *-n*, one would not expect the use of *-aa* with first person subjects, and one might expect *-aa* with psych verbs for non-first-person actors. This only holds true to some extent:

(37) *bid bühen bol nuuc durang-aar en dürs-iig*
1PL all TOP secret telescope-INS D.PROX form-ACC
av-chaig-aa.
take-PROG-¬DIR
'We are recording this video with a hidden cam from afar.'

(38) *en bol neleen tom doromjlol ge-j bii*
D.PROX TOP rather big humiliation COMP-C 1SG
oiloG-joig-oo shd.
comprehend+understand-PROG-¬DIR IP
[The speaker narrates how Chinese citizens committed a crime in Mongolia and put it on YouTube. He then argues that they did so to

flaunt what they can do unpunished.] 'As I understand it, this is a very great humiliation.'

(39) *telviz ge-deg yöröösöö chii öör=öö*
TV COMP-HAB.P generally 2SG self-RP
med-jaig-aa sh[d]. reklam surtchilgag-aar.
come.to.know+know-PROG-¬DIR IP advertising propaganda-INS
[A: 'For example, you are doing Centauer. But where do you get your money from?' J:] 'As for TV, you know the TV business yourself. From advertising.'

In (37), the anchor describes what is happening on a video, otherwise using past forms. The recorders are actually not visible to him, and he isn't actually recording anything at the time of speaking, so *-aa* is appropriate. In (38), the speaker uses a verb of cognition about herself. *-aa* indicates that she has already formed her understanding about this matter a while ago. Indeed, the use of *-jiin* would implicate that she is just evaluating new information or has just made up her mind. Thus, the difference between direct and indirect perception is very similar to a difference between recently acquired and old information, but as (36) indicates, such a distinction is not basic. In (39), the speaker mentions what his addressee knows using *medjaigaa*. *medjiin* could have been used if the speaker had "seen" from the addressee's action or countenance that the addressee holds such knowledge, an interpretation that informants reject for this particular context.

In a number of instances, *-jaigaa* may have been chosen in order to signal that the speaker is not very actively engaging in the event:

(40) ... *talaar nevtrüülg=ee beld-eed ehel-ceng*
concerning broadcast=RP prepare-C begin-BOU.PRF.P
baig-aa. en=maan bol todorhoi hemjeen-ii cag
COP-¬DIR D.PROX=1PL.POSS TOP certain measure-GEN time
huGcaa shaarda-gd-dag uchraas jaahan udaan
period require-PASS-HAB.P because a.bit long
hülee-lge-j baig-aa.
wait-CAUS-C COP-¬DIR
'[For the following broadcasts ... we] have started preparing our broadcast on corruption among officials. As this requires a certain amount of time, it will have you wait for some time.'

(41) A: *taa yaahaaraa en-iig shöN bol-song*
2SG.HON why(RHET) D.PROX-ACC night become-PRF.P
hoiN ir-j üze-dg=iin?
after come-C see-HAB.P=MC
B: *güe harin ödr-öös hoish sendiich-eed ge-heer=n*
EX.NEG but day-ABL after loosen.soil-C say-CNS.C
shöN yamar uls-uud bai-n ge-ed ir-eed üz-jaig-aa.
night what people-PL COP-DIR COMP-C come-C watch-PROG-¬DIR

A: ‘How come you’ve come here to watch it after night has fallen?’
B: ‘No, but since the afternoon I’ve been told that somebody is digging here, so I came and am looking at what kind of people are around here during the night.’

One informant commented on (40) that as the material is not ready yet, they have to keep the audience waiting (or, as the impersonal translation suggests, the situation itself will keep them waiting), while *-jiin* would indicate that they are doing so on purpose / without need. Another informant framed this contrast as between apologetic and nonchalant. (41) features a subject that executes an action for a quite limited period of time. Two informants commented that the speaker has not actually successfully observed anything. Contextually, it makes sense for B, who has just bullied and threatened someone, to pretend that he has not been doing anything at all.

3.3.1.2 On the aspectual level, a Progressive has to contrast with some other kind of imperfective marker. In the case of Khalkha, this is mainly *-dag*. One respect in which *-jii-n/aa* and *-dag* differ is that *-dag* cannot co-occur with delimiting time adverbials. So (42) would be acceptable with both forms of the Present Progressive, but not with *-dag*. On the other hand, sentences like (43) mostly based on *-aa* are perceived as not limited in scope, and even if they are explicitly contrasted with minimal pairs in *-dag*, some informants will only report lower certainty (due to indirect *-aa*) and frequency (as *-dag* always requires repetition) instead of overall longer duration. To some degree, this vindicates Song (1997: 380-1) and Hashimoto (1995) who propose a habitual (and the latter also an iterative) meaning variant for the Mongolian Progressive on the basis of less convincing examples. In (44), it seems that *-jiin* is used instead of the Habitual merely in order to be more illustrative.

(42) *en tücen-d=ee neg arvan jil=l am’dar-chii-n*.
D.PROX small.shop-DAT=RP one ten year=FOC live-PROG-DIR
‘Now I’ve been living in this kiosk for just ten years.’

(43) *hudlaa yar’-aad bai-[n] _ german-d öör hümüüs*
untruth say-C COP-DIR Germany-DAT other people
zöndöö arih uu-j baig-aa.
a.lot vodka drink-C COP-¬DIR
‘He’s talking nonsense. Other people in Germany drink spirits a lot.’

(44) *binyaamiin, en byasalGal Gurvang hesg-ees*
NAME D.PROX meditation three part-ABL
bürde-j bai-n. (constructed by informant)
consist-C COP-DIR
‘Benjamin, this meditation consists of three parts.’

Present Progressive forms of state predicates by and large designate temporal states (cf. Song 1997: 373-4):

(45) *aa, ih Goy bol-j. ter huur-chaiG-aad*
INTERJ very nice become-2H.PST D.DIST roast-PROG-C
hii-seng tsuu ih Goy amtagd-jii-n.
put-PRF.P vinegar very nice taste-PROG-DIR
'Aa, it has become very nice. That vinegar that you added after you had roasted it tastes delicious.'

(46) *odoo en ger_bül saihang=l am'dar-chii-n.*
now D.PROX family nice=FOC live-PROG-DIR
'[But anyway,] now this family is living a good life.'

(47) *odoo tegeed nadaar hii-lge-h yum bai-val bii*
now do.so-C 1SG.INS do-CAUS-FUT.P thing exist-COND.C 1SG
huvcas ugaa-j bol-jii-n, hool hii-j
clothes wash-C be.possible-PROG-DIR meal make-C
bol-jii-n, ger cevrel-j bol-jii-n.
be.possible-PROG-DIR house clean-C be.possible-PROG-DIR
'[Today I am just like a member of your family.] Now if there are things you want me to do, I can wash clothes, I can prepare a meal, I can clean the house.'

In (45), the speaker simply reports his current perception. Using *-dag* instead would refer to a general property. *-jaigaa* would dissociate the event from any immediate experience, i.e. the speaker has tried it before knowing how it tastes. You would expect this form in a commercial. (46) is not as simple. With *-jiin*, informants have a strong tendency to contrast the current pleasant situation of this family with some unpleasant former situation. With *-jaigaa*, this pleasant life is taken to be the well-established knowledge of the speaker, thus informants no longer take it as delimited by a previously different situation, though the situation doesn't necessarily have to be taken as permanent as with *-dag*. The latter would further imply some kind of objective, quantifiable evidence. The verb *bol-* in (47) expresses root possibility (opportunity, permission, general situation possibility and situation permissibility, cf. Depraetere 2011). Usually, it tends to combine with *-n*, as a future potential use fits the notion of general situation possibility very well. Here, however, the speaker wants to emphasize both his readiness and the imminence of the possibility, thus choosing *-jiin* instead.

Hashimoto (1995) also claims a near future and a resultative meaning for *-jiin*, but both proposals as well as his translations of the examples associated with them must be rejected:[24]

(48) *Odoo galt_teregn-ii bilyet ava-h-aar yav-j bai-na.*
now train-GEN ticket buy-FUT.P-INS go-C COP-DIR
'[I']m going to buy a train ticket now.' (Hashimoto 1995)

[24] As Hashimoto doesn't specifically discuss *-j bai-n/aa*, but more in general *-j bai-*, I am even quoting an example with past reference here.

(49) *Namaig baraan-ii delgüür-t ochi-hod eregtei*
1SG.ACC goods-GEN shop-DAT go.to-C.when male
hün-ii malgai duusa-j bai-laa.
person-GEN hat end-C COP-1H.PST
'When I went to the department store, men's hats were sold out.'
(Hashimoto 1995)

In (48), the speaker is actually moving towards a place where she can buy a ticket, thus no future meaning is conceivable. In (49), the store was running out of hats, but a few were still left. In contrast, Ono (1999) correctly concludes that *-j bai-* doesn't share the resultative-progressive interpretations of Japanese *-te i-ru*.

3.3.1.3 There are some phenomena related to aktionsart that deserve special mention. First, there are a number of inceptive verbs such as *med-* 'come to know + know', *zogs-* 'stop + stand still' or *gomd-* 'get offended + be offended' where the period highlighted by a Progressive (but not by *-dag*) as illustrated in (50) is the period after their starting point which in turn can be referred to by any past form such as *bii gomdsong* 'I took offence', by implication 'I am offended', or 'I was offended'. Inchoative verbs like *suu-* 'sit down + sit' (see Song 1997) even lexicalizes both periods. On the other hand, it is quite possible for a Progressive to refer to a series of events, and most easily so with a punctual predication as in (51). It must be noted, though, that Progressives can also be taken to refer to the pre-phase of a punctual event as in (52) (cf. Ono 1999: 124-5).

(50) *bii teren-d gomd-jii-n.*
1SG D.DIST-DAT take.offence+be.offended-PROG-DIR
'[People, when they were working in factories, used to become real workers and [could] live this way. Now, to say it frankly, this (system) doesn't exist anymore.] I'm taking offence in this.'

(51) *yörön oroi-d=oo hed ge-j or-j ir-jii-n?*
in.general evening-DAT=RP how.many COMP-C enter-C come-PROG-DIR
'By the way, when do you come home in the evening?'

(52) *13 nas-tai hüühed 1500-iin arhi uug-aad ühe-j*
13 year-COM child 1500-GEN vodka drink-C die-C
bai-na.[25]
COP-DIR
'A child of 13 is dying after having drunk 1500 ml vodka.'

[25] http://twitt.caak.mn/view/post:1201419, retrieved 2013-12-10. The entire text (by sesseedd, 2011-12-19) reads: "13 nastai huuhed 1500-iin arhi uugaad uhej baina tsaana chin".

3.3.1.4 The main forms in performatives are the Voluntative *-ii*, the Firsthand *-laa* and the literary past form *-v*. Yet, some kinds of informal performative speech acts can be done with *-jiin*:

(53) *Sonirh-ooroi,* *tan-iig* *ur'-j bai-na!*[26]
be.interested-IMP.HON 2SG.HON-ACC invite-C COP-DIR
'Get interested, I invite you!'

3.3.1.5 While *-jaig-aa* doesn't allow for any such contrast, the form *-jii-n=aa* in contrast to simple *-jii-n* indicates an overall friendlier stance of the speaker and is variously described by informants as "friendly", "more intimate" and sometimes "softened", at its most negative as "chatty".[27] The reasons for using this form vary widely, ranging from a need to be careful about the statement in question to the speaker expressing his emotions more clearly, be they negative or positive.

(54) A: *en* *bair-iig* *hezee* *av-s=iin?*
D.PROX flat-ACC when buy-PRF.P=MC
B: *öö* *manai-h* *bas* _ *neleen* *ud-jii-n=aa.*
INTERJ 1PL.GEN-AT also considerably last-PROG-DIR=POL
A: 'When did you buy this flat?'
B: 'Oh, we are here now for quite some time.'

(55) *odoo* *saihan* *nam* *bur-jii-n=aa.*
now nice INT tell.lie-PROG-DIR=POL
[BB: 'If he says he's 40, you might be 36.' A:]
'Now he's just bullshitting.'

In (54), informants suggested nuances such as sadness, happiness or resignation on the part of the speaker, while others rather emphasized the speaker's friendly stance towards the listener. In (55), the word *bur-* 'tell lies' is softened by *=aa* that makes it recognizable as a "joke"[28] rather than an actual defamation. It is quite interesting to observe similar forms in context:

(56) H: *amr-iig* *er-ii?* *haan-aas* *yav-jaig-aa=n* *taa*?
peaceful-ACC search-VOL where-ABL go-PROG-¬DIR=MC 2SG.HON
A: *horin* *tav-dguar* *suvag* *telviz-ees* *yav-jii-n=aa.* *zaa*
twenty five-ORD channel TV-ABL go-PROG-DIR-EMPH well

[26] https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?set=a.202672103086229.47836.181906298496143&type=1, retrieved 2013-12-10. The headline to a post containing no text, but only pictures of people wearing particular clothes.

[27] There might be a gender component to the social perception of *=aa* in *-jiinaa*, but both the materials selected for my corpus that contain more male speakers and the substantial female bias within my group of informants make it difficult to investigate this. On the face of it, *=aa* is frequently used by speakers of both genders.

[28] Mongolians tend to use the word *narg'aa* 'joke' to refer to statements that are socially inappropriate in order to oblige others not to take them literally, even if they do mean it.

tanai *shtap-iin* *daraG* *mönhdöl* *ah-tai*
2PL.GEN staff-GEN leader NAME elder.brother-COM
uulz-cha-h *hereg-tei* *bai-n.*
meet-INT-FUT.P necessity-COM COP-DIR
H: 'How do you do? What organization are you from?'
A: 'I'm coming from TV 25. Well, I need to meet your chief of staff Mönhdöl.'

(57) ... *bichilg-üüd-iig* *odoo* *nuuc* *durang-aar*
recording-PL-ACC now secret telescope-INS
av-s=iim=aa. *teg-eed* *en* *nevtrüülg-iig* *taa*
take-PRF.P=MC=POL do.so-C D.PROX broadcast-ACC 2PL
bühen-d *hüre-g-y=aa* *gej* *bod-jii-n=aa.*
all-DAT reach-CAUS-VOL=POL COMP-C think-PROG-DIR=POL
'... we have recorded [how citizen B. was maltreated and insulted] with a hidden camera. So I think I shall present this broadcast to all of you.'

In (56), the reporter uses a more polite, softer form to introduce himself, but switches to a more matter-of-fact stance when making his actual request. In (57), the reporter is anxious that materials recorded in such a fashion might meet with disgust from his audience and thus tries to placate them and convince them to watch his broadcast by intensive use of *=aa*.

3.3.2 The Present Continuative-Resultative *-aad bai-n/aa*

The Present Continuative is used with unbounded predications to express that an event continues. With boundary-oriented predications, it refers to recent, apparently tangible results. In the corpus, *-aad bai-n* is attested 77 times, and in 8 of these it is preceded by *-ch-*, a marker signalling the attainment of the boundary of an action (Ebert 1999: 333, 338 on Kalmyk Oirat, Matsuoka 2008: 51-54 on Khorchin). Simple *-aad baig-aa*, on the other hand, only occurs 41 times, only one of these featuring *-ch-*, but 24 instances are marked with *=iin*. It is possible to coordinate several adjacent main verbs with a single copula, e.g. *deerelheed doromjlood zodood bain* 'keeps on maltreating, humiliating and hitting him'.

No extensive research on *-aad bai-* seems to exist for Khalkha. The marker was discussed in some detail by Cinggeltei (1959: 8-12) and Matsuoka (2008: 33-39, 58-63, 71-75) for Eastern Central Mongolian varieties. Cinggeltei claims that *-aad bai-* can have a resultative or a continuative/iterative meaning, the latter being indicated by a contraction to *-aadai-* which is not observable in Khalkha. The difference between continuative and iterative depends on the verb stem: he assigns a continuative meaning to "durative" verbs that I would classify as undirected activities (e.g. *ajill-* 'work') and inceptive states (*zogs-* 'stop+stand'), but an iterative meaning to "non-durative" verbs that I would classify as directed accomplishments (*av-*

'take') and directed achievements (*ir-* 'come').[29] Matsuoka argues that *-aad bai-* yields a resultative meaning with transformational actional phrases, but may refer to the same phase as the Present Progressive with inceptive predications. Activities yield iterative readings, which can also be forced for all aktionsarten by the clitic *=l*. *-aad bai-n* cannot be used for permanent events such as the earth rotating. (For a more extensive presentation and discussion of these analyses, see Brosig forthcoming 1.) For Khalkha, Dugarova and Jaxontova (1988: 219) state that *-aad bai-* refers to the resultant state or result of an action with terminative verbs such as *ir-* 'come' or "neutral" [inceptive or inchoative] verbs such as *öms-* 'put on + wear', but to an action in progress with non-terminative verbs such as *togl-* 'play'. Adverbials also refer to the resultant state.

The small number of examples in my corpus (n=36) is unsatisfactory in sorting out aktionsart matters, but as far as the data goes, Dugarova and Jaxontova seem to have it basically right: with undirected activities, *-aad bai-* usually yields a progressive, more precisely continuative reading, e.g. *alhaad bain* 'keeps on walking' or *setgel züigeeren toglood baigaamaa* 'keeps on playing on her psychology'. The period thus referred to is perceived as comparatively long or sometimes even as unpleasant by the speaker. For instance, *am cangaad bain* 'I am thirsty' is the normal way to convey this notion in a situation where the speaker has already been thirsting for a short while and wants to resolve the situation. *Am cangajiin*, in contrast, is more particular, indicating either that the speaker has just noticed or that she has already been in the situation for a while, but has no remedy for it. Similarly, the actionally interesting (58) indicates that an uncomfortable fact continues to be (or be instantiated as) true.

(58) *hedii* *bii* *hatuu* *hel-j* *baig-aa* *bolovch*
how.much/although 1SG hard say-C COP-¬DIR although
yag *ünen* *baig-aad* *baig-aa*.
true exact COP-C COP-¬DIR
'However hard I'm saying it / Although I'm saying it in a hard way, it continuously turns out to be precisely true.'

[29] For this paper, I basically assume the aktionsart classes of Croft (2012) with some complementary classes from Breu (2005), but I apply them to verbs or actional phrases (cf. Johanson 2000, Breu 2005), not clauses. Mostly as a consequence of this, I assume that inceptive states (as for instance proposed by Johanson 1971, cf. Breu 2005) are necessary: while Croft (2012: 37-38) argues on the basis of sentences like *I suddenly knew the answer* and *I instantly remembered her* that any state can get an inceptive interpretation in the presence of the right context, this wouldn't explain why a state verb like *bod-loo* '[I] thought' (cf. Progressive *bod-jii-n* '[I] think') can only refer to a past situation, whereas an inceptive state verb like *med-lee* '[I] recognized' (cf. *med-jii-n* '[I] know') is difficult to conceptualize as anything but a beginning.

The continuative meaning also obtains for accomplishment verbs with indefinite plural objects and the like such as *hüühded haldaad baigaa shüü* 'keep on infecting children', states as in *en jijigdeed bain* 'it is still too small [I really wanted to wear it]' and inceptive states such as *ingej oilgood baigaan* 'I understand it like this'. In (59), even an accomplishment manages to get interpreted as being in progress due to the overall context:

(59) *unta-h ge-ed or der=ee zas-aad bai-n=uu?*
sleep-DIR.P COMP-C bed pillow=RP put.into.order-C COP-DIR=Q
'Are you making your bed in order to sleep [now]?'

Iterative readings are regularly found with reversible or cyclic punctual predications such *utas untraad bainaa* '[my] telephone keeps switching off' or *end hün zodood bain* 'is hitting somebody here' which happen on the same occasion. Adverbials such as in *yörön hüühdee haraad bain uu* 'are you watching the children, in general' and *cag tutam shalgaad bain* 'keeps on checking them every hour' also introduce an iterative, multi-occasional interpretation. In (60), even evidential cues play a role: *-aa* indicates that B's utterance is not based on his current direct perception, and one contingent laughing event doesn't tend to exceed the probable time of perception here. B must therefore even include events into his reference that he saw previously.

(60) A: *aayaa inee-jii-n, inee-jii-n=uu?*
EXCL laugh-PROG-DIR laugh/smile-PROG-DIR=Q
B: *aav-d=aa ineeg-eed baiG-aa.*
father-DAT=RP laugh/smile-C COP-¬DIR
[A: 'How old is your child now?' B: 'It's 10 months now.'] A: 'Oh, it's smiling! Is it smiling?' B: 'It's smiling at his father (i.e., "at me").'

For contextualized accomplishments, informants tend to get resultative interpretations, e.g. *daraagiin gazraas urigdaad bain* 'he has got invited from the next place [and thus is in a hurry now to get things done here]' or *medeelel ireed bain* 'we have received word'. In one case, an inchoative verb (i.e. a verb that exhibits two lexicalized phases of action: *nuujiin* 'is going into hiding' / 'is keeping hidden') was understood as referring to a resultant state: *hudlaa nuugaad bain uu* 'are you hiding lies from me'. Notably, informants didn't perceive any reference to the inception of this state, and it required the use of *-ch-* to get the interpretation 'have you hidden lies from me'.

The form *-ch-aad bai-n/aa*, while rare, usually seems to combine with accomplishments, referring both to a recent change of state (which can thus be perceived as sudden as in (61)) and the resulting state that still holds. (62) can be used to illustrate the differences between semantically similar forms:

the Firsthand Past *-laa* would express a recent change of state, but no lasting result, the Present Perfect *-sang bai-n* would both refer to a change of state and the resulting state, but wouldn't imply any recency, and the simple Continuative *-aad bain* would gloss over the change of state, thus not highlighting the purposeful actions of the subject:

(61) *odoo bid nar=chin N. ah-iig bai-h=güi*
now 1PL PL=STC NAME elder.brother-ACC COP-FUT.P=EX.NEG
bol-sn-oos hoi-sh tag bol-ch-ood baig-aa shd.
become-PRF.P-ABL after-PROS disappear-BOU-C COP-¬DIR IP
'Now since the death of N., [these relatives] have gotten out of contact.'

(62) *te-heer yag odoo bol sport-iin töv ordn-ii*
do.so-CNS.C exact now TOP sport-GEN central palace-GEN
gadaa ir-ch-eed bai-n.
outside come-BOU-C COP-DIR
'So exactly now I have arrived outside the Central Sport Palace. [I will now ask somebody whether I can go to her place and stay the night there.]'

In (63), the non-inceptive stative verb *naid-* 'hope' acquired an inceptive interpretation in the presence of *-ch-*. The connotation here seems to be that the speaker had no choice but to do what he did, that particular untrained hairdresser being the only person working in his barracks. But such examples are few. For (64), most informants were reluctant to accept *-ch-* with the undirected activity *hai-* 'search', arguing that the verb *ol-* 'find' would be used for reference to a successful search, so that no resultant state could be conceptualized here. Yet, one single informant suggested an unsuccessfully completed search. While this doesn't fit well with the overall context in (64), it shows some of the potential of *-ch-* to both create and emphasize lexical boundaries.

(63) *baig-aa ganc-han üschin-d=ee naid-ch-aad bai-n=uu?*
COP-¬DIR single-DIM coiffeur-DAT=RP hope-BOU-C COP-DIR=Q
'Have you put your trust into your only hairdresser?'

(64) *güe güe bii öör-iin-h=öö herch-seng baicaa-g*
EX.NEG EX.NEG 1SG self-GEN-AT=RP cut-PRF.P cabbage-ACC
haig-aad bain=l=daa.
search-C COP-DIR=FOC IP
'No, no, I keep on searching for the cabbage that I cut.'

3.3.3 The Present Perfect *-sang bai-n/aa*

The Present Perfect *-sang bai-n/aa* is used to refer to past events and their resultant state, which, however, may be as unspecific as present relevance.

Due to the evidential properties on *-n* and *-aa*, inferential interpretations of *-sang bai-n* are only possible, but not necessary.

There is no research on *-sang baigaa,* but some researchers have commented on *-sang bain*. The first to do so was Cinggeltei (1959: 15-18) who considers it a composite form where *-sang* refers to a relative past and *bain* to an absolute present. The form indicates that there is present evidence that this event occurred in the past. No present result is necessarily assumed. The form can thus be used to emphasize that an event actually took place. Dugarova and Jaxontova (1988: 217-219) write that *-sang* in *-sang bain* refers to the time when the event took place with non-terminative verbs, while *bai(-n)* refers to the time when this was found out. With terminative verbs, they can point to a result. Adverbials such as *gurvang cagt* 'by(/at) three o'clock' refer to the resultant state, adverbials of time duration such as *hoyor cagiin tursh* 'for three hours' cannot be used. Umetani (2006: 3) only mentions an inferential usage. Mönh-Amgalan (1998: 70) holds that *-sang bain* expresses epistemic uncertainty as to whether the event actually took place, but he might identify inference itself with uncertainty. Saruul-Erdene (1998: 96) argues that the past is relative to an absolute reference point in the future, providing (65) as example:

(65) *Margaash chamaig ire-he-d bi nom=oo*
tomorrow 2SG.ACC come-FUT.P-DAT 1SG book-ACC
unsh-chih-san bai-na.
read-BOU-PRF.P COP-DIR
'When you arrive tomorrow, I will have read my book.'

It is surprising that he simply lists this as the function of *-sang bain*. One could use a simple Perfect in German here, too, but nobody would consider future reference to be its main function.

In the corpus, *-sang bain* (n=52, 29 of these with *-ch-*) is roughly as frequent as its closest related forms *-sang baigaa* (n=50, 18 of these with *-ch-* and a mere 3 with *=iin*), *-jee* (n=50), and *-aad bain* (n=77). It can either be inferential or perfect for predications that include a lexicalized border:

(66) *... piotra_jamp ge-ed en kolonk deer binzen*
NAME COMP-C D.PROX gas.station on petrol
tügeegüür deer ir-seng bai-n=aa.
disperser on come-PRF.P COP-DIR=POL
'[Well, dear audience,] we now have arrived at the gas station Petro Jump [in Songin Hairhan district] at the fuel dispensers.'

(67) *chamaig hulgai ...hulgai-n hereg hii-seng bai-n=aa,*
2SG.ACC theft theft-GEN act do-PRF.P COP-DIR=POL
tiim uchr-aas bii chamaig odoo saatuul-jai-n=aa
so reason-ABL 1SG 2SG.ACC now arrest-PROG-DIR=POL

ge-ed ing-eed avchir-sang bai-n.[30]
COMP-C do.so-C bring-PRF.P COP-DIR
'[Then the local police took that monk away and brought him to a room. Having brought him there, now, the policeman said], "You have committed an act of theft. Because of that, I am arresting you now." He had brought him there like this.

(68) *zaa zaa buruu oiloG-som bai-n*.
well well wrong understand-PRF.P COP-DIR
'[I had been thinking that there is a separate room. So this is not the case, right?] Well, I have misunderstood it.'

(66) is an example of a pure perfect usage of a verb that might either be interpreted as accomplishment or punctual. The speaker himself has consciously gone to that place and is now about to undertake other things. Using the Non-firsthand Past *-jee* instead would imply deferred realization. In a similar example, a soldier reports that a particular person has arrived (*irseng bain*) and now asks his officer how to proceed. (67) contains two perfects. The directed accomplishment *avchirsang bain* 'has brought' merely prepares the setting for what is to come, namely, that the monk starts with a proper religious ceremony to put curses on all the local police. On the other hand, no resultant state is readily observable for the accomplishment *hiiseng bainaa* 'have done'. The point is rather that the policeman takes all his evidence together and infers that the monk committed a crime, also giving him the opportunity to challenge this finding. In (68), the verb is inceptive-stative, and a deferred-realization-inference is made to the onset of this event, i.e. the process of acquiring an understanding. The speaker is correcting his understanding while speaking, a nuance missing if the Non-firsthand Past *-jee*/*-ch-j* had been used instead. If the speaker had intended to refer to the state of his wrong understanding, he could even have used *-sang baigaa*, e.g. *bii en asuudliig buruu oilogsong baigaa, chii nadad odoo sain tailbarlaj ögöörei* 'I've acquired and hold a wrong understanding about this matter, so please explain it to me properly now' (constructed by informant).

The perfect in *-sang baigaa* is not capable of expressing any form of inference, as it refers to a situation that the speaker is already familiar with:

(69) ... *hand-aach=ee ge-seng. zaa hand-sang baig-aa*,
beckon-IMP.INT=POL say-PRF.P well beckon-PRF.P COP-¬DIR
bürtgüül-sen baig-aa ge-seng.
register-PRF.P COP-¬DIR say-PRF.P
'[Then all of us] said: "Contact [the police, the law!]" He said: "Well, I have contacted the police, I have registered." [Then he said:

[30] From a retelling of a criminal case that was narrated to the speaker before. The file name in my data is khalkha0021.

"Please come here right now to meet me, and bring the police with you!"]'

(70) *minii daatGal-iig vol noming daatGal hii-j*
1SG.GEN insurance-ACC TOP NAME insurance make-C
ög-söm baiG-aa.
give-PRF.P COP-¬DIR
'[I'm somebody who gets around a lot.] As for my insurance, Nomin Insurances have made it for me.'

In (69), the point is that the cited speaker has contacted the police, but as they apparently haven't taken any concrete measures, he expects them to forsake him if he doesn't contact the media (i.e. the speaker) as well. (70) exemplifies the typical expository use associated with commercials or with the speech of TV people in general. The speaker is emphasizing his current state of being insured, else he might have used the more neutral Factual *-sang*.

In the corpus, *-sang baigaa* is rarely used with predications that lack a resultant state, but a few such cases can be found:

(71) *en jil bol neleed ih shalgalt hii-gd-seng baig-aa*.
D.PROX year TOP rather many exam do-PASS-PRF.P COP-¬DIR
'This year, a lot of inspections have been done.'

(72) *altantürüü=maan' olon ail-uud-aar hoN-song*
NAME=2PL.POSS many family-PL-INS stay.overnight-PRF.P
baig-aa. _ *tanai-d hon-ii nevtrüüg-iig*
COP-¬DIR 2PL.GEN-DAT stay.overnight-VOL broadcast-ACC
odoon-oos bii hii-h-eer bol-jaig-aa.
now-ABL 1SG do-FUT.P-INS become-PROG-¬DIR
'['Here on TV 25, the TV program *Tanaid honii* is beginning. Dear audience, you all might be surprised to see me, Tengis, today instead of Altantürüü.] Our Altantürüü has stayed with many families now. _ From now on, I am taking over Tanaid honii.'

(73) C: *hoyuu-laa yav-jii-sang bai-n. neg=n yamar*
two-COLL walk-PROG-PRF.P COP-DIR one=3POSS what.kind
hün bai-s=iing?
person COP-PRF.P=MC
H: *med-küü bii hoyuu-laa*
come.to.know+know-FUT.P.EX.NEG 1SG two-COLL
ganc-aar=aa=l yav-jii-n.
alone-INS=RP=FOC go-PROG-DIR
C: *en hoyor hoy-uulaa mön baig-aa biz=dee? taa*
D.PROX two two-COLL same COP-¬DIR IP=IP 2PL
hoyor enüügeer yav-jii-sang baig-aa biz=dee?
two D.PROX.INS go-PROG-PRF.P COP-¬DIR IP=IP
C: 'You were walking together. Who is the other person?'
H: 'I don't know. I am on my way here together ... alone.'

C: ‘These two [on the video] are together, aren’t they? You two were walking along here, weren’t you?’

(71) and (72) are the only case in the corpus where no tangible result can be construed. But in (71), there are general conclusions that one can deduce from the results of these examinations, and in (72), the basic idea must be that Altantürüü is worn out or has lost interest in presenting *Tanaid honii*.[31] A similar phenomenon can be observed in (73) that has a Progressive in the scope of the Perfect. In the first instance, the police officer who had been interrogating a thief about whether he had an accomplice infers from video material that two people were walking as a pair. Then, in the third sentence, having already established this as his knowledge, he switches from *-n* to *-aa*, still referring to a past activity in progress with present relevance.[32]

3.3.4 The evidentially marked Habitual *-dag bai-n/aa*

The overall corpus data on *-dag bai-n/aa* consists only of 1 and 7 examples, respectively, so a proper analysis is difficult to conduct. However, there is a contextual cue to the meaning of *-dag baigaa*: in 4 of 7 cases, it co-occurs with *te* / *tiimee*, a device for forming tag questions and eliciting agreement. If these collocations are used for creating a kind of common ground for the speaker and listener, the event in *-dag baigaa* doesn’t seem to be taken for granted by both interlocutors.

(74) *öör yumn-ii talaar bid bühen bas av-sang baig-aa*
other thing-GEN concerning 1PL all also take-PRF.P COP-¬DIR
tiimee. biye_üNlegchi-d baig-aa gazar bol emh
so prostitute-pl COP-¬DIR place TOP order
zambraa=guu baidal üüs-deg baig-aa tiimee ...
discipline=EX.NEG situation emerge-HAB.P COP-¬DIR so
tend shügel-deg, üürel-deg, tiim biz=dee.
there be.haunted-HAB.P nestle-HAB.P so IP=IP
‘[But it’s not only about the prostitutes], we all are also affected by other issues, right? At a place where prostitutes are, a chaotic, criminal overall situation arises, right? [Excessive alcohol usage follows, thieves follow, brawls ...] All bad things haunt such places and nest there. It’s just like this, right?’

[31] With Tengis presenting, even the general audience quickly lost interest in the program, so that it was cancelled sometime afterwards.

[32] The illocutionary particle collocation *biz=dee* expresses a fairly strong claim, while mildly challenging the addressee to confirm or disprove it. It doesn’t combine with direct perception *-n* in complex forms, but it combines with the Potential *-n* used on its own, so the combinatory restriction is not morphologically conditioned. Rather, in order to state a claim and dare somebody else to challenge it, one usually needs to relie on information that one has already established as one’s own knowledge.

(75) *borjgon aylguug-aar yar'-dag. töv halhiin*
name dialect-INS speak-HAB.P central Khalkha
aylguug-aar yar'-dag baig-aa, te.
dialect-INS speak-HAB.P COP-¬DIR TAG
[A: 'The inhabitants of the Central Province, they are part of the Borjigin clan, right?' B: 'Yes.' A:] 'They speak the Borjigin dialect. So they speak the Central Khalkha dialect, right? [What are your thoughts about this?]'

Quite notably, as the journalist in (74) is attempting to make a general statement, the temporal state explanation that I had considered earlier (Brosig 2009b) has to be rejected. As the speaker continues with a regular Habitual form, *-dag baigaa* here probably emphasizes the subjective knowledge of the speaker used for building up a common ground, while the regular habitual form used in the next sentence is already a factual claim, even if the speaker, still unsure whether the TV audience will accept the argument, still tries to obtain confirmation. In (75), the speaker identifies the Borjigin dialect with the Central dialect, using *baigaa* instead of *bain* as she is taking recourse to general reasoning. Meanwhile, the only instance of *-dag bain* (*shd*) in the corpus presumes an event that occurred once in the past. This kind of usage will be discussed in more detail in 4.3.3.

(76) *A yaa-laa, te? B egch "C davh'-aach"*
NAME do.what-1H.PST TAG NAME elder.sister NAME gallop-IMP.INT
??? ge-l=üü? teg-seng=chin hariu=guu
UNIDENTIFIED.WORD say-1H.PST=Q do.so-PRF.P=STC answer=EX.NEG
inee-deg bai-n shd.
laugh-HAB.P COP-DIR IP
'Do you remember what A did? And wasn't it so that B yelled "C, go!" Because of that, A/C burst into laughter.'

3.3.5 The Present Prospective *-h ge-j/ed bai-n/aa*

The Present Prospective denotes that given a current situation, some future event is about to happen, as illustrated in (77) below:

(77) *yös-döh ail-d=aa hoN-jii-n ge-j=dee.*[33]
nine-ORD family-DAT=RP stay.night-PROG-DIR COMP-2H.PST=IP

[33] *ge-j=dee* must originally have had an evidential meaning, e.g. *Shüüh ge-j=dee, bulhai bai-j. Shudarga ge-j=dee, hudlaa bai-j* which might be rather literally translated as 'Apparently, they said "court of justice". It turned out to be a cheat. Apparently, they said "earnest". It turned out to be a lie.' A free translation might rather be 'You couldn't call this a trial, it was just a cheat. ...', possibly attacking a presupposition rather than an actual statement. There are even derived constructions such as *olo-h=ch ge-j=dee* 'it is a pity that they will/would find it' which is mainly used for disappointment.

yös-döh ail-d=aa hono-hjii-n.
nine-ORD family-DAT=RP stay.night-PROS-DIR
[A: 'Which family is it that you stay at now?' B:] 'I'm staying overnight at my ninth family. No well, I'm about to stay overnight with my ninth family. [But will you let me or not, that hasn't become clear yet!]'

The Prospective has the two forms *-h gej bai-n/aa* (n=32) and *-h geed bai-n/aa* (n=13). It transparently consists of the constructs *-h ge-* that also forms part of two constructions expressing intention and purpose (see 5.2) on the one hand and the Progressive or Continuative constructions *-j bai-* or *-aad bai-* on the other hand. Like in the Progressive, a contraction of *-j bai-* to *-jai-* or *-jii-* (conditioned by the followed suffix) is possible. If it takes place, even the elision of [g] and the genesis of a single phonological word as in *bolo-h-joig-oo* < *bolo-h ge-j baig-aa* become-FUT.P COMP-C COP-¬DIR 'is about to become' can take place. If /g/ is not lost, it can fuse via a regular phonotactic process with the preceding /x~χ/ to yield [ʰk] /xg/. Within the Prospective construction, even *geed* may be subject to vowel harmony, e.g. *yaa-h=g-aad baig-aa=n* do.what-FUT.P=COMP-C COP-¬DIR=MC 'what is SUBJ about to do'. The Progressive-based and the Continuative-based Prospective are thought to differ in whether they portray the present situation as enduring or as simply in progress, but this has not been investigated in any detail.

The prospective or foreseen situation can either be due to some kind of schedule as in (77) or (78), an inevitable fact as in (79), knowledge derived from a situation frame as in (80), or the speaker's own intention as in (81) and (82). While *-n* is used for a currently perceptible situation as in (77), (79), (80) and (81), *-aa* is used for already established knowledge: the speaker of (78) refers to an event at a distant place, and the speaker of (82) as the cook of a cooking show must have made his plan of preparing the noodles in such a manner well in advance.

(78) *manai yapon-d bai-dag band' ber gui-h ge-jaig-aa.*
1PL.GEN Japan-DAT COP-HAB.P boy bride beg-FUT.P COMP-PROG-¬DIR
'Our son in Japan is about to propose to somebody.'

(79) *odoo minii tör-sön ödör ehle-hchii-n.*
now 1SG.GEN be.born-PRF.P day begin-PROG-DIR
'Now [= i.e. 23:55] my birthday's about to begin.'

(80) *bii yörön enG-hed haaN hoN-k-ood*
1SG in.general do.so-C.when where stay.night-FUT.P.COMP-C
bai-n=aa?
COP-DIR=POL
'Now, by the way, where [within this house] am I going to sleep?'

(81) *naiz-iin-d=aa ocho-j hono-h ge-j bai-n.*
friend-GEN-DAT=RP proceed-C stay.night-FUT.P COMP-C COP-DIR
'I am about to go to my friend's and stay the night there.'

(82) *goimong=oo bii jigne-hjaig-aa.*
noodle=RP 1SG steam-PROS-¬DIR
'[Well, now I shall fetch my noodles and prepare them.] As for the noodles, I'm about to steam them.'

4. The Habitual

In addition to being followed by the copula as was discussed briefly in 3.3.4, the Habitual Participle *-dag* can be used on its own either with reference to habitual, characterizing or generic events discussed in 4.1 or to unexpected mono-occasional events as discussed in 4.2. Together with non-finite aspect markers as discussed in 4.3, it refers to iterative or unexpected mono-occasional events with an internal time structure.

4.1 Habitual use of simple *-dag*

In general, *-dag* is described as marking both habituality and undelimited states (Byambasan et al. 1987: 101, Svantesson 1991: 197, Kim 1995: 143-144), the former with dynamic and the latter with non-dynamic or generic predications (Song 1997: 288-97). The most detailed analysis of its imperfective semantics is provided by Hashimoto (1995a). He criticizes the term 習慣性 'habitual' and assumes five semantic categories: 1. 繰り返す行為/事態 repeated actions / situations, i.e. events iterated over multiple occasions that may, but need not form a habit. Notably, *-dag* doesn't combine with adverbials that indicate a concrete number of repetitions or with the adverb *odoo* that too concretely focuses on a delimited here and now. All of Hashimoto's examples are dynamic verbs. 2. 状態的な行為/事態 stative actions / situations, i.e. states as marked by stative verbs and stative senses of verbs like *ajilla-* 'work > be employed'. 3. 特性/習性 characteristics / habit, i.e. attitudinal and potential predications in the sense of Bertinetto and Lenci (2012), e.g. *Minii naiz can-aar nadaas sain gulda-dag* 1SG.GEN friend ski-INS 1SG.ABL good glide-HAB.P 'My friend skies better than I' (Hashimoto 1995a: 53) 4. 名付け naming, but this is limited to the complementizer verb *ge-* and can thus safely be ignored here. 5. 総称的な行為/事態 generic actions / situations. Hashimoto subclassifies these into several degrees of genericity, all of which can be marked with *-dag*.[34]

In the corpus, simple *-dag* has a token frequency of 479, precisely 75% as frequent as simple *-n*. In 59 cases or 12% of cases, it is used together with interrogative clitics, and in 33 instances it was used together with *-ch-*. Even

[34] These terms can be romanized (Hepburn-system) as follows: 習慣性 *shūkansei*, 行為 *kōi*, 事態 *jitai*, 繰り返す *kuri-kaesu*, 状態的な *jōtai-teki-na*, 特性 *tokusei*, 習性 *jūsei*, 名付け *nazuke*, 総称的な *sōjō-teki-na*.

in the corpus, *-dag* is used for regularly observable phenomena as in (83), habits as in (84) and (85), and routines as in (86).

(83) *minii sugan-d üs uraG-ch-laa. minii en*
1SG.GEN armpit-dat HAIR grow-BOU-1H.PST 1SG.GEN D.PROX
boojgoon-ii deeg-üür üs urg-aad ehel-lee ge-ed
balls-GEN on-PROS hair grow-C begin-1H.PST COMP-C
eng-eed hüühed ih ai-dag. hyamar-dag.
do.so-C child much fear-HAB.P worry-HAB.P
'"In my armpits, hair has grown. All over my balls, hair has started to grow." - Children are very afraid of such things. They feel worried.'

(84) *tern-iig=ee bii ajll-uul-dag. teg-eed biznis-iing*
D.DIST-ACC=RP 1SG work-CAUS-HAB.P do.so-C business-GEN
zövolgöö ög-dög. teg-eed hajuuG-aar=n lekts
advice give-HAB.P do.so-C next-INS-3POSS lecture
unsh-jii-n, bankn-uuda-d lekts unsh-dag. meregjl-eer=ee
read-PROG-DIR bank-PL-DAT lecture READ-HAB.P profession-INS=RP
lekts ungsh-dag. end tend surGuuli-uda-d bagshil-dag.
lecture read-HAB.P here there school-PL-DAT teach-HAB.P
'[Now there are two language centers.] Those I run. Then I do business consulting. On the side, I'm giving lectures, I give lectures at banks. Read lectures in my profession. Teach at schools here and there.'

(85) *bii ugan nom-iin delgüür-eer ih yav-dag.*
1SG actually book-GEN shop-INS much go-HAB.P
'I actually go a lot through bookshops.'

(86) *teg-ee=l naim ge-e=l hoolon-d=oo or-dog bid nar.*
do.so-C=FOC eight COMP-C =FOC meal-DAT=RP enter-HAB.P 1SG PL
'[After the running exercises, we come back, clean up here] and then at eight we have a meal.'

If *-n* were used instead, (83) wouldn't portray regular observations, but a generally predictable process and would thus become less scientific and more explanatory, (84) would refer to the future, and the exactness of the time and the regularity of the event would decrease in (86). For this very reason, some informants are skeptical as to whether *-n* can be used in (85) together with the adverbial *ih* 'much'.

-dag is also used with predications that either characterize some fundamental attitude of the subject or represent its potential function rather than referring to the concrete, regularly reoccurring actualization of an event (Bertinetto and Lenci 2012). *-n* would result in a future meaning for all examples below, suggesting an unexperienced speaker in (87) and (88) and a reinterpretation of discourse-structuring *odoo* into temporal *odoo* in (89):

(87) *bii lavshaa-g bol ih Goy hii-deg.*
1SG noodle.soup-ACC TOP very nice make-HAB.P
'As for noodle soup, I prepare it very well.'

(88) *töhöörömjn-ii davuu tal=n bol töhöörömj*
equipment-GEN advantageous side=3POSS TOP equipment
ura-gshaa pad ge-ed una-nguut mor'-d joohon
front-ALL IDEO COMP-C fall-C.as.soon.as horse-PL a.little
zog_tus-aad mor'-d saihan taivan ereg-deg.
stop.dead-C horse-PL nice peaceful turn-HAB.P
'The advantage of this equipment is that as soon as it thuds off, the horses stop short and they turn nice and smooth.'

(89) *odoo zalG-aad büten dörvön cag cenegel-deg.*
now connect-C full four hour charge-HAB.P
'Now plugged in, it charges fully within four hours.'

Generic events, here understood as events that intrinsically characterize a class of entities or its behavior, are not well represented in the corpus, but undelimited states such as a subgroup being part of a larger organization or a people that belong to a region or *yar'dag* 'speak' a particular language can be found. The contrast to *-n* is sometimes rather slim:

(90) *cagdaag-iin baiguulG-iin neg bütec-d=ee bagt-dag.*
police-GEN organization-GEN one structure-DAT=RP group-HAB.P
'[Well, our troop is one group of the Interior Soldiers.] It belongs to one part of the police organization.'

(91) *hövgüüded bol arvaas aruun gurvan nasand ter hüühdiin tömsgön tomrood tiimee en dotor bol er belgiin esüüd er belgiin gormonuud bol bolovsorch eheldgee. tegengüüt bol hüühdiin maan tömsögnii hemjee=n tomroN. duu hooloi=n büdüürch ehleN. yagaad gevel tömsg=n dotor er belgiin gormon testeron gedeg gormon bolovsorch eheldeg. enentei uylduulaad hüühdiin maan duu=n büdüüreed ehleN. ternees gadN odoo öndögnii orchim sugand=n üs urgaj ehleN. tegeed tövönh=ch joohon tomrood engeed odoo duu hooloi=n büdüüreed ehelchdeg.*
'For boys, between 10 and 13 years, their testicles enlarge and, yes, meanwhile, the gametes and the male hormones begin (*-dg=aa*) to develop. Immediately afterwards, the testicles will enlarge (*-n*). Their voice will start (*-n*) to become deeper. This is because within their testicles, the hormone testosterone begins (*-dag*) to be developed. In connection with this, the voices of our children will start (*-n*) to become deeper. Moreover, around their testicles and in their armpits hair will grow (*-n*). So even their larynx grows a little and then their voice begins (*-ch-dag*) to become deeper.'

In (90), *-dag* refers to an official, well-established relationship, whereas *-n* would render it the opinion of the speaker ('could be grouped'). In (91), the

main changes themselves are marked with *-dag*. As *-dag* cannot establish any connection between the events, *-n* is used to indicate that some events follow from others. In the last sentence, *-ch-dag* which often marks conditioned changes was used instead, possibly motivated by the condition integrated as a subordinate clause into the same sentence.

As observed in the literature, *-dag* is also used with stative predicates to express temporally undelimited states. In the case of psych verbs such as in (92), (93) and (94), the thoughts in question are expressed as the opinion of the subject. Note that even adverbials such as *önöödör* 'today' in (94) and *odoo* elsewhere can appear next to *-dag* to some extent, being included into the scope of *-dag*, but not exhausting it:

(92) ... *gej bod-dog Gor'd-dog*.
COMP think-HAB.P hope.vainly-HAB.P
'[I'm very high-spirited towards my own work, so I] hope and pray that [my daughter, having gone to London, is at any rate observing from the newspapers that her father is not sitting around idly.]'

(93) *hot-toi oirhon bolhoor joohon högjöl baG jereg*
city-COM close because little development small grade
taaruu yumshig sanagd-dag.
mediocre like seem-HAB.P
'It seems to me that as we are so close to the city [of Ulaanbaatar], [our own] development is a bit mediocre.'

(94) *teren-d=n bii önöödör bayral-dag.*
D.DIST-DAT=3POSS 1SG today feel.happy-HAB.P
'[My father was always striving for the truth. While the public took him to be a polemic and he was getting onto bad terms with many leaders, he was always defending the common people.] Of this, I am proud today.'

A variant of *-dag* with attached *=aa* is attested in the forms *bodoj yavdgaa* 'went thinking [throughout my life that I had lost this great happiness]', *hürdgee* 'reached [a result to some extent]' and *bolovsorch eheldgee* '[meanwhile, the gametes and the male hormones] begin to develop', but abstracting from these three examples to a general function is probably not advisable. In a few cases that I observed, this form was used somewhat differently when rearticulating a statement in a clear manner that I had indicated I hadn't heard properly.

4.2 Mono-occasional use of simple *-dag*

Song (1997: 297-300) claims that *-dag* on its own doesn't combine with past (or future) time adverbials as in **Dorj ömnö / daraa / öngörsön jil / ireh jil end ir-deg* NAME before / later / last year / next year here come-HAB.P, but requires an

auxiliary (*bai-* for past, *bol-* for future). While there seems to be widespread implicit agreement on this in the literature, Sechenbaatar (2003: 125-6) pointed out for the closely related Chakhar dialect that *-dag* can be used in the past (and with a past adverbial) without a copula:

(95) *Ter jil bid hoyor Shilinhoto-d neg uulz-dag shdee.*
D.DIST year 1PL two PLACE-DAT one meet-HAB.P IP
'We met once in Shilinhot that year [do you remember].'

Sechenbaatar didn't emphasize it, but it is notable that this event is not only past, but even mono-occasional (without being stative). In Brosig (2012: 16-7), I listed a number of examples of this type with structures such as (*-jii- / -aad bai-*) *-dag* (*yum*) (*bilee*) as well as the past form *av-dag bai-jee* 'I should have taken it' which expresses a regretful irreal deferred realization:

(96) *bii chinii erdm-iin ajl-iig haya-ch-dag*. (overheard)
1SG 2SG.GEN science-GEN work-ACC toss-BOU-HAB.P
'So I lost your research paper.'

(97) *taa yaagaad shüd=ee ugaa-h-d=aa tol'*
2SG.HON why tooth=RP wash-FUT.P-DAT=PROSS mirror
muuhai bol-g-ood bai-dag bilee? (overheard)
bad become-CAUS-C COP-HAB.P RECOLLECTION
'Why are you dirtying the mirror when brushing your teeth?'

(98) ... *och-loo. tegeed tend=ee 4 hono-sn-ii daraa*
go.to-2H.PST do.so-C there=RP 4 spend.night-PRF.P-GEN after
neg örömdlög-iin ajil-d or-dog yum bai-n=aa.[35]
one drilling-GEN work-DAT enter-HAB.P MC COP-DIR=POL
'[In early October, I left home and, journeying 4100 km in four days and a half,] came to [a town named Kalgoorlie Boulder in western Australia]. Then, having stayed there for 4 days, I was hired for drilling work.'

Both (96) and (97) were uttered in circumstances where the event in question had occurred recently and for the first time. Extrapolating from informant assessments, (96) appears to express surprise and regret and (97) surprise and annoyance. In (98), informants understood *-dag* as a device to tell a story in an interesting way. I then speculated whether examples like (96) and (97) can be understood as characterizing the person in question rather than expressing an event that repeats, but didn't propose an explanation that covers all examples.

[35] http://gawaas.blogspot.se/2007_11_01_archive.html, 2007-11-17, retrieved 2014-01-22. Travel report.

The corpus doesn't contain many examples where *-dag* refers to a single event, but it seems to be possible to establish at least two uses. First, *-dag* can be used as a device to tell past events (usually within a short narrative) in a more interesting, exciting way or, conversely, as a device to convey one's own surprise or excitement. The only example for this use in the corpus is (99), but examples that informants constructed according to the scheme of (98) and several examples that I had the chance to observe in Mongolia myself render this use quite salient. The second use is together with an interrogative word or *=iin* in non-past rhetorical / aggressive questions such as (100) and (101) that express surprise and displeasedness, mirroring the similar use of *bilee* in an interrogatively framed accusation such as (97).

(99) *teg-eed erdenbat shar kostyum pijaktai* *or-j*
do.so-C NAME yellow suit suit_jacket-COM enter-C
ir-deg *bai-h=güi=yuu.*
come-HAB.P COP-FUT.P=EX.NEG=Q
'Then, imagine, Erdenebat entered wearing a yellow suit jacket!'
[directly preceded and followed by quoted direct speech, but overall embedded in a story using past forms]

(100) *chamaas=chin yamar aimaar arih* *ünert-t=iin be?*
2SG.ABL=STC what awful vodka smell-HAB.P=MC=Q
püüh yostoi hamar setle-h *ge-jii-n.*
INTERJ really nose nick-FUT.P COMP-PROG-DIR
'What awful vodka smell is emanating from you! Ick! It really cuts into my nose.'

(101) A: *en tan-ii gazar ge-seng biz=dee*? X: *tiin.*
D.PROX 2SG.HON-GEN place say-PRF.P IP=IP so
A: *taa yaahaaraa en-iig shöN bol-song hoiN*
2SG.HON why(RHET) D.PROX-ACC night become-PRF.P after
ir-j *üze-dg=iin.*
come-C see-HAB.P=MC
[A, who is a journalist, is talking to X, a person who he thinks is fraudulently claiming ownership of a place:] A: 'This place belongs to you, right?' X: 'Yes.' A: 'How come you've come here to watch it after night has fallen?'

How could the change of meaning from a habitual to a mono-occasional, emotional *-dag* have come about? Especially if undesirable events are concerned, it might be worthwhile to generalize from one event to a habit:

(102) *edn-üüd C.-d* *ög-höör togl-ood hay-ch-d=iin.*
3PL-PL NAME-DAT give-CNS.C play-C toss-BOU-HAB.P=MC

[A: 'I cannot get the camera to work.' B: 'Why, yes. I had known it all along.] When they gave it / give something to C., she used / uses it carelessly.'

For (102), the larger context provided in square brackets indicates that the speaker refers to one concrete event. Both the converb *-haar* that indicates that the matrix clause is a logical consequence of the subordinate clause and additional aspecto-actional devices such as *-ch-* help to delimit the repetitive meaning of *-dag* to circumstances in which a certain condition obtains. So a characterizing generalization may suffice to explain such examples. A similar delimitaton is very transparently achieved by *-aad bai-dag* in (97). Such devices are absent in (100) and (101) which have *=iin* with unclear function and only contain rhetorical, if any generalizations. If this line of reasoning is correct and the use for surprised present observations and interesting past narratives are related, the past narrative use would be a secondary development. The generalization is lost, while the surprise on the part of the speaker is transformed into a narrative device to emphasize surprising, interesting events. This hypothesis seems to be supported by an intermediate example such as (96) which expresses astonishment about a past event. Both uses have in common that they refer to an event that, from the speaker's point of view, diverges from the normal course of events.

4.3 *-dag* at the end of complex forms

The suffix *-dag* is not only used on its own, but can also combine with non-finite aspectual forms. These forms are of particular interest as we find an aspectual marker immediately within the scope of another aspectual marker, a phenomenon that has been mentioned in passing in Mongolian studies (Cinggeltei 1959: 32-4, 40-3), but remains underdescribed and poorly if at all integrated into general frameworks of aspect. This doesn't indicate that it is very rare: Molochieva's description of Chechen contains a form similar to the Mongolian Progressive Habitual:

(103) *daada* *jol* *hwooqu-sh v-oallu-sh*
father.NOM(V) hay.NOM rub:IPFV-CVBsim V-be.PROG-CVBsim
xylu *txo* *baazara* *d-oelxu-sh*
be.HAB.PRS 1PL/excl.NOM(D) market.ADV D-go:PL:IPFV-CVBsim[36]
'Father used to be cutting hay every time when we were going to the market.' (Molochieva 2010: 49)

[36] "sim" means 'simultaneous', "V" and "D" represent gender classes.

This form "is used to express situations in progress occurring in a specified time frame and presented in a habitual context", but it is only compatible with accomplishments ["gradually terminative verbs"], thus excluding aktionsarten such as achievements ["totally stative verbs"], inceptive states ["inchoative-stative verbs"] (Molochieva 2010: 49, 99-102) and, according to her table, even activities. Note, though, that while the verb *hwooqu-* in (103) might be an accomplishment, the actional phrase (in the sense of Johanson 2000) is atelic due to the unspecific direct object. In Khalkha, there are not only corresponding forms such as a Progressive Habitual (n=11) and Continuative Habitual (n=11, none with *-ch-*), but even a Perfect Habitual (n=7, five of these with *-ch-*) and, possibly, a Prospective Habitual. As these contexts imply the repeated presence of some observer, *-dag* contributes a habitual or characterizing, but not generic meaning.

4.3.1 *-jii-dag* and *-aad bai-dag*

The basic idea of *-jiidag* and *-aad baidag* is to give additional prominence to the internal structure of any single subevent within a repeated process. This structure easily combines with an incidence scheme, but it need not do so:

(104) *ah-iin* *maash* *olong saihang* *saihang*
elder.brother-GEN very.EMPH many nice nice
naiz nar *hüreel-jii-dag.*
friend PL circle-PROG-HAB.P
'[We have a lot of nice friends.] The many nice friends of my elder[37] brother are dropping by constantly.'

(105) *engeed hal-aa=l* *uug-aad bai-dag.*
do.so-C become.hot-C=FOC drink-C COP-HAB.P
'[Billiard is a very fine game. Then you also get drunk, and then bills ...] Then I keep on drinking and getting drunk. [Under such circumstances, there have been times when I had to pawn my mobile phone.]

(106) *dandaa or-j* *ir-hd=n* *zalg-aatai* *hüng*
always enter-C come-C.when=3POSS connect-RES person
suu-jii-dag.
sit.down+sit-PROG-HAB.P

[37] Note that while the form *ah-iin* refers to the elder brother of the speaker in a way that is in principle unambiguous (due to the absence of *=n'*), some informants took this sentence as referring to the friends of the speaker himself who in the preceding sentence referred to himself as *ah=n'*, literally somebody's elder brother, a common form of self-reference for a male speaker who is older than the addressee. This is of no consequence for the overall analysis of this sentence.

‘Each time they entered, somebody was sitting there who was plugged in.’

(107) *yörön jijüür manaa-tai üy-d=ee _ yörön*
in.general caretaker sentry-COM time-DAT=RP in.general
cerg-üüd-teig=ee end=ee hamt bairl-aad bai-dag.
soldier-PL-COM=RP here=RP together take.quarter-C COP-HAB.P
‘In general, at those times when the sentry is with us, he is taking quarters here together with the soldiers.’

Informants say about (104) that the speaker is emphasizing the kindness of his brother’s friends who always come and interact. Using simple *-dag* instead might rather be understood as characterizing the speaker as somebody who is very often visited by friends and thus as boastful. No incidence scheme is present here. There is a similar example where the children of a family are said to *bujginjiidag baihgüi yuu* ‘be swirling around’, implicating that the observer delights in watching this process in detail. Simple *-dag* might rather emphasize the difficulties inherent in such a densely-packed living situation. In (105), if the speaker plays billiard, the process of drinking goes on constantly, without sufficient regard for the bills. (106) is from the perspective of a virus-infested internet cafe plus hairdresser’s who were ordered by the police to shut down the internet business until the problem has been overcome. But always when the police came by and checked, they found someone sitting there with an internet connection, be it accidental or the result of disobedience. At the time of speaking, the matter is still not settled, and the police have increased their pressure against the owners. In (107), the speaker doesn’t claim that there is always a sentry, but when there is, he usually takes quarters together with the soldiers he is responsible for. The adverbial *yörön* ‘in general’ refers to the outer aspectual phase.

Due to its continuative meaning, *-aad baidag* is frequently applied to rather persistent unpleasant situations that occur on repeated occasions. This is possible with conventional verbs in the presence or absence of *=iin* and even with the stative verb *bai-*:

(108) *hümüüs yum id-eed bai-dag. öör=öö ide-j*
people thing eat-C COP-HAB.P self=RP eat-C
bol-d=güi.
may-HAB.P=EX.NEG
‘[Yes, we spoke about this before. About how difficult it is for you to lose weight.] The other people keep on eating things. And you yourself are not allowed to eat.’

(109) *teg-ee=l hüühed yaa-h ge-j ömöör-ööd*
do.so-C=FOC child do.what-FUT.P COMP-C defend-C

bai-dg=iin?
COP-HAB.P=MC
'So why do you keep on defending the child?'

(110) *odoo end baig-aad bai-dag, naiz ohing tend*
now here COP-C COP-HAB.P friend girl there
baig-aad bai-dag, uulz-maar bai-dag aan?
COP-C COP-HAB.p meet-WISH.P COP-HAB.P INTERJ
'[But that must be stressful.] Now you're here, your girlfriend is there, and you want to meet, don't you?'

In (108), using simple *-dag* would result in a bizarre sentence where somebody unnecessarily states that other people eat as such, without relating it to the following sentence. In (109), the speaker accuses the addressee of interfering with justified pedagogical measures. In (110), the speaker mentions the separation of a romantic couple because one of them is in the army.

4.3.2 *-sang bai-dag*

The Habitual Perfect *-sang bai-dag* refers to a perfect situation that occurs multiple times. Notably, all instances in the corpus that actually fit this definition use either *-cang* or *-chih-sang* instead of simple *-sang*.

(111) *manai mongol end tend bas cagaan_hooltn-ii ...*
1PL.GEN Mongolian here there also a.vegetarian-GEN ...
mah-guu huushuur ge-heer baicaa töms en
meat-EX.NEG huushuur COMP-CNS.C cabbage potatoe D.PROX
ter hii-ceng bai-dag.
D.DIS put-BOU.PRF.P COP-HAB.P
'[Because it's vegetarian, I'll make huushuur with veggies.] In our Mongolia, here and there, vegetarian ... meatless huushuur are filled with cabbage and potatoes. [You can prepare such food alright, but I will prepare rather different huushuur.]'

(112) *teg-eed ödörjingöö davhi-j davhi-j ire-hleer*
do.so-C every/all.day gallop-C gallop-C come-CNS.C
ohi-d-uud=aa=l ih san-cam bai-d=iing.
daughter-PL-PL=RP=FOC much remember-BOU.PRF.P COP-HAB.P
'Then, after running around all day, when I arrive at home, I am always in the state of having missed my daughters a lot.'

(113) *hüühed=maan' nögöö=l cheher hool neh goy amt-tai*
child=2P.POSS other=FOC sweet meal very nice taste-COM
hool neh-seng nyalh balchir ge-ed bod-ood yav-jii-dag.
meal chase-PRF.P infant infant COMP-C think-C go-PROG-HAB.P

getel al'_hediinee hüühde-d=maan' belgiin
but already child-DAT=2P.POSS sexual
boijilt-iin üy=n ehel-chih-seng, orognizam-d=n
growth-GEN time=3POSS begin-BOU-PRF.P organism-DAT=3POSS
neleen günzgii öörchlölt or-cong bai-dag.
rather deep change enter-BOU.PRF.P COP-HAB.P
'[We ourselves don't notice this process.] We continue to think of our children almost as of babies who chase after sweets and tasty food. But for our children puberty has already begun and rather profound changes have already taken place in their bodies.'

(111) appears to relate to what can be observed as a result of the process of preparing *huushuur* when the speaker enters any such restaurant. In (112), an incidence scheme is made explicit by a temporal adverbial clause. In (113), the resultant state obtains at the time specified by the Continuative Habitual in the preceding sentence. It also illustrates a coordinate structure between two Perfect Participles in the scope of a single copula.

4.3.3 Mono-occasional uses

The Progressive, Continuative, Perfect as well as the Processive can all be used with reference to a single past event, signalling that the event takes place in spite of what could be expected given the normal course of events or overall current situation. As in other contexts, *=iin* seems to harmonize with this use, but its presence is neither required nor semantically neutral:

(114) *chii yaahaaraa manai düü-tei buudal-d*
2SG why(RHET) 1PL.GEN younger.sibling-COM hotel-DAT
hon-jii-dg=iin? chii yaahaaraa manai
stay.overnight-PROG-HAB.P=MC 2SG why(RHET) 1PL.GEN
düü-g en zam-d uruu tata-dg=iin?
younger.sibling-ACC D.PROX way-DAT down pull-HAB.P=MC
'[Now this is my sister!] How come you're staying in a hotel with my sister? How dare you lead my sister astray? [I'll kill you! I'll butcher you! I'll hand you over to the police!]'

(115) *bii öchigdör mashin-d yav-jai-sang=chin shees*
1SG yesterday car-DAT go-PROG-PRF.P=STC urine
hür-eed bai-dag. (constructed by informant)
reach-C COP-HAB.P
'When I was travelling by car yesterday, I desperately needed to pee. [But the car wasn't going to stop yet. So...]'

(116) *manai gergii manai mongol-chuud-iin deed*
1PL.GEN wife 2PL.GEN Mongolian-PL.H-GEN high
surguul'-uuda-d hevlel medeell-iin-hen-d zoriul-j neg
school-PL-DAT press news-GEN-AT-DAT dedicate-C one
böön nom yavuul-sang bai-dag bai-h=güi=yuu?
bunch book send -PRF.P COP-HAB.P COP-FUT.P=EX.NEG=Q
'You see, my wife has sent a whole lot of books for the people at the journalism departments at our Mongolian colleges.'

(114) is from a fictive conversation used to illustrate a trick that pimps play, acting as if they were the elder brother of their prostitutes to intimidate and blackmail customers.[38] The use of the Progressive Habitual seems to imply that they hadn't had sex yet, while simple *-dgiin* in *tatadgiin* seems to presume some form of completion. In (115), the speaker both relates the event in an interesting way and portrays it as contradicting an element of the scheduled case of events, i.e. for the car to drive on. (97) is another example of a Continuative Habitual. With regard to (116), informants agree that the event only took place once, even though the overall context doesn't seem to preclude multiple occasions.

The corpus doesn't contain any Habitual Prospectives, which are also fairly rare on Google, ranging from zero to two dozen hits for several of the most frequent Khalkha verbs. No analysis with the help of native speakers was undertaken, but these uses seem to be mono-occasional rather than habitual.[39] Possibly, a need for actual habitual generalizations over imminent events doesn't arise, whereas *-dag* as a discourse- or stance-related device easily combines with a prospective form.[40]

(117) *udahgüi bid hoyor süi tavi-h ge-j bai-dag*.[41]
soon 1PL two tax place-FUT.P COMP-C COP-HAB.P
'Soon, the two of us are going to get engaged. [... But the two of us are quarrelling more and more.]'

[38] That is possible because prostitution is criminalized in Mongolia (Sadar samuuntai temceh huul' "Law to fight obscenity", 2012-01-19, §§4, 13.2.1). However, it seems that only prostitutes and pimps are prosecuted (14-30 days in custody, confiscation of money thus earned), but not their customers.

[39] Uses that seem multi-occasional tend to be existential constructions without any prospective meaning at all: *Yapon-chuud-iin ulamjlal yoson-d (...) vyendyetaa buyuu cusa-n öshöö ava-h gej bai-dag* Japan-PL.H-GEN tradition custom-DAT vendetta or blood-AT revenge take-FUT.P COMP COP-HAB.P 'In Japanese tradition, there is [the concept of] vendetta or taking blood vengeance.' http://mongolian.ruvr.ru/2012_04_06/70860116/, retrieved 2013-12-28.

[40] It is entirely possible that some instances of written *-dag* for uni-occasional events correspond to spoken *-d(g)=iin*, as a frequent use of *yum* in written language appears to be discouraged in school, and indeed *yum* appears to be much less frequent in written materials.

[41] http://khalkhbuu.blog.gogo.mn/mcomments98671?page=45, retrieved 2013-12-28.

(118) *400 jil-iin daraa jinhene El_Dorado-g inge-j*
400 year-GEN after true PLACE-ACC do.so-C
olo-h ge-j bai-dag=aa.[42]
find-FUT.P COMP-C COP-HAB.P=POL
'After 400 years, we [Columbians] are [now] about to find the true El Dorado [through trading flowers]!'

(119) *mongol-chuud bid tör-iin tergüün=ee ünen*
Mongolian-PL.H 1PL state-GEN head=RP truth
hel-sn-ii tölöö shoron-d hii-j ala-h ge-j bai-dag.[43]
say-PRF.P-GEN for prison-DAT do-C kill-FUT.P COMP-C COP-HAB.P
'[This world is complicated.] We Mongolians are about to put our head of state into prison and kill him because he spoke the truth.'

The uses in (117) and (118) refer to future events as indicated by the adverbials. The more complicated (119), similar to (96), alludes to one single past event: as the Democratic Party, next to putting the former president into prison for corruption (and thus preventing his reelection bid), also abolished the death penalty, it is improbable that the part about killing is to be taken literally. More likely, it characterizes the subject as being inclined to act in this way at any given point in time.

5. *-h*

The participle in *-h* has a very particular distribution. It marked future in Middle Mongol and was used in finite position (Brosig forthcoming 2), but is now extremely rare in absolute sentence-final position, accounting for only 12 of its overall 374 finite uses in the corpus. Synchronically most prominent is the use with diverse interrogative devices (n=192) such as *=uu* (n=123) and *=iim=uu* (n=21) in polar questions and *ve* (n=22) and *=iin* (n=16) in content questions. Variants of *=iin* are also used in declaratives (n=29) and can combine with non-finite aspectual forms (though n=0); *=iin* may also precede the form *bai-n* and, rarely, *baig-aa* (n=15+2). In another set of uses, *-h* can be used before particles originating from copulas (n=27), the synchronic copula (n=8), and before *bol-* including the fossilized *bolvuu* (n=6+6).

In 5.1, I will discuss irreal uses in questions and guesses. 5.2 contains a discussion of *-h* before *ge-* and on its own. Finally, 5.3 presents data on *-h*

[42] http://www.tsahimurtuu.mn/index.php/stories/2012-05-10-04-48-56/501-archive-story-294, retrieved 2013-12-28.
[43] http://www.shuurhai.mn/?p=34195&replytocom=67832, retrieved 2013-12-28. The quote is from a comment (only shown on Google) to the letter of former president Enhbayar sent from his hospital bed (de iure from prison) and published on this webpage on 2013-03-18.

bai- as well as the diachronically related *-h(=iim)=san*. *-h bol-* and *-h=iin* in positive sentences are not discussed in this paper.

5.1 *-h* with particles / clitics relativizing factuality

-h is the most neutral device for asking about the future. While most of the occurrences of *-h* in the corpus are intentional futures as in (120), predictive uses as in (121) are perfectly possible. *-ch-h=uu*, also illustrated in (120), expresses a wish of the speaker on his own part. *=iim=uu* as in (122) and (123) indicates some kind of presumption. In (122), for instance, the speaker presumes that he should prepare rice on the basis of the overall situation or a previous understanding, and just asks for confirmation.

(120) A: *odoo yuu hii-h ge-j baig-aa=n, naraa egch?*
now what make-FUT.P COMP-C COP-¬DIR=MC NAME elder.sister
J: *odoo ah=n baicaa-tai huurG hii-ch-h=üü?*
now elder.brother=3POSS cabbage-COM plate make-BOU-FUT.P=Q
A: *zaza, za _ baicaa-tai huurG. ... naag-uur=chin hii-h=üü?*
well well cabbage-COM plate D.MED-PROS=2POSS make-FUT.P=Q
A: 'Now what are you going to prepare, Ms. Naraa?'
J: 'Shall I prepare a "dish with cabbage"?
A: 'Ok, a dish with cabbage. Shall we prepare it around there (where you stand now)?'

(121) *hi temtseen-ii ehn-ii shat=n margaash*
hi contest-GEN beginning-GEN step=3POSS tomorrow
duusa-h=uu önöödör=üü? tnx.[44]
end-FUT.P=Q today=Q thanks
'Hi! Will the first part of the contest end tomorrow, or today? Thanks!'

(122) *en-iig hii-h=iim=üü?*
[A:] 'Shall I prepare this?' [B: Oo, we probably don't need rice.']

(123) *en baicaa-g bügd-ii=n herch-h=iim=üü?*
D.PROX cabbage-ACC all-ACC=3POSS cut-FUT.P=MC=Q
[A:] 'Shall I cut ALL OF the cabbage?' [B: 'Yes, cut it all!']

Polar questions containing *-h=iim=uu* try to engage the addressee, so informants reject the use of the form in examples like (124) that don't relate to any particular addressee. The same holds for *=h=iin* in content questions,

[44] https://m.facebook.com/story.php?story_fbid=10151867089219335&id=27368964334, retrieved 2013-12-29.

and as *-h ve* is considered very literary, speakers use *-h=uu* under such circumstances even in the presence of an interrogative proword as in (125).

(124) *teg-ee=l ing-ee=l minii ömön togto-j*
do.so-C=FOC do.so-C=FOC 1SG.GEN before be.fixed-C
togt-jai-sn=aa bii haring ter-iig av-h=uu,
be.fixed-PROG-PRF.P=3POSS 1SG but D.DIST-ACC take-FUT.P=Q
bai-h=uu ge-j bod-jii-song.
stop-FUT.P=Q COMP-C think-PROG-PRF.P
'Then, while [the balloon] was standing still before me, I wondered whether I should take it or leave it.'

(125) *yaa-j biznis-iig hii-h=üü, yaa-j bii odoo*
do.what-C business-ACC do-FUT.P=Q do.what-C 1SG now
am'darl=aa saijr-uul-h=uu{=ch' ge-d=iim=üü}
life=RP improve-CAUS-FUT.P=Q=FOC COMP-HAB.P=MC=Q
iim=l yuman-d odoo bii ih bod-jii-song.
such=FOC thing-DAT now 1SG much think-PROG-PRF.P
'How can I do business? How can I improve my life? Now about such questions, I was thinking a lot.'

Particles like *baih* 'probably, maybe' (< *bai-h*), *bolvuu* 'id.' (< *bol-v=uu*) and *nee* 'probably' (< *=n'=ee*, thus apparently a nominalization) are often used together with *-h*, as are epistemically stronger particles such as *bailgüi(=dee)* 'certainly', illocutionarily more committing particles such as *baihgüi(=yüü)* 'of course' (originating as a device for tag questions, but also implicating naturalness) and *vii* which expresses anxiety about a possible future course of events.

(126) *taa bühen daraa=n yarilcalg-aas hara-h baih=aa.*
2PL all after=3POSS conversation-ABL see-FUT.P IP=POL
'[Now these two are in a pretty drunk state.] You all will probably see it later from the conversation.'

(127) *ter tal deer sanaa zovo-h=güi=l=dee, zügeer*
D.DIST side on mind suffer-FUT.P=EX.NEG=FOC=IP just
yanz_bür-iin am'tan horlo-h vii, esvel gemte-j
diverse-GEN being harm-PRF.P IP or get.injured-C
bert-chi-h vii ge-j sanaa zov-dg=iim=daa.
get.hurt-FUT.P IP COMP-C mind suffer-HAB.P=MC=IP
'[A family is peaceful enough,] I'm not worried about that. Just that diverse people might harm us, or that some of us might get injured, that I worry about.'

5.2 *-h* followed by *ge-* or in absolute final position

-h is used together with the verb *ge-* 'say' in several combinations. These have been described in the literature in some detail: the modal *-h gesen yum* is used to express willingness or desire (Song 2002) as in (128), whereas the more basic, non-finite construction *-h gej* with other verbs is used to express a purpose (Hashimoto 2004) as in (129). Neither construction is properly within the scope of this paper. *-h* also forms part of the Prospective as discussed in 3.3.5.

(128) *uuchl-aarai öör-öös=chin neg züil asuu-h*
excuse-IMP.HON self-ABL=2POSS one matter ask-FUT.P
ge-s=iim=aa.
say-PRF.P=MC=POL
'Excuse me, I want to ask you one thing.'

(129) *üildverchn-ii evlel bol Ganc-hang zasagll-ruu bish*
worker-GEN union TOP only-DIM authority-ALL ID.NEG
zasaglal hyana-h ge-j yav-dag bai-h=güü=yuu.
authority check-FUT.P COMP-C go-HAB.P COP-FUT.P=EX.NEG=POL
'You see, the workers' unions don't only go to the authorities, they go there to check on them.'

As mentioned in 3.1, *-h* (in the scope of *ge-*) can be used to refer to lexical verbs as such, and most dictionaries list verbal lemmas in *-h*. It can occupy the final position in a sentence that consists of two equated nominal phrases as in (130), but this use isn't finite in the proper sense. An actual finite use of *-h* on its own is attested, though. In (131) and (132), for some unclear reason, the clause with *-h* indicates the purpose for an adjacent preceding clause; in (133) and (134), unrelated events are enumerated:

(130) *taa nar-iin nileen ih hii-deg züil bol zahn-ii-haa*
2PL PL-GEN rather much do-HAB.P act TOP collar-GEN-AT=RP
daavuu-g indüüde-h. (paraphrase used during elicitation)
cloth-ACC iron-FUT.P
'Something that you are doing quite a lot is ironing the cloth of your collar.'

(131) *yapon-d yörön her bolomjiin ajil bai-n?*
Japan-DAT in.general how.much acceptable work COP-DIR
sur-aad=l magadgüi öör-iin-h=öö surgalt-iin tölbr-iig
learn-C=FOC maybe self-GEN-AT=RP study-GEN fee-ACC
ajil hiig-ee=l olo-h.
work do-C=FOC find-FUT.P
'How aqequate are the jobs in Japan? If one is just studying and maybe wants to earn one's tuition fee from that?'

(132) *B uut av-aad ir-Ø ge-sii=shdee,*
NAME bag(plastic.etc) take-C come-IMP say-PRF.P=IP
övöö=n hog hii-h.
grantfather=3POSS waste put-FUT.P
'I said to her: "B, bring a plastic bag." So that her grandfather (i.e. 'you') can put the waste there.'

(133) *aa yaag-aad ge-vel ter belgiin am'darl-d ert*
INTERJ do.what-C say-COND.C D.DIST sexual life-DAT early
or-n ge-deg=chen ösö-j torn'-oo=güi hüühed
enter-DIR COMP-HAB.P=STC grow-C grow.up-¬DIR=EX.NEG child
ter bol-oo=güi asuudal-ruu ert or-sn-oor=oo
D.DIST become-¬DIR=EX.NEG problem-ALL early enter-PRF.P-INS=RP
ih evgüü baidl-aar halira-h, tiim=ee, hicheel
much unpleasant situation-INS drop.back-FUT.P so=POL study
surlaG-d=aa muuda-h, eej aav-iin hüühed bai-h
study-DAT=RP worsen-FUT.P mother father-GEN child COP-FUT.P
ter saihan orchn-oos=oo höndiirö-h, za teg-eed
D.DIST nice surrounding-ABL=RP alienate-FUT.P well do.so-C
… hamg-iin ayuul-tai=n belgiin zam-iin övchön-d
all-GEN danger-COM=3POSS sexual way-GEN disease-DAT
nervegde-j ir-j baig-aa.
affect-PASS-C come-C COP-¬DIR
'Well, this is so because, if it enters into sex life early, the child that has not yet grown up, by early having entered into those not yet timely problems, slips off [the right path] in a very awkward manner, gets worse in his studies, alienates himself from the pleasant environment in which he is his parents' child, and, most dangerously, is affected by sexually transmittable diseases.'

(134) *zugtaag-aad esergüücel üzüül-eed _ en bol elbeg*
flee-C resistance show-C D.PROX TOP abundant
tohoild-dog üzegdl=l=dee . en cagdaag-iin
happen-HAB.P phenomenon=FOC=IP D.PROX police-GEN
mörds-iig huul-j haya-h, cagdaa-g zodo-h, tiim=ee.
epaulette-ACC strip.off-C throw-FUT.P police-ACC hit-FUT.P so=POL
'They flee or show resistance ... this is a very common phenomenon. To rip off and throw away the epaulettes of a policeman, to hit a policeman, right?'

The causal (131) and (132) seem acceptable to most, while not all informants. Both could be paraphrased by changing the order of the two clauses and linking them by the postpositional construction *-h-iin tul*. So the postposed sentences with *-h* might actually constitute a kind of explicit afterthought. The enumerations in (133) and (134) differ structurally to some degree. The enumeration in (133) is completed by a different, more clearly

finite verbal form. The enumerated events as such are not connected, neither temporally nor by common agents, whereas converbal forms would imply that. 3 of 4 informants reject the use of *-h* for the last verb *nervegd-*. In (134) and similar examples, *tee* / *tiimee* 'right?' is used after or, in one single case, somewhat before the verb in *-h*. The enumerated events are conceived of as exemplary, non-exhaustive and thus even as less permanent than would e.g. be implicated by *-dag*.

5.3 *-h* in complex forms with the copula

Due to the sheer rarity of most complex forms that feature *-h*, the treatment in this section will have to be incomplete. *-h*, if followed by a past copula, is used to express an irreal situation that would have come about in the past if only certain conditions had obtained (cf. Cinggeltei 1959: 18-20, 43). This meaning differs from *-h san*, which originated from the structurally equivalent *-qu a-gsan* and expresses a wish about a present situation on the part of the speaker. *-h* can also be followed by the present copula (in the corpus always with interspersed *=l*, but it can be absent at least in written materials). It is most commonly used with modal verbs such as *bol-* 'be possible', *chad-* 'be able', *zoh'-* 'be appropriate' and expresses future developments that might come about given a present situation (Cinggeltei 1959: 18). Song (1997: 339-40) attributes counterfactual past obligation to *-h bai-* plus past copula. This certainly holds for his own examples, but not for (135). However, it turns out to be applicable also to present obligations as in (137) and (138) below.

(135) *B ah tend bai-sang bol bid hed-iig gar-ga-j*
NAME elder.br. there COP-PRF.P if 1SG some-ACC exit-CAUS-C
ög-ööd teg-seng bol ineedtei yum bolo-h bai-sang.
give-C do.so-PRF.P if funny thing become-FUT.P COP-PRF.P
'If B had been there, we would have put several [of such beers] on the table, and then it would have been funny.'

(136) *tömör bol soronz-oor inge-h sen.*
metal TOP magnet-INS do.so-FUT.P MP
'If it were iron, I'd just draw it out with a magnetic.'

(137) *Goy-oor or-uul-j bol-h=l baig-aa=n.*
beautiful-INS enter-CAUS-C be.possible-FUT.P=FOC COP-¬DIR=MC
[D: 'No, no, one has to insert that very beautifully.' B:] 'One could indeed insert it beautifully [, yes].'

(138) *Bi daraa-h heden zövlömj-üüd-iig ögö-h bai-na*.[45]
1SG after-AT some advice-PL-ACC give-FUT.P COP-DIR
'I would give the following advice.'

While (135) expresses an apparently unemotional guess about a past possibility, the speaker of (136) expresses his frustration that he cannot proceed with the task as hand as he had hoped. Like (135), the examples (137) and (138) express potential situations, but one that could still be realized. In (137), the people in charge don't do as they could and should, to the speaker's frustration. In (138) the writer realizes that there is some advice s/he should give, though there is not more s/he can do. It seems that this latter example only represents a number of somewhat fixed expressions in formal contexts. A colloquial speaker, as one informant suggested, might rather use forms like *ögmöör bain* (wish) or *ögii* (intention) in such a first-person context.

The corpus doesn't contain complex forms ending in *-h*, but *-jii-h=uu* was found to be viable in (139) if the sentence is interpreted as addressed to a second person, then probably forming a friendly, informal request. In contrast, *-jii-n=uu* as used in the actual sentence is a question whether the subject is working within schedule. Due to lack of examples, no proper description is attempted here.

(139) *manai hün hool hii-j amj-jii-h=uu?* (constructed)
1PL.GEN person meal make-C succeed.in.time-PROG-FUT.P=Q
'Would you try to prepare the meal in time?'

6. *-aad*

Finite *-aad* expresses a resulting or pertaining present or past situation that requires or required activity on the part of a participant or discourse-participant. It has non-evidential resultative semantics, with the aspectual interpretation depending on actionality and the temporal situation on overall context.

The suffix *-aad* is known as a converbal suffix, but like many converbs, it has more than one function. In the terminology of Nedjalkov (1995: 97-8, 105), *-aad* would be trifunctional, namely as a converb (adjunct, adverbial), infinitive (depending on auxiliary verbs) and finite verbal suffix, while being unable to express nominal attributes or nominal actants. Standard classifications (e.g. Önörbayan 2004: 272) account for the first two uses, grouping *-aad* together with *-j*, *-n* and sometimes *-saar*, i.e. the converbs that can be

[45] B. Taivan: Udaa daraalsan muu medee: DOW JONES-g 360 negjeer unagalaa. http://orloo.info/readfull/ride/12-news/business-economy/3265-----dow-jones--360--a, 2008-06-27, retrieved 2014-01-22.

used before *bai-* in literary registers. Finite uses of *-aad*, on the other hand, have to my knowledge not been described for Khalkha. Yet, sentence-final uses of *-aad* are not uncommon. I annotated around 200 tokens as potentially finite, but as I didn't work on all of these with native speakers, some of them would have to be discarded. At any rate, I confirmed 49 tokens as finite: 23 instances of *(-ch)-aad* and 15 instances of *(-ch)=aad=l* in absolute sentence-final position, as well as 6, 2 and 3 instances in which *-aad* is followed by the illocutionary devices *baihgüi=yüü* for explanatory tags, *te* for confirmation-seeking tags and *=uu* for polar questions. In Khalkha, these devices can only be used after sentence-final predicates, so a suffix *-aad* that directly follows them must be finite.

As a converb, *-aad* links up sequential events such as in (88) above. Events marked by *-aad* are syntactically subordinate, but not semantically modifying, a syntactic relationship sometimes called *cosubordination* (Foley and Van Valin 1984: 241-2, Johanson 1995: 321-3).[46] (83) illustrates the use of *-aad* with the auxiliary *ehl-* 'begin'. In contrast, (140) is already intermediate between a converbal and a finite use.

(140) *zaa en-iig=ee zuuhan-d hii-hleer _ sous=maan'*
well DEM.PROX-ACC oven-DAT put-CNS.C sauce=1PL.POSS
ötögr-ööd _ teg-eed deer-ees=n _ bysalg=aa taraag-aad
thicken-C do.so-C on-ABL=3POSS cheese=RP distribute-C
(...) *jaahan deer-ees=n odoo talh=aa cac-aad.*
a.little on-ABL=3POSS now bread=RP sprinkle-C
'Well, through putting this into the oven, the sauce has thickened, now I distribute some cheese and it ... [B: Pepper?] Oh yes! [C: And breadcrumps on top of it?] Yes yes! Now I sprinkle some bread on it ... [It is really nice to have great cooks as assistants].

In (140), a cook describes how he prepares a meal, connecting everything he does with an additional *-aad* and thus indicating that he isn't done yet. He doesn't actually end the sentence, as he switches to a distantly related topic in the end. If there is any difference between the finite and the non-finite

[46] Bazarragachaa (1999: 98-108) assumes altogether six clause-combining functions of *-aad*: 1. several actions succeed each other. 2. The first action causes the second action. These two make up 7,5 pages of his 9 pages of examples. 3. The first action describes the way in which the second action takes place. Very few examples, but I accept some as valid. Those have in common that the manner verb is always directly adjacent to or only one word remote from the main verb. 4. Several events take place simultaneously. The examples are based on inceptive verbs or can be interpreted as sequencies or instantiate the construction *-aad* TIME.NOUN *bol-*PST. 5. The first event is the opposite event of (i.e. somehow contradicts) the second. 6. The first event is the goal of the second event. These two are only possible with the verb stems *bai-* and *ge-*, respectively, and thus represent no general usage pattern of *-aad*. Thus, I take these first two functions as the only ones that are lexically unrestricted and allow both verbs to have separate argument structures.

usage, it only becomes clear when the next sentence starts, and the time of deliberation that the speaker puts in-between his utterances makes it likely enough that he starts with something new. The corpus also contains one sentence uttered by two speakers who take turns ending each clause with *-aad*, while not actually bringing it to a close. So this use is finite, but not deliberately so: it is rather implicated that additional information is to be added. Among deliberately non-finite uses, those most closely resembling (140) are resultative or perfect uses based on telic predicates:

(141) *en[d]=cheen=n yas urg-aad buruu edg-eed.*
here=?STC=3POSS bone grow-C wrong heal-C
[A: 'So you were hurt rather seriously?' O: 'Yes.] Here, a bone has grown and healed in a wrong way.'

(142) *güe güü hoNg-oor=n av-aad.*
EX.NEG EX.NEG day&night-INS=3POSS take-C
[A: 'No, we cannot go to anybody's home.' B: 'Why not?' A: 'Then it wouldn't make a difference if we take two hours at a hotel.' B:] 'No, no, I mean if we take it for a night ...' [A: 'The two of us only have two hours.']

(143) *ehl-eed ail-d or-j ir-seng hün yum bai-n,*
begin-C family-DAT enter-C come-PRF.P person MP COP-DIR
tavagn-ii idee ams-aad.
plate-GEN food taste-C
[A: 'What shall I do? If you say, "Peel the potatoes! Break open the eggs! Clean the floor!", then I'll just clean it.' U: Well, anyway.] First of all, you've just come into a family, so first taste from [the food on] the plates.'

The process of healing in (141) is probably complete, but the imperfect result requires further measures, something not directly expressed by a Continuative-Resultative form. In (142), *-aad* is best translated as a conditional. It differs from the conditional converb *-val* in that the latter would indicate a mere suggestion, whereas *-aad* indicates a rather strong proposal. In (143), the speaker is suggesting that any other activities might only be undertaken in the situation resulting when the addressee has complied with standard customs of welcoming somebody and tried some of the food that the host family provided. So something is to happen after the event marked with *-aad*, and this is deliberately evoked by closing the sentence with *-aad*. As in its non-finite use, *-aad* only denotes aspect, but not tense, and as no tensed matrix verb exists, the time of the event must be identified from context. Still, the few cases of *-aad* with future time reference attested in the corpus such as this one are all based on accomplishments.

A finite use with *-aad* is more frequent with undelimited states and with activities. In some cases, reference is made to situations confined within the past or present:

(144) *bii=ch gaih-aad.*
1SG=FOC be.surprised-C
'I was surprised, too.'

(145) B: *chii gadaa gar-aad uil-aad bai-sang shd.*
2SG outside exit-C cry-C COP-PRF.P IP
D: *ter=chen soht-oo=ch=güi=ee.*
D.DIST=STC get.drunk-¬DIR=FOC=EX.NEG=POL
C: *jaahan bayarl-aad, te.* B: *setgel=n hödl-ööd.*
a.bit be.happy-C TAG mind=3POSS move-C
B: ['You were a bit drunk. Really;] you got outside and were crying.' D: 'That wasn't drunk yet!' C: 'He felt a bit happy, right.' B: 'His mind was moved (lit. moving).'

(146) *taa nar odoo yuu yar'-aad baig-aa=n? bii gad-uur*
2PL PL now what speak-C COP-¬DIR=MC 1SG outside-PROS
zar-dag yamar baraa bish=dee. yuu solior-ood?
sell-HAB.P what.kind good ID.NEG=IP what go.crazy-C
'What are you talking about? I am not some kind of goods that you sell outside! Why are you talking such nonsense?'

Before (144) was uttered, the speaker ended a narrative with the marker *-v* that seems to be used for marking surprising events with which the speaker is already familiar. The addressee then expressed his surprise with an intonation-bearing bilabial interjection, upon which the speaker uttered (144). Informants are not inclined to assume that the speaker is still surprised at the time of speaking. Rather, the speaker indicates by using *-aad* that he didn't know then how to act. In (145), the first sentence establishes a past situation. The resultant situations indicated by the two forms in *-aad*, i.e. that the subject was happy or deeply moved, are to be understood as necessary conditions for the subsequent crying. (146) relates to a present situation. A pimp and a customer had been bargaining over a prostitute's price, and she is objecting to that. The sentence with *-aad* neatly parallels the Continuative in the same utterance, but is perceived as less insistent and aggressive.

However, some situations marked with *-aad* on atelic predicates outlast a single occasion, though no claim to habituality or intrinsicality is made:

(147) *en-iig haichal-ch-maar baig-aa biz. shal teneg*
D.PROX-ACC cut.with.scissors-WISH.P COP-¬DIR IP INT stupid
hara-gd-aad.
see-PASS-C
'You'll definitely want to cut this off. It looks extremely stupid.'

(148) *teg-eed yörön dotood jurman-d=aa zaa-cang*
do.so-C in.general inner system-DAT=RP indicate-BOU.PRF.P
bai-s=iin. manai anG gar_utas horigl-ood.
COP-PRF.P=MC 1SG.GEN class mobile.phone prohibit-C

‘[There are advantages and disadvantages if young people have mobile phones.] But actually it has been decided in our internal system. In our barracks, mobile phones are forbidden.’

In (147), *-aad* is again used to introduce a reason. Informants indicate that the situation is claimed to have lasted from the time when the speaker spotted it up to the time of the utterance. Evidential nuances inherent in the Continuative e.g. to the effect that the speaker just made up his mind or already holds this opinion for some time are avoided. In (148), several informants perceive no reference to the inception clearly expressable for this presumably inceptive-stative predication by means of the Continuate-Resultative: the prohibition simply holds. Other informants suggest a recent enactment of a new rule. Be it as it may, the more important issue for the informants was that the soldiers have to relate to this prohibition, e.g. by complying or circumventing it.[47]

7. *=l*

The Restrictive Focus clitic *=l* is sometimes used to prevent a resultative interpretation of *-aad*. In its simplest function, this clitic attaches to nouns, emphasizing that the reference is restricted to that particular entity and none other. In this function, it is paralleled by *=ch* which expresses that reference holds even for this entity, as it holds for some others:

(149) *Bi=ch/=l yav-ya.*
1SG=FOC/=FOC go-VOL
‘Let me go, too.’ ‘Even I want to go.’ ‘I’d better go.’
/ ‘Only I want to go.’ ‘Let me go alone.’ ‘I for my part want to go.’
(Kullmann and Tserenpil 1996: 348)

The restrictive focus clitic *=l* can interact with the converb *-aad* by rendering improbable a resultative interpretation, so that the phase referred to by *-aad=l* will only be a lexicalized phase of the verb, while any reference to a lexicalized border is prevented. On the other hand, *=l* can also simply express restrictive focus, leaving the resultative meaning of *-aad* intact. For this, it doesn’t matter whether *-aad* is followed by *bai-* (n=25) or not (n=73). When *=l* combines with participles (n=9), only a restrictive interpretation is

[47] The only complex construct ending in *-aad* attested in the corpus is Progressive *-jaig-aad*. All of these examples seem to be interpretable as ellipsis (as they describe a background situation to an event sometimes explicitly mentioned in the context), and there are only 7 tokens, so I refrain from analyzing them here.

possible,[48] and at least most of the instances of *-j=l bai-* (n=12) are restrictive, too. The clitic combination *=l=daa* can follow variants of *=l bai-* (n=12) and is then harmonic with a restrictive meaning. If *-ch-* is used in the same predicate as *-aad=l*, *-ch-* retains its border-oriented meaning, so that *=l* must be restrictive.[49]

In the first examples, *-aad* prevents a resultative interpretation:

(150) … *zaa* *en* *bor* *halzan*
well D.PROX brown with.white.patch.on.forehead
üree *uragshl-aa=l bai-n*.
stallion(3to5years) advance-C=FOC COP-DIR
'Well, this brown stallion is still advancing consistently.'

(151) ... *ge-e=l* *gad-uur* *yanz* *yanz-aar* *yar'-aa=l*
COMP-C-FOC outside-PROS manner manner-INS speak-C=FOC
bai-n=shdee.
COP-DIR=IP
'["Badar-Uugan has stopped associating with normal people. He has become a heavenly being."], people outside are talking like this. [But I don't get this impression.]'

(152) *manai* *nutag* *devsger* *deer* *bai-jaig-aa* *nögöö=l*
1PL.GEN country terrain on COP-PROG-¬DIR other=FOC
hovord-song *saihang* *am't-d-iig* *al-aa=l*
become.rare-PRF.P beautiful creature-PL-ACC kill-C=FOC
ustg-aa=l, *te?*
extinguish-C=FOC TAG
'They are killing and exterminating those beautiful threatened creatures that live in our steppes, aren't they.'

In (150), which might turn out to be either a directed activity or an accomplishment, informants emphasize that the race horse slowly keeps making progress. The slowness might either be appreciated or disapproved of by the speaker, and it is not clear whether it can actually improve its overall position. Without *=l*, the speaker would rather comment on the current state, i.e. that the horse has improved its position somewhat, but it isn't clear whether it will continue to improve it. In (151), the speaker focuses on the content of the rumour. The absence of *=l* would rather emphasize the speaker's anger at

[48] While Kullmann and Tserenpil (1996: 348-9) don't formulate any kind of analysis, their accurately translated examples basically suggest the same analysis as I am proposing here: ... *ir-eed=l baina*. 'keeps coming', ... *unsh-aad=l bai-na* 'I'm still reading', *end ir-eed(=l) bai-na=l=daa*. 'Well yes, he has come here, (but ...)', *Ter end ir-sen=l bai-na*. 'He came here. {indifferent attitude}'

[49] *=ch* can in principle attach to participles and even to *-aad*, most often so in the construction (*av*)*-aad=ch baig-aa yum shig* 'it even seems that X is taking continuously' (non-finite due to *shig* 'like, as if'). It can attach to finite verb forms when followed by the complementizer verb *ge-*. However, all these functions are related to information structure only and don't interact with aspectuality.

the unreasonable spreaders of the rumour itself. This latter meaning is most easily derivable if the speech content is taken to be a result rather than an ongoing process. While (152) refers to a continuing, not concretely delimited process, the absence of *=l* would confront the addressee with accomplished facts.

(153) below is ambiguous between a continuative and a restrictive resultative interpretation. (154) and (155) illustrate the restrictive usage with the participle *-sang*:

(153) *ündse=n ajl=aa med-ee=l teg-ee=l.*
basic-AT work=RP execute.as.responsible-C=FOC do.so-C=FOC
'[There's no point in drinking until one loses consciousness. Probably one would drink alright. How can one sit around just looking at it?] First I get done with my actual work, then I drink. / As long as I can get done with / exert control over my actual work, I drink.'

(154) *pizdaa uul=n=ch teg-ii ge-j bod-oo=güi*
INTERJ original=3POSS=FOC do.so-VOL COMP-C think-¬DIR-EX.NEG
bolovch teg-seng=l baig-aa yum=daa.[50]
although do.so-PRF.P=FOC COP-¬DIR MC=IP
'What the fuck! Originally, I hadn't intended to do so, but (regrettably) I have done just so.'

(155) *ter=chin=ch_geseng bod-dog bodl=oo uuran-d=aa*
D.DIST=STC=FOC think-HAB.P thought=RP anger-DAT=RP
gar-ga-j hel-seng=l baig-aa.
exit-CAUS-C say-PRF.P=FOC COP-¬DIR
'Even he, too, has expressed his opinion only in anger. [If one considers this, try to talk it over with him. Only if you can't forgive each other, it'd be better to divorce.]'

(153) may either have an iterative interpretation where the speaker claims that she customarily accomplishes her core job while drinking to some modest extent. Alternatively, the restrictive interpretation 'only after I have taken responsibility for my core work, only after having done so' is possible. Native speakers are aware of this ambiguity. In (154), the predicate receives an emphatic restrictive focus. Here, emphasis is more important than restriction (*just ~ precisely*), but an additive *=ch* 'even' would still not fit the context. In (155), the speaker tries to downplay the event by inserting *=l* (i.e. your boyfriend said so only when angry, but you don't know what he would say if he was not).

In the examples below, *-ch-* enforces a resultative interpretation, rendering *=l* restrictive:

[50] http://gawaas.blogspot.de/2008_04_01_archive.html, retrieved 2014-01-03

(156) *odoo ehn-ii hoyor hürgen-tei*
now beginning-GEN two son.in.law-COM
bol-ch-oo=l bai-n.
become-BOU-C=FOC COP-DIR
'[In any case, God has blessed me with four daughters. When I was young, I still used to think that God doesn't bless me with any boys, but it's not like this. Somebody who has girls gets sons, right?] Now I have got the first two sons-in-law. [The time for the next two hasn't come yet.]'

(157) *jaahan biy sergee-h, te, neg döröv dörvö-n*
a.bit body wake.up-FUT.P TAG one four four-AT
kilmiter gazar güi-j ir-ch-ee=l teg-ee=l.
kilometer space run-C come-BOU-C=FOC do.so-C=FOC
'[Because I currently don't have a contest,] in order to activate my body, I have just run four ... four kilometers and come back here.'

In (156) and (157), the event has taken place once and is completed, with the result obtaining at the time of speech, while *=l* somewhat diminishes the appreciation of the result. *=l* in (156) expresses a certain impatience to get the next two sons-in-law. The absence of *=l* would indicate complete satisfaction with the two he already has and the absence of *-ch-* that even his first two daughters are only in the process of getting married. In (157), the speaker either holds that he exercised rather little, or he indicates that, after having done so, he has nothing more to do.

8. Conclusion

In this paper, I have tried to give an overview of finite present tense forms in Khalkha on their own and in combination with complex aspectual forms. New findings include:

- a basically unified analysis of simple *-n* as marking an occasionally realized potential action
- an evidential explanation of the opposition between the Potential *-n* and the Modal Resultative *-aa* as Direct vs. Indirect in complex aspectual forms
- a first analysis of the mono-occasional function of the Habitual *-dag*
- a first description of sentence-final *-aad*

New details were also added to what was known about the function of *=l* and *-h*, and descriptions of the function of complex aspectual forms were given that, elaborating on the pioneering work of Cinggeltei (1959), provide a better overview over the functional inventory of Mongolian, hopefully superseding rationalistic approaches such as those of Saruul-Erdene (1998) and

Önörbayan (2004: 289-90) who started with semantic notions and filled them with linguistic material instead of taking the system of forms as the basis. Conversely, a coherent analysis of the formal inventory even enables to researcher to address semantic notions adequately. For instance, the analysis provided above suggests that present imperfectivity is structured in the way sketched in table 2:

Table 2: The present imperfective domain in Khalkha

	Continuative	Progressive	Habitual	Potential
neutral	*-aad*		*-dag*	*-n*
direct	*-aad bai-n*	*-jii-n*	*-dag bai-n*	
indirect	*-aad baig-aa*	*-jaig-aa*	*-dag baig-aa*	

In the system of this table, complex aspectual forms ending in *-dag* don't form a category of their own, but merely add additional internal structure to an event. In principle, one can form more complex forms such as *-j bai-dag bai-n* that would add evidentiality even here. Paucity of data prevents any conclusions about simple evidential uses of *-dag*. Past imperfectivity could presumably be included into the table by adding Factual, Firsthand and Non-firsthand variants on the Continuative, Progressive and Habitual levels. As I didn't analyze markers of past imperfectivity, the precise semantic extensions of these forms are hard to determine, though.

Given the relatively limited scope of this paper, it is not yet possible to address the expression of perfectivity (for which a discussion of simple past forms is required in addition to the perfect and resultative forms discussed here) or future (for which simple past forms and the Voluntative mood play a role next to forms such as *-n*, *-h*, *-h bai-*, *-h gej bai-*).

There are a number of questions that I didn't have the space or time to cover here, some of which I hope to address in the near future. The functions of *=iin* (limited are accounts given by Mönh-Amgalan 1998 and Kang 2003) and *-ch-* (no serious desciption available at all) closely relate to the core system of tense, aspect, modality and evidentiality in Mongolian, and their semantic range has so far only been scratched. The construction PTCP *yum bai-n* might deserve particular attention.[51] An integrated analysis of *-h* is still missing, and constructions based on *bol-* have been left out. The overall instantiation of evidentiality and epistemic stance (Mushin 2001) in Khalkha still has to be clarified. There are pioneering studies on the function of Khalkha participles in negated (Hashimoto 2007) and attributive and nominalized (Song 1997) position, but a unified analysis of the paradigmatic limitations of their TAME meaning is still missing.

[51] Xuěyàn (2013: 183-4) treats it as a very general "indirect" marker (she seems to mean "non-firsthand" as she classifies *-sang bai-n* as indirect), but it is not frequent enough to fit into a paradigm, and it seems to be semantically more specific, maybe general reasoning.

On the other hand, a number of other research problems were not addressed due to limitations of the corpus or my methodology. My decision to investigate actual spoken language meant working with rather limited data, precluding investigations into infrequent constructions such as *-aad bai-h=uu* / *-jii-h=uu*, limiting access to semantically rare uses of attested morphemes and morpheme combinations such as *-dag bai-* and *-aa* (other than in *baig-aa*) as well as to more complex structures such as those in table 3:

Table 3: Finite Khalkha TAE forms with two copulas from Google

stem	C/P+COP	P/C+COP	finite suffix
V	*-aad/-j/-sang bai-*	*-sang/-dag/-j bai-*	*-n/-dag/-sang*
	-dag bai-	*-sang bai-*	*-n/-dag*

The table leaves out *-laa* and *-jee* (the distribution of which is thought to be similar to *-sang* in its finite use) and implies that the same form of the copula could be used several times within complex predicates which is not the case for adjacent positions. Otherwise, all combinations starting with *-aad*, *-j* and *-sang* are acceptable, and *-aad* (excluding its final use) is restricted to first position. *baidag bai-* must always be followed by *-sang*, so Habituals cannot directly fall into the scope of Progressives. Combinations with three copulas are also possible. As the first morpheme is most often a converb and the last element mostly *-n*, this seems to be close to or even the maximal number of copulas usable. Complex forms are thought to be mostly compositional, but idiosyncrasies can be found at the two-copula-level when two converbs are involved:

(158) *bür* *gutr-aad* *bai-j* *bai-san* *yum*.[52]
completely be.depressed COP-C COP-PRF.P MC
'[Thank you,] I was really being depressed; [because of having read this I am getting better].'

(159) *teg-eed gaih-aad* *skafn-ii haalga ongoilgo-son=chin'*
do.so-C be.surprised -C cupboard-GEN door open-PRF.P=2POSS
ah=maan' *boovooroo toglood baij* *baisan*.[53]
elder.brother=1POSS dick-INS=RP play-C COP-C COP-PRF.P
'[One day my two brothers and I were playing. Then, my older brother had disappeared.] I wondered where he might be, and when I opened the cupboard, he was in there playing with his dick.'

[52] Sanaa saihan bol zayaa sain, http://184.107.215.140/news/show/4190, 2012-09-26, retrieved 2014-01-22. From one comment.

[53] http://betheman.blog.banjig.net/index.php?bdate=2007-01-01&edate=2007-12-31, Minii ijil hüisten bolson n', 2007-10-16, retrieved 2014-01-22

There seems to be an added notion of locality or inactivity in (158) such as 'I was here feeling depressed' (vs. 'I was engaged in feeling depressed'), more visible in (159), but more research is needed for any reliable conclusion.

Aktionsart is another issue. While I took into account verbal semantics as far as the corpus material allowed, it wasn't possible to properly investigate different actional structures as did for example Molochieva (2010: 182-211) for Chechen or Tatevosov (2002, 2008) for Bagwalal, Mari, Tatar, and Karachay-Balkar. Such research would either require risky approaches such as elicitation only or rather large corpora, but it is obviously required for a full understanding of aspectuality in Khalkha.

A final issue that would require a different methodology is the difference between -n and -dag. The usage of -n is known to differ substantially between different major dialects, and there must be different shades for different regions of one dialect area as well. Moreover, even informants were prone to ascribe some uses of *-n* to older speakers. Using a corpus with mainly middle-old speakers not properly controlled for dialect and mostly female student informants around 25 from any Khalkha dialect area is no particularly effective approach here. I'd predict that a corpus of 20 hours with speakers between 20 and 25 born and raised in Ulaanbaatar would yield significantly clearer results.

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Factual vs. evidential? - The past tense forms of spoken Khalkha Mongolian

1. Introduction

Khalkha Mongolian has a complex evidentiality system. At the level of present tense, there is an opposition between directly perceived (firsthand, inference based on firsthand evidence) and not directly perceived evidence (reasoning based on general considerations, hearsay, previous perception).[1] This opposition is obligatory for progressives, and arguably so for resultatives and perfects. Habitual/generic propositions, mostly taken to be self-evident, are usually not marked for direct/indirect evidence, and potential *-n* is always evidentially unmarked (Brosig forthcoming 3). At the level of past tense, the seemingly neutral suffix *-sang* is used alongside firsthand *-laa* and non-firsthand *-jee*.[2] This basic system interacts with a number of external elements such as the Direct Present Perfect *-sang bai-n* from the present system, the quotative (i.e., usually not hearsay) verb *ge-* (Song 2002; Hashimoto 2004; Yáo 2007), and particles such as *bilee* for recollection (Brosig 2012), written *aj* for hearsay/inference, and the official *suragtai* (< source-COM) for hearsay. Finally, the participles *-sang* (Established Past), *-dag* (Habitual) and *-h* (Future) can all combine with the clitic *=iin* (< *yum* 'thing'), which has an unclear function.

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[2] Except for *-jee*, all suffixes are subject to vowel harmony. For instance, the realizations of what I write as "*-sang*" as a label are the forms *-sang*, *-seng*, *-song* and *-söng* depending on the immediately preceding vowel in the stem.

In this paper, I will restrict myself to describing the past forms of spoken Khalkha: the Established Past *-sang*, the Firsthand Past *-laa*, the Non-Firsthand Past *-jee* and, in addition, the peripheral Modal Past *-v*. While their meaning has been investigated quite often (e.g. Byambasan et al. 1987; Svantesson 1991; Hashimoto 1993a, 1993b; Kim 1995; Song 1997; Nelson et al. 1998; Kalchofner 1999, 2003; Jingan 2010; Binnick 1979, 1990, 2012), the respective authors generally didn't make proper use of available previous research or of spoken corpora. The set of uses they treat is thus generally too narrow. It is also too broad in the sense that evidence for very specific uses restricted to specific genres prevents the discovery of restrictions for those elements that obtain in other registers. However, the use of the past forms differs substantially between different genres. *-v* is widespread in all formal written genres and functions as a general, evidentially neutral past. In spoken language, however, it is restricted to a few very specific uses in spoken language, though this is ignored in part of the literature (e.g. Hashimoto 1993a; Song 1997). *-jee* is used in the news to relate secondhand information irrespective of whether the journalist just acquired it, and *-laa* is sometimes used without actual firsthand knowledge. While journalistic (as well as scientific) uses are fairly transparent to native speakers, they are often not able to explain non-evidential uses of *-laa* and *-jee* in narrative prose. *-v* has ceded most of its spoken uses to *-sang* (cf. e.g. Binnick 2012: 74), but it is less clear how exactly this suffix is used in different written genres. Due to a strong orientation towards morphological form classes, *-sang* as a participle is often not treated as part of the past tense system, but rather, e.g., as a perfect (Byambasan et al. 1987; Hashimoto 1993a, 1993b; Kim 1995; Song 1997; Jingan 2010). All past suffixes have also developed future uses that seem to be restricted to the spoken language. In legalese Khalkha, still other uses exist. It is not clear to me whether their uses in literary prose follow one congruent system or are the result of imperfect learning by new generations of writers and of dialect mixing. At any rate, it is a widespread delusion to assume that conclusions drawn from literary prose are valid for the oral language.

Given the state of research, the question of whether evidentiality is an obligatory category in Mongolian has rarely been addressed. Binnick (2012: 76-9, 110) seems to favor a firsthand analysis of *-sang*, as does Xuěyàn (2013: 181) by applying the term "direct" to both *-sang* and *-laa*. Orulamjab (2013) describes *-wa:* in Xinjiang Oirat (which occupies the same place in the system as Khalkha *-sang*) as firsthand-like or at least as expressing speaker's confidence. Song (1997: 204) and Street assume Khalkha *-v* respective Middle Mongol *-bA* to "imply nothing about the speaker's certainty or source of information" (Street 2009: 132). Kalchofner takes a middle road by assuming that *-sang*/*-v* represent an objectiv[izing], "factual" perspective, even though he seems to relegate it by and large to pragmatics. Similar tripartite systems with one arguably neutral marker exist in the Central Asian

Turkic languages Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Uyghur and Uzbek, though these are not analyzed along purely evidential lines (Johanson 2003; Straughn 2011: 164-9). Since a strict evidential equation of *-sang* and *-laa* can flatly be rejected, serious hypotheses are (i) that *-sang* (/*-v*) is "evidentially neutral" and, thus, "non-evidential," and (ii) that *-sang* explicitly presents a proposition as "factual" in the sense of valid and unrelativized (as Mushin [2001: 74] can be interpreted). In this paper, I will propose a third explanation, according to which the basic distinction is drawn between established knowledge (*-sang*), which may implicate a claim to validity, vs. non-established (mostly new) firsthand (*-laa*) or non-firsthand (*-jee*) knowledge, which may relegate the evaluation to the addressee.

This paper is structured as follows: In section 2, I give a short overview of the linguistic evidence used in this paper. Section 3 presents some usage statistics, and sections 4-7 are devoted to the four past suffixes in past declaratives. Section 8 gives a short overview of their use in questions, and section 9 deals with their use for future reference. Section 10 concludes the paper.

2. Linguistic evidence

As the basis of my study, some kind of linguistic evidence had to be selected. Small corpora (as used, e.g., by Street 1963) usually don't contain enough data to choose one of different competing explanations with sufficient certainty, which leads to underspecification. Examples created by linguists on the basis of structures in other languages (e.g. Shibagaki 2013, reviewed in Brosig 2013a; but even Brosig 2009) or registers (e.g. Song 1997) tend to contain artifacts and should thus be avoided. Working with a very small number of informants (e.g. Matsuoka 2008; Binnick 2012, reviewed in Brosig 2013b) puts the linguist at the mercy of their preferences, biases, systematic oversights and uncontrolled sociolinguistic peculiarities. Eliciting a very large number of informant judgments via a questionnaire (e.g. von Heusinger et al. 2011), on the other hand, is not feasible for hypothesis-building because a set of pre-defined answers or even rating scales would have to be used.[3] In order to avoid atypical uses from written registers, a new and – due to practical constraints – necessarily small corpus consisting primarily of spontaneous spoken language usage had to be produced.

[3] Questionnaires that require informants to formulate answers themselves are hard to use with new or modestly trained informants. Provided with instructions on what information to provide and exemplary answers produced by experienced informants, they still couldn't produce useful data. In the very last phase of elicitation, experienced informants with 10 or more hours of interview-based elicitation turned out to be able to give useful answers to questions on grammatical semantics on their own, but this still required follow-up interviews for about one hour (given a questionnaire that should have taken 3-4 hours to fill in).

In this study, I therefore tried to work with a small, but not extremely tiny corpus, and to compensate for the overall small data set through qualitative, open-ended elicitation from a modest number of informants.

The basic data for my analysis of the overall tense-aspect-evidentiality system of Mongolian is taken from a 589-minute corpus of spoken Khalkha. It mainly consists of unscripted, relatively conversation from unscripted television programs (see Brosig forthcoming 3 for details). The speakers in the corpus are generally aged between 35 and 55. This corpus was transcribed by B. Zoljargal. I then semi-automatically annotated 4244 finite aspectual forms on all tense levels and selected a relevant subset (i.e. most instances of infrequent forms and usually no less than a third of examples for all but the most frequent forms) for elicitation. Internet materials and overheard utterances were occasionally used as well.

Elicitation was mostly done in Ulaanbaatar between April and November 2013 with 42 informants (34 of them female, 27 of them students, average age 26) for a total of 285 hours. Elicitation time was almost evenly divided between three informant groups: 31 people with 1-6 hours each, 9 people with 7-18 hours each, and my two main informants, G. Mönhsaran and D. Solongo, who together did 88 hours. The most active informants shifted the demographic biases of the study somewhat, so that 89% (rather than 81%) of elicitation hours were done with females, 80% (rather than 65%) with students, and the average age for each hour of elicitation was 23. During elicitation, informants were presented with transcribed and contextualized original sentences and asked about semantic differences between them and similar T(ense)-A(spect)-M(odality)-E(videntiality) forms that I considered worth comparing in the given context. Sentences were discussed with four informants on average, but the recurrence of morphemes in different combinations ensured that I could usually rely on data from more than ten informant judgments for any morpheme. The analysis was done by generalizing from my notes on their answers across both examples and markers. I focused on recurring patterns, ignoring isolated idiosyncrasies in order to discover common principles from which most of their connotation- and context-based interpretations could be explained. While informants naturally differed a great deal in their focus on various details, no consistent differences suggesting distinct grammars for individual informants (or speakers in the corpus) were discovered with respect to past markers.

3. Frequencies

The approximate 10 hours of recordings contain approximately 60,000 words and 4244 annotated finite predicates. Of these, 1248 are past forms: the Established Past *-sang* (n=904), the Firsthand Past *-laa* (n=225), the

Non-Firsthand Past *-jee* (n=50) and the Modal Past *-v* (n=69).[4] Yet, this has to be put into context: as table 1 indicates, *-v* is almost irrelevant in declaratives (n=1002), while *-laa* and *-jee* play a very minor role in interrogatives (n=215):

Table 1: Percentage of past uses of past forms in the corpus

	-sang	*-laa*	*-jee*	*-v*
declarative	75,5% n=757	19,0% n=190	4,8% n=48	0,7% n=7
interrogative	68,4% n=147	4,2% n=9	0,9% n=2	26,5% n=57

This table speaks against excluding *-sang* from the proper past tense system and against including *-v* into it. But even if we follow the solid idea that *-sang* is evidentially neutral, while *-laa* and *-jee* are not (e.g. Svantesson 1991), it is not clear what motivates speakers to use the latter so sparingly. The situation in questions is different again. And while all numbers in table 1 refer to past uses, all past suffixes also have future uses of which 5 instances of *-v* and up to 26 instances of *-laa* were attested in the corpus. In the following, I will try to clarify most of these issues.

4. Established Past *-sang*

The Established Past *-sang* is used to refer to past events that have been saliently established and reified within the memory of the speaker. They might or might not have been learned via the senses, but the way they have originally been established in the memory of the speaker has become irrelevant to the assertion of their truth. Presumably for such reasons, Kalchofner (2003) attributed a "factual epistemological stance" in the sense of Mushin (2001: 74-7) to *-sang*, which disassociates the speaker and her source of information from the statement and thus becomes perfectly objective and unchallengeable.[5] The examples below illustrate the epistemic peculiarities of *-sang*:

(1) *en* *zeerd* *üree* *öngör-söng*
D.PROX chestnut 3-5-year-old_horse pass-PRF.P
jil *byanhonGr-iin* *naadam-d _ mön* *airagd-sang*.
year PLACE-GEN feast-DAT same finish_1st_to_5th-PRF.P

[4] The interrogative particle *bolvuu* < *bol-v=uu* become-V.PST=Q was not counted as *-v*. The copula *bai-* 'be' and the complementizer-quotative *ge-* 'say' were only counted when used as auxiliaries.

[5] At the same time, Kalchofner linked *-jee* to the imaginative (relating something as made up, probably due to its use in some fairytales), reportive and inferential and *-laa* to the perceptual experience and private experience stances of Mushin's heuristics.

'[The chestnut horse of the herder Budgaliin Buyannemekh from Möst community in Khovd county has number 14.]. This chestnut also took a prize last year at the Naadam of Bayankhongor.'[6]

(2) *hoyr=n ger bül bol-song.*
two=3POSS yurt group become-PRF.P
'[I'm living a happy life. (...) I have four daughters.] Two of them have formed families.'

(3) A: *bii ug-aas=aa hot-iin hün.* B: *hot-iin*?
1SG root-ABL=RP town-GEN person
A: *tiin, hoto-d tör-söng.*
so town-DAT be.born-PRF.P
A: 'I am a city dweller.' B: 'City dweller?' A: 'Yes, I was born in the city [i.e. Ulaanbaatar].'

In (1), informants hold that the sports commentator claims to have reliable knowledge. As a reporter, he might possibly use *-jee* to convey hearsay information, for what it's worth. Some think that he would still claim that he learned about the event recently, which is unlikely here. In (2), the speaker couldn't use (*-ch*)*-laa* or *-jee* because he didn't just find out about it. In (3), too, informants reject alternative forms: *-laa* would indicate that the speaker has recallable, recent firsthand knowledge about her own birth; *-jee* could only be used by an orphan that just found out about the circumstances of her birth. However, she would use *-sang* if this process of inferring had already been completed satisfactorily. *-sang* is thus obligatory when the speaker talks about her established knowledge.

The following examples are meant to show that *-sang* can refer to both distant and recent events, that it is independent of the speaker's source of knowledge, and that both perfective and perfect contexts are possible (while imperfective uses require additional marking that will be illustrated later).[7]

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[6] For the transcription from Cyrillic and of spoken examples, see Brosig forthcoming 3, fn 6 and 9. Glosses that differ from the Leipzig glossing rules are: 1H - firsthand evidential marker, 2H - non-firsthand evidential marker, AT - attributive case (*-n*), BOU - boundary-emphasizing aktionsart modifier, C - converb, CNS - consequence (for the converbal suffix *-haar*), D - demonstrative, DIM - diminutive, DIR - potential/direct evidence marker, ¬DIR - resultative/indirect marker, EMPH - emphatic, EX.NEG - existential negation, FOC - focus marker, ID.NEG - identity negation, INTERJ - interjection, IP - interlocutionary particle or clitic, HAB - habitual, MED - medial (close to addressee), MC - modal clitic (*=iin ~ yum*), MP - modal particle, ORD - ordinal number, .P - participle, PROS - prosecutive case, RED - reduplication, RES - derivative resultative suffix, RP - reflexive-possessive, STC - stance-marking clitic, TOP - topic. 1PL.GEN with the stem *man-* is exclusive.

[7] This is compatible with Binnick's (2012) claim of there being a deictic difference between *-sang*/*-v* and *-laa*/*-jee*: the latter are "deictic tenses" that "*directly* relate the time of the "eventuality (...) to the time of the speech act," while the former are "anaphoric tenses" that have a deictic center "mediated by a *reference time*" (p. 102). He links this to the difference between

(4) *Yevrop-iin baildan_daguulagch Konstantinopl 1453*
Europe-GEN conqueror TOWN 1453
on-d Turk-iig ezel-sen-eer dundad zuun tögs-sön.[8]
year-DAT Turks-ACC occupy-PRF.P-INS middle century end-PRF.P
'When the conqueror Konstantinopel subjugated the Turks in 1453, the Middle Ages ended.'

(5) *teg-eed ter shaar ing-eed dee-sh=ee yav-aad ög-söng.*
do.so-C D.DIST balloon do.like.this-C up-all=RP go-C give-PRF.P
teg-eed joohom bai-jai-snaa buts-aad minii ömön
do.so-C a.bit be-PROG-C.just.after return-C 1SG.GEN before
hür-eed ir-seng. teg-ee=l ing-ee=l minii ömön
reach-C come-PRF.P do.so-C=FOC do.like.this-C=FOC 1SG.GEN before
togt-jai-snaa bii haring ter-iig av-h=uu,
keep.still-PROG-C.just.after 1SG but D.DIST-ACC take-FUT.P=Q
bai-h=uu ge-j bod-jii-song. teg-eed ter
let.be-FUT.P=Q COMP-C think-PROG-PRF.P do.so-C D.DIST
dee-sh=ee yav-sang.
up-all=RP go-PRF.P
'Then, that balloon went up. Then, after a short while, it came back and came before me. Then, while [the balloon] was standing still before me, I wondered whether I should take it or leave it. Then it went up.'

(6) *teg-ee=l tus_tus-iin-h=aa ajil*
do.so-C-FOC respective-GEN-NOM=RP work
ajil-d yav-cgaa-sang.
work-DAT go-DISTRIBUTIVE.PL.SUBJ-PRF.P
[After getting up in the morning, the guest asked why there were so few people around. He received the response that the others usually leave around 6 am, and he concluded:] 'So they have all gone to their respective work.'

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characterizing a situation vs. an occurrence (p. 144) so that deictic tenses must be used at the beginning of narrative texts unless the sentence contains a very concrete time adverbial (p. 162-4), while anaphoric tenses require the existence of an established point in time to which they can relate their event as posterior (p. 104-7, 209). On the basis of my corpus, the very last claim can neither be confirmed nor rejected.

[8] https://mn.wikipedia.org/wiki/Дундад_зуун, retrieved 2014-03-24. The translation is what native speakers are likely to understand. The author might have intended an accusative subject, but this is hard to arrive at without an accusative on *Konstantinopl*.

(7) *zaa yav-sang*.
'[Well, let's proceed to the first horses. Horses of 3-5 years are very fast, probably we won't catch up with them.] Well, we are off.'

(4) refers to an event hundreds of years ago; (5) happened in the speaker's youth; (6) happened a few hours before and (7) just moments ago. The speaker witnessed (5) and (7), but not (4) and (6). (5) is narrative, while (6) is compatible with a perfect interpretation. In the absence of specifications for conditioned exceptions, these examples refute Binnick's (2012: 110) claim that *-sang* is a remote and possibly firsthand past.

There is one notable idiosyncratic use of Past Progressive forms. Prototypically, they are used to express simultaneity or to signal an incomplete process such as *bod-jii-song* '[I] was thinking' vs. *bod-song* '[I made up my mind and] thought.' However, they can also be used for events that are claimed to be completed and without explicitly relating the internal structure of the event to other events. Rather, reference to the internal structure just helps to narrate the events in a lively fashion. In (8) and (9), even though the structure of the actual properties of the sentences are close to punctual, no iterativity is implied. Informants mentioned that this use is colloquial and stigmatized by school teachers. This explanation accounts for the possible interpretation of (10) as complete, a fact that Hashimoto (1995) mistook as evidence for a resultative interpretation of the Khalkha Progressive.

(8) *teg-eed B-d eemeg bögj hoyor*
do.so-C NAME-DAT earring ring two
belegl-eed avchar-ch ög-chii-s=iin.
present-C bring-C give-PROG-PRF.P=MC
'Then I was presenting B with an earring and a ring. [We still have them, she just doesn't put them on.]'

(9) *myanga-n cagaan hon'-oo malal-dag malchin cagaan hüühen*
thousand-AT white sheep-RP herd-HAB.P herder white girl
ge-j namaig zaluu bai-had hel-jii-s=iim=aa.
COMP-C 1SG.ACC young COP-C.when say-PROG-PRF.P=MC=EMPH
'When I was young, they [once / repeatedly] called me the white[-skinned / pure] herder girl who herds a thousand white sheep.'

(10) *Bi tan-d neg zahia bichi-j bai-san*.
1SG 2SG.HON-DAT one letter write-C COP-PRF.P
'I have written a letter to you [once].' (Hashimoto 1995, his translation)

5. Firsthand Past *-laa*

The suffix *-laa* marks firsthand past events. It is most often identified as proximal (Song 1997: 208; Nelson et al. 1998: 121-6; Binnick 2012: 108-11). However, it was shown that precise cut-off points don't exist (Song 1997: 169-83) and that it can also refer to distant events that the speaker remembers clearly (Svantesson 1991: 193).[9] As a solution, I suggest that the issue is not temporal proximity but immediate cognitive access to an episodic representation of the event either due to the recency of its sensory perception or to the speaker's ability to remember it in detail even after a long time has passed. This contrasts with merely remembering an abstracted, stripped, reified representation of the event in terms of some of its most salient features. Episodic long-term memory, in turn, can provide the deictic anchoring for events in time mentioned by Binnick (see footnote 6 above).

In the corpus, recent and distal examples are both attested, but the latter are not numerous:

(11) *önöödör* *bii* *tanai-d*
today 1SG 2PL.GEN-DAT
hono-h *ge-j* *zor'-j ir-lee*.
stay.overnight-FUT.P COMP-C aim-C come-2H.PST
[A knocks at the door, B opens. The following conversation starts: A: How do you do? B: How do you do? A: Excuse me, I want to ask you one thing. B: Ok?] A: 'Today I have come in order to stay the night at your place [, Mr. Ganbaatar]!'

(12) *teg-eed* *ih_surguul'-aa* *tögs-löö*. *shinjleh_uhaan-ii*
do.so-C university-RP finish-1H.PST science-GEN
akdem-d *erdem_shinjilgeen-ii* *ajiltn-aar* *och-loo*.
academy-DAT research-GEN worker-INS go.to-1H.PST
mikroskop *shagaig-aad* *doloon* *jil* *suu-sööng*.
microscop peer-C seven year sit-PRF.P.EMPH
'Then I graduated from university. _ I entered the Academy of Sciences as a scientist. Staring through microscopes, I sat there for seven years.'

(13) *dürüün* *ohin* *gar-laa*.
four girl emerge-1H.PST
['In principle, I thought that I wanna father a boy. But it didn't happen.] Four girls were born.'

(11) is uttered within minutes of the speaker's arrival at that place, but the events referred to in (12) lie at least seven years in the past. Additionally, -

[9] Other approaches can safely be disregarded. Explaining *-laa* as a perfect (Kalchofner 2003) disregards its narrative function, defining it as a marker of epistemic certainty, but *-jee* as a resultative (Jingan 2010: 105-8) disregards their similarities.

laa here emphasizes the sequence of events, while *-sang* might just enumerate unrelated facts. From (13), informants don't understand a recent birth, only more involvement on the part of the speaker than is expressed with the use of the more aloof *-sang*.

While informants consistently describe *-laa* as being less remote than *-sang*, aspectually complex forms such as Progressives combined with *-sang* and especially *-laa* are usually perceived as being more remote than either alone. The Firsthand Progressive is most saliently used for recollecting the details and inner structure of directly witnessed past events; in (14), the emphasis is on how he brought the bag from Oceania rather than on the origin of the bag. Temporal distance is only implicated as recent past events that require reference to their temporal structure can be marked as Firsthand Progressive: in (15), both the loss of confidence as non-completed and as non-established personal perception are crucial for reasons of politeness.

(14) *kuala_lampa* *avstral-aas* *avchir-jii-laa*.
PLACE PLACE-ABL bring-PROG-1H.PST
'[Well, this there is the rucksack of my smallest grandchild.] I was bringing it here from Kuala Lumpur, from Australia.'

(15) *zaa* *bayrallaa* *ügüü* *ge-e=l* *hel-ch-h=üü* *ge-ed*
well thanks EX.NEG COMP-C-FOC say-BOU-FUT.P=Q COMP-C
bas *doto-r* *ev=güü=l* *bol-jii-loo* *shüü*.
also inside-LOC concord=EX.NEG=FOC become-PROG-1H.PST IP
'Well, thank you. I was starting to feel uncomfortable that you might say "No".'

Alternatively to proposing a gesamtbedeutung for past tense uses of *-laa* and *-jee* as suggested here, it would also be possible to propose that these suffixes assume a different meaning within complex forms. However, *-laa* occurs only 22 times and *-jee* only 9 times in four different complex forms overall. On the basis of so few tokens, the advantages and disadvantages of this alternative analysis cannot be assessed.

-laa and *-jee* can rarely be exchanged, as this invariably changes the source of information. The relationship between *-sang* and *-laa* is more complicated. Reasons for which informants refuse to exchange them are related both to temporal distance and evidentiality:

(16) *badraag=aa* *ald-laa shüü*. *badraa gar-aad yav-cn=uu?*
NAME=RP lose-1H.PST IP NAME exit-C go-BOU.PRF.P=Q
'We have lost our Badraa! _ Did Badraa go out?'

(17) *nad* *deer=chen* *üs* *urg-aad* *ehel-ch-lee.*
1SG.DAT on=STC hair grow-C begin-BOU-1H.PST
'["Now what is happening with me?] On me, hair has begun to grow. [Under my armpits, hair has grown (*uraG-ch-laa*). On my

balls here, hair has begun to grow (*urg-aad ehel-lee*).” About such things, children worry a lot.]’

(18) *hümüüs yaa-j övd-d-iig chii odoo med-lee.*
person do.what-C hurt-HAB.P-ACC 2SG now recognize+know-1H.PST
‘[After hitting X once, Y asked: “Does it hurt?” X said: “A bit.” Y hit X again and asked again: “Does it hurt?” Upon X answering “It hurts”, Y said:] “Now you have understood how people feel pain ...”’

(19) *manai aav say-han* (...) _ *öngör-söng.*
1PL.GEN father recently-DIM pass-PRF.P
‘My father recently passed away.’

In (16) and (17), the speakers have just noticed a new state of affairs that they don’t properly understand. For this, *-sang* cannot be used. In (18), *-sang* is possible but would express Y’s conviction, while *-laa* rather refers to Y’s impression from X’s reaction. This indicates that *-laa* with the second person can even be used for emphasizing the speaker’s sensory experience when the addressee is aware of this experience herself (contra Binnick 2012: 71-3). Soldiers and other people who receive orders likewise have to confirm them with forms such as *med-lee* ‘understood!’ or *sons-loo* ‘I heard it.’ Thus, *-laa* cannot be replaced by *-sang* when it marks new sensory information. On the other hand, even an event explicitly marked as (relatively) recent such as (19) cannot easily receive *-laa* (as informants state) if the information is not new to the speaker.

A special function of *-laa* is to establish fictive situations. In (20), the speaker doesn’t refer to a concrete situation, but just invents it, making the addressee imagine it as if it was visual memory. Similarly, *-laa* is used in counterfactual contexts, such as (21), for situations that might have occurred in the past under certain conditions but didn’t:

(20) *jishee=n hoyor baiguulG centavar-t or-loo shdee.*
example=3POSS two organization NAME-DAT enter-1H.PST IP
zaa (...) huv’-iin kampan or-hod tölbör hereg-tei shd.
well private-GEN company enter-C.when fee necessity-COM IP
‘[I earn money through advertisement.] For example, two organizations are about to enter [my game show] Centauer. Well, if (...) a private company enters [the program], it must pay a fee.’

(21) *chii bai-h=güi bai-sang bol yag un-laa.* (overheard)
2SG be.at-FUT.P=NEG COP-PRF.P if exactly fall-1H.PST
‘If you hadn’t been there, I would just have fallen.’

-laa is commonly used to refer to an imminent future for which visual or speaker-internal evidence exists (see section 9). Nelson et al. (1998: 121-6, cf. even Chuluu 1995: 97-100, 1998: 155-6, 169) tried to predict time reference from aktionsart: *-laa* can have near future interpretations with agentive

accomplishments (*id-* 'eat' plus specific object); agentive nonconclusive predicates (*togl-* 'play'); stative/stance (*am'dar-* 'live'); punctuals (*naitaa-* 'sneeze'); movement and weather predications. The copula *bai-*, change-of-state verbs (*urga-* 'grow'), and verbs with partially affected entities only yield recent past. Some punctual predications can only mean past, as their imminence cannot be indicated by firsthand evidence in the present. The copula, weather predications and mental state verbs (*ergelz-* 'doubt,' *tan'-* 'recognize[+know]') may refer to past events that hold up to the present time, e.g. *Neg cag boroo or-loo* 'It was/has been raining [for] an hour.' Statives as *am'dar-* are unable to highlight the beginning of an event and thus exclude the present.

This argument is mostly sound but requires some modifications: stative verbs don't easily allow for future reference: *Bold Ulaanbaatar-t (arvan jil) am'dar-laa* 'Bold has lived / is about to start living in Ulaanbaatar (for ten years)' (Nelson et al. 1998: 122, 124) has no future reading. The same holds for *-laa* in combination with analytic aspectual forms. Directed activities (cf. Croft 2012) are not agreed upon by informants. While *Nogoo ötgön urga-laa* 'The grass grew thick' (1998: 123) is rejected as future, some informants accept *nogoo=ch udalgüi ötgön urga-laa* green=FOC soon thick grow-1H.PST or *margaash dulaarlaa* 'it will get warm tomorrow.' Finally, it is not the partially affected object in *Bat jaahan mah id-lee* 'Bat ate some meat' (1998: 125) that yields past, cf. *Bi odoo jaahan mah id-lee* 'I'll eat some meat now.'

There seem to be more crucial issues than the aktionsart of non-stative predications. While only 10% of 120 uses of *-laa* in my corpus refer to the future, informants who were asked to replace other past markers with *-laa* frequently reported a future meaning. Past reference is usually clear from past tense adverbials, dependent clauses (past, habitual, goal), past sentence chains, the presence of the suffix *-ch-*, and overall context. Future uses are mostly found in relatively short sentences such as (39) in section 9 and with future adverbials. There are cases for which it is irrelevant whether or not an accomplishment has already come about. If *uillaa* '[the child] has / is about to burst into tears,' it requires adult intervention in both cases, so the speaker doesn't need to disambiguate.

6. Non-Firsthand Past *-jee*

The suffix *-j(ee)* marks past inferred or hearsay information (Svantesson 1991: 193; Song 1997; Binnick 2012). However, it is surprisingly infrequent (n=46-50), which needs to be explained. I propose that its hearsay use is highly restricted and that *-jee* is only usable when talking about information inferred from sensory evidence for the event (or possibly hearsay) that doesn't yet belong to the established knowledge of the speaker.

First, all uses in the corpus seem to relate to inference. Even the small set of retellings I investigated is rather dominated by *-sang*, sometimes followed by the quotative verb *ge-* and by the Present Perfect *-sang bai-n*. Hearsay *-jee* is widely used in journalistic broadcasts and texts, but this usage might be register-specific:

(22) *M. suman-d öchigdör oroi Shüüh-iin shiidver*
PLACE arrow-DAT yesterday evening court-GEN decision
güicetgel-iin alban-ii ajiltan-g buuda-j,
implementation-GEN service-GEN worker-ACC shoot-C
am' nas-iig=n' horoo-son hereg gar-chee.[10]
life year-ACC=3POSS reduce-PRF.P case come.up-3H.PST
'In M. municipality, the crime happened that an employee of the Service for implementing court decisions was shot and killed yesterday evening.'

(22) is taken from a short report in an online newspaper, and the reporter who wrote it is not likely to have witnessed it or done any more research than to call the responsible police office in the distant rural community where it happened.

More commonly, *-jee* is used when drawing inferences. These can be trivial or complicated, but the reasoning is always recent:

(23) *chii coor-oo=güi bai-n ge-seng.*
2SG be.pierced-RES.P=EX.NEG COP-DIR say-PRF.P
coor-cong bai-jii-jee, asGar-cha-j.
be.pierced-BOU.PRF.P COP-PROG-2H.PST spill-BOU-2H.PST
'You said, "It isn't punctured." It was punctured alright, it has spilled out.'

(24) *en ajil bol ündsen-d=ee shiide-gd-jee ge-j süül-iin*
D.PROX work TOP basis-DAT=RP decide-PASS-2H.PST COMP-C tail-GEN
gurav dörvö-n jil-iin naadm-aas hoi-sh hara-gda-j
three four-AT year-GEN celebration-ABL after-PROS see-PASS-C
bai-n=aa.
COP-DIR=EMPH
'After the Naadam celebrations of the last three or four years, it is apparent that this work has basically been decided upon.'

(25) *zaa ing-eed ulaanbaatar hoto-d üil ajillagaa yav-uul-j*
well do.so-C PLACE town-DAT action activity go-caus-C
baig-aa barag alban bus yanhnii_gazar shin-eer
COP-¬DIR almost official ID.NEG brothel new-INS

[10] http://www.sonin.mn/news/gemt-hereg/22279, retrieved 2014-03-31.

neme-gd-lee *ge-j* *ard_tümen-d=ee* *hel-hed* *odoo*
add-PASS-1H.PST COMP-C people-DAT=RP say-C.when now
emzegl-meer *bai-n=aa.* *neg-dgüer* *horooll-iin* *ar-iin*
be.sensitive-WISH.P COP-DIR=EMPH one-ORD district-GEN north-GEN
zam deer bol nege-n tom yanhnii_gazar *baiguula-gd-jee* *ge-j.*
way on TOP one-AT large brothel found-PASS-2H.PST COMP-C
'Well, now, it's a sensitive thing for me to tell the Mongolian people that new, certainly unofficial brothels operating in Ulaanbaatar were added. That on the Northern Road in the First District, one large brothel has been established.'

In (23), a past resultant state (having been pierced) and a punctual past event (the spilling) are inferred from the trivial result of the punctual event (spilled matter). Clearly, the "lack of commitment" that Song (1997: 183-93) associated with *-jee* is not present here (even if it could show up as implicature if *-jee* was used in (1) and (2)). Rather, it is understood that this state of affairs was recently discovered. In (24), the speaker takes recourse to past evidence for a conclusion he draws at the moment of speech. *-sang* instead would have indicated an established, entirely unproblematic fact, and *-laa* would have claimed an interaction with the decision-makers. In (25), the reporter recently discovered with his own eyes that new brothels exist there, but must (trivially) infer that they were established.

The co-occurrence of *-jee* with the first person is limited. It is possible if an event at a different place affected the speaker as in (26), if the realization of some parts of the situation is deferred as in (27) where only the adverbial constitutes new information, or with events that the speaker had forgotten such as (28). It is not uncontrollable verbs as such that matter (Binnick 2012: 66-70 vs. Song 2002: 158f.).

(26) *beltegl=ee hii-j bai-had* *sonin* *deer bii* *gar-ch-jee.*
training=RP do-C COP-when.C newspaper on 1SG go.out-BOU-2H.PST
'While doing my training [there], I appeared in the newspaper.'

(27) *Bi* *tedn-ii=l* *nege-n adil* *bodo-j yav-jee.*
1SG 3PL.GEN=FOC one-AT like think-C go-2H.PST
'I thought as if I was one of them.' (Binnick 2012: 69, internet)

(28) *Bi* *baga-d=aa* *ene* *nom-iig* *unsh-jee.*
1SG small-DAT=RP D.PROX book-ACC read-2H.PST
'I read this book when I was small.' (Binnick 2012: 68, constructed)

-jee is perfectly compatible with recent events, as shown by (25) and (29), which refutes accounts that focus on *-jee* as a marker of remoteness such as Hashimoto (1993a) and Binnick (2012).

(29) U: *oo* *manai* *ohin* *unt-chi-j.*
INTERJ 1PL.EXCL.GEN girl sleep-BOU-2H.PST
A: *unt-chi-j=uu?* U: *th.*
sleep-BOU-2H.PST=Q INTERJ
[U: I'm gonna make the bed well for you, so that you can sleep.' A: 'I can sleep well in my sleeping bag alright.'] U: Oo, my daughter has fallen asleep! A: 'Has she fallen asleep?' U: 'Mhm.'

It also becomes clear from the examples above that *-jee* doesn't have any resultative meaning as claimed by Kalchofner (1999, 2003) and Jingan (2010). There might have been a resultative in Proto-Mongolic (Brosig forthcoming 2), but as it had already turned into a perfective non-firsthand past by the time of Middle Mongol (Street 2009), an analysis as a contemporary resultative would be diachronically improbable (cf. Bybee et al. 1994: 105; Tatevosov 2001).

One issue that cannot be fully addressed on the basis of my evidence is the role of non-visual sensory evidence. Informants agree that a person sitting in her room, upon hearing a noise from the street, could say *mashin-ii osol bol-chiho-j* car-GEN accident become-BOU-2H.PST 'an accident occurred,' while they reject the Firsthand *bol(ch)loo*. However, one might argue that the connection between the noise of an accident and the accident itself cannot be so straightforward as to preclude an element of reasoning. Upon hearing the door bang, a speaker uttered to me *gar-ch-laa* 'she left.' We were sitting in another room, so neither of us could actually see the person leaving, but as there were only the three of us in the flat, the sound could only be interpreted in one way.

7. *-v*

The literature primarily describes *-v* as a past suffix in written texts. No such usage is attested in the corpus, so no review is necessary. The use in performatives mentioned by Svantesson (1991: 192) mainly occurs in written contexts like the section *hüchin=güi-d tooco-v* validity=EX.NEG-DAT count-V.PST 'declared void' in classified ad newspapers whereby one can declare lost legal documents to be invalid. In spoken narratives, *-v* seems to be used to express surprise about remembered events. The narrative preceding (30) contains a number of devices commonly used to catch the attention of the listener. The last syllable of *cacav* receives a markedly rising intonation. After the utterance, the addressee gave an exclamation of surprise, to which the speaker answered *bii=ch gaih-aad* 'It surprised/surprises me, too.' (31) shows the optional variant *-v=aa*.

(30) *teg-eed saihan suu-jii-san=chin genthen minii*
do.so-C nice sit.down+sit-PROG-PRF.P=STC suddenly 1SG.GEN
urt tal-aas neg nöhör _ nüür-lüü us caca-v.
front side-ABL one comrade face-ALL water sprincle-V.PST
'[I want to relate an interesting story. In April, you see, I was travelling in Laos and Thailand, just at their New Year's time. Laos, Cambodia, Thailand and Vietnam have one single moon calendar. That was quite strange, as we celebrate our New Year already in February. Once, we were sitting at a banquet at New Year's Eve - what kind of expensive food do they have - they had put roasted chicken, egg and various kinds of food on the table.] And then, while we were sitting there pleasantly, suddenly one guy in front of me sprinkled water towards my face!'

(31) *Negen saihan nar-tai ödör bi naiz-uud-tai(g)-aa cug*
one nice sun-POSS day 1SG friend-PL-COM-RPOSS together
bai-j bai-laa, genet minii shüd una-v=aa,
COP-C COP-PST.1H suddenly 1SG.GEN tooth fall-V.PST-EMPH
teg-snee genet ahiad neg una-v=aa. (internet)
do.so-C.just.after suddenly again one fall-V.PST-EMPH
'At a nice, sunny day I was being together with my friends. Suddenly, one of my teeth fell out! And immediately afterwards, another one suddenly fell out!'

8. Questions

Due to limitations of space, I will be extremely brief here. *-sn=uu* (i.e. *-sang=uu*) is used for neutral polar questions. The form *-s=iim=uu* (*-sang yum=uu* in formal language) presumes a (usually positive) answer. Interrogative *-v* has been considered as referring to recent events (Binnick 2012: 95-102), but this isn't supported by my corpus. Chuluu (1998: 136-7) proposes that it presumes a certain state of affairs and is more polite. My sparse data seems to support this, but then it isn't clear how it differs from *-s=iim=uu*. *-sang* and *-s=iin* are used on their own in content questions, but informants generally dislike *-sang*. The written language requires the question particle *be* here. This being said, I will refrain from a proper analysis of these forms and restrict myself to the evidential qualities of *-laa* and *-jee*.

The shortened interrogative form *-l=uu* is used if the speaker cannot remember an event that she witnessed (Kullmann and Tserenpil 1996: 187), e.g. (32). For content questions, *-laa* is attested:

(32) *bii soiz=oo shiree-n deer tav'-l=uu?*
1SG scissor=RP table-AT on put-1H.PST=Q
'Did I put the scissors on the table?' (elicited)

(33) *bii chamd yuu ge-j hel-lee?*
1SG 2SG.DAT what COMP-C say-1H.PST
'[Hey, E (a small child) has disappeared.] What did I tell you?'

The speakers don't need to have actual firsthand knowledge; it is sufficient if they knew a fact once and cannot remember it. The speaker of (34) never witnessed the event but used to know about it. While (35) was clearly witnessed (as the speaker tries to recall details of the process), informants indicated that this wouldn't be clear without the Progressive (when the speaker would only try to recall the event as such).

(34) B: *bii neg sar-ii=n sunga-j*
1SG one month-ACC=RP prolong-C
ög-sii=shd. A: *dahi-j sunG-l=uu*?
give-PRF.P=IP repeat-C prolong-1H.PST=Q
B: *dahi-j sunga-j ög-sii=shd, tiin.*
repeat-C prolong-C give-PRF.P=MC=IP so
B: 'I renewed [the visa] for him by one month.' A: 'Did you renew it again?' B: 'I renewed it again, yes.'

(35) *taa neg songuul'-d örsöld-jii-l=üü, yaa-laa?*
2SG.HON one election-DAT compete-PROG-1H.PST=Q do.what-1H.PST
'You were taking part in one election, how was it / what did you do?'

Kullmann and Tserenpil (1996: 187-8) note that the long form *-laa(y)=uu* is used for questions about an imminent future. The form is absent in my corpus, but (36) from a classified ad is compatible with (pretended) firsthand knowledge on the part of the speaker:

(36) *hyatad(a)-d sur-haar yav-laa=yuu?*[11]
China-DAT learn-CVB.CNS go-1H.PST=Q
'Are you about to go to China to study? [Doctoral student with degree from China trains children who want to study there.]'

Questions based on *-j=üü* ask for inferential evidence (and at the same time indicate that there is no predefined hierarchy that determines the value of evidence). Judging from the few corpus examples, this evidence lies with the addressee:

[11] http://zar.zone.mn/advertisement/main/15416.htm, retrieved 2013-12-02.

(37) Observing an unexpected event, X states: *uu-ch-laa*. '[BB] drank [the vodka]!' providing firsthand evidence. Y is skeptical and asks: *uu-ch-j=uu?* 'Did he drink it?' asking whether there is any circumstantial evidence. X checks that the glass is indeed empty and then draws the inference: *uu-chih-j*. 'He drank it.'

However, another type of question based on the form in *-j=üü* of the verb *ge-* 'say' is used to verify statements or intentions (Binnick 2012: 93; cf. Jingan 2010: 103-4). The person who infers here is the speaker, and the meaning might be paraphrased in a literal way as 'I infer that you are saying PREPOSITION, are you?' Questions in Middle Mongol based on inferentials were speaker-centered (Street 2009), so this use might be fossilized if it is old enough.

(38) A: *nad[d]=aa* *bol* *S* *ih* *högshön* *hara-gd-dii=shd.*
1SG.DAT=RP TOP NAME very old see-PASS-HAB.P=IP
B: *manai* *düü=l* *zaluu* *hara-gd-d=iin*
1PL.EXCL.GEN younger.sibling=FOC young see-PASS-HAB.P=MC
ge-j=üü?
say-2H.PST=Q
A: 'To me, S looks very old.'
B: 'Do you mean that our younger sibling looks young?'

9. Futures

In the preceding sections, past tense uses of the suffixes *-laa*, *-v*, *-jee* and *-sang* were discussed. However, all of these also have a future use that by and large reflects their evidential properties. *-laa* covers intentional and predicted imminent future events that can be assumed from visual evidence. *-v* is used for future events that the speaker doesn't want to happen. These two suffixes are relatively frequent in future contexts and might be argued to exhibit fuzzy temporal semantics. *-jee* and *-sang* are very rare in future contexts and then refer to scheduled or predicted events that can be inferred or taken for granted, respectively. In all non-prospective future contexts, the past suffixes compete with the Potential *-n*, and in prospective contexts they compete with a specialized Prospective construction (see Brosig forthcoming 3).

The only past suffix frequently found in future contexts is *-laa*, and this use is always noted in the literature. Song (1997: 192-3) argues that *-laa* is better suited for expressing an inevitable imminent future event due to the commitment entailed by firsthand evidentiality. However, the existence of circumstantial visual (sensory?) or speaker-internal evidence for the imminence of the event could be an alternative explanation. In this context,

"speaker-internal" evidence could also be related to actual decisions of the speaker, something not conveyable by the Prospective form *-h gej bain*, while *-n* would not convey an intention to act immediately.

(39) *zaa tan-iig en gal_togoon-d=chon üld-ee-lee.*
well 2SG-ACC D.PROX kitchen-DAT=STC leave-CAUS-1H.PST
bii ger_bül-eer hes-lee.
1SG family-INS wander.around-1H.PST
'Well, I'll leave you behind in the kitchen. I'll walk around a bit in the house.'

(40) *za za. Bi zövshöör-löö.*
well well 1SG accept-1H.PST
[Father: 'I want to marry you to the girl of my choice.' Son: 'I want to marry the girl of my own choice.' Father: 'But that one is the daughter of Bill Gates.' Son: 'Oh, is that so?] 'Well well, I accept.'[12]

(41) *zaa urag-sh=aa yav-laa.*
well forward-ALL=RP go-2H.PST
'Well, [the race horse] is about to make / has just made progress.'

In (39), the speaker announces his decision to directly commit an action. This is somewhat similar to the performative use (noted by Kalchofner 2003) as in (40). Due to lack of data, little can be said about its particular properties vis-à-vis other performative devices such as the Present Progressive and Voluntative. In (41), it doesn't make an important difference whether the horse is only about to make headway or has already improved its position among the racing horses. Such temporal underdeterminatedness is quite characteristic of Khalkha live reports.

The corpus contains one example where a future event in *-laa* depends on a condition (*joohon tatas-hiigeed yavahgüü bol odoo zamdaa orloo* 'if [the race horse] doesn't fall back a little, it'll enter the way now'), and even a concrete time measure adverbial can be used (*odoo ugaasaa yag guch döchön minutiin daraa ochloo shdee* 'I'll now arrive after exactly 30-40 minutes').

If *-v* refers to future events, it expresses a preventive meaning (cf. Song 1997: 162-3): the speaker issues a warning that a certain event might occur. The presence of a long vowel is common but (contra the contemplation of Chuluu 1998: 138) not obligatory: its absence is perceived as insistent and commanding, while its presence is more polite (cf. Brosig forthcoming 3 on *-n=aa*) and, in this case apparently, the more neutral variant.

[12] http://ganaas.blogspot.se/2007_05_01_archive.html, retrieved 2014-06-01, first part of a joke

(42) *like* *dar-h=aa* *mart-v=aa*[13]
like press-FUT.P=RP forget-V.PST=EMPH
'Don't forget to press [the] "like" [button].' (heading to an online video)

(43) *neg joohong temtsel memtsel bolhoor* *hööy chii* *üh-chi-v=ee*
one little contest RED because hey 2SG die-BOU-V.PST=EMPH
al-uul-ch-v=aa (...) *ge-j* *bodd-og* *boluu.*
kill-CAUS-BOU-V.PST=EMPH COMP-C think-HAB.P MP
'Just because there's one small contest, might they possibly be thinking: "Watch out, you might die! You might get yourself killed!"

In (42), the speaker reminds the addressee to "like" a certain online post. One could have translated this as 'You might forget to press "like",' but *martvaa* is fairly idiomatic. In (43), the speaker cites stereotypical statements of people who warn him of dangers he doesn't even bother to consider.

For *-jee* and *-sang*, future uses seem to be extremely rare, and neither is attested in the corpus. The former is mentioned by Byambasan et al. (1987: 167-8, source of (44)), while the second is not attested in the literature at all.

(44) *Ta=ch* *mongol* *uls-iin*
2SG.HON=FOC Mongolian state-GEN
bayar *naadam-d* *orolc-jee*.
celebration feast-DAT take.part-2H.PST
'You'll certainly take part in the national celebration of Mongolia.'

(45) *naada-h=chin* *evder-ch=dee!* (overheard)
D.MED-NOM=2POSS get.damaged-2H.PST=IP
[A mother is warning her child not to keep jumping on a fold-out seat in the hallway of a train.] 'That one will certainly break!'

(46) *Nöhör* *ir-j* *bai-n.* *Odoo* *seksd-seeeng!*
husband come-C COP-FUT now have.sex-PRF.P.EMPH
'My husband is arriving. Now I'll have sex!' (Yahoo messenger)

In (44) and (45), the perfective evidential meaning of *-jee* is apparently dissociated from the general past meaning and turned into a certain inference about the future. In (46), the only unambiguous future use of *-sang* that I observed, informants tended to assume a certain development beyond the speaker's influence and, probably, liking. In the actual conversational context, though, the writer rather seemed relieved that she wouldn't have to wait anymore.

[13] http://www.cardflourishes.co.uk/video/_ecg7_thqA8&feature=youtube_gdata_player, retrieved 2014-03-27

Finally, there is the question of how discontinuative tense uses of past suffixes in future contexts emerge. Given the paucity of material for some of these suffixes, coming up with a definite answer seems difficult. In the case of *-v*, there is a component of surprise common to both future (for the addressee) and past uses (for the speaker). Given that its past uses have been utterly marginalized in the historical development, this might possibly be constructed as its current core semantics, which is then just interpreted differently in different tense environments. Such an explanation would disregard both phonotactics and what is known about its still insufficiently understood interrogative uses, though. Thus, additional synchronic and, ideally, diachronic research is required. The future uses of *-sang*, *-jee* and *-laa* were found to be heavily context-dependent, too. One might argue that the notion of completion particular to these forms in their uses without other aspectual forms replaces the related notion of pastness. This would also nicely explain why future uses for complex aspect forms or stative predications are not attested. *-sang* and *-jee* presumably have to be coerced into future uses by a small set of unknown contextual factors and, due to their low frequency, might be semantically more specific than suggested here. In a much larger corpus, aktionsart would presumably turn out to be one relevant factor. For *-laa*, temporal semantics might actually have been weakened by the extension of its future uses. In contrast to Khorchin (Brosig forthcoming 1), it is retained as an indispensible part of the Khalkha past evidential system, whereas the Khalkha system of future reference as such has not yet been investigated in any detail.

10. Conclusions

The existence of two evidentially marked and one unclear form among the past tense suffixes of Mongolian has been a well-established fact, at least for specialists. Yet, existing descriptions didn't capture the conditions under which a certain form can or must be chosen. Relying on existing research, a non-native would overgeneralize the use of any of these past forms. In this paper, I proposed an analysis that allows restricting the use of *-sang* to established knowledge and *-laa* and *-jee* to (by and large) firsthand respective non-firsthand non-established knowledge. To the extent they are known, I discussed particularities such as an imaginative use of *-laa* that constitute related constructions with their own conditions of usage, although the corpus was not extensive enough to actually specify those conditions. Overall, my analysis provides more restrictive definitions of the Khalkha past tense forms than previous work. While the corpus is too small to contain all particular uses common to the community of speakers and the precise conditions of use still require refinement, I hope that the categories used for analy-

sis will turn out to be descriptively more adequate than those suggestedd in previous analyses.

The issue of whether or not *-sang* can actually be understood as an evidentially "neutral" form remains a difficult question. Both grammarians (see section 1) and informants have suggested a certain speaker confidence when using *-sang*, which is, at any rate, not given with *-jee*. I would suggest that there is no confidence implied by *-laa* either, as the speaker is just referring to herself as a source of information. Thus, for both *-laa* and *-jee* the factuality or reality of a proposition is relativized in terms of the reliability that the addressee might attach to firsthand and inferred/secondhand evidence (cf. Izvorski 1997). When *-sang* is permissible in the same contexts as *-laa* and *-jee*, it would by paradigmatic contrast implicate an unhedged claim to the validity of the proposition. On the other hand, the form seems too frequent to express any "epistemic support" (Boye 2012) for a proposition on its own. But the speaker must (for some reason) have accepted a proposition in *-sang*, perhaps often after consideration, which might be taken as a clue by the addressee that she, too, might trust this information. "Factuality" might thus indeed be linked to an epistemic value, but more in the eye of the beholder than for the speaker.

Khalkha cannot be exhaustively described by the notions suggested by Aikhenvald (2004), who assumes visual, other sensory, inferential, assumptive, hearsay and quotative *information sources*, or by the improved system of Plungian (2011: 33-37), which adds participatory and "endophoric" (i.e. speaker-internal) forms of direct personal *access to information*.[14] A model that can capture the Khalkha system is suggested by Tournadre (297-8), though, who breaks down evidentiality into four smaller parameters: source of information, access to information, field of knowledge, and time of acquisition. He thus understands "source" in a more restrictive and arguably more precise sense so that it can either be the speaker herself or somebody else, while access to information is possible either via the senses [of the speaker or of somebody else] or via inference. Furthermore, he separates "endophatic" access to the speaker's internal state as a form of sensory evidence from participatory ("personal") evidence, which, if defined as the voluntary (Haller 2004) or active, conscious participation (Rule 1977: 71) of an assertor (i.e. the speaker in declaratives and the addressee in questions, cf. Creissels 2008: 12), indeed goes beyond the notion of access to information favored by Plungian. The difference between *-laa* vs. *-jee* (and present *-n* vs. *-aa*) can be captured by both models, though in a slightly different fashion: In Plungian's model, *-laa* would be neatly identified with direct personal and *-jee* with indirect evidence. In Tournadre's notionally more accurate model, one would have to define *-laa* as marking sensory evidence of the speaker,

[14] Using the notion mode of access instead of source of information was already argued for by Michael (2006: section 4).

while *-jee* is used for evidence that is either non-sensory or, if a quotative use indeed survives in spoken Khalkha, the evidence of somebody else. The most crucial parameter for Khalkha, though, is the time of acquisition, which differentiates between newly acquired (*-laa*/*-jee*) and assimilated information (*-sang*), which is specific to Tournadre's model. Common knowledge, which Rule (1977: 71) and Oswalt (1986: 36) call "factual," then naturally groups with assimilated information. Spoken past declarative *-v* is only retained for evidentially neutral, non-new, but nevertheless unassimilated information, i.e. a small semantic area that none of the other three past suffixes properly refer to.

There are several questions left for further research. First, there are a number of registers other than free conversation, both in oral and written language, and their conventions influence each other. Analyzing these registers would substantially increase our knowledge about different uses of past suffixes in Khalkha. Moreover, the corpus materials didn't allow a proper exploration of how senses other than vision are treated within the evidential system. As devices other than the past suffixes were not dealt with here, the expression of inference (*-jee* vs. *-sang bai-n*) and hearsay or the way speakers choose their epistemological stance also require further investigation. Finally, the form *-s=iin*, which is related to assertivity, and the suffix *-ch-*, which combines with all past suffixes and is related to notions such as border-orientation, displeasedness and surprise, have largely been ignored in this paper due to lack of space. While their meaning doesn't seem to be evidential, these forms are central to the notions that are regularly and paradigmatically expressed in Khalkha conversation.

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Swedish summary

Benjamin Brosig:
Aspekt, evidentialitet och tempus i mongoliska;
från medelmongoliska till khalkha och khorchin
(översättning från engelska av Eva Lindström)

Denna avhandling omfattar fyra artiklar som beskriver tempus, aspekt och evidentialitet (TAE) i finita (icke-negerade) predikat i medelmongoliska (det språk som talades i det medeltida Mongolväldet) och två nutida mongoliska dialekter: khalkha, så som det talas av de flesta medborgare i Mongoliet, dvs. det som ofta helt enkelt kallas mongoliska, och som påverkats av centralasiatiska turkiska språk och tibetanska, och khorchin som det talas i östra Inre Mongoliet i Kina, och som påverkats av mandarin och manchu. Ett inledande kapitel ger allmän bakgrund och en kort redogörelse för den historiska utvecklingen och dess areala sammanhang. Artiklarna är:

- The aspect-evidentiality system of Middle Mongol. *Ural-Altaic Studies*. (under utgivning)
- The tense-aspect system of Khorchin Mongolian. In: Pirkko Suihkonen & Lindsay Whaley (eds.) *Typology of Languages of Europe and Northern and Central Asia*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. (under utgivning)
- Aspect and epistemic notions in the present tense system of Khalkha Mongolian. *Acta Linguistica Petropolitana*. (under utgivning)
- Factual vs. evidential – The past tense forms of spoken Khalkha Mongolian. In: Ad Foolen, Helen de Hoop & Gijs Mulder (eds.) *Empirical approaches to evidentiality*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. (under granskning)

Vad gäller de moderna varieteterna baseras analysen på en kombination av transkriberade talkorpora och elicitering från ett stort antal infödda talare. Tanken bakom detta är att undvika påverkan av standard- och skriftspråksvarieteter, och att inte generalisera fram generella mönster utifrån alltför få talares intuitioner.

Aspekt- och evidentialitetssytemet i medelmongoliska

Artikeln om medelmongoliska bygger på en korpus som utgörs av ”Mongolernas hemliga historia” som handlar om Djingis khans liv, fyra biografiska texter, en filosofisk text, samt i enstaka fall andra källor. Den delar in det medelmongoliska TAE-systemet i två övergripande domäner, den imperfektiva och den perfektiva. Den imperfektiva domänen kan i sin tur indelas i tre tempus:

i. Den enda futurummarkören är *-QU*, medan *-mU* som tidigare forskning beskrivit som futurummarkör bara har denna funktion i konditionalis-konstruktioner, eller om den följs av partikeln *je*.
ii. Presens uttrycks med *-yU* i generiska kontexter, *-mU* i progressiva och habituella kontexter, och *-n bu-yu* som specialiserad progressivmarkör.
iii. Dåtidsmarkören, som strukturellt motsvarar presens progressiv, *-n bülüge/ajuɣu*, har något vidare tillämpning och används både i progressiva och habituella kontexter. Även om några möjliga exempel träffats på har dåtidsreferens inte kunnat fastslås som en funktion för suffixen *-yU* och *-mU*. *-QU bülüge/ajuɣu* uttrycker framtida utveckling utifrån en referenspunkt i förfluten tid givet förhållanden som antingen förelåg (vilket ger en habituell tolkning) eller inte förelåg (vilket ger en kontrafaktisk tolkning).

Det finns några markörer till, såsom *-i* som bara förekommer med några få verbrötter, och *-d*, som uttrycker pluralt subjekt men saknar tydliga drag av tempus eller aspekt.

Den perfektiva domänen utgörs av tre perfektiva markörer med dåtidssyftning och ett antal som markerar perfekt och/eller resultativ.

i. Perfektivmarkörerna för förfluten tid är *-bA, -lUGA*, and *-jUGU.* Som John Street (2009) tidigare beskrivit uförligt fungerar *-lUGA* som markör för förstahandsinformation, medan *-jUGU* används för inferens och hörsägen. Både *-lUGA* och *-jUGU* förefaller dock användas bara i sådana förstahands- och icke-förstahandskontexter där informationskällan är av vikt för mottagaren, medan det mycket mer frekventa suffixet *-bA* tycks användas för oproblematiska fakta. I motsats till enkla perfektivformer som uttrycks direkt på huvudverbet förekommer suffixen *-lUGA* och *-jUGU* både medi sammansatta och enkla aspektmarkörer, medan *-bA* bara förekommer med enkla markörer.
ii. De participiska suffixen *-GsAn* and *-GA* förekommer sällan utan andra markörer men tycks ha perfekt och resultativ innebörd. Det resultativa konverbssuffixet *-jU* i kombination med kopulan markerad med *-mU* uttrycker resultativ eller progressiv aspekt, beroende på predikatets akt-

ionsart. För att uttrycka förfluten tid kan både participer och konverbet användas tillsammans med kopulaformer i preteritum.

När verbet *bol-* ’bli’ kombineras med particip signalleras att ett tillstånd ingås där en händelse antingen kommer att ske eller redan skett, beroende på participens semantik.

Tempus- och aspektsystemet i khorkhinmongoliska

Underlaget för khorchinstudien utgörs av en korpus om sex timmars transkriberat material från östra centrala khorchinbaneret, insamlat 2011, kompletterat med ett litet antal transkriptioner från andra områden, samt ett fåtal exempel från icke-transkriberade inspelningar. Relevanta korpusexempel analyserades utifrån bedömningar av de infödda talarna som gjordes under ca 80 timmars elicitering 2012. Den mest framträdande skiljelinjen i khorchins tempus-aspektsystem går mellan suffixet *-na* som markerar icke-förfluten tid, och suffixet *-tʃɛ* som markerar förfluten tid. De har kortformerna *-n* och *-tʃ*, som är obligatoriska med illokutionära partiklar och frågor, vilket gör att den finala vokalen som oftast återfinns i absolut finita deklarativa kontexter tycks korrelera med talarens övertygelse om yttrandets sannhet. Det är dessa två markörer som fritt kan kombineras med icke-finita, perifrastiska aspektkonstruktioner.

Imperfektivitet i presens uttrycks huvudsakligen av tre former:

i. *-na* för generiska och habituella betydelser (även om noll-markering används för icke-avgränsade tillstånd som baseras på nominala uttryck). Det används också i futurum, och i enstaka fall för potentiell utveckling i förfluten tid.
ii. *-tʃɛ-na* används i progressiva betydelser. Det begränsas inte av aktionsart, och kan till och med användas för habituella situationer med relevant inre struktur, då i kombination med adverbial som i *uder-t=een xvvr tat-tqE-n* day-DAT=RPOSS violin draw-PROG-NPST ’de [håller på och] spelar fiol varje dag’.
iii. *-tʃɛ-tʃɛ* markerar imperfektiv i förfluten tid. I habituella kontexter kan det antyda avlägsenhet i tid gentemot *-tʃɛ*.

Ett alternativ till progressiv är resultativen *-at pɛ:-*, som ger en kontinuerlig eller iterativ tolkning tillsammans med icke-teliska predikat. Med teliska predikat ger det resultativa tillstånd. En sammandragen icke-resultativ form *-atɛ-* som ofta nämns i litteraturen påträffades inte i materialet och var bara bekant för min äldsta informant. Både progressiv och resultativ kan kombineras med enklitikan *=l* vilket ger en iterativ eller koninuerlig utläsning, oberoende av aktionsart. Det antyder en obehagligt lång varaktighet. Konverbet *-at* har även en finit, tidsmässigt neutral användning. Det hänvisar till den fas

som följer på irreversibla punktuella händelser, och uttrycker en fas som är kontinuerlig och utsträcker sig från referenstidpunkten in i en obegränsad framtid med andra aktionsarter. *-ntʃɛ-*, slutligen, uttrycker prospektiv aspekt.

Det finns också ett antal mindre centrala former:

i. *-la ~ -lɛ* som tycks vara delvis homofont med konverbet *-lɛ* uttrycker näraliggande dåtid eller framtid. I alla bekräftade kontexter tycks det finnas någon typ av förstahandsinformation.
ii. *-sən* verkar vara en sorts perfektmarkör. Informanter vill ofta inte kännas vid den eftersom den hör till standardspråket, men dess ganska höga frekvens i korpusen (1/11 så vanlig som *-tʃɛ* i påståendesatser) motsäger detta. Det är i varje fall den enda möjligheten i innehållsfrågor med dåtidsreferens.
iii. *-i* används i frågor i habitualis med andra- och tredje person. Synkront har det samma form som voluntativ, men diakront kan det vara besläktat med *-n* plus den interrogativa klitikan *=i*.
iv. *-(ʰt)ʃəg-* i khorchin tycks uttrycka en missnöjd inställning.

Evidentialitet uttrycks inte grammatiskt. Vid hörsägen, och möjligen för att slippa ta ansvar, kan verbet *gə-* 'hörsägen/citat/komplementerare' användas (även om detaljerna är långt ifrån tydliga), och inferenser kombineras ofta med den illokutionära partikeln *ba* 'väl', ett lån från mandarin, som signallerar en gissning och uppmanar mottagaren att bekräfta innehållet.

Aspekt och epistemiska begrepp i khalkhamongoliskans presenssystem

Studien om khalkha bygger på en korpus om ca 10 timmar och därpå följande semantisk bedömning under 285 timmars elicitering (för alla TAE-markörer sammantaget), mestadels under 2013 i Ulan Bator.
Khalkhas presenssystem är tämligen komplext. För det första finns fem suffix som kan stå i den absolut finita positionen i finita predikat:

i. *-tăg* används i habituella och generiska kontexter. Det har också en särskild, kontextberoende funktion i att markera enstaka händelser som inte passar in i en normal eller förväntad händelseutveckling.
ii. *-n* uttrycker på egen hand möjlig utveckling. Det har en längre form *-n=a* som tycks uttrycka artighet.
iii. *-a* som finit markör är ovanligt på egen hand, men förefaller uttrycka resultativitet med en del modala bibetydelser.
iv. *-x* är som finit markör ovanligt på egen hand. Det används vid uppräkningar av fristående händelser utan angivelse av tidsordning.
v. *-at* som finit markör är vanligare, men kombineras nästan aldrig med andra aspektmarkörer. Det uttrycker en resulterande eller föreliggande situation som kräver att någon ingriper.

För det andra finns ett antal aspektuella konstruktioner. Två av dem bygger på konverb:

- *-tʃ pai-* dras vanligen samman till *-tʃai-* eller *-tʃi-* och kan kombineras med verb oberoende av aktionsart. Det uttrycker progressivitet.
- *-at pai-* ger resultativa betydelser med teliska och kontinuerliga betydelser med ateliska predikat.

Andra konstruktioner bygger på particip:

- *-tăg pai-* används bara för att kombinera betydelsen hos *-tăg* med evidentialitet eller icke-presens.
- *-săŋ pai-* uttrycker perfekt, medan det finita *-săŋ* ger dåtidsreferens.
- *-x pai-* uttrycker irrealis i vissa modala kontexter.
- *-x gi-tʃai- pai-*, en kombination av *-x*, verbet *gi-* ’säga’ och det progressiva *-tʃai-*, uttrycker prospektiv aspekt.

Presenssystemet uppstår i samverkan mellan dessa två nivåer. Självständigt används *-n* and *-tăg* för habituella och andra icke föreliggande situationer. Om en habituell situation kräver inre aspektuell struktur kan de aspektuella konstruktionerna ovan kombineras med *-tăg*. Detta tycks dock inte gälla prospektiv, där *-tăg* bara påträffats med referens till otypisk händelseutveckling, medan det är potentiellt tvetydigt med andra aspektuella former. Kombinerade med *-n* eller *-a* ger de aspektuella formerna diverse pågående situationer, varaktiga resultat eller pågående relevans. Om talaren har *direkta* bevis för händelsen eller dess resultat används *-n*, i andra fall det indirekta *-a*. En perfekt som *-săŋ pai-n* kan alltså användas om en händelse som bevittnas eller härletts från förstahandsbevis, medan en progressiv med *-tʃi-n* bara kan markera en bevittnad händelse, till skillnad mot en synkront icke-bevittnad händelse med *-tʃi-*[ɢ]*-a*. Det sällsynta *-tăg pai-* kan inte antas markera en pågående situation eller resultat som sådant, utan tycks ange vad slags bevis som för närvarande föreligger för en habituell händelse.

Faktiskt eller evidentiellt? – dåtidsmarkering i talad khalkhamongoliska

De grundläggande former som markerar dåtidstempus i talad khalkha är *-săŋ*, *-ɮa*, *-tʃe*, och det perifera *-w*. Den stora skiljelinjen går mellan etablerad kunskap (*-săŋ*) och icke etablerad, oftast ny kunskap, som indelas vidare i förstahands- (*-ɮa*) och icke-förstahandskällor (*-tʃe*). ”Tidpunkt för informationsinhämtandet” och ”informationens källa” är alltså båda delar av samma system. Det är dock möjligt att använda *-ɮa* och *-tʃe* även för livlig hågkomst respektive fördröjd insikt. *-ɮa* används också för att etablera ett fiktivt scenario i diskurs. I korpusen är *-săŋ* tre gånger som vanligt som *-ɮa* och *-tʃe* till-

sammans, och genom motsatsen till de senare tycks det anta drag av faktabaserad, pålitlig information. *-w* står för bara 0,7% av dåtidsanvändningarna i påståendesatser. Det används för händelser som förvånade talaren i förfluten tid. I frågor används *-tʃe* för att uppmana lyssnaren att ge ett svar baserat på slutledning. *-ɮa* används i självriktat tal av en talare som försöker påminna sig något som han eller hon en gång vetat, oavsett om denna kunskap inhämtades i första hand eller inte.

Alla dåtidsmarkörer har även futurumanvändningar. *-ɮa* används ganska ofta om en händelse för vilken talaren har sensoriska eller interna bevis (även rörande talarens egna avsikter). Huruvida framtids- eller dåtidstolkning gäller har framför allt syntaktiska ledtrådar, men statisk aktionsart eller gränsmarkören *-tʃʰ-* bestämmer tolkningen till dåtid. *-ɮa* kan användas i frågor om framtiden; talaren tycks då grunda frågan på antaganden baserade på förstahandsbevis. Det har en annan morfologisk form i sådana sammanhang än i frågor om dåtid. *-tʃe* kan användas när man slutit sig till en framtida händelse baserat på omständigheter, och *-săŋ* markerar händelsen som oundviklig. Båda är mycket ovanliga med framtidssyftning, så en tydlig framtidskontext krävs för att de ska fungera. *-w* i futurumkontext innebär en varning rörande framtiden.

Khalkhas specifika utveckling av uttryck för epistemicitet

Evidentialitet i khalkha är egenartad i det att det finns två skilda system för nutid och dåtid. Båda har framträdande ”neutrala” element och kan därför inte förklaras bara med faktorer som ”informationskälla” (första- gentemot andrahandsinformation) eller ”informationsväg” (sensoriskt eller via slutledning). Tiden för informationsinhämtandet (ny eller etablerad) spelar en mycket stor roll, och är hierarkiskt överordnad de evidentiella nyckelbegreppen: information om händelser i förfluten tid som markeras med *-ɮa* och *-tʃe* måste vara ny, ungefär på samma sätt som information om nutida händelser som markeras med *-n* måste vara synkron. I ljuset av andra begrepp som diskuteras i litteraturen, såsom ”konfirmativitet”, ”mediativitet”, ”indirektivitet” och ”mirativitet”, kan detta peka på en rätt så stor epistemisk domän som evidentialitet i Eurasien inte kan särskiljas ifrån. Aspekt bidrar till att definiera omfattningen av evidentialitet i presens. I habituella och generiska kontexter är evidentialitetsdistinktioner oftast mindre relevanta, och lämnas därför ofta ospecificerade. Resulterande tillstånd och pågående händelser, å andra sidan, delas systematiskt in i sådana som grundas på synkront tillgängliga bevis och sådana som grundas på indirekt evidens.

”Mirativitet”, markering av överraskande information, tycks ha en egen grupp markörer i khalkha, även om ingen av dem markerar information som är ny för talaren: *-w* uttrycker antingen att talaren blev förvånad vid ett tidigare tillfälle, eller pekar på händelser som kommer at vara oväntade och relevanta för lyssnaren, *-tăg* markerar oväntad information i narrativer i då-

tid, och markören *-n ʒe* används när lyssnaren förväntas bli förvånad. Vad gäller *-w* måste dessa betydelser uppstått genom resemanticisering och avparadigmatisering av den semantiskt blekta medelmongoliska perfektiva dåtidsmarkören *-bA*.

Utvecklingen av mongoliskans TAE-system i ett arealt perspektiv

Diakroniskt sett är det påtagligt att medan uppsättningen morfem som markerar dåtid finns kvar i nutida dialekter, om än med omtolkningar, så ersattes den tidiga medelmongoliskans system av presenssuffix fullständigt med nya system. Omtolkningen av dåtidsmarkörer i khalkha omfattade införandet av en distinktion rörande tidpunkten för informationsinhämtande, medan evidentialitet försvann helt och hållet i khorchin. Det nya presenssystemet i khalkha medger sex kombinationer av konverb/participer plus hjälpverb (inklusive det som bygger på komplementeraren) och de tre vanligt förekommande finit möjliga icke-dåtidssuffixen *-n*, *-a* and *-tăg*. Det blev därmed möjligt att uttrycka habituella/generiska begrepp för sig, att uttrycka habituella situationer med inre tidsstruktur, och att skilja mellan direkt och indirekt information. Khorchin förlorade i stället möjligheten att kombinera particip med kopulor, och har därför bara tre konverbs-/komplementerarbaserade konstruktioner. Av presenssuffixen återstår bara *-na*; *-tăg* försvann relativt nyligen, och *-a* förmodligen vid en mycket tidigare tidpunkt. Alla icke-progressiva presensbetydelser uttrycks alltså med *-na*, och evidentialitet i presens utvecklades aldrig. Oiratdialekten i västra delen av det mongoliska språkområdet behöll i princip systemet för dåtidsmarkering från medelmongoliska, den delar innovationen att kombinera konverb/particip med kopula med khalkha, men morfemet *-a* har inte utvidgat sin användning till evidentialitet i presens. Dessa utvecklingsvägar förstås förmodligen bäst utifrån arealt perspektiv: medan Oirat i stort fortsatte ha kontakt med turkiska språk, som varit i kontakt redan med protomongoliska, och därför bara ersatte några få semantiskt blekta morfem med nyare, så var khorchin i kontakt med mandarin (och i viss grad med manchu) och reducerade sitt aspektsystem och förlorade evidentialitet som grammatisk kategori. Khalkha hade fortsatt kontakt med turkiska varieteter, men kan ha haft mer intensiv kontakt med amdotibetanska än som allmänt antas. Det är i varje fall möjligt att evidentialitetsdistinktioner med presenssyftning i amdotibetanska kan ha påverkat khalkha, medan de något likartade begreppen som uttrycks i östliga tungusiska språk inte varit i kontakt med khalkha under den tid då presensevidentialitet utvecklades. De skilda utvecklingarna inom tempus, evidentialiet, men också modalitet, tyder på att khorchin-kharchin utgör en lingvistisk enhet med lika många egenheter som Oirat och Buryat, även om det inte motsvarar en politisk enhet, medan chakhar, standarddialekten i Inre Mongoliet, i de flesta grammatiska avseenden kan sammanföras med khalkha.

Alla dessa utvecklingar kan dock inte utan vidare förklaras utifrån geografisk kontext. Khalkha tillåter upp till tre kopulaformer direkt efter varandra i ett och samma predikat. Det är fler än som nämns i de beskrivningar av turksika språk och amdotibetanska jag använt, även om en grundligare utvärdering av primära och sekundära källor kanske kunde ge en rättvisare bild. Utvidgningen av dåtidssuffix till framtidsreferens klarnar inte heller nämvärt i arealt perspektiv. Slutligen har ingen annan varietet (utom möjligen Buryat) påträffats i området som har fullt utvecklade men distinkta evidentialitetssystem i både presens och dåtid. Arealt sett är en sådan innovation inte så förvånande, men systemet förefaller typologiskt ovanligt.

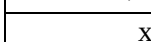
Benjamin Brosig: Aspect, evidentiality and tense in Mongolian

Errata, 2014-10-27

Corrections of content

text location	original text	corrected text / [comment]
3	As for CMc, Janhunen (2006) suggests it can be divided into the major varieties **Khalkha**-Chakhar (Central Mongolian), **Khorchin**-Kharchin (Eastern Mongolian), Oirat (including Kalmyk) and Buryat	[Janhunen (2006) in fact suggests a division into Oirat, Buryat and Khalkha-Chakhar-Khorchin-Kharchin. Janhunen (2003: 180) suggests that Mongol dialects (understood as excluding Oirat and Buryat) can be divided into three groups, namely, Khalkha(+Shilingol), Chakhar, Khorchin-Kharchin-Juu Uda[=Baarin], while he doubts that a further binary simplification into Khalkha-Chakhar vs. Khorchin etc. can do justice to the data. Janhunen, Juha. 2003. Mongol dialects. In: Juha Janhunen (ed.): *The Mongolic languages*. London: Routledge: 177-191]
30	Even entirely unmarked ...	[This sentence is stranded. Its appropriate location is directly after footnote 29.]
89	an evidentially and not overtly epistemically modal marker	an evidentially neutral epistemic marker
101	Still, this frequency indicates that *bü-lüge* in complex aspectual forms could have included a neutral or past factual perspective.	[delete entirely]
146	the same pattern as in (105), we may at least assume an irrealis construction -*tqeg-lE*, be it compositional or not.	a pattern similar to (105), we may assume a compositional irrealis construction here.
180	*zod-ii=shd. (...)*	*zod-ii=shd* ... [i.e. the speaker makes a break, but no words are omitted.]
196	Eastern Central Mongolian	Eastern Central Mongolic

Spelling, omissions of words, formatting, ambiguities etc.

text location	original text	corrected text / [comment]
xiii	Liŭ	Liú
xv-xx		[restore word-final ᠮ after ᡂ and ᡆ]
xvi		
passim	copula	copular auxiliary
6	*amʲtar- / mɔŋgɔɮ / tʰɔgɔɮ-*	*amʲtăr- / mɔŋgɔ̆ɮ / tʰɔgɔ̆ɮ-*
9	*üz-*	*uts-*
18	retained best	preserved best
26: sec. 5.5		[glossings need to be marked as the author's]
26	2h.pst say-pot	2H.PST say-POT
30	the situational change	situational change
31	but *X *sì*	but X *sì le* 'X died,' not *X *sì*
32	finish-apprenticeship	finish.apprenticeship
33	Yap & Ahn	Yap & Ahn forthcoming

34	monks nor	monks or
37	than most other registers	than into most other registers
42-43	neutral, but an already assimilated	neutral, but already assimilated
55	of MM can	of MM. It can
67	cannot explained	cannot be explained
69 ex (29)	Tere qurim bidan-aca Belgütey jasa-ad Ciŋgis	*Tere qurim bidan-aca Belgütey jasa-ad Ciŋgis*
78	worlds were	worlds where
83	while the *-jUGU*	while *-jUGU*
89	from anything	for anything
108, 117	*anpai-*	*ampai-*
110	can attach to word stem	can attach to verb stems
110	question clitics	interrogative clitics
112 table 3		[delete -tqeg-lE from the hearsay square]
113	and in expresses	. It expresses
113	bol-lo	*bol-lo*
113 ex (1)		[adjust alignment!]
115 ex (7)		[adjust alignment!]
116	e.g. (11)	e.g. (11) and
118	*xvlgaa*	*xvlga*
119, 155	Shebertü	Shebertu
125	Ünenceceg	Ünensecen
143	*-luga*	*-lUGA*
148	(cf. (113)	(cf. (113))
151	Byambasan et al. 1988	Byambasan et al. 1987
164 table 7 165 table 9	*-lUgA* / *-gsAn* / *-jUgU* / *-gA* / *a-jugu*	*-lUGA* / *-GsAn* / *-jUGU* / *-GA* / *a-juɣu*
174	or permission.	or permission. Auxiliary verbs such as *ir-* ‘come’ and *yav-* ‘go’ in some cases also contribute to the expression of aspectual meaning.
186 ex (27)	*meshokoo delg-ee=l* sleeping.bag spread.out	*meshok=oo delg-ee=l* sleeping.bag=RP spread.out-C=FOC
187	tympan	thyme
193	The verb *bol-* in (47)	The verb *bol-* in combination with the converb *-j* in (47)
203	prostitute-pl	prostitute-PL
232	epistemic stance	epistemological stance
237	an unclear function.	an unclear function. The combination *yum bai-n* appears to denote general reasoning at least in some contexts.
238	In spoken language, however, it is restricted to a few very specific uses in spoken language,	In spoken language, however, it is restricted to a few very specific uses,
238	relegate it	relegate this
240	relatively conversation	relatively free conversation
240	This corpus	Most of this corpus
168		[biblography: add Chuluu 1998, Byambasan et al. 1987, remove Brosig 2009]