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THE LANGUAGE OF THE CHINESE "SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS"

元朝秘史

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PREFACE

This study was approved in substantially its present form for the degree of Ph.D. in the University of Cambridge in 1955. It represents an attempt to apply the theory and methods of general linguistics in the description of a particular written text, the Chinese version of the "Secret History of the Mongols". This text dates from the late fourteenth century and is the longest text of the period written in the "colloquial", as distinct from the "literary", language.

The methods used in the analysis are such as would, I hope, be accepted in general by linguists everywhere as valid descriptive methods. My own apprenticeship in linguistics was served with Professor J. R. Firth, Professor (now Emeritus) of General Linguistics in the University of London, and the first holder of a Chair bearing that title in Great Britain. Professor Firth, and his colleagues of the Department of Phonetics and Linguistics in the School of Oriental and African Studies, have been responsible for a significant part of the development of linguistic theory in the last quarter century, especially in its application to the description of non-Indo-European languages. I was very fortunate to have Professor Firth to guide me in the preparation of the present work, and it is a great pleasure to me to be able to dedicate it to him. At the same time as expressing my debt of gratitude to Professor Firth I must add that all final responsibility for the work rests with myself and I alone am to be called to account for errors and omissions.

I cannot hope adequately to express my thanks to all those who have helped me in this work. I do want however to indicate my gratitude to Professor W. Simon, my former teacher and Head of the Department of the Far East in the School of Oriental and African Studies, and to Professor E. G. Pulleyblank, under whom I have had the pleasure of working at Cambridge since 1954, for their assistance and continued encouragement. I should also like to thank Professor V. Minorsky, both for his personal interest

and specifically for the loan of his copy of S. A. Kozin's " Sokrovennoje Skazanije " which is not easy to obtain.

I wish to record my great debt to the late Professor G. Haloun, who directed my attention to this text and supervised the work in its early stages during the last year of his life ; and to the late Professor Eve D. Edwards for her kindness and interest throughout.

It is thanks to the generosity of the Philological Society that this book is able to appear in print, and I am most grateful to the Society for admitting it into their series of Publications. In this connection I wish particularly to thank Professor W. S. Allen for his very considerable help in the complicated task of preparing the work for publication and printing.

M. A. K. HALLIDAY.

Cambridge,
July 1958.

NOTE ON THE USE OF CHINESE CHARACTERS AND TRANSCRIPTIONS

All Chinese forms referred to in the text of the book, other than in VII. B and IX. F, are given in Roman transcription. Two separate and distinct transcriptions are used. (1) Forms quoted as linguistic source material are given in my own transcription, of which there are two closely related versions, one for Early New Chinese (the language of the ' Secret History ') and one for Modern Pekingese. This transcription is described in VIII and IX. A, and a complete syllabary is given at the end of the book with a list of corresponding Chinese characters. (2) All other Chinese forms, including bibliographical references, Chinese linguistic terms and the like, are given in Wade transcription, and the Chinese characters corresponding to these items are listed separately following the Chinese syllabary.

For the significance of the numeral indices under (1) and (2) see notes at head of Syllabary and List of Characters respectively.

In VII. B and IX. F the Chinese characters are given in the text itself.

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I. INTRODUCTION

I. 1. " The Secret History of the Mongols " is the name given to a composite text, originally written in Mongolian in the thirteenth century A.D. and published with the addition of a Chinese translation and Chinese Gloss at the end of the fourteenth century. The Chinese title of the whole work, and of the Chinese translation as a separate work, is *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*(1). The Mongolian version probably at first had no title, though the first three words of the present text may originally have been the title of at least part of the work [1]; but the Mongolian title now in current use, Mangqol-un niuča tobča'an, of which the Chinese is a translation, was at some time given to the Mongolian version and later figures as the sub-title of the composite text.

I. 2. The " Secret History " is a personal biography of Genghis Khan, beginning with an outline of the legendary history of the Mongol people and extending, in the last two chapters (designated in one tradition as " supplementary "), to the first part of the reign of Genghis' successor Ogodai Khan. The exact date of composition, as also that of the Chinese translation, is uncertain; the final sentence states that the book was completed in July of the year " Rat ", and this has generally been assumed [2] to refer to the year 1240. Recently however Hung has shown that the year referred to may well be later by one or more twelve-year cycle, himself regarding 1264 as the most likely date.[3] The Chinese translation is thought to have been made not less than a century later, probably soon after the fall of the last Mongol emperor in Peking (1367) but possibly as late as 1404.[4]

[1] " The origins of Genghis Khan ". See William Hung, ' The Transmission of the Book known as " The Secret History of the Mongols " '. See also below, III. 2.

[2] e.g. by Palladius, Haenisch, Pelliot, Kozin and others (for references see below).

[3] op. cit., pp. 487–492.

[4] See Hung, op. cit., pp. 449–469. See also Paul Pelliot, *Histoire secrète des Mongols* (preface, dated 1920), and Erich Haenisch, ' Untersuchungen über das Yüan-ch'ao Pi-shi ' (Section I, Foreword p. 1). Ch'ên Yüan, *Yüan pi-shih i yin yung tzŭ k'ao*, suggests 1389–1398 for the first printed edition of the whole.

The composite text was preserved in China in various manuscript copies and prints, ultimately derived from two separate but not widely divergent originals: the (manuscript encyclopedia) *Yung-lo ta-tien*(2) (1403–1408) edition, now lost, and an early Ming print, roughly contemporary and probably taken from the same original version, of which 41 pages have been preserved. The chief point of difference between the two is that the Yung-lo ta-tien version is divided into 15 chapters, while the other tradition has 12 (10 plus 2 supplementary).[1] Some details of the various copies made of the text in the subsequent period are given below.[2] In 1936 the Commercial Press, Shanghai, brought out an edition of the composite text photo-lithographically reproduced from a copy [3] of the 12-chapter version, with the 41 surviving pages of the original print inserted in place of the corresponding pages of the manuscript copy; it is this edition, forming part of the third series of the great Commercial Press library *Ssŭ-pu ts'ung-k'an*(3), which has been used for the purposes of the present study.

I. 3. The composite text contains the Mongolian version, the Chinese version and the Chinese Gloss. The Mongolian version is written in what we may call "Sino-Mongolian" script: that is, by means of a limited number of Chinese characters used to represent the phonological system of the Mongolian more or less syllabically.[4] The entire text is thus written in Chinese characters. The Gloss, which is interlinear to the Mongolian version, is a complete word-for-word rendering of the Mongolian in Chinese. The Chinese version, which has also been published separately and a commentary added,[5] is a continuous text divided into paragraphs with each paragraph following the Mongolian passage of which it is a translation [6]; it is actually an abridged translation, some passages of the original being left out, though more often

[1] See below, IV. 1.
[2] See III. 4.
[3] The "Ku-certified copy": see below, III. 4.5.
[4] See below, V. passim.
[5] See below, III. 4.5.
[6] For the graphic arrangement of the two versions and the Gloss, see below, IV. 2.

the abridgment takes the form of précis rather than of direct omission.[1]

I.3.1. The Mongolian version is the earliest Mongolian document of any considerable length, and contains many passages in verse, much of it doubtless traditional. The Mongolian text, or an earlier version of it, was used as source material for other contemporary histories; but after the fall of the Mongol empire in China, when the Sino-Mongolian script was no longer used, it was preserved only in the composite text and received little or no further attention until the twentieth century. Since 1900, four separate transcriptions have been made into romanized Mongolian, by Pelliot, Haenisch, Kozin and Shiratori, each, curiously, working independently of the other three [2]; and translations have been made by Naka [3] into Japanese, and by Haenisch [4] into German and Kozin [5] into Russian. There is finally an incomplete French translation by Pelliot.[6,7,8,9]

[1] For a comparison of the two versions, see Haenisch, Untersuchungen, Section IV. (pp. 28–39) which is a (German) translation, by paragraphs in parallel columns, of the Mongolian and Chinese versions of paras. 54–78 (I 34a—II 12b).
[2] Pelliot, *Histoire secrète des Mongols*. Verse passages are indicated typographically.
Erich Haenisch, *Manghol un Niuca Tobca'an* (*Yüan-ch'ao Pi-shi*).
S. A. Kozin, *Sokrovennoje Skazanije* (*Yuan' Chao Bi Shi*). In fact Kozin gives two romanized versions of the text, one a 'trans-transcription' (peretranskribirovanije) of the Sino-Mongolian 'transcription' (script) of the Mongolian, and one a 'direct' transcription of the Mongolian as reconstructed (through the Uighur-Mongolian script) from the Sino-Mongolian. Verse passages as determined by Kozin are printed in verse form.
Shiratori Kurakichi, *Onyaku Mōbun Genchō Hishi*.
Pelliot completed his transcription in 1920, but it was not published until 29 years later, after his death. Haenisch's transcription appeared in 1936, after Haenisch had waited for some time for Pelliot's, of which he knew, to be published. Kozin completed his transcriptions in 1935 and was able to take account of Haenisch's work only in the final editing. Shiratori made the first draft in 1917, but after various revisions it was finally published only in 1942, after his death.
[3] Naka Michiyo, *Chingisu kan jitsuroku*. According to Shiratori (op. cit., p. 3), it was Naka's intention to publish a version of the original Mongolian.
[4] Erich Haenisch, *Die geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*.
[5] Kozin, *Sokrovennoje Skazanije*. Verse passages are rendered into Russian verse.
[6] Pelliot, *Histoire secrète*. The first six (out of twelve) chapters are translated.
[7] Translations of particular passages, with a comparison of their renderings by Haenisch, Kozin and Pelliot, have been made by Antoine Mostaert, 'Sur quelques passages de l'Histoire secrète des Mongols'.

I. 3.2. The question of the script in which the original version of the Mongolian text was written down is a matter of uncertainty. Palladius (Kafarov), the first European scholar to pay attention to the text, thought that the original version was written in Uighur-Mongolian script and had been lost [1]; and this view, perhaps the most widely accepted [2], was reinforced by the discovery by Pelliot in the late nineteen-twenties in the library of Ulan-Bator of a manuscript containing large parts of the "Secret History" in Uighur-Mongolian script.[3] This manuscript was published in two volumes in Ulan-Bator in 1938 and is regarded by Kozin, who gives a transcription of it in the same volume with his two transcriptions of the "Secret History", as an attempt by seventeenth-century Mongol Buddhist scholars to rewrite the Mongolian text from the Sino-Mongolian script into the then current Uighur-Mongolian script; Kozin holds the view that the only original form of the text was the Sino-Mongolian version,[4] a view which Franke likewise regards as a possibility.[5] A third view, held by Hattori,[6] is that the original version was in hPags-pa script, while Poppe envisages the possibility that the Uighur-Mongolian original was first transcribed into hPags-pa and thence into Sino-Mongolian.[7]

[8] There is also a Turkish translation: Ahmet Temir, *Moğollarin Gizli Tarihi* (Vol. I, Translation), Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1948. The author made use of both Haenisch's and Kozin's translations.

[9] Since this was written, a detailed study of the language of the Mongolian version has been made by J. C. Street (*The language of the Secret History of the Mongols*). In his bibliography (p. 78), Street makes the following entry: 'Cleaves, Francis Woodman (1955), *The Secret History of the Mongols*, Volume I (Translation), (?) 1955; Volume II (Commentary), 195?; Cambridge, Massachusetts'. I have not seen this work of Cleaves.

[1] Palladius (Kafarov), 'Starinnoje mongol'skoje skazanije o Cingischane'.

[2] e.g. by Haenisch, *Die geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*, p. 1; Paul Pelliot, 'Le Hōja et le Sayyid Ḥusain de l'Histoire des Ming', p. 231; Shiratori, op. cit., Editor's Foreword p. 1.

[3] Paul Pelliot, 'Un passage altéré dans le texte mongol ancien de l'Histoire secrète des Mongols'. Pelliot regards the manuscript as descended from the original, Uighur-Mongolian version of the text, but notes that it contains errors not found in the Sino-Mongolian version.

[4] op. cit., Introduction pts. 1, 2, especially p. 25.

[5] Otto Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches*, V. Band, pp. 7–10.

[6] Hattori Shirō, *Genchō Hishi no mōkogo wo arawasu kanji no kenkyū*.

[7] N. Poppe, (review of) 'Paul Pelliot, Histoire Secrète des Mongols'.

I. 3.3. Whereas the Mongolian version has for some time occupied the interest of linguists and historians, the Chinese version has until recently been little studied: being a translation, and moreover abridged, its main interest is in the field of Chinese linguistics. Here, however, it is of particular interest, in that it is composed not in the literary language but in what may by opposition be referred to as "colloquial". It has been translated once only, by Palladius [1]; but its unique position as a long continuous narrative in "colloquial" language of its date places it in the forefront of source material for descriptive and historical studies of the Chinese language.

I. 4. The present work is concerned with the description of the language of the Chinese version. A cursory reading shows that the language is not literary Chinese, though forms taken from the literary language, rare in the first half of the book, appear with much greater frequency in the final chapters; and that it resembles the Mandarin dialect of the present day rather than any of the dialects of the south. It gives the impression of being racy and colourful, but without great stylistic merit (as indeed there was no recognized literary genre to which it could aspire and by which it could be judged). The language clearly permits comparison with Modern Pekingese, and one possible approach to its study would be by means of a detailed presentation of those points in which it differs from Modern Pekingese; but in view partly of the absence of a comprehensive systematic description of any form of the latter, and partly of the extent of the text, this being such as to allow a particular (that is, non-comparative) statement especially of its grammar and vocabulary, it has seemed preferable to attempt an exhaustive description of the language of the text in its own terms, reference being made to Modern Pekingese where points of comparison presented themselves.

Those familiar with the language of other examples of "collo-

[1] op. cit. Translators of the Mongolian have of course made use of the Chinese version; and Haenisch: Untersuchungen, p. 4, states that he himself made a second translation but did not publish it, regarding it as of little value beside a translation made directly from the Mongolian version.

quial" Chinese literature, such as the Yüan drama and the Ming novels, will recognize many points of similarity. These have not been separately noted, as to do so exhaustively would require an equally thorough study of the language of such texts. It would indeed be desirable that further descriptive studies should be made of the language of some texts representative of these genres and periods; the present work might then contribute towards a systematic comparison and later a historical account linking the stages of North Chinese through a study of representative documents from the present day up to the time of the " Secret History of the Mongols ".

II. METHOD OF ANALYSIS

II. 1. The present work is a descriptive grammar of the Chinese language of the " Secret History of the Mongols "; " descriptive grammar " is here taken to mean a complete synchronic linguistic analysis of the text. It is customary for a descriptive account to be divided into sections, with headings such as " phonology " and " syntax ", dealing with different levels of the analysis. This method of division into sections has been adopted here; and the word " grammar " has been used—also in conformity with traditional usage—to denote one of the sections of the analysis. This ambiguity, in the use of the word " grammar " both in the characterization of the whole as " descriptive grammar " and in the heading of one of the sections, has been tolerated in preference to the use of " syntax " as a section heading, because of the implied opposition of " syntax " to "morphology ", an opposition which it is not desired to make here.

II. 1.1. The procedures of descriptive grammar are deduced from the principles of linguistic science in accordance with the place of descriptive analysis in the framework of general linguistics. The accustomed distinction into " descriptive " and " historical " (or " synchronic " and " diachronic ") is perhaps inadequate to give the complete perspective to either, and an alternative scheme—necessarily one among many possible such schemes—could be drawn up for ordering the disciplines controlled by general linguistics in a two-dimensional framework: one axis would represent the scope of the study in terms of the material, with division into " particular ", " comparative " and "universal " (according as the object of study is (part of) one language, a finite number of languages greater than one or all languages); the other would represent the attitude of the linguist to the material, whether " descriptive ", " historical " or " evolutionary ".[1] According to this a historical study is a series of

[1] Cf. my ' Some aspects of systematic description and comparison in grammatical analysis ', p. 56.

descriptive studies (to which comparative techniques may have been applied) arranged according to a time-construct, whereas an evolutionary study is essentially a study of *change*. Thus a descriptive study of the type here undertaken will take its place in a historical study to be made up from a series of such descriptive statements. The totality of such statements is historical in the sense that they are ordered in a time-sequence ; they can be subjected, in whole or in part, to a comparative analysis which will take this time-sequence into account. The resulting historical statement will not be evolutionary since it will not deal with change in certain isolated forms but with forms functioning as terms in successive synchronic systems.

II. 1.2. The descriptive technique is applicable to all texts, of any extent, spoken or written ; the description requires only that the text shall be circumscribed so that the statements refer to the language of the text and are made as valid only for that text. In addition to the delimiting of the text it is desirable that the aim and scope of the inquiry should be formulated, so that the statement can be correctly evaluated and that it may be clear how the choice between alternative methods of statement has been guided.[1] The description may then be characterized as one method, selected for simplicity and comprehensiveness, of statement of the material, by its systematization into formally marked categories ; the categories have no " universality " but are set up to handle the meaning of the text in linguistic (and not, for instance, propositional) terms.

II. 2. The procedure to be adopted can be generalized into a system of techniques which have evolved out of the scientific practice of linguists from the ancient world down to the present, to which all cultures and all periods have contributed. Like the techniques of other sciences they reflect and at the same time influence the scientific trends of their times, and advances made

[1] For the suggestion that the aim of the description should determine which of two (or more) exhaustive and consistent forms of statement should be preferred, cf. H. Spang-Hanssen, ' On the Simplicity of Descriptions '.

by divergent " schools " of linguistics have become the common ground of all. Progress in recent decades has been considerable, and it is significant that in 1951 an international commission meeting in Paris under the auspices of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies of UNESCO was able to draw up certain recommendations, by following which linguists engaged in descriptive grammar could ensure that their work would rest on a sound basis of up-to-date linguistic theory.

II. 2.1. Firth, in his introduction to the Report of the Commission,[1] commented on the degree of progress and extent of agreement in linguistics that made the recommendation possible. " During the last thirty years linguistics has made great advances and to-day may be said to be in the van of the social sciences " (p. 70). " All the various streams contribute in varying volume and strength to present-day schools of linguistics, each of which has well marked characteristics and specialized interests. But in the fundamentals of descriptive grammar there is general agreement which is to some extent expressed in the recommendations of the Paris symposium which provide the occasion for this article " (p. 73). Basing himself on these " fundamentals ", the linguist can approach his material and state his results, in such a manner that his work is of the greater value to others in his field.

II. 2.2. Of the treatment of the material, Firth says : " Language text must be attributed to participants in some context of situation in order that its modes of meaning may be stated at a series of levels, which taken together form a sort of linguistic spectrum. In this ' spectrum ' the meaning of the whole event is dispersed and dealt with by a hierarchy of linguistic techniques descending from social contextualization to phonology " (p. 76). A descriptive grammar of the language of a given text deals with " the meaning of the whole event " ; the meaning is not separate from or opposed to the linguistic form but is a function of the

[1] J. R. Firth, ' General Linguistics and Descriptive Grammar '.

whole text. The complete text has meaning in the social context in which it operates, and this is to be stated by the procedure of " contextualization ". Commenting on the Report, Firth points out: " It will be noticed that ' linguistic forms ' are considered to have ' meanings ' at the grammatical and lexical levels, such ' meanings ' being determined by inter-relations of the forms in the grammatical systems set up for the language " (p. 85). Each element has meaning " with reference to the specific system of which it is a ' term,' ' unit ' or ' member ' in a given language " (ibid.). The words (the units of lexical statement) of the text function in inter-relations of collocation and in " ordered series "; grammatical forms are ranged as terms in paradigmatic systems and operate in syntagmatic relations in the structure. The comprehensive statement of such relations is the statement of the meaning of the text at these levels.

II. 2.3. The whole of the Report of the Commission serves to guide the linguist in his approach to the material. " The recommendations ", it is stated in the Report, " . . . are not put forward as a formal scheme of description. In each case the method of analysis and description to be employed should be synchronic in principle and appropriate to the structure of the language under examination. The intention is simply to bring out certain general and necessary requirements for the descriptions of the type desired " (pp. 77–8). A number of the detailed recommendations have a direct bearing on the present work: these need not be listed here, but the closing paragraph of Firth's commentary may well be stressed. " Finally ", says Firth, " there is nothing revolutionary or strikingly new in the recommendations. The important thing is that linguists of most schools would, I imagine, agree that any account of a modern spoken language which followed the recommendations would to-day be considered a good descriptive grammar " (p. 87). The question to be asked here is: what then of the application of these recommendations to an account of the language of a written text some six centuries old ?

II. 3. If the recommendations are to be valid for this purpose the aim of the description must be congruent with the aims envisaged by the compilers of the Report. The task here undertaken is the presentation, by means of a comprehensive statement in its own terms, of the language of a certain text, the Chinese translation of the " Secret History of the Mongols ". The aim of the account is, initially, purely descriptive: to make statements valid for this language. As a wider aim it is envisaged that the description may form part of a historical analysis composed of a series of descriptive statements arranged in time-sequence; and that the description, or parts of it, may be subjected to comparative treatment in juxtaposition both with other descriptive parts of the same historical statement and with other descriptive statements of languages where comparison will show systematic relationship.[1] The task is prescribed for the purpose of the statement and in any case limits itself, since we have no other text of the period in the same language (" colloquial " not " literary ") and style.[2] The approach to the material is thus congruent with the aims envisaged by the Report.

II. 3.1. The problem of application of the descriptive techniques as outlined in the recommendations lies in their application in general to a written text and in particular to a written text so complex in history and structure as the " Secret History of the Mongols ". The recommendations made in the Report concerning the description at the grammatical and lexical levels present no special problems in their application to a written text as such. The order of analysis and of presentation of the material, where it is felt that the procedure should be from the larger to the smaller unit, beginning with the text as a whole and working towards the features of articulation, not only may be retained: it is indeed the more desirable in handling a written text in that it involves moving from the known towards the unknown. At the two

[1] For " relationship " as a function of systems, see W. S. Allen, ' Relationship in Comparative Linguistics ', esp. pp. 89–95.

[2] For the use of the word " style ", see below, III. 2; for " colloquial " and " literary ", see III. 3.

" outer " levels of contextualization and phonology, however, special problems arise in connection with a written text, and these will be dealt with in the respective sections (III and VIII). Moreover at least one other level of analysis is required by a written text, for statements to be made concerning the script, punctuation and so forth ; and for the " Secret History of the Mongols " it has seemed desirable to discuss this aspect under two headings : " Graphic Analysis " which treats of the outward form of the written text, and " Script and Language " which treats of the script and its relation to the language of the text.

The description has thus been arranged in a series of six sections, in each of which statements are made about the language of the text at a particular level of descriptive analysis : contextualization, graphic analysis, script and language, grammar, lexis, and phonology and transcription.

III. CONTEXTUALIZATION

III. 1. Any text functions in a context, from which can be abstracted certain features relevant to the descriptive analysis. The context of a written text of the past is more complex, and more difficult to evaluate and make abstraction from, than that of a contemporary spoken language text. A written text of the past can be said to have context in two dimensions, arising out of the effect of writing on the place of a linguistic event on the time-track. On the one hand, the text of the Chinese translation of the " Secret History of the Mongols " exists to-day as a historical work and work of Chinese literature, and as such is read and used by various people for various purposes. On the other hand, the text has been in existence for some six hundred years and has its own " history ". It is not necessary to insist on " two contexts " ; the point is rather that a written text can be contextualized at any moment from the time of its being written down, so that its context could be presented " diachronically " in a series of " synchronic " statements.[1]

III. 1.1. Of the use of contextualization in linguistic analysis, Firth has said that the concept of context of situation " is best used as a suitable schematic construct to apply to language events, and that it is a group of related categories at a different level from grammatical analysis but rather of the same abstract nature. A context of situation for linguistic work brings into relation the following categories :—

A. The relevant features of participants : persons, personalities.
   (i) The Verbal Action of the Participants.
   (ii) The Non-Verbal Action of the Participants.
B. The relevant objects.
C. The effect of the Verbal Action.

Contexts of situation and types of language function can then be grouped and classified." Context is " parallel with grammatical

[1] I ignore here the specialized context of its use by linguists as a basis for linguistic statements, which it shares with all linguistic source material.

rules, and based on the repetitive routines of initiated persons in the society under description." [1] In the context of a written text the same basic categories require to be brought into relation, since they are related *in the event* as with a spoken text. There will however be differences of emphasis: different features require to be marked, since the factors determining the two types of linguistic behaviour (including their effects) are different. In the situation in which a written text operates the form taken by the linguistic activity is socially determined as with an utterance; but the fact that the one is written and not spoken itself imposes certain requirements on the elements composing the text, which the nature of the script modifies in various ways. The literary form suited to the social role of the text is determined, as also the style; and literary form and style further impose their own requirements.

III. 1.2. The most significant difference in the treatment, however, does lie in the "two-dimensional" contextualization. This can be seen in terms of the relation of the writer to the other participants in the situation.[2] Since the creative effect of linguistic activity is indirect, that is through the action of other human beings, participants, there is no (or very little) non-linguistic action on the part of a writer; the relevant features of the writer as a personality are observable only in his linguistic action (are internal, so to speak, to the text) so that, once the text is in existence, the writer ceases to function in the situation and is replaced by the text as "participant". In this way the linguistic activity of the writer continues to have creative effect long after it has taken place, through participants in an extended situation: extended not only by simple extension in time (for the creative effect of the spoken word can operate for long periods) but by the extension of the actor-participant relation into a new dimension. This extension arises out of the nature of writing

[1] J. R. Firth, 'Personality and Language in Society'.

[2] I retain the term "situation" for the whole diachronic framework of events within which the text operates. Readers of the text in 1955 are participants in this situation.

(though the tape-recorder has now done the same for speech) and has nothing to do with the written "style", although the latter may determine its creative effect.

III. 2. The style of a written text is the sum total of the linguistic features through which the text operates in a specific function, this function being abstracted as common to a class of writing and marking it off from other classes. In this sense the "Secret History of the Mongols" is a narrative text. The word "history" did not figure in the original title of the Mongolian version.[1] The Mongolian version is in fact by content a biographical rather than a historical narrative; moreover it includes many passages of traditional wording and of dialogue. Its style may be characterized as "narrative, partly traditional, with dialogue in direct speech".[2] Since the Chinese version is a translation, the element of traditional narrative is lost, and the style is simple narrative. The dialogue remains throughout in direct speech. Differences in the language between passages of narrative and those of dialogue do occur; they are differences of style due to context (particularly the special context of dialogue in a narrative text) but must be taken into account in any statistical analysis.[3]

III. 2.1. It is not known whether the Mongolian version was taken down from oral narrative or composed in writing; while the former may be the more probable, in either case in a language with no previous written literature the implication of narrative style is no more than free oral narrative with the influence of traditional narrative (the presence of traditional forms of utterance), much of which is clearly marked here by alliteration and

[1] See Hung, 'The Transmission of the Book known as "The Secret History of the Mongols"', pp. 465 sqq. The first three words of this version "Činggis-qahan-u huja'ur" "The origin of Genghis Khan" were probably a title of part of the book, but there seems to have been no original title to the whole work. Cf. above, I. 1.

[2] There is very little "oratio obliqua", as shown by the pronominal reference of the dialogue.

[3] e.g. the interrogative mood (see VI B. 2.6 and VI C. 2.6) is found only in passages of dialogue, while imperative is frequent in "indirect commands".

chiming in initial syllables. For the Chinese version, however, the implication of narrative style is somewhat different. First, the Chinese version is indirect narrative : the author experienced the events he was narrating not directly but through the medium of a written text in another language. Second, the Chinese version was composed in writing. Third, Chinese was a language in which a long accumulation of written literature had replaced oral texts and developed a language and traditional styles of its own.

III. 3. The language of the " Secret History ", however, is *not* " literary Chinese " : this is in fact its significant feature, and therefore the language in which it is written is designated, by opposition to " literary ", as " colloquial Chinese ".[1]

III. 3.1. The use of the term " colloquial " tends to carry its own implications, but it should not be taken in itself to imply a definite relation to any form of the spoken language of the time : indeed the relation of the language of " colloquial " written texts to that of speech has not yet so far as I know been stated clearly either in general or with reference to any particular texts. Nevertheless there is a clear, if partial, implication in the use of " colloquial " here. The linguistically active participant (speaker or writer) in any situation derives the forms of his expression from his own experience, and it may be possible to determine, to a certain extent, what were the limits of his experience. In a language with *no* written texts his experience must be purely auditory : this does not mean that it has no element of tradition, since there may be traditional oral texts whose language is marked as different from that of normal communication. In a language such as Chinese, however, with (by this time) a long written tradition, a writer tends to draw almost exclusively on his reading experience, the more so (since he must make a selection between the two) as the divergence

[1] cf. P. Demiéville, " Archaïsmes de prononciation en chinois vulgaire ", p. 47 (on the use of the terms " vulgaire " and " littéraire ").

increases between the forms of what he reads and those of what he hears. Some forms in the " Secret History ", particularly in the later chapters, are clearly drawn from written texts ; the language as a whole, however, cannot be traced to earlier written texts and must originate in the author's auditory experience. Thus in naming the language of the Chinese version " colloquial " we exclude the " literary language " and imply that it is based on the author's own direct experience of speech ; and, since this is a narrative text, the strongest influence should be that of spoken narrative, possibly the style of the story-teller to the extent that the latter would admit of being adapted to a context of translation.

III. 3.2. The identification of the language and style of the text provides a framework for its diachronic contextualization. As this contextualization will show, the relation of the " Secret History " to other works in the same style and language is somewhat unusual. The origin and history of the work have been discussed in general terms in Section I. Much of the early history remains uncertain : it is not known at what point the three versions became a single text nor for how long any version was in existence before this happened. As noted above, Hung has proposed a scheme for the putting together of the text into its present form.[1] The Chinese version was probably not composed until the Mongolian text had been in existence for about a hundred years (the omission from the Chinese version *and the Gloss* of some difficult Mongolian words, which may have become obsolete in the interval, has been pointed out by Ch'ên [2]). The use of " colloquial " language places it in a contemporary context " outside the pale " of Chinese literature ; and if, as has been suggested, it was composed soon after the foundation of the Ming dynasty when a number of Mongolian documents were brought from Peking to the Ming court and printed for the use of students of the Mongolian language being trained by the Ming

[1] op. cit., pp. 465–481.
[2] Ch'ên Yüan, *Yüan pi-shih i yin yung tzŭ k'ao*, p. 29b.

government, this use of " colloquial " would point to its having been prepared for the training of interpreters. On the other hand many of the Chinese documents of the Mongol dynasty were written in a form of " colloquial " so that, if the Chinese version of the " Secret History " was composed before the end of that dynasty, the existence of such documents, together with the one form of " colloquial " literature, the drama, which flourished in the Mongol period, provided a background of non-literary writing as the social context in which the text could operate.

III. 3.3. However, in spite of this uncertainty about the origin of the text, there is one aspect of its context in which it can be said with some certainty to be unique. While for the purpose of descriptive grammar a text is circumscribed and statements are made as valid only for that text, it is true nevertheless that with a written text one can set up certain criteria for placing it in the context of a corpus of written texts which together constitute one " language " (état de langue) ; statements made as valid for one text in the corpus may then be taken unless disproved to apply to the others. Such a corpus requires a unity, whose limits cannot be generalized, of time, place, language and style. There is no other text which shares with the Chinese version of the " Secret History " its time and place of composition and a common language (colloquial not literary) and style (narrative not documentary or dramatic). In this sense the " Secret History " can be said to present an " état de langue " in itself.

III. 4. One can thus establish a context for the " Secret History " by setting out a series of reconstructions at different points in time at which the text is known to have been the object of attention ; the whole will form the " context of situation " of the work in 1955. Here the task of the linguist is not perhaps to trace the history of a particular manuscript or other form of the text considered as a concrete object so much as to treat of the text as a linguistic abstraction from the sum total of attested events in which it has participated. In this way the contextual

framework will be seen not as a single series of events in chronological sequence but rather as a series of such " chronologies " each one based on the participation of the text in events of one type. An example of a type or " class " of event would be the use of the text as source material by historians. Certain classes of events would by definition be restricted to one event, and therefore to one point of chronology : for instance the composition of the text. For other classes the chronology might be coextensive with the whole history of the text.

For the " Secret History " the following series of chronologies can be recognized :

III. 4.1. Composition of Mongolian (original) version of the " Secret History ", probably entitled Činggis-qahan-u huja'ur " The origins of Genghis Khan ". Suggested dates : 1240 (traditional), 1252 (Grousset),[1] 1264 (Hung)[2] : see colophon to the text (XII 58 ; 282), where the year is specified as one (the year " Rat ") in a twelve-year cycle.[3]

III. 4.2. Composition of Chinese version of the " Secret History " in abridged translation from the Mongolian original ; its compilation into single work with Mongolian version in Sino-Mongolian script and with addition of Chinese Gloss. This should be divided into three stages, though we cannot be certain of the exact ordering of the events, which might have taken place without interval.

(i) First stage : Interlinear insertion of Chinese Gloss to Mongolian version in Sino-Mongolian script (with or without Mongolian version in other presumed " original " script, Uighur or hPags-pa).

(ii) Second stage : Composition of Chinese version entitled

[1] R. Grousset, *L'Empire Mongol*, Paris, 1941 (quoted by Hung).
[2] op. cit., p. 490.
[3] I give no further chronology for the Mongolian version. There is little doubt that it was in fact used as source material for Mongol histories (see Hung, op. cit., especially the diagram on p. 481). For the translation of the colophon, see e.g. Haenisch, *Die geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*. For explanation of references to the text, see below, IV. 1.1 n.

Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih (1) (the translator did not necessarily see the Gloss, and (ii) may have preceded (i) in time).

(iii) Third stage: Compilation of text in present form (interlinear Gloss, intersectional Chinese version, Mongolian version in Sino-Mongolian script only, with certain changes from Sino-Mongolian script of (i) [1]).

Date: some time, probably extending over a number of years, in the period 1369–1404. (Stage (ii), if it preceded stage (i), may antedate this period.)

III. 4.3. Use of the text as linguistic teaching and reference material. It is possible that 2 (iii) should figure here, if the purpose of compilation in this form was solely for the use of interpreters. In any case the text once compiled was probably so used.

(i) Use of text in training Chinese as Mongolian interpreters.

(ii) First printing of text, probably for inclusion in enlarged Sino-foreign vocabularies (*Hua-i i-yü*) (4). Probable date: between 1404 and 1418. Use of text in conjunction with Chinese-Mongolian vocabulary (which already formed part of first edition of *Hua-i i-yü* (1389) before inclusion of the "Secret History").[2]

III. 4.4. Inclusion of the text in official compilations. A copy (extant) of the Chinese version alone was submitted to the compilers of the (manuscript) encyclopedia *Yung-lo ta-tien* (2) for inclusion, but in the event the complete text was incorporated: the text was thus officially marked for preservation.

(i) Inclusion of text in official compilation *Yung-lo ta-tien*: in fifteen chapters, forming chapters (volumes) 5179–5193 of the encyclopedia. Date of compilation of *Yung-lo ta-tien* 1403–1408.

(ii) A copy (presumed indirect) of the *Yung-lo ta-tien* edition was made by Sun Ch'êng-tsê (5) (1592–1676) as Book 9 of his

[1] see Ch'ên, op. cit., pp. 28, 29.

[2] For a detailed account of the Hua-i i-yü see Marian Lewicki, *La langue mongole des transcriptions chinoises du XIV^e siècle. Le Houa-yi yi-yu de 1389.*

compilation *Yüan-ch'ao tien-ku pien-nien k'ao* (6); Sun's whole work included in the official encyclopedia *Ssŭ-k'u ch'üan-shu* (7) (1773–1782). (Since the "Secret History" occurred in Sun's work it was not copied separately from the *Yung-lo ta-tien* into the *Ssŭ-k'u ch'üan-shu.*)

III. 4.5. The text in Chinese scholarship and bibliography. The work was recorded by a number of scholars as being in their possession; some of these scholars wrote colophons to the text.

(i) Inclusion in Sun Ch'êng-tsê's *Yüan-ch'ao tien-ku pien-nien k'ao* (see 4 (ii)).

(ii) Wan Kuang-t'ai (8) (1712–1750) compiled volume of selections from Chinese version in 2 Chapters (chüan) (25) and preface, entitled *Yüan pi-shih lüeh* (9).

(iii) Ch'ien Ta-hsin (10) (1728–1804) wrote colophon to 15-chapter MS copy in his possession.

(iv) Pao T'ing-po (11) (1728–1814) collated copy in 15 chapters. (This copy reached Palladius (Kafarov) in 1872 (see below, 6 (ii)).)

(v) Juan Yüan (12) (1764–1849) discovered MS, 15-chapter copy in Hangchow.

(vi) Ku Kuang-ch'i (13) (1776–1835) certified a 12-chapter copy (indirect) of the printed text, collating it with Ch'ien Ta-hsin's 15-chapter copy (see (iii)).

(vii) Chang Mu (14) (1805–1879) copied Chinese version only from *Yung-lo ta-tien* in 1841 and in 1848 printed it in his *Lien-yün-i ts'ung-shu* (15).

(viii) Li Wên-t'ien (16) (1834–1898) wrote commentary on Chang Mu's edition, entitled *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih chu* (17), published in 1898.

(ix) Shên Tsêng-chih (18) (1850–1922) copied Chang Mu's version and wrote a commentary; his manuscript was acquired by Kuo Tsê-yün (19) who printed it in 1945 in his *Ching-chi-t'ang ts'ung-shu* (20).

(x) Wên T'ing-shih (21) (1856–1904) acquired Ku Kuang-ch'i's 12-chapter copy (see (vi)) and had it recopied, presenting the recopy to Naitō Torajirō (1866–1934) in 1902; the latter

recopied and sent it to Naka Michiyo (1851–1908) in Tokyo (see below, 6 (i)).

(xi) Wên T'ing-shih's own copy acquired by Yeh Têh-hui (22) (1864–1927) who published it in 1908 in wood-block edition entitled *Mêng-wên Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* (23).

(xii) Commercial Press, Shanghai, issued photolithographic reprint (in *Ssŭ-pu ts'ung-k'an* (3)) of Ku Kuang-ch'i's certified text (see (vi)), with 41 pages replaced by corresponding pages discovered of original printed edition, of which Ku's (indirect) copy was a facsimile.

III. 4.6. The study of the text in modern China, in Japan and in the west.

(i) Palladius (Kafarov) acquired Pao T'ing-po's 15-chapter copy (see above, 5 (iv)) and published Russian translation of Chinese version (printed edition in Vol. IV of the "Works of Members of the Russian Church Mission in Peking", 1910).

(ii) Naka Michiyo (see above, 5 (x)) published Japanese translation on basis of both Mongolian and Chinese versions, entitled *Chingisu kan jitsuroku* (1907).

(iii) Through the work of these scholars the text has become generally known, and problems of language (e.g. the "reconstruction" of the Mongolian, i.e. its transcription into Roman or Uighur; grammar and vocabulary), the translation and the history of the text have occupied the attention of such scholars as Haenisch, Pelliot, Kozin, Shiratori and Ch'ên. For the titles of the works of these and other scholars relating to the various aspects of the "Secret History", see below (Appendix F: Bibliography).

(iv) The text in translation in various languages is now available to historians and others as source material, and has been so used e.g. by Vladimirtsov. (Since the Mongolian version has been interpreted, the Chinese version no longer figures in this context, being itself incomplete.)

(v) In contemporary scholarship problems of the text continue to occupy a prominent position, with, for example, Mostaert's

detailed discussion of points of translation, Hung's study of the transmission of the text and the discussion between Hattori and Kobayashi concerning the original script of the Mongolian version. For the titles of such works, see Bibliography.

III. 4.7. The text as literature in modern China. There is little mention of the text in works on Chinese literature and it is not recognized as having literary merit. Because it is unique in its combination of language and style, it does not fall into any currently recognized literary genre: it is not wên-yen ("literary" language) nor can it be classified with the great novels of the "colloquial" literature.[1] It can be fairly said that the "Secret History" is not read as literature in China to-day.[2] In the *Ssŭ-pu ts'ung-k'an*, the edition used in the present work, it is classified as "history".

III. 4.8. The use of the text in the present work. From the point of view of this analysis the present study of the text represents the final point of contextualization. In this event the text participates as linguistic "informant": in fact as an informant who is himself a linguist, in virtue of the plurilingual character of the text. This final stage in the reconstructed context of situation completes (again for the present analysis) the chain of creative effect of the original event, the writing of the text; this is admittedly a specialized form of context, but a significant one in that it requires that all linguistic events should be *recorded* and thus by a self-conscious process links the context of a written with that of a spoken text.

[1] Its nearest relative is perhaps the short story, such as those in the collection *Ku chin hsiao-shuo* (24). It is these short stories with which a systematic linguistic comparison should first be made; together with the Yüan drama, with which especially the dialogue passages of the "Secret History" might well be compared.

[2] The situation seems to be different in Mongolia, where it appears the Mongolian version of the "Secret History" is now well known. This is to be expected in view of the position of Genghis Khan as a national hero, the unifier of the Mongol peoples.

III. 4.9. The above is offered as one method of contextualization for a written text. It is not a history of the text, but an abstraction of what are, for the linguist, the relevant features of past and present events in which the text has participated in one form or another. Such a scheme is put forward to correspond with the analysis at the level of context envisaged for a spoken text by the recommendations contained in the Report.[1]

[1] Much of the material for the above section is to be found in the article (op. cit.) by William Hung. It should be stressed, however, that Hung's purpose was the study of the transmission of the text in particular, concrete forms: original print, copies, etc. The data are presented here as facts relevant to context, this providing a broad basis for the treatment of the text as a restricted language.

IV. GRAPHIC ANALYSIS

IV. 1. In the transmission of the "Secret History of the Mongols" the original format of the text has been preserved with remarkable accuracy. This is undoubtedly due to its form as a bilingual text with a complete Gloss. Apart from textual variants, the only formal inconsistency in the tradition is that two separate divisions of the text into chapters (chüan) (25) have come down to us. In one tradition the text is divided into 15 chapters; this goes back to the *Yung-lo ta-tien* edition, the "Secret History" comprising chüan 5179–5193 of the great encyclopedia. In the other tradition the text is divided into 12 chapters, actually 10 plus 2 designated "supplementary" (hsü) (25); this goes back to the Ming print, as seen in the fragments, 41 pages in all, that have been preserved. In both, however, the number and division of paragraphs is identical. There are 282 paragraphs in all, and the division into chapters of the two versions of the text is shown in the following table, which indicates the paragraph with which each chapter begins:

12 ch.: 1 69 104 127 148 170 186 198 209 230 247 265
15 ch.: 1 69 97 119 141 154 170 186 198 208 225 239 247 265 277

Four of the chapters are thus the same length in both versions: 1, 6 (7), 7 (8) and 11 (13); and the 15-chapter version has a chapter division at the point where the "supplement" in the 12-chapter version begins.

IV. 1.1. With the Mongolian version as the starting-point, the Gloss may be called "interlinear" in arrangement and the Chinese version "intersectional" (by paragraphs).[1] Each complete paragraph is given first in Mongolian with interlinear Gloss; this is then followed by the complete paragraph in Chinese, so that the division into paragraphs is fixed and clear. In the Commercial Press edition of Ku Kuang-ch'i's certified copy, which is the edition I have used for the purposes of this study,[2]

[1] On the arrangement of the text see also Street, op. cit., p. 1.
[2] *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih, Ssŭ-pu ts'ung-k'an* edition (3rd series, History), Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1936: 10 chüan. (Chapters 8–9 and 10–11 each form one chüan (bound volume) in this edition.)

the pages are numbered by chapters, each page having, as always in traditional Chinese book-production, two sides. The number of pages in the twelve chapters is as follows : 1 : 49 2 : 51 3 : 50 4 : 51 5 : 51 6 : 54 7 : 50 8 : 58 9 : 49 10 : 45 11 : 53 12 : 58. In the original Ming print, as shown by the fragments, the pagination is also continuous, so that, for example, page 40 of Chapter 8 is page 396 in the original print.[1]

IV. 2. Each page of the text is divided into five columns by vertical lines running between the upper and lower margins. The Mongolian text is written (like the Chinese, vertically) in large characters at the left side of the column, with the Gloss in smaller characters to its right. The position, and size of print, of the Mongolian relative to the Chinese version are those of a text as opposed to a commentary. Unlike a continuous Chinese text, however, the Mongolian has subdivisions whose presence is indicated in the first place by spaces occurring between groups of characters. These spaces vary considerably in extent ; in the first three chapters there is a tendency for them to be divided into long and short spaces corresponding to " piece "-divisions and word-divisions, but after Chapter 3 the length of spacing is quite arbitrary, so that for the text as a whole we can recognize simply word-division as a feature of the script of the Mongolian version.[2] The number of characters in a word ranges from one to about ten.

[1] All references to the Chinese version of the text are given, first by chapter and page, second by paragraph and line. The page is further marked a or b, indicating recto or verso. The number of the line is the number of the piece (the unit of punctuation) in the paragraph, following the Commercial Press edition subject to the correction of a small number of misprints (see below, Appendix E.) So for example the reference (IV. 38b ; 144.10) is to line (piece) number 10 of paragraph 144, which is on page 38, verso, of Chapter 4. References to pages falling within the fragments of the Ming print incorporated in this edition give the continuous pagination in parentheses, thus : (VII. 30a (336a) ; 194. 15), thus showing that the page in question is one of the 41 preserved.

[2] In fact even the word is not always identifiable by the spacing, which is sometimes sacrificed for appearance or economy of paper. Nevertheless this spacing is a definite feature of the Sino-Mongolian script, and its omission may be regarded as an inconsistency in the use of the script. In these instances the word can always be identified by other means ; see below, IV. 2.1.1 n.

IV. 2.1. To the right of each Mongolian word is the Chinese Gloss to that word, so that the word of the Mongolian can be further recognized by its being the unit of the Gloss. The unit of the Gloss corresponding to one Mongolian word may be referred to as a " gloss ", using a small g. The number of characters in a gloss ranges also from one to about ten, and the glosses are generally also marked off by spaces one from another, although the setting of the Mongolian (being the primary text) is not altered to make room for a more lengthy gloss so that the spacing of the latter is sometimes omitted.

IV. 2.1.1. Each gloss stands in one of two formal relations to the Mongolian word, and it is this feature that always permits an unambiguous identification of the latter. Either the two are simply juxtaposed ; or, much more frequently, they are marked as linked by means of a bracket.[1] The bracket is open to the left, thus grouping together the characters of a Mongolian word (the limits of which, in the Sino-Mongolian script, would of course be unrecognizable to a Chinese who did not know Mongolian without the aid of such a formal device). Bracketed glosses are 'translations' of the Mongolian. Unbracketed glosses are 'designations', and there are only some twenty different designation glosses, almost all indicating some kind of proper name : for example řin miŋ " name of a man ", ho_3 miŋ " name of a river ".[2, 3]

[1] Where the Mongolian word consists of only one character a dash is used instead of a bracket ; this is equivalent to the hinge of a bracket (indicating a relationship between the two sides) without the bracket (which is required only when two or more characters are to be shown as grouped together). It is the bracket (or dash) which serves as the formal mark of the Mongolian word where the spacing is indistinct.

[2] The list of designation glosses is as follows :—
řin miŋ " name of a man "
niu miŋ " name of a woman "
fu_4řin miŋ " name of a lady "
wu_4 miŋ " name of a shaman "
$guan_2$ miŋ " name of an office " (with occasional instances of other, specific names of offices)
siŋ " clan ", siŋ miŋ " name of a clan "
$juŋ_2$ " tribe ", $juŋ_2$ miŋ " name of a people "
di_2 miŋ " name of a place "
$čiŋ_6$ miŋ " name of a town "
fu_7 miŋ " name of a prefecture "

IV. 2.1.2. Thus each word of the Mongolian is glossed by a Chinese gloss, the juxtaposition of the two showing their equivalence; the presence of a bracket (or dash) shows that the gloss stands to the Mongolian in the relation of a translation. Frequently however with translation glosses there is a subdivision within the gloss, indicated both by an extra hinge on the bracket in addition to (and in the event always below) the central hinge and also, where possible, by a space within the gloss. The effect is to show that not only does the whole gloss relate to the whole Mongolian word but also a particular part of the gloss relates to a particular part of the word. This division of a gloss into two parts corresponds to a division of the Mongolian word into "stem" and "termination".[1] To the terminations correspond

ǰeu$_2$ miŋ "name of a district"
ho$_3$ miŋ "name of a river"
šuei$_2$ miŋ "name of a watercourse"
hai$_3$z miŋ "name of a lake"
šan miŋ "name of a mountain"
šeu$_3$ miŋ "name of an animal (species)"
ma$_3$ miŋ "name of a horse"
yiu$_4$ miŋ "name of a fish (species)" (and occasional instances of other names of animal species)

There is some inconsistency in the use of brackets with names of species: šeu$_3$ miŋ and yiu$_4$ miŋ appear sometimes without a bracket, sometimes with; while geu$_2$ miŋ "name of a dog (species)" occurs only with a bracket. One can think of these as names of species for which the translator did not know any Chinese equivalent; they are the "borderline cases" of proper names. In some instances in the early chapters personal names, where the name has occurred recently above, have no gloss; and two names of (? species of) horses appear without gloss.

In the fragments of the Ming print Mongolian words glossed by řin miŋ have a thick line in the place of the bracket. Other designation glosses have, as in Ku Kuang-ch'i's certified copy, nothing.

The Mongolian words Činǧis (Genghis), glossed Tai zu (his Chinese reign title), and baatur, glossed yiuŋ$_2$ši$_{10}$ "hero", are unbracketed. Likewise are some proper names which, having Chinese equivalents, receive translation glosses, e.g. Mongolian Kitat, glossed Ki$_7$dan$_2$ "Kitan".

[3] All forms quoted from the Secret History are given in special transcription (see VIII and IX A). For the Chinese characters, the transcription may be compared with the Chinese syllabary (at end); the subscript figures refer to the corresponding characters in the syllabary.

[1] There is considerable inconsistency, not only in the form of the brackets (some having no hinges at all, where one and where two might be expected) but also in the extent of the Mongolian word. For instance in para. 17 (I. 10a) ügei-bolba "was no more, died" is treated as one word (is inclosed in one bracket) and glossed, with two hinges, wu/zuo-liau; in the same column ügei boluqsa(n) "(after he) had died" is treated as two words, the first glossed wu, and the second zuo-liau-di. These inconsistencies, however, are not of such extent as to invalidate the general principle.

certain regularly used characters and combinations such as hiŋ (for most cases of the noun), z$_2$di (for the possessive declension) and others.

IV. 2.2. Each paragraph of the Mongolian text, with Gloss, is followed by the version of the same paragraph in Chinese translation. The Chinese version is in characters of medium size, two rows to the column, and beginning at a distance of about an inch from the top margin: this, by the conventions of Chinese book production, gives the Chinese the status of a commentary, particularly one that has become an accepted part of a text (and which may itself be the subject of further commentary). The Chinese text is punctuated; there is one punctuation mark, a small circle or "stop", this being the usual practice with punctuated Chinese texts before the adoption of a form of European punctuation. Each paragraph of the Chinese version is thereby marked off graphically into a number of units, which we shall call "pieces". The piece is that section of the text contained between two stops (or between the beginning of the paragraph and one stop). The question of the validity of the piece as a category for linguistic analysis will be considered separately.[1]

IV. 2.3. Thus the major graphic divisions of the whole text are "chapter" and "paragraph". Below the paragraph, the Mongolian has the "word" and the "character". The Gloss follows the Mongolian, with a "gloss" corresponding to the Mongolian word, the gloss itself being sometimes subdivided into parts of which the latter (or last) is usually one of a limited number of forms which we may call "termination glosses"; the smallest unit is again the "character". The Chinese version, below the paragraph, has the "piece" and the "character".

IV. 3. In addition to characters of the size standard to each version, the Mongolian and Chinese versions (but not the Gloss)

[1] see below, VIA. 2–4.

contain a number of very small characters, some of which occur to the left of a standard character, the others below to the right of it. In the former position, only two characters occur: ǰuŋ " centre " and še$_3$ " tongue ". Fourteen characters are found in the latter position.[1] These subscript characters are " auxiliary transcription symbols ", those on the left being " diacritic ", those below on the right " phonetic ". In the Chinese text they occur only with transcription characters: that is, characters used in the transcription of Mongolian words [2]; thus they form a part of the Sino-Mongolian script and not of the Chinese script.[3]

The place of the auxiliary transcription symbols in the script is discussed below (V. 2.1–2). In practice, as a study of the text reveals by its internal inconsistencies (and as is amply confirmed by the transcription into Romanized Mongolian), these auxiliary transcription symbols are frequently omitted in error, the simple character bu$_5$ being the most prone to disappear. Some are already missing in the Mongolian text and more are lost in the Chinese version.[4]

IV. 4. Finally a large number of the Mongolian words having the verbal termination ba are followed by a note in Chinese stating that the character ba$_2$ representing this syllable has been substituted for an original be or bie (occasionally for ba$_4$ or ba$_5$). Ch'ên [5] has found that while this note is appended to 512 out of 1,110 occurrences of ba$_2$ in the text it does not occur at all in Chapter 1 and occurs only three times in Chapter 2, these chapters

[1] See below, V. 2.2. The character še$_3$ found in this position in para. 123 (III. 43b) is a misprint for ke.

[2] Chiefly proper names; see below, V. 3.1.

[3] Since the Gloss contains no Sino-Mongolian script (proper names being designated; see above, IV. 2.1.1), the auxiliary transcription symbols do not occur in the Gloss.

[4] For example in paras. 50 (I. 31a/b) and 54 (I. 34b) we find the name Daritai-otčigin in four versions, one correct (with two auxiliary transcription symbols), the others having the three different possible errors!

[5] op. cit., pp. 8–16. According to Ch'ên Yüan this change in the transcription is another modification of the " lexicalizing " type (see below, V. 2.3) in the Sino-Mongolian script, the Chinese word written ba$_2$ having a sense comparable to that of the Mongolian termination ba.

having respectively 86 and 115 occurrences of ba$_2$. This confirms what is suggested by the distribution of the phonetic auxiliary symbols,[1] that the Sino-Mongolian script of the " Secret History " is fluid, particularly in the first two chapters, though tending to become more fixed and consistent thereafter.[2]

For the relation of the graphic symbols to the languages of the text see below, V " Script and Language ".

[1] see below, V. 2.2.

[2] Ch'ên (p. 29a) concludes that the Sino-Mongolian script of the " Secret History " was a later improvement, imperfectly applied, of that of the *Hua-i i-yü* (4). His reasons are that the " lexicalizing " variants are not found in the latter (which has, for instance, be bie ba$_4$ and ba$_5$ for ba$_2$), and that the diacritic auxiliary diŋ$_2$ occurring in the *Hua-i i-yü* for syllable-final (l) has been *incompletely* replaced by the phonetic auxiliary le in our text—the 15-chapter " Secret History " having relics of diŋ$_2$, while the addition of the diacritic auxiliary še$_3$ to the character ř is likewise incomplete.

V. SCRIPT AND LANGUAGE

V. 1. In its written symbols the "Secret History of the Mongols", including both versions and the Gloss, is a homogeneous text: it does not contain one written symbol that is not either an attested Chinese character or a character which, while not attested elsewhere, is made up of elements of the Chinese script so combined as to place it within the system of the latter.[1] Within the text, however, two scripts are to be distinguished: the Chinese and the Sino-Mongolian. The difference between the two is greater than that separating the French and the English scripts, both of which have as their substance the Roman alphabet; since, in addition to formal characteristics which serve to distinguish the Sino-Mongolian from the Chinese script *to an observer unable to read either* (the auxiliary transcription symbols of the former),[2] there being also formal characteristics which so distinguish French from English,[3] the relation of the unit of the script, the character, to the script as a whole is quite different in the two cases. The two scripts are in fact of basically different types, which we can identify by calling the Chinese script "lexical" and the Sino-Mongolian "phonological".[4,5]

[1] See below (V. 2.3).

[2] The spacing/bracketing of the Sino-Mongolian script is another characteristic. While the bracketing might be regarded as a feature of the Gloss, or at any rate not part of the Sino-Mongolian script, it seems that it is in fact the presence of brackets which has led to, by permitting, an inconsistent use of spacing; and one might justifiably abstract from the two a formal mark of delimitation of a unit "word", nothing corresponding to which exists in the Chinese script. A text in Sino-Mongolian script without a Gloss would presumably furnish us with a unit which we could designate a "word" marked off entirely by spacing. The fact that the Sino-Mongolian script here contains no stop is another formal difference; but the stop cannot be regarded as a regular feature of the Chinese script before the late nineteenth century, and conversely one could insert stops in the Sino-Mongolian text without violating its principles—though in fact the writer did not do so.

[3] It is not contended that there is any parallel, in their place in the system of the script, between the French diacritics, with their heterogeneous functions, and the Sino-Mongolian auxiliary transcription symbols. The point is that, to a person not knowing either language, the diacritics (transcription symbols) not only mark off a French (Sino-Mongolian) text from an English (Chinese) one but also frequently (but not always) mark off an element, such as a word, of the former script found in a text of the latter.

[4] The lexical nature of the Chinese script was early recognized by Du Ponceau, who held that it was not ideographic but (syllabic and) "lexigraphic". See P. S. du Ponceau 'A Dissertation on the Nature and Character of the Chinese System of Writing', esp. pp. 36, 59 and Section II passim. See also the reference to this work in J. R. Firth 'Atlantic Linguistics', p. 104. Du Ponceau further (e.g. on p. 113) employed the term "logographic", also used by Chao of the Chinese script. See Y. R. Chao, 'The Logical Structure of Chinese Words'.

[5] J. C. Street's recent work *The Language of the Secret History of the Mongols* gives a comprehensive account of the Mongolian language of the text, and includes a section (pp. 2–8) on Phonology in which he discusses the Sino-Mongolian script and its relation to Mongolian. The outline in the following paragraphs is intended merely to fill in the background to the Chinese version and show how it links up with the original Mongolian at different levels.

V. 1.1. By the time of the compilation of the "Secret History" Chinese characters, in their relation to the forms of the Chinese language, had already constituted a stable system over a very long period. The identification of the character with that unit in the language of which it was the written symbol was well established.[1] The single character was not only the written symbol of a lexical unit (or at any rate lexico-phonological, since it is not identical with the unit required for lexical description: see below VIB) but also usually analysable into parts of which one (and that, moreover, the basis of lexicographical entry) functioned as a unit in a system of written forms ("radicals") which classified lexically (by meaning at the lexical level) and lexico-grammatically[2] but not phonologically. Moreover, lexical forms themselves being "infinite" (that is, not operating as terms in limited systems), the character of the Chinese script is one of an infinite number of written symbols. The character of the Sino-Mongolian script, on the other hand, is the written symbol of a syllable, one of a finite number of phonological forms; the number of characters is also finite, though it is greater than the number of such phonological forms. This greater quantity of characters is due not only to the existence of a number of variants in arbitrary[3] use for one syllable but also to a partial lexicalization of the script in attempt at conformity with Chinese practice.[4]

[1] The Chinese word tzŭ (26) is the modern name for this identity. Following the Chinese practice, we shall use the one word "character" to denote not only the written symbol but also the linguistic unit which it symbolizes.

[2] e.g. the majority of characters with radical (no. 64) šeu$_1$ represent monosyllabic free verbs.

[3] The arbitrary use of variants in the Sino-Mongolian script of the *Hua-i i-yü* is queried by Lewicki; see below, VIII. 2. n. 3.

[4] *Liu San-wu's* (27) preface to the Mongolian Chinese *Hua-i i-yü* of 1389 gives an interesting view of a contemporary Chinese opinion of the superiority of a

V. 2. Haenisch [1] has listed the characters used in the Sino-Mongolian script of the "Secret History". He gives a total of 476 characters, plus 62 other symbols formed by the addition to a character of one or other of the two diacritic auxiliaries; actually 500 different characters, since 24 of those found with diacritic auxiliaries are never found without. The use of the diacritic auxiliary has definite implications: a character with a diacritic auxiliary has a different value in the phonological system from the same character without one, and Haenisch is thus right in considering the complex of character plus diacritic auxiliary as a separate symbol. In this way we arrive at the number of 538 different symbols. With the phonetic auxiliaries the case is different; they do not change the value of the character to which they are appended but have a distinct value of their own; they should be considered separate symbols, and bring the total of distinct *symbols* in the script to 552.

V. 2.1. The two diacritic auxiliaries ǰuŋ and še$_3$ are prosodic markers, indicating features of Mongolian articulation not otherwise represented in the script. ǰuŋ indicates a back (velar/uvular) consonant in back vowel syllable, the use of a diacritic suggesting that the point of articulation was felt as significantly different from that of the back consonants in front vowel syllables: possibly post-velar or uvular, as opposed to velar or palato-velar. But the symbol is added (with a few exceptions) not to characters representing front vowel syllables with back consonant but to those representing syllables, back or neutral, with initial (h) [2]; this gives no distinction of voiced and voiceless, and it is

script (such as Chinese) on lexical principles over one (such as Sino-Mongolian) on phonological principles. See E. Haenisch 'Sino-Mongolische Dokumente vom Ende des 14.Jahrhunderts', p. 7, where this preface is translated.

[1] *Wörterbuch zu Manghol un Niuca Tobca'an*, pp. 186–191. Lewicki, *La langue mongole des transcriptions chinoises du XIV^e siècle*, pp. 29–50, lists the characters used in the Sino-Mongolian script of the *Hua-i i-yü* (4) of 1389: 436+8 phonetic auxiliaries +3 diacritic auxiliaries+64 formed by the addition of a diacritic to another symbol. Lewicki recognizes 110 homophonic variants and discusses (pp. 66, 67) possible reasons for their use.

[2] On the question of the roman transcription of the phonological system represented by the Sino-Mongolian script see below VIII. 5.1.

assumed that characters with this diacritic stood for either one of a pair of syllables, one having as initial a voiceless plosive, the other a voiced fricative: there is no trace of this distinction in the Sino-Mongolian script.[1] The reason for the choice of ǰuŋ ("centre") as diacritic in this function is not clear. But its use in the script is two-dimensional: it marks a back syllable and it marks a back consonant as syllable initial (the syllable final corresponding to which is represented by the phonetic auxiliary hei). še$_3$ ("tongue") combines with characters representing syllables with initial (l), and indicates some form of lingual articulation, presumably trill or roll, which we designate (r); it also combines with ř (and its variant ř$_4$) representing syllable-final (r) (but only from Chapter 3 onwards [2]). As the use of a diacritic suggests, a distinction is here meant which was not felt to be present in Chinese.

V. 2.2. The phonetic auxiliaries indicate the final consonant of syllables ending in a consonant. Of the fourteen phonetic auxiliaries found in the text, five occur regularly whenever a certain consonant is to be marked as syllable final: hei (q), ke (k), ti$_3$ (t), le (l) and bu$_5$ (b). As variants of le for (l) there occur two other characters both having the signific element "water", le$_2$ and (once only) le$_3$, the latter a very rare character; these and not le occur in words glossed by designations as watercourse, river or lake, and by translation as čuan "river". As variant of ke, ki$_8$ occurs (once only, para. 267 (XII 10b)). Of irregular but frequent use are mu (m) (first occurrence para. 77 (II 10a)) and s$_5$ (s) (first occurrence para. 121 (III 39b)), which vary with the same characters written standard size in the text; mu also varies with zero occurring where the character used in the transcription of the syllable has final -m in Middle Chinese. Of irregular and infrequent occurrence are či$_3$ (č) (first occurrence para. 88 (II 26b); found only five times, all in Chapter 2 and always the same word) and ši$_{11}$ (š) (only occurrence para. 149 (V 1b)), the latter with

[1] Cf. Street, op. cit., p. 4.

[2] With one instance in Chapter 2. See Ch'ên, op. cit., p. 28a.

variant $\check{s}i_{12}$ " room, house " (only occurrence para. 169 (V 49b), in a word glossed by translation as $fa\eta_3z$ " house "). Finally ni (n) occurs frequently, but not regularly, in one syllable (en) (first occurrence para. 90 (II 30a)), and varies with zero (in Chapter 1) and le (? once only, in para. 104 (III 2b)); ni also occurs three times (in Chapter 10) in the syllable ǰan, always in the same word. The variants le_2, le_3 and $\check{s}i_{12}$ show the same tendency towards lexicalization of the script as is found with the standard characters.[1]

This use of a character to represent only the initial consonant of the syllable of which it is the symbol is an application of the *fan-ch'ieh* (28) method in Chinese phonology, whereby two characters are used to indicate the pronunciation of a third. The first of these, the *fan-ch'ieh shang-tzŭ* (29), indicates the *niu* (30) (class of initial), and only its initial consonant (*shêng-mu* (31)) is to be read, the final (*yün-mu* (32)) being disregarded; the second character likewise yields the final, its initial being disregarded.[2] The phonetic auxiliaries of the " Secret History " are to be read as the first character of a *fan-ch'ieh*, though here there is of course no second character.

V. 2.3. While to each syllable in the phonological structure of the Mongolian language corresponds a number of interchangeable symbols in the script, the choice of a variant is in certain instances determined, by this process which has been referred to as the " lexicalization " of the script. By this process in some instances in place of the character regularly employed in the transcription of a given syllable a variant is chosen whose lexical meaning (in Chinese) is felt as akin to the meaning of the Mongolian word

[1] Haenisch, *Wörterbuch zu Manghol un Niuca Tobca'an*, lists bu (b) among the phonetic auxiliaries, but does not list ki_3 (k) or $či_3$ (č). bu is not found in the Commercial Press edition. Pelliot, *Histoire secrète des Mongols*, transcribes ŋe-de, glossed je_2li " here ", in Chapter 1 (e.g. para. 24 (I 15b)) as ädä; the gloss suggests that this should rather be ändä, with zero variant for the phonetic auxiliary ni.

[2] Thus the phonetic auxiliaries are found only in syllables of structure (C)VC, where they represent final C. If for example the character ti_3 is represented phonologically as initial t, final i, then when this character is used as phonetic auxiliary it has value t as final C in a structure (C)VC.

in which it operates. Thus for example the name Mt. Burqan is transcribed, passim, as bu-$ř_4$-han. The character $ř_4$ has as signific element šan " mountain, hill " and was probably made up for the purpose of transcription: according to the Kanghsi Dictionary it occurs only in mountain names. Elsewhere, for the Mongolian value represented here by $ř_4$, the character ř is used. By this device the written symbol is made to convey, as it does in the Chinese script, lexical as well as phonological meaning.

It is difficult to estimate the resultant increase in the total number of symbols, since one cannot always decide whether a given variant is lexically determined or not. Where, as in the case of r_4, a radical is added, such determination is usually clear; Ch'ên instances 91 characters so formed, the majority with radicals $šuei_2$ " water ", ma_3 " horse ", niau " bird ", keu " opening ", mu_3 " eye ", šan " mountain ", tu " earth ", zu_2 " foot ", yi_9 " clothing ", gim_2 " metal ", mun_2 " gate ", $yia\eta_4$ " sheep ", $yian_5$ " word ", $šu_2$ " rat " and $ču\eta_4$ " insect etc.". Some of these Ch'ên calls " characters invented for the 'Secret History' ", noting that they are not found elsewhere. Nine other variants listed by Ch'ên, though not having " lexicalizing " radicals, seem likewise determined: e.g. bu_6 " step " in yia-bu_6 (yabu " go ") instead of regular bu. Others, however, including both single characters (e.g. je_3 not je in je_3-$ši_{11}$-gu_3, para. 117 (III 31b), glossed yiu_3tu_3di " intending ") and groups of characters lexicalized *in combination* (Ch'ên notes e.g. $ši_{13}$-li_4-wun_4, glossed $giun_2z$ " nobleman " (p. 25b) [1]), often cannot be classified with certainty as either determined or free variants.

V. 2.4. If one recognizes only those distinctions made by the Sino-Mongolian script (as opposed to those known from other sources, such as " vowel harmony " in syllables where the script is prosodically neutral), there occur an average of about two symbols for each term (syllable or final consonant) in the

[1] But in the word ni-ču-gun " naked ", cited by Hung (p. 455) as a lexicalizing combination (" you-without-pants "), ni and ču are regular.

phonological system recognized by the script[1]; while of the 250–300 variants a substantial proportion show lexical determination *in one direction*: these variants never occur *without* lexical connotation, though they are not always found where such connotation would be appropriate.[2]

It is this feature of the existence of variants which distinguishes the Sino-Mongolian script from other syllabaries such as the Japanese kana scripts, though it resembles the script used for Old Japanese in for example the Manyōshu.

V. 3. The interrelations among the languages and scripts of the "Secret History" may be summarized as follows. The text of the "Secret History" is bilingual in script (Sino-Mongolian and Chinese) and in language.[3] The two main versions, named according to the language in which they are written, are the Mongolian version and the Chinese version. The Mongolian version is original; the Chinese version is a translation of it, somewhat abridged. Each language has its own script; the same symbols are used in both but have value at different levels. Each version contains forms from the language of the other; those which are relevant to a study of the language of the Chinese version are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Chinese forms found in the Mongolian version can be considered as "borrowings" by the Mongolian language, and thus as Mongolian forms and not as foreign forms in a Mongolian text. Where, however, the Chinese version contains Mongolian

[1] Haenisch recognizes 293 distinct phonological values. The number arrived at by a transcription of the Sino-Mongolian script based on a phonological analysis of Chinese will of course depend on that analysis, and the system I have used here gives only 273 (see below, VIII).

[2] Cf. Ch'ên, op. cit., p. 19a: "le_2 is not used wherever there is water, but wherever le_2 is used there is water."

[3] It might be possible to consider the language of the Gloss as a third language, since it does have a grammatical system of its own. This grammatical system, however, is simply that of Mongolian and does not function outside the text; so that, while the language of the Gloss has some of the characteristics of a pidgin, the systems of which it is made up do not combine into one single system and it must be denied the status of a language. (More accurately, part of its grammatical system pertains to Chinese and part to Mongolian; here again the two parts do not combine into a single system.)

forms it must be recognized that, since the Chinese version is a translation, these forms may function not in the Chinese language as a whole but only in the Chinese text. The presence of these "translation forms" does not affect the *method* of analysis but they do require to be brought out in the statement, since they may not operate within the framework of the Chinese systems.

V. 3.1. This will apply both to lexical and to grammatical translation forms where such can be established. Lexical translation forms are usually obvious. They fall into two categories: proper names and others. Proper names (marked in the Gloss by designation glosses), which form the great majority, do not need separate statement, since they function in the Chinese system exactly as do Chinese proper names.[1] Other lexical translation forms, while functioning in the Chinese grammatical system, require separate lexical statement since they may need to be collocated in the language from which they are "borrowed". It is interesting that the Gloss, which, as said, contains no translation forms, renders such words by translation; yet the Chinese version uses not the translation but the Mongolian form of the original.[2]

The complete list of lexical translation forms other than proper names is given in Appendix D. The only form which it is doubtful whether to regard as a translation form or not is M. ǰam (plural ǰa-mu-t), which is both glossed and rendered in C. as ǰam (Gloss has plural ǰam mui). It is known that this word is borrowed from Mongolian into Chinese,[3] the process being assisted by the existence in Chinese of the word ǰam, Middle Chinese -m, "to stand";

[1] Having, as it were, unlimited collocability (cf. Zellig Harris, 'Discourse Analysis', p. 6 n. 4). Mongolian proper names are able the more easily to function in the Chinese in that they are made to fit in to the Chinese phonological system, this in turn being possible because the symbols of the (phonological) Sino-Mongolian script are also symbols in the (lexical) Chinese script. The only exception lies in the use of auxiliary transcription symbols, which the Chinese reader could ignore in the reading of Mongolian names.

[2] For example, M. and C. an_2da_3, G. ki_7ho_2; M. ǰamčin (ǰa-mu-čin), G. ǰamhu$_4$, C. ǰamči$_3$.

[3] See E. Haenisch, '*chan* 'Halteplatz' und *tiao* 'Kampfturm', zwei Fremdwörter'.

but since the Gloss has ǰam it will be treated as a Chinese word, not a translation form, the presence in the Gloss of a *separate* form being taken as the criterion for the presence in the Chinese of a lexical translation form.

V. 3.2. With grammatical translation forms the position is more difficult. Haenisch considers that there are many of these, and he instances two types which may be called morphological and syntactical. The former are phonetic borrowings where the actual termination of the Mongolian is taken over into the Chinese system; the latter are grammatical calques and include instances of Mongolian word-order. In discussing eighteen grammatical auxiliaries ("grammatische Hilfswörter") of the Chinese version, he suggests that four of these are morphological translation forms and at least two other syntactical.[1] As an instance of Mongolian word-order, where, in his view, the Mongolian influence is most evident, Haenisch quotes phrases and sentences which, he says, violate the principles of word-order in Chinese.[2]

It seems in general desirable that all grammatical forms found in the text should be accounted for with reference to the grammatical system. Unless it is possible to show that a given grammatical form is irregular in the language of the text (and the criteria for such a statement will be difficult to establish), such that it should be treated extra-systemically, the absence of a form from other texts assigned to the same état de langue does not in itself demand that the form be afforded separate treatment. The relative infrequency of certain forms may affect their place

[1] Yieu, lai, yieulai and ǰe; hiŋ and madau$_3$. It is only of course in certain uses that it is suggested that these are translation forms; possibly the same sort of "contamination" is postulated as for ǰam above; at any rate these uses are such that (with the exception of hiŋ?) the lexical interpretation of the characters is retained and they do not appear merely as phonetic representations of Mongolian forms. Haenisch does not discuss ǰo, but would presumably regard this also as a morphological translation from the Mongolian verbal termination ču, ǰu. For detailed discussion of these forms, see below, VIC passim.

[2] For example (I 43a; 62. 3) ni ǰe$_2$ řz yian$_6$ miŋ$_3$ mian guaŋ yieu; (I 47b; 66. 14) lau zai gia li di li$_4$ wu. See VIC 3.2 and VIC 3.5.5 where these forms are discussed.

in the hierarchy of the grammatical system[1]; but while this infrequency may in turn be determined by the fact that these are translation forms, this fact is not itself the determining feature.

Of the grammatical translation forms listed by Haenisch, that which appears most alien to the known forms of Chinese is hiŋ; hiŋ is regular in the Gloss as equivalent of certain Mongolian noun terminations, and it might be that its occurrence in the Chinese text may indeed by a "borrowing" from the Gloss where it is a translation form of the gloss or "label" type. It is however regular in the Chinese version (53 occurrences, fifth in order of frequency of postpositive nouns); and it has seemed preferable to treat it, together with the other forms which, while they do show a coincidence at two levels (grammatical and phonological) with Mongolian forms, yet seem less anomalous, as terms operating regularly within the grammatical system of the Chinese.[2]

[1] See especially VIC 3.5.5, where yieu, lai, yieulai and yie are not regarded as forming a distinct dimension of clause classes.

[2] I should agree with the view implied by Ōta Tatsuo ('Rōkittai no gengo ni tsuite', pp. 5, 13), that the "innovations" in the language of the Chinese version of the "Secret History" are native forms not found in earlier written texts, rather than "borrowings" from Mongolian. Some of these forms occur in the Chinese version without parallel occurrence in the Gloss (see e.g. VIC 2.6.1 n.).

VI. GRAMMAR

A. General

VIA. 1. The principle of proceeding from the larger to the smaller unit, applied in the first place in the ordering of the levels at which the analysis is made, will further guide the choice of the order of the units and segments of the text about which grammatical statements are made. It is clear that no grammatical features can be abstracted, no patterns identified, from or between segments of above a certain extent: it is obviously impossible to set up grammatical "chapter-types". The division of the text into chapters, whether we consider the 12-chapter or the 15-chapter version, can be regarded as a convenience of publication having reference to the content of the work but without linguistic significance. The division of each chapter into paragraphs is also made largely with reference to the content; it is noticeable that there is a general tendency for paragraphs to be shorter in the early part, particularly in Chapter 1, and to be considerably longer in the second half of the work. The length of the chapters however is roughly constant (see above, IV. 1.1), so that in those chapters where the paragraphs are shorter and the average number of pieces per paragraph smaller, the number of paragraphs is greater.

The paragraph as such contains no special linguistic features and thus lacks any formal criteria for classifying linguistically into types. The paragraph is never smaller than the piece, and each paragraph begins and ends with a complete piece. Two paragraphs (215 (IX 19a) and 327 (X 12a)) consist of one piece only.

VIA. 1.1. It is with a unit below the paragraph that grammatical analysis must begin.[1] In the graphic analysis, the unit next

[1] Zellig Harris, 'Discourse Analysis', proposes a method for going "past the sentence limitations of descriptive linguistics". This has not been attempted here, though a study of sequences of sentence structures on similar lines would be possible on the basis of the present description. The only extension of the present analysis across sentence boundaries is in the use of "context of mention" (see below, VIC 1.8).

below the paragraph is the piece. It will be necessary to determine whether or not the piece can function as a unit of linguistic analysis, and whether, even if it can, some other unit larger than the piece will be required to be established first.

VIA. 2. An analysis of certain features of the piece reveals that it is necessary for grammatical purposes to set up a unit larger than the piece (but smaller than the paragraph). The Chinese version in the Commercial Press edition contains 5,386 pieces.[1] Certain pieces, defined by position in the paragraph, display features marking them off statistically from the pieces as a whole. If we take the final piece of each paragraph and compare the frequency of occurrence of certain elements, commonly found as piece-final, in these 282 pieces with their frequency in the 5,386 pieces of the whole work, we find striking differences.

VIA. 2.1. The most frequent piece-final, liau, occurs 630 times as piece-final (in 11·7 per cent of the total pieces) but 120 times as paragraph-final (42·9 per cent of the total): it is nearly four times as frequent in paragraph-final pieces as in the pieces as a whole. Another frequent piece-final, ǰe, occurs 124 times (2·3 per cent) as piece-final but 28 times (9·9 per cent) as final of a paragraph-final piece. This suggests that liau and ǰe are to be thought of as final features of some unit larger than the piece (but smaller than the paragraph, since they occur respectively 510 and 96 times as finals of pieces that are not paragraph-finals).

VIA. 2.2. On the other hand the characters $ši_2$, ŋa, xian and heu, and the combination $šaŋteu_2$, occur respectively 156, 108, 49, 20 and 9 times as piece-final, but none of them occurs at all as paragraph-final. This also suggests that we require a linguistic

[1] There are 5,380 pieces in this edition as printed. I have made a total of 26 corrections in the punctuation, by the addition of 16 and the deletion of 10 stops, bringing the number of pieces to 5,386. Reference to pieces throughout will be to the text as amended in this way. For details of suggested emendations in the punctuation, as well as in the text itself, see Appendix E. For a table showing the number of pieces in each chapter, and the average number of pieces per paragraph, see Appendix C.

unit larger than the piece, a unit to which these elements are never final, and that the pieces to which they are final are always part of this larger unit. At the same time it confirms the assumption, justifiable on general grounds,[1] that the piece has some validity as a linguistic unit and may form the basis of the stage in the analysis next after the larger unit to be set up.

VIA. 2.3. Frequent also as piece-finals are lai and kiu. These occur 299 times as piece-final and 17 times as paragraph-final, 5·6 per cent and 6·0 per cent respectively. This closeness not only confirms the validity of the piece, by suggesting that lai and kiu function as piece-finals, but, if this assumption is correct, justifies the choice of the paragraph-final piece as a basis for statistical comparison.[2]

VIA. 3. We must therefore admit the need for a unit larger than the piece, and the unit to be set up to meet this requirement will be called the " sentence ". So there are 282 points where we know a sentence to begin and 282 where we know one to end. In fact there are no such frequently recurring characters or combinations to be met with as piece-initial, so that in the delimitation of the sentence the above piece-finals can serve as a preliminary guide to what is to be expected. In dealing with a written text it is impossible formally to *delimit* every sentence without reference to smaller units, though one may *establish the category of* sentence without such reference. It is quite obvious from a reading of the text that the sense of the single piece is often not " complete "; but this in itself does not necessitate the setting up of a larger unit because one cannot state at which points in the text the sense is completed, and the larger category is of no use if every member cannot be more or less clearly assigned to it. There may be " borderline cases " but the criteria for the demarcation of such a unit need

[1] Since the text is prose, the stop clearly has some linguistic significance, which is likely to have some relation to grammatical categories.

[2] Note that the figures given above are for the occurrence of these forms as *piece*-final, and not as *clause*-final, data for which are given in Appendix C.

to be reasonably exact in application, and therefore formal rather than notional.

VIA. 3.1. There are, as has been shown, certain formal criteria which help to differentiate between pieces that are sentences or sentence-final pieces and pieces that do not complete a sentence. It is not maintained that this differentiation is made without reference to " meaning "; on the contrary, the whole analysis is made on the fundamental assumption that the meaning of the text can be stated, this being in fact what the linguist, in applying his techniques, sets out to do. In saying that $ši_2$, ŋa and so on do not occur as sentence finals, we are setting up a type of sentence in which these forms occur in a certain position, namely at the end of a piece which is not final in the sentence; and this classification of sentence types is part of the statement of meaning at the grammatical level. This is quite other than to say that because certain pieces are hypothetical in sense, or because they contain the English translation meaning " when ", " if ", they must be treated as incomplete. The presence of $ši_2$, ŋa and so on is a formal criterion, the choice of which is guided by the assignment of grammatical meaning to these elements: the meaning of ŋa may be stated in the terms that it forms one member of a certain word-class the members of which make up a system of piece-finals which are not sentence-finals,[1] and as such it excludes other members of the class, such as $ši_2$, and, as a member of its class, determines the assignment of the piece to a certain type.

VIA. 3.2. As a corollary to this distinction between " sentence pieces " (pieces which are at the same time complete sentences—of which at least two must exist, since paragraphs 215 and 237 each consist of one piece only) and " non-sentence pieces ", if the category of sentence is a valid unit for grammatical statements we must expect to find parallel structures in *sentences*

[1] This is not of course the description which will finally be given of this word-class, but a provisional description that could be made at this stage of the inquiry. Actually they are " final adverbs " serving as markers of a " conditional (bound) clause ".

irrespective of their division into pieces. The most striking examples of this are (II 47b ; 66.10–12) and (X 11b–12a ; 236.1–5 and 237), where in each instance two sentences parallel in structure are juxtaposed, the one in one piece, the other consisting of two and five pieces respectively. The parallelism in structure suggests that the piece may show so great a variety that the statement of grammatical structures, to be exhaustive and simple, can only be based on the sentence. The position of the piece in the grammatical statement is not of course thereby determined in one way or the other.

VIA. 4. To summarize the problem dealt with in these paragraphs : it will be found necessary in linguistic analysis at the grammatical level to set up a unit, the sentence, which is less than the text and greater than the unit of lexical statement, the word. In the present written text there is a unit, the piece, marked off formally by punctuation. Is this graphic unit, the piece, coextensive with the linguistic unit, the sentence ? The answer must be : no. The sentence that is set up must be (as a category) larger than the piece, since certain forms which are final to the piece are not final to the sentence. Of the relation between the two we may say so far that : 1, a piece ending in liau or ǰe will normally be final in the sentence ; 2, a piece ending in $ši_2$, ŋa, xian, heu or $šaŋteu_2$ will normally be non-final in a sentence ; 3, a piece ending in lai or kiu may be either final or non-final in a sentence.

VIA. 4.1. In the preceding paragraphs the method of procedure in the analysis has been exemplified with reference to one particular problem : the establishment of the unit of grammatical statement. The descriptive statement as a whole is not of course made to follow the order of procedure in the inquiry, which would involve cumbersome and lengthy accounts of the steps taken to arrive at each statement. The next section (VIB : " Grammatical Categories ") will begin with a summary of all the grammatical categories employed in the statement at this

level, followed by an account of each ; in VIC and D the categories will be further described by translation and exemplification. In certain instances some indication is given of the reasons for the choice of a particular form of statement rather than any other.

B. Grammatical Categories

1. *Scheme of Categories*

VIB. 1. The following is a summary of the categories of units, classes and functions into which the material is organized for statement [1] :

(i) Units :

(*a*) Graphic :

Chapter Paragraph Piece Character (graphic)

(*b*) Linguistic : Sentence Clause Word Character (linguistic)

(ii) Classes (systemic) :

(*a*) Sentence classes : Compound/Simple

(*b*) Clause classes :

(1) Free/Bound

(2) Verbal/Nominal

(3) (*α*) Voice : Passive/Ergative/Active (neutral)

(*β*) Aspect : Perfective/Imperfective/Non-perfective (neutral)

(*γ*) Mood : Interrogative/Imperative/Affirmative (neutral)

Bound clause classes : Conditional/Genitival

(*c*) Word classes [2] :

[1] This may be compared with the Summary of Categories set up for Modern Pekingese in my ' Grammatical Categories in Modern Chinese ', pp. 217–8. Categories with the same name are to be regarded as comparable (not identical).

[2] The unit " word " is a term in the system of linguistic units set up for grammatical statement : it is thus a category forming part of the object of the description at the grammatical level. At the same time the " word " is the *sole* object of the description at the lexical level. For lexical statement, however, the word-classes require to be somewhat differently ordered, thus :

(1) Lexical (" infinite ") : Free verb/Free noun/Free adverb

(1) Free/Bound
(2) Verbal/Nominal/Adverbial
  (*a*) Verbal word classes: Verb/Pro-verb
    Verb classes: Free/Bound
      Bound verb classes: Prepositive/Auxiliary/Post-positive
  (*β*) Nominal word classes: Noun/Pronoun
    Noun classes: Free/Bound
      Bound noun classes: Numeral/Auxiliary/Postpositive
  (*γ*) Adverbial word classes: Adverb/Particle
    Adverb classes: Free/Bound
      Bound adverb classes: Preverbal/Final/Conjunctive
  (*d*) Character classes: Free/Bound
(iii) Functions (structural):
  (*a*) Free clause functions: Sentential/Non-sentential
  (*b*) Free word functions: Substantive/Attributive

VIB. 1.1. The graphic units have been discussed above (see Chapter IV "Graphic Analysis"). The relation between the graphic and the linguistic units can be stated in terms of extent. The largest linguistic unit, the sentence, is smaller than the paragraph and has no graphic unit corresponding in extent. The clause is not exactly coextensive with the piece, but is the linguistic unit most nearly corresponding to it: the majority of the pieces form one clause. The one-to-one correspondence between the linguistic and the graphic character is implied in the use of the term "character" for both.

(2) Lexico-grammatical and grammatical ("finite"):
  Verbs: Prepositive/Auxiliary/Postpositive
    Pro-verb
  Nouns: Numeral/Auxiliary/Postpositive
    Pronoun
  Adverbs: Preverbal/Final/Conjunctive
    Particle
of which the particle is grammatical, the others lexico-grammatical. See further VIIA.

VIB. 1.2. The classes and functions are the grammatical categories of the linguistic units.[1] The terms "system" and "structure", as used by Firth, are distinguished in the manner described by Robins[2]: the system is a paradigmatic construct by reference to which each term is defined as excluding all the other terms; the structure is a syntagmatic framework of interrelated elements stated as values the exponents of which are segments of the text. If it is said that a clause, active in voice, may be found with one of three simple structures NVN, NV or VN, this gives a three-term system of clause-structures for the active voice, (N)V(N); it might then be added that the exponent of value V in this structure may be free verb or pro-verb,[3] giving a two-term system for V here, (N)V_2(N). The classes set up for each unit are systems independent of any structure, whereas the functions can be identified only in the structure; one could of course talk of a "system" of functions, once the latter have been identified, so that it is a characteristic of each system as well of functions as of classes to be *exhaustive*: for example all clauses are passive, ergative or active (neutral) in aspect, and all occurrences of free nouns are as substantive or attributive.

VIB. 1.3. Classes and functions are formally marked. The mark of a class may be said to be the "interior form" of its members, the form of the forms themselves; while that of a function is "exterior form", that is the presence and relative position of other elements. Interior form is taken to include lexical form; by "lexical form" is meant the assignment of a *word* to a certain class on the basis of the categories and com-

[1] The graphic units have of course no classes and functions as such, since they represent only the method of arrangement of the linguistic material. If the piece, for instance, were to be considered as having linguistic validity and therefore having classes and functions, it would ipso facto be classified also as a linguistic (grammatical) unit.
[2] R. H. Robins, 'Formal Divisions in Sundanese'.
[3] Strictly "a member of the class of free verb or pro-verb". The possibility of occurrence of a *class* with given value in a structure is systemically restricted; that of a member of a class as exponent is restricted by collocation (see VIIA below).

binations to which it is susceptible,[1] and of a character to the class of "free" or "bound" according to whether or not it is a word (i.e. is assignable to a word-class). The presence of a word assigned to a certain word-class may in its turn be the criterion for the determination of a class of clause: the verbal clause is determined in the first place by the presence of a verb. Since other classes of verb can occur only in combination with a free verb, a verbal clause always contains a free verb; the latter may be defined with reference to the verb-group (see below, VIB. 3.1), that is, by certain possibilities of combination.

VIB. 1.4. The interrelations among the terms sentence, clause, word and character in the system of linguistic units may be stated within the grammar, though there are implications outside the grammatical level: the word, having been established in the grammatical analyis, becomes the unit of lexical statement.[2] The sentence, which in a spoken text can be contextualized, in a written text has no independent context of situation; sometimes however a form of contextual analysis can be applied to forms at the level of sentence and clause.[3] The character (which, however, is here established without the aid of the grammar) is in this text the unit of phonological statement.

VIB. 1.4.1. At the same time, sentence, clause, word and character all operate within the grammatical system. Here each term is defined as consisting of one or more complete exponents of the term next in succession. Each unit therefore admits an opposition of "compound" and "simple", the compound containing more than one, the simple one, of the unit next below. "Compound" and "simple", being functions of the units in

[1] This procedure of paradigmatic identification is in fact no different from that employed in determining word classes even in such a highly inflected language as Classical Latin. Cf. below, VIB 3.3.

[2] In a language with "institutionalized" words, the word as lexicographical unit may not correspond exactly to the word set up in the grammatical analysis: cf. Robins, op. cit., p. 125.

[3] See below, VIC. 1.8.

interrelation, do not (except in the sentence) constitute "classes" of the units; but the "bound" class of each unit is characterized as unable by itself to form the unit next above: a bound clause cannot by itself form a sentence, and so forth. Only with the sentence does the opposition "compound/simple" enter into the description, since the sentence is defined maximally; it is unlimited in extent, and is considered to extend until marked as closed.[1] Thus a compound sentence consists of one free clause plus one or more free or bound clauses; a simple sentence consists of one free clause.

It follows from this that the members of the free class of each unit can be subdivided functionally, by exterior form in the syntagm, into those which form a simple member of the unit next above and those which combine with others, free or bound, to form a compound member thereof. Again however this opposition only enters into the descriptive statement at the highest level, a free clause being categorized functionally as "sentential" or "non-sentential".[2]

VIB. 1.5. It must be emphasized that the totality of occurrences of any one form in a limited text such as the "Secret History" may not be enough to determine its place in the paradigm. Since the statements made are valid only for the language of the text, there may arise a free choice in the assignment of a given form to one or two categories; where this occurs that assignment has been chosen which permits of the simpler statement, and if simplicity provides no criterion then the form is assigned a place corresponding to the place of some comparable form in the Modern Pekingese system. Sometimes a form occurring once or twice only has to be treated extra-systemically—even though its rarity may be contextually determined.

[1] As in written texts in modern Chinese or in European languages (where the sentence is taken to extend until marked as closed by a full stop).

[2] The two complementary oppositions of "compound/simple" and "sentential (clausal, etc.)/non-sentential (non-clausal, etc.)" could of course be stated at the level of each unit, but this would serve no descriptive purpose.

2. *Sentence and Clause*

VIB. 2. As has been said above, the sentence in the "Secret History" cannot be delimited by purely graphic criteria. Since the text is divided into paragraphs, and is punctuated with one mark, the stop, these criteria permit a partial delimitation: the sentence never extends across paragraph divisions nor divides within the piece (but see below for the exception of direct, quoted speech). Further, linguistic criteria are required for complete delimitation. A sentence is therefore said to begin with the occurrence of a clause containing a noun [1] in pre-verbal position (other than in complex group), [2] unless the previous clause is marked as not sentence-final; and with the occurrence of any clause, whether or not containing a noun in pre-verbal position, where the previous clause is marked as sentence-final. There are three qualifications to this: (i) the opening of a passage of quotation in direct speech is always considered to begin a sentence even where (as frequently) internal to a piece; (ii) two clauses, or groups of clauses, parallel in structure are considered to form one sentence, even if the second clause, or group of clauses, contains a noun in pre-verbal position; (iii) a bound clause not itself containing a pre-verbal noun, but followed by a free clause with pre-verbal noun, is considered to begin a sentence.

VIB. 2.1. A bound clause which itself is initial in a sentence (beginning a paragraph or passage of direct speech, or containing a noun in pre-verbal position) is ipso facto marked as not sentence-final in virtue of its being bound. In fact in the text it rarely occurs that a bound clause ends a sentence: the normal position of a bound clause is that it precedes, or is internal to, a free clause in the same sentence; a conditional bound clause usually precedes a free clause, while a genitival bound clause precedes or is internal to a free clause. The presence of a following bound clause however is not considered in itself to mark the end of a sentence. Similarly a clause which is marked aspectivally (that

[1] Actually free noun or noun-group, or pronoun; see below, VIB. 3.1.
[2] For position in the clause, see VIB. 2.2; for complex group, VIB. 3.1.3.

is, perfective or imperfective, not neutral in aspect) is normally not sentence-final [1]; it is however not considered to be marked as such for the purpose of the delimitation of the sentence. A clause which is marked modally (interrogative or imperative) is always sentence-final.

VIB. 2.1.1. A sentence is said to be compound if it consists of more than one clause; if it consists of one clause only it is simple. A (free) clause which by itself forms a complete (simple) sentence is said to have sentential function. Any clause, free or bound, which is combined in the structure with another clause or other clauses to form a (compound) sentence is said to have non-sentential function.[2] There is no distinction of interior form between a free clause with sentential function and one with non-sentential function; nor between a non-sentential free clause combining with a free clause or clauses and one combining only with a bound clause or clauses.

VIB. 2.2. Primary position in the clause is defined relative to the verb substantive or pro-verb. The basic positions are thus pre-verbal and post-verbal. These admit secondary distinctions: pre-verbal may be initial, non-initial or unmarked, post-verbal may be final, non-final or unmarked. No other positions are recognized in the clause as such, further positional reference being to given elements in the clause-structure (for example preceding or following a word). Positional forms are stated as structures in linear representation using letters to symbolize the operative values, as follows:

[1] A perfective clause with liau in clause-final position may however be final or non-final to a sentence, while a perfective clause with liau in what is considered to be *marked* final position (see below, VIB. 2.5) is always sentence-final.
[2] It is unnecessary to distinguish "main", "co-ordinate" and "subordinate" as separate functions within the category "non-sentential". "Subordination" might be defined as the function of all clauses in a compound sentence except the last, but such a category serves no further purpose. The concept of "subordination" might best be related directly to the class of "bound clause", which is already defined as a class by interior form.

V Free verb substantive, verb group or pro-verb
v Bound verb
N Free noun substantive, noun group or pronoun [1]
n Bound noun
A Free adverb or complex group
a Bound adverb
p Particle

It is sometimes convenient to symbolize the categories of word-classes which may operate with these values. With regard to V, N and A it is to be assumed that the relevant forms (free, "pro-" or group) may operate here unless otherwise specified; if it is desired to refer to the value V, N or A in a structure where only the free form may operate, the symbol F is used. To refer to a group, the V, N or A is written above a line below which is given the structure of the group, in which the reference of the symbol F will be shown by the group letter (thus F in verb group must=free verb).

To specify which class of bound word may operate with the values v, n and a the following symbols are used [2]:

Pr Prepositive (verb), preverbal (adverb)
Au Auxiliary (verb, noun)
Po Postpositive (verb, noun)
Nu Numeral (noun)
Fi Final (adverb)
Co Conjunctive (adverb)

If it is not clear from the presence of a group letter which value is referred to, the symbol will be preceded by a raised v, n or a. Thus ^{a}Pr=preverbal adverb, which is the word-class operating with value a in the given structure; while $\overline{\frac{V}{FPo}}$ would show that

[1] N must be taken to include the possibility of a list of nouns substantive, theoretically unlimited in extent. The symbolization N ... is rejected as too clumsy.

[2] Only one word-class, the particle, can operate at p. With free adverbs and particles the following further abbreviations have been employed:
(cl) Clausal
(ve) Verbal
(no) Nominal

here the element with value V is a verb group the structure of which is free verb+postpositive verb.

VIB. 2.2.1. In a clause with only one exponent of the value N, the order may be NV or VN. Where there are two, the normal order is NVN; but in verbal clauses in ergative or passive voice the order is NNV.[1] Where there is an exponent of A in the clause the normal order will be (N)AV(N); in ergative clauses NANV, in passive clauses NNAV.[2] In the ergative and passive clause structures the first N (but not the second) may be absent.[3]

Less common structures in an active clause are NN(A)V and (N)(A)VNN. The latter is found only with a small group of free verbs as exponents of V. The former resembles the ergative and passive clause structure in being contextually determined: see below, VIC. 2.4. A less common position of A, with value "complex group" only, in an active clause, gives structure (N)VNA.

VIB. 2.3. Verbal and nominal clauses are defined according to the exponence of V: a verbal clause has free verb, a nominal clause pro-verb. A verbal clause contains one, and only one, free verb in substantive function. A nominal clause contains no free verb substantive; it normally contains a pro-verb and at least one exponent of N, but it may be without a pro-verb and even without a noun, its defining characteristic being absence of free verb substantive. Such instances in the text are, however, few, there being only five nominal clauses with no pro-verb.

Both verbal and nominal clauses may be free or bound, but they are distinguished from one another in their possibility of combination with other categories (see below, VIB. 2.8).

[1] More narrowly: ergative NvNV, passive NvNVp. For the exponents of v and p in these structures, see below on ergative and passive voice, VIB. 2.4.

[2] More narrowly NAvNV and NvNAVp.

[3] I have not considered values having exponent zero, preferring to talk of distinct structures.

VIB. 2.4. Voice, aspect and mood are classes of the clause. Each is ordered in a three-term system of which one term is formally unmarked and is considered as " neutral " : for instance a clause which is active may also be described as " neutral in voice ". In each class the neutral form is statistically the most frequent in occurrence, and is the " non-determined " form when features of contextual determination can be shown to operate.[1] That voice, aspect and mood are considered as categories of the clause and not of the verb is due to their being marked by formal distinctions in the clause : variations in the structure, and the presence of elements which are not only not part of the verb but often not even juxtaposed with it.[2]

The three terms in the voice system are ergative, passive and active or neutral. To the unmarked, active form corresponds the basic structure (N)V(N). The basic structure of the marked terms is (N)NV. The determining structure of the ergative voice is (N)vNV, where v has for exponent the prepositive verb ziaŋ, rarely ba ; that of the passive is (N)vNVp, where v is prepositive verb ši, and p is di. The passive is very rare in the " Secret History ", but it has been set up here because it is formally identical with the passive of Modern Pekingese, which shows the same three-term voice system. The ergative of Modern Pekingese is identical except that the relative frequency of ziaŋ and ba is reversed.[3]

VIB. 2.5. The three terms in the aspect system are perfective, imperfective and non-perfective or neutral. Perfective aspect is marked by post-verbal liau ; in clauses of structure (-)V-, where there is at least one exponent of value N following the verb, liau may be either non-final (immediately following V) or final.[4]

[1] See below, VIC. 1.8. and 2.4.1, 2.5.1.

[2] The question is a terminological one : the naming of certain categories of the clause (see VIC. 2.4–6).

[3] Cf. Y. R. Chao, *Mandarin Primer*, p. 51. ba is Chao's " pre-transitive " ; see pp. 49, 162.

[4] " Final " position may be more strictly defined as " not followed by any other lexical or lexico-grammatical word in the same clause ". Occasionally " final " liau is followed by another particle.

A clause of this structure in which liau occurs non-finally is normally not sentence-final, whereas one with final liau is always sentence-final. In a perfective clause of structure (-)V, liau is of course unmarked as to position, and such a clause may or may not be sentence-final.[1] There is thus a subsidiary system of perfective clauses, the three terms of which may be designated non-final, final and unmarked. Imperfective aspect is marked by ǰo which always directly follows the verb.[2] Imperfective clauses are normally not sentence-final.

VIB. 2.6. The three terms in the modal system are interrogative, imperative and affirmative or neutral. Interrogative is marked by the presence of one of the particles ma, madau$_3$ and (once) feu in clause-final position ; imperative by one of the particles ǰe, ǰo, yieǰe and za in the same position. Clauses with interrogative words (see below, VIC. 3.16), such as šuei " who ? ", are not considered interrogative, being formally identical (quâ clause) with other affirmative clauses. Modal particles have absolute final position, all other final forms (e.g. final liau) preceding them.[3]

VIB. 2.7. Both verbal and nominal clauses may be either bound or free. The two terms in the system of bound clauses are conditional and genitival. The conditional bound clause is marked

[1] The type of perfective clause in which liau occurs twice, once post-verbally and once finally, frequent in Modern Pekingese, occurs only once in the " Secret History ". Chao, *Mandarin Primer* (pp. 40–41) distinguishes for Modern Pekingese -le (=liau) " word suffix -le for completed action " and " phrase suffix -le for new situation, . . . , for progress in narration, . . . , etc., etc. " ; later (p. 132) he says of phrase suffix -le that it indicates " a new situation . . . , or a new realization of an existing situation . . . ". The formally ambiguous (post-verbal and final) le he regards as the two forms " telescoped into one ". As Chao points out, other forms of New Chinese, such as Modern Cantonese, distinguish the two lexically, so that there is no ambiguity, and admit both together if the clause ends with V.

[2] There are five instances where ǰo follows a form that could be analyzed as VN. It seems preferable however to consider these forms (e.g. ki$_5$ma$_3$ " (be(ing)) on horse-back ") as (compound) verbs, the position of ǰo being the criterion. The five instances are : ki$_5$ma$_3$ǰo (IX 10b ; 213.21), xuozianǰo " polishing arrows " (V 51a : 169.16), jimtuǰo " (pillowing the ground, i.e.) (sleeping) on the ground " (VI 47b ; 183.22), čueiluiǰo " crying (letting fall tears) " (X 416 ; 245.27) and čueiyian$_1$ǰo " with mouth watering " (VII 40b ; 195.25).

[3] The text has liau madau$_3$ (3 occurrences), liau ma (1), liau ǰe (2), liau ǰo (1).

adverbially, by the presence of (i) a preverbal adverb, (ii) a final adverb, (iii) a combination of the two or (iv) a combination of preverbal adverb with the particle di.[1] The genitival bound clause is marked by the presence of the particle di (very rarely $ǰi_3$) in final position.[2]

VIB. 2.8. There are certain restrictions in the possibilities of combination of clause classes. In a text of limited extent such as the "Secret History" it is necessary to distinguish between those combinations which can be regarded as *excluded* on statistical grounds and those whose non-occurrence is *predicted* on these grounds and therefore cannot be regarded as a feature of the language. Since for example there are only 25 interrogative clauses in the text, and less that $\frac{1}{12}$ of the total clauses are nominal (454 out of 5719), the predicted number of interrogative nominal clauses would not be greater than two, and the fact that in the event there is only one cannot be regarded as excluding or making irregular the combination of nominal with interrogative.

Those combinations which can be regarded as excluded, because their non-occurrence is not predicted, are as follows. Nominal clauses exclude marked voice [3]; in the aspect and modal systems, nominal excludes imperfective and imperative,[4] while the combination of nominal and perfective is rare.[5] Nominal clauses are regularly bound.[6] Bound clauses exclude only marked mood. Of the combination of the voice, aspect and modal systems, that of marked voice with marked aspect is

[1] For the special type of conditional clause marked by one of four postpositive verbs, see below, VIC. 2.7.

[2] Except (i) di preceded by the prepositive verb ši, which marks a passive (free) clause, and (ii) di preceded by a preverbal adverb, which marks a conditional clause.

[3] The non-occurrence of passive voice in nominal clauses is predicted; it is however excluded in Modern Pekingese. That of ergative is excluded, some 32 being predicted where none occurs.

[4] No occurrences; about 23 and 12 respectively predicted.

[5] 3 occurrences, 86 predicted.

[6] 82 occurrences as compared with the predicted figure of 94. The closeness seems to confirm the validity of this distinction.

regular, as is that of marked voice with marked mood; combinations of marked mood with marked aspect are however rare.[1]

3. *Word and Character*

VIB. 3. The category of "word" is set up to meet the need for a linguistic unit smaller than the clause and larger than the character. Although the character is unambiguously delimited in a written text, its grammatical meaning quâ character can only be stated in terms of the opposition "bound/free"; it cannot be assigned by interior form to classes operating in clause structures. The unit which can be so classified is greater than the character, consisting of one or more complete characters, and is called the "word" in accordance with the normal practice of descriptive grammar. Like the sentence and clause, the word cannot be delimited by purely graphic criteria. Its delimitation as well as its classification will be on the basis of its interior, including lexical, form.[2]

VIB. 3.1. The establishment of the word-classes of verb and noun, and the assignment to these classes of elements delimited as words, proceed through the description of "groups", specifically the "verb group", "noun group" and "complex group".[3]

[1] This is predictable on other grounds. Marked modal clauses are normally sentence-final, whereas those with marked aspect (except final perfective) are normally not sentence-final. All occurrences of this combination have in fact final or unmarked perfective aspect. See below, VIC. 2.5–6.

[2] Cf. Chao, *Mandarin Primer* (p. 48); and Robins, 'Formal divisions in Sundanese,' p. 110: "... in the study and analysis of speech the basic and only immediate datum is the sentence, and ... words ... must be formally established in each language investigated before they can be used as a basis for further statements."

[3] Cf. P. Meriggi, 'La structure des langues "groupantes"'. Drawing examples from Modern Pekingese, Meriggi says: "... dans les langues indochinoises modernes, c'est le *groupement des mots*, avec la subordination phonétique et sémantique qu'il entraîne avec soi, qui forme leur véritable grammaire, l'essence de leur type" (p. 189; Meriggi's italics). And later: "Si nous avons affaire à un texte, nous devons, pour le comprendre, commencer toujours par répérer ces groupes qui constituent la phrase; une fausse séparation d'éléments qui en fait sont liés, ou bien une réunion d'éléments qui ne le sont pas, c'est-à-dire, en un mot, un groupement différent de celui qui était conçu par le sujet parlant (ou écrivant), entraînera les pires malentendus..." (p. 191). Cf. also H. F. Simon, 'Two substantival complexes in Standard Chinese', passim.

A verb group is a group of verbal elements (words) among which there obtain certain interior relations determining the operation of the various elements; the noun group is likewise a group of nominal words, the complex group one of both verbal and nominal words. The group is not a unit in the grammatical system: it does not operate in the unit series sentence—clause—word—character, since this is a system in which each term consists of one or more complete members of the term following, whereas a clause may contain no group at all. The determining feature of the group, on the other hand, is precisely that it is always interchangeable in the structure with a member of the free word class corresponding to it: the verb group is one term in the two-term system of values for V in the verbal clause structure, namely free verb/verb group.

VIB. 3.1.1. The bound classes of the verb can only operate in a group: prepositive verb only in the complex group, other bound verbs in the verb group or complex group. Only the free verb can stand alone as exponent of V.[1] The structure of the verb group is $\frac{V}{(Au)F(Po)}$, where Au, F and Po have values auxiliary, free and postpositive verb. In fact if both Au and Po are absent we do not talk of a verb *group*, so that the structure here symbolized is that of value V in a verbal clause.[2] A verb group always contains a free verb.

[1] In the verbal clause. Since the verb group must contain a free verb (and not a pro-verb) it cannot operate in nominal clauses. The only exponent of V in the nominal clause is the pro-verb.

[2] Cf. Chao, *Mandarin Primer*, p. 48. Chao's classification of the verb of Modern Pekingese is presented conceptually—the work being, as indicated in the title, a primer for English-speaking students—but in fact every one of his categories is formally differentiated by its combinatory possibilities and susceptibility to categories (e.g. of suffixation with -le). There is no regular correspondence between the categories here set up and Chao's (conceptual) categories, but Chao's "auxiliary verb" is formally marked as corresponding to my own; his "classificatory verb" is my "pro-verb", treated here as a separate word-class because of its not functioning within the group. Chao (p. 47) has "pro-verb" in a different sense. My "postpositive verb" is not regarded by Chao as a category of the verb, but is referred to as "potential" and "directional complements" (p. 45). My "prepositive verb" is Chao's "preposition" ("prepositives" on p. 49). What Chao calls "quality verb intransitive, or adjective" falls within my category of "free verb", forming part of the sub-class "intransitive (free) verb" (see VIC. 3.1).

VIB. 3.1.2. The bound classes of the noun can normally operate only in the noun-group; while the noun group as such forms part of the complex group, it is only in the complex group that the postpositive noun can replace the noun group; elsewhere only the free noun can stand alone as exponent of N. The structure of the noun group is $\frac{N}{((Nu)(Au))F(Po)}$, with numeral, auxiliary, free and postpositive noun.[1] The postpositive noun may be absent; the numeral and auxiliary nouns may both be absent, but if either one is present the other is normally also present.[2] There is a subsidiary structure of the noun group, or "minor noun group", thus: $\frac{N}{NuAu}$.

Occasionally a noun group may have value A in a structure NAV; such a noun group always contains a postpositive noun.

VIB. 3.1.3. The complex group has adverbial value in the clause structure, though the elements of which it is composed are nominal and verbal words, the free form being a noun.[3] The basic structure is $\frac{A}{vPrN}$: prepositive verb followed by noun group (or free noun). A subsidiary structure has postpositive

[1] The terminology and classification here adopted differ from those of H. F. Simon (op. cit.) for Modern Pekingese as follows: My "numeral" is Simon's "determinative" minus the "demonstrative"; my "auxiliary" covers Simon's "determinator" plus some of his "determinate"; my "free" covers Simon's "noun" plus the remainder of his "determinate"; my "postpositive" is Simon's "substantival suffix". Simon's category "determinator" is unnecessary for the language of the "Secret History". For Simon, "substantive" is a "supra-category" which will "include not only the forms of the two complexes described in this paper (i.e. the elements of the noun group—M.A.K.H.) but also a non-complex category 'pronoun', which remains to be defined" (p. 328). I have preferred to use the term "substantive" for a function of the free noun and the free verb, and to regard the pronoun as a separate word-class because of its not functioning within the noun group. (Contrast here Modern Cantonese, where the pronoun is a form of the "determinative": in a structural comparison of the "Secret History", Modern Pekingese and Modern Cantonese, the first element of the noun group would form a single (related) category of three distinct systems: "numeral" in the "Secret History", "numeral" plus "demonstrative" for Modern Pekingese, these two plus "pronoun" for Cantonese.)

[2] For the occurrence of one without the other, see below, VIC. 3.9.

[3] Adverbs do not operate in the group. The bound classes of the adverbs are defined in the description of the *bound clause*.

verb : $\frac{A}{vPoN}$.[1] A further feature of the prepositive type of the complex group is that the prepositive verb may be preceded by an auxiliary verb.[2] Unlike the verb group, which can only operate in a verbal clause, but like the noun group, the complex group occurs in both verbal and nominal clauses, with the limitations that in the nominal clause (i) only the prepositive complex group is found and (ii) a complex group never contains an auxiliary verb.

VIB. 3.2. The group is considered as unable to be split, though this is not taken to exclude attribution. A free verb substantive, whether alone or within a verb group, may be immediately preceded by a free verb attributive ; and a free noun substantive, whether alone or within a noun or complex group, may be immediately preceded by a free verb or noun attributive or by a genitival bound clause.

VIB. 3.3. Thus the identification of the verbal and nominal word classes proceeds paradigmatically through the description of the structure of the three types of group. All classes of *verb* and *noun* are identified within the group ; free verb and free noun are further identified in the clause structure, where their value is that of the corresponding group. Pro-verb and pronoun have identical respective values in the clause structure but are identified by their exclusion from the group.

The paradigmatic identification of word classes in the clause structure permits the syntagmatic identification of a word as a

[1] The postpositive type of the complex group is set up to handle clauses where the postpositive verb is separated from the free verb. It would be possible alternatively to account for this form by considering the postpositive verb as part of an extended verb group ; but this would involve the splitting of the verb group (by a free noun substantive) and the admittance of two nouns in post-verbal position, one of which (the first) would then require to be restricted by the condition of its irreplaceability by a noun group. The former statement seems preferable for simplicity. See further VIC. 3.5.3.

[2] As an alternative method of statement one could say that the auxiliary verb operates only in the verb group, which can then be split by a complex group. This has the advantage that it then becomes unnecessary to limit the occurrence of the auxiliary verb in a complex group to verbal clauses (since only a verbal clause can contain a verb group). But it seems simpler to consider that no group can be split and that the auxiliary verb can operate in a complex group as well as in a verb group, occurring initially (to the group) in both cases.

member of a certain word class,[1] this being further assisted (as said above) by the categories and combinations to which the word is susceptible. By the latter means, a word may be assigned to a word class on the basis of a category which itself is a category not of the word but of the clause. The clause categories of voice, aspect and mood not only presuppose the presence of a verb in the clause, but also partially permit its identification : only the verb is directly followed by the aspect markers ǰo and non-final liau.[2] In other cases the category with identificatory function is of the word : here the prior identification of (some members of) a word class is presupposed, so that we can say that (i) only a verbal word can be directly preceded by a negative adverb, (ii) only a nominal word can be directly followed by the plural particle mui (in the pronoun, mui is not a particle but a bound character within the pronoun [3]).

VIB. 3.3.1. There is one further distinction between verbal and nominal words which, although it concerns the lexical structure of the two types of word class (that is, the interrelation among the members of each), may conveniently enter into the grammatical statement. Within the verbal word classes there is a high degree of lexical identification among the members of each class : almost all forms assigned to the classes of prepositive, auxiliary and postpositive verb are assigned also to the class either of free verb or of pro-verb. This can be stated in tabular form as follows, where x, y and z represent the three largest lexical groupings within the verbal word classes [4] :

[1] The identification of a given word as member of a certain word class proceeds syntagmatically, in the " Secret History " (and indeed in Chinese as a whole), to the extent that it is identified by its place in the clause structure.

[2] While liau may follow a free verb or a postpositive verb, there are only two occurrences of ǰo following a postpositive verb ; in all other instances ǰo serves to identify a free verb.

[3] The particles themselves are (bound) *words*, not bound characters.

[4] The groupings represented by x, y and z do not form a single system, nor are they ordered in series. They do however form in sum a majority of the words members of the *lexico-grammatical* classes (see above, VIB. 1 n.). Thus for example more than half the members of the class "postpositive verb" are also members either of the class " free verb " or of the class " pro-verb ". The grouping (x plus y) does not of course form more than a small proportion of the total membership of the *lexical* class of free verb.

Free verb	Prepositive verb	Auxiliary verb	Postpositive verb	Pro-verb
x	x		x	
y		y		
	z		z	z

In the nominal word classes however there are no groupings with lexical identification except that a considerable minority of members of the class postpositive noun are at the same time free nouns [1]: members of the classes of numeral, auxiliary noun and pronoun are lexically distinct from each other and from the members of the other nominal word classes.

VIB. 3.4. The adverb forms a separate word class not operating in any group but definable by certain positions in the clause structure. Like the verb and the noun, the adverb admits division into lexical (infinite) and lexico-grammatical (finite) classes; the distinction is one of free and bound, but the implications of the categories " free " and " bound " are somewhat different from their implications in the verbal and nominal word classes. The free adverb includes two (out of three) classes, verbal adverb and nominal adverb, the members of which cannot stand alone as a complete clause; they are however free in the sense that they operate in clauses of any type. The bound adverb likewise cannot stand alone as a clause, but is grammatically restricted as to the class of clause in which it operates.[2]

VIB. 3.4.1. The free adverb is divided into three classes according to that which it modifies, modification being the function of (adverbial) position initial within that (clause) or immediately precedent to that (verb or noun) which is modified. The classes are named " clausal adverb ", " verbal adverb " and " nominal adverb ". Position may of course be ambiguous in the syntagm (an adverb might be initial to a clause while immediately preceding a free verb); the assignment is paradigmatic, such that, for instance, an adverb classed as verb modifier never *precedes* a preverbal noun. Of the three classes only the clausal adverb can stand as exponent of the clause.[1]

[1] Compound (two-character) postpositive nouns such as xianteu$_2$; but not simple postpositive nouns such as xian.

[2] Having, so to speak, grammatical function to the clause. Alternatively the distinction of free and bound might be omitted from the description of the adverb, or subordinated (even in the grammar) to the distinction of lexical and lexico-grammatical. Or again the two classes (" verbal adverb " and " nominal adverb ") of what we have called the free adverb might be classified as " bound ", retaining the criterion of ability to stand alone as a clause. The form of statement preferred, however, has the merit that it makes what is in fact the primary division in the adverbial word classes while retaining the terms " free " and " bound " to name this distinction, albeit with modified implications.

VIB. 3.4.2. Of the bound adverbs, the preverbal and final adverbs both (occurring in the syntagm either alone or in combination) mark a conditional bound clause. They are defined positionally: in a clause of structure V-, the positions are ^{a}PrV-^{a}Fi, in a clause of structure N(N)V-, they are ^{a}PrN(N)V-^{a}Fi or N^{a}Pr(N)V-^{a}Fi. The conjunctive adverb is identical in position with the preverbal adverb, but operates in a free clause, normally following a bound conditional clause in the same sentence. The criterion for the identification of a member of this class is its occurrence at least once in the text in a clause immediately preceded by a bound conditional clause.[2]

VIB. 3.5. The particle marks the grammatical category of word or clause; unlike the lexico-grammatical word classes which also mark grammatical categories the particle enters into no lexical system and can be exhaustively described at the grammatical level. There are fifteen particles, which can be divided

[1] In fact in the text this never occurs unambiguously, since, unless marked as sentence final (e.g. by final position in the paragraph), a clausal adverb can always be assigned as modifier to the following clause. But it is frequent in Modern Pekingese, and arises as a possible alternative method of statement in a number of instances in the " Secret History ".

[2] It would be possible alternatively to assign all adverbs, other then preverbal and final, occurring under conditions other than in a clause immediately preceded by a conditional clause, to the single class of free adverb, thus assuming a high degree of lexical identification of the members of the two classes (free and conjunctive, as here stated). However the conjunctive adverbs even when occurring under other conditions always show some contextual requirements; moreover over four-fifths of clauses in which a conjunctive adverb occurs are not sentence-initial and of the remainder a large number follow directly on quoted speech (especially clauses with suei, zieu and yiu$_2$ši: see below, VIC. 3.14).

into three classes according as they modify (modification here being the function of position final within, or immediately following, that which is modified) a clause, a verb or a noun. Two of the clausal particles are lexically identical with two of the nominal particles (di, ǰi$_3$). The clausal particles are (i) aspectival: liau (perfective), ǰo (imperfective); (ii) modal: ma, madau$_3$, feu (interrogative), ǰe, ǰo, yieǰe, za (imperative); (iii) genitival: di, ǰi$_3$. The verbal particle is comparative: sie. The nominal particles are (i) genitival (possessive): di, ǰi$_3$; (ii) plural: mui, deŋ.

VIB. 3.6. The character is divided into the classes of "free" and "bound". A free character forms a (simple, monosyllabic) word; a bound character combines with one or more other characters, bound or free, to form a (compound, polysyllabic) word [1, 2]. No complete statement can be made of the interrelation of the word classes of the dimension "compound" and "simple" with those of verb, noun and so on; but some general tendencies are observable. Words of more than two characters are rare in the "Secret History".[3] Bound verbs are almost all of one character, except for some disyllabic (and even trisyllabic) auxiliary verbs. Of the bound nouns, all auxiliary nouns are monosyllabic, postpositive nouns both monosyllabic and disyllabic. Numerals

[1] The terms "monosyllabic", "disyllabic" etc. are used in preference to the more strictly grammatical but cumbersome "mono-characteric" etc.

[2] Cf. Y. R. Chao and L. S. Yang, *Concise Dictionary of Spoken Chinese*. Introd. p. xxvii. For lexicographical purposes Chao and Yang set up the categories *of words*: B ("always Bound") and F ("sometimes Free"); for them "no word is always free except interjections". The classification here is made for the different purpose of grammatical statement: we must distinguish bound *words* from bound characters, but need to recognize for characters simply the two classes of free and bound, noting some degree of lexical identification between the two. In this sense Chao and Yang's definition does not operate here; but its implication, that every member of the free class of character is lexically identical with a member of the bound class, is not true for the text of the "Secret History". On the question of the (lexical) unit to which the classes of "free" and "bound" are to be referred, see L. S. Yang, 'The Concept of "Free" and "Bound" in Spoken Chinese', and Y. R. Chao, 'The Logical Structure of Chinese Words'.

[3] Most of these are probably adverbs. It is often impossible to determine whether an element with the value of free noun in the structure of a given syntagm should be considered as consisting of one word or two (attributive plus substantive).

are of from one to three syllables.[1] All pro-verbs except one are monosyllabic [2]; pronouns have one or two characters.[3] The proportion of monosyllabic words among the free verbs is much higher than that among the free nouns. Bound adverbs are of any extent; among the free adverbs the verbal and nominal adverbs tend to be monosyllabic, the clausal adverbs polysyllabic.

VIB. 3.7. The classification of words as put forward here has much in common with the traditional Chinese classification of (lexical) characters in Old Chinese and in the literary language based on Old Chinese. This recognized "full" and "empty" characters (to retain the usual English translation: the Chinese is *shih tzŭ* (33) and *hsü tzŭ* (34)), the "full" being the purely lexical words, noun and verb, the "empty" the partly or wholly grammatical. "Full" characters in turn were distinguished into "live" (*huo tzŭ* (35)) and "dead" (*ssŭ tzŭ* (36)), or verbs and nouns respectively. The problem of whether or not the Chinese language recognized word classes, or "parts of speech", has occupied European linguists from Humboldt onwards.[4] There can be no question that, in the language of the "Secret History" it is not true,[5] as sometimes asserted,[6] that a word may "function as any part of speech"—though it is true that a character per se (as distinct from a monosyllabic word) is not assigned to one of a system of classes corresponding to "parts of speech". We have seen that there is some degree of lexical identification between the word classes, and a complete lexicon would certainly show some forms assigned as words to both verbal and nominal classes; nevertheless the majority of the lexical forms would be found assigned to one word class only. We must agree with Simon's conclusion, drawn with reference to Old Chinese and the literary

[1] For the members of this class see below, VIC. 3.8.

[2] wuyieu. For suei$_2$, see below, VIC. 3.2.

[3] All disyllabic pronouns have mui as second character.

[4] See W. Simon, 'Has the Chinese language parts of speech?', passim.

[5] That is, to assume the validity, for linguistic purposes, of such a statement would render an exhaustive grammatical description extremely complex. Indeed the remark may be taken to imply the impossibility of a descriptive grammar.

[6] e.g. by Margouliès, *La langue et l'écriture chinoises*, p. 21.

language, that word classes must be recognized.[1] Whereas however in the description of inflected languages it is possible to proceed with words as elements of structures, the exponents being identified morphologically, by grammatical form and scatter, in the description of Chinese the word and its classes must be identified by other means.

C. Translation of Categories

1. *Translation and Comparison*

VIC. 1. In the previous part the grammatical categories of the Chinese language of the " Secret History " were presented by means of a systematic description. The intention here is to proceed further in the identification of these categories with the help of translation reference.

VIC. 1.1. The naming of a grammatical category does not imply its identification with a homonymous category set up in the description of other languages.[2] I have drawn as far as possible on the terminology in current use in descriptive linguistics, introducing new terms only when no " equivalent " standard term seemed to present itself. The criteria for such " equivalence " are however undefined, so that, even where these are formal (contextual or grammatical), terminological identity does not enter into the statement. Since the descriptive method is both formal and universally applicable, I have avoided the use of terms which are generally employed in analyses that are either wholly or partly not formal-grammatical. This is not to say that

[1] Simon, op. cit., pp. 110–111: " *He* (Gabelentz: Chinese Grammar, Leipzig, 1881—M.A.K.H.) *declares that the existence of grammatical categories is proved by the fact that Chinese words differ in their syntactical behaviour.* Certain words, this obviously means, behave generally as nouns, others generally as verbs, etc. To give an example, two words are not understood in the same manner by the listener or reader if the first is, for instance, a noun and the second a verb, or the reverse. If the noun precedes the verb, it will generally be conceived as the subject; if the verb precedes, the noun will generally be taken as the object. How could this phenomenon be explained if there were no word categories? " (Simon's italics).

[2] Or with any supposedly " universal " category. The possibility of the comparative identification or even the universality of at least some categories is not to be excluded, but the criteria need to be fully defined. Cf. R. H. Robins, ' Noun and verb in universal grammar '.

the logical or conceptual categories of such an analysis " do not apply ", or could not be applied, to this as to any other language.[1] But in a *linguistic* analysis such as is required by a descriptive grammar it seems preferable to confine oneself to linguistic criteria. The presentation of the formally-established categories in a systematic statement can then be supplemented by translation reference to the language of description.

VIC. 1.2. There are thus as it were two poles from which the language which is the medium of the description impinges upon the language under description. In the systematic statement of grammatical categories the terminology of the description is as it were collocated afresh: it becomes itself a restricted lexical system in the " metalanguage " of description.[2] At the opposite pole lies the translation of the text in the language of description. The difficulty lies in the search for points of contact between the language of the text and intermediate regions of the language of description. The relating of the forms of the language of the text as exponents of its categories, and of the categories themselves, to forms and categories of the language of description presupposes some analysis of the latter. It does not fall within the scope of descriptive grammar to make a parallel descriptive statement of the language which, with its " metalanguage ", is the medium of description. If this is not to be done, then any statement which relates the forms of the text to the language of description at any point intermediate between the two poles

[1] It may be more difficult to apply to Chinese than to a highly inflected language an analysis that is part logical, part grammatical. There is for example no category of " nominative case " to be linked with that of " subject " into a complex grammatical-logical category. A positional analysis could yield a category N_1 which could be termed " subject ", defined as " the first pre-verbal free noun (or noun group) not forming part of a complex group, or the first pre-verbal pronoun, in a clause "; but if the subject, in this sense, is to be more than a purely grammatical (positional) category, such that the statement " the subject of a clause takes position N_1 in the structure " is not a tautology, we require a (universally valid) propositional logic, not based on any one language, which would account for the fact that, for example, Modern Pekingese na š wuə siə di is often the contextual equivalent of English " I (*I*) wrote that ".

[2] As used by Hjelmslev. See e.g. A. Martinet, ' Au sujet des " Fondements de la théorie linguistique " de Louis Hjelmslev ', p. 33.

depends on some prior identification of grammatical function between the two languages.

VIC. 1.3. Such identification of grammatical function across languages, highly desirable as it is, cannot be regarded as resting on a sure foundation before much more systematic comparison has been undertaken. If the criteria for identification are themselves to be grammatical, they must be founded on systematic descriptions of the languages to be compared ; but the language of description, not being itself under description, must if its forms are to be used as terms in the identification have already been so described. If such a description is not to hand and familiar we should seek criteria other than grammatical for the grammatical identification. Criteria of contextual reference may provide a basis for the identification of at least some part of the grammatical systems of the two languages.[1]

VIC. 1.4. Since the relationship implied in the contextual identification of terms in grammatical systems is not in any sense genetic, but (as it may be called) " systematic ", such relationship may be established between the language of the text and any language which presents itself as a convenient point of reference. In this way in a descriptive grammar we may use the language of description, thus establishing contact at a point intermediate between the poles of systematic statement and translation. We may establish " degrees of relationship " [2] such that, when enough systems have been compared, the relative closeness of various fields in the two languages may be demonstrated.

VIC. 1.4.1. With the " Secret History ", besides comparison with English, the language of description, there is the further possibility of comparison with Modern Pekingese. Such comparison is likely to yield higher degrees of relationship : not

[1] As proposed by W. S. Allen, ' Relationship in Comparative Linguistics ', especially pp. 99–100. The contextual identification of (terms in) grammatical systems may be one way of establishing relationship which, for Allen, is a function of systems (not of languages).

[2] As used by Allen, op. cit.

that in every system where comparison is possible the " Secret History " will necessarily appear more closely related to Modern Pekingese than to English, but that the number of comparable systems will be greater as between the " Secret History " and Modern Pekingese and that, of the systems comparable in all three languages, the majority will show a closer relationship between the two forms of Chinese than between either of these and English.

VIC. 1.5. As an instance of (i) contextual identification of grammatical function and (ii) systematic comparison on this basis, and of the place of these procedures in a descriptive grammar, we may compare the personal pronoun systems of the " Secret History ", Modern Pekingese and English. Here the systems can be identified as comparable between the " Secret History " and Modern Pekingese by grammatical criteria without contextual reference : in both languages (but not, e.g., in Modern Cantonese) the pronoun enters into the system of nominal word classes in simple opposition to the noun ; this can be established by its value in the structure and non-operation in the noun group. For a comparison with the English personal pronoun it is necessary to state that both show contextual reference to persons participating in the linguistic event and categorized as " speaker ", " addressee " and so on.[1] This reference is then the criterion for the identification of single terms in the different pronominal systems. Terms with the same contextual reference will be identified *irrespective of the difference in the total number of terms in the system.*[2] Such reference must be *exactly co-extensive.*[3]

[1] Cf. Firth ' Personality and Language in Society ' (see above, III. 1.1).

[2] The question of the identification of terms in systems with different numbers of terms must depend on the level at which identification is made. If identification is made, as here, by contextual reference, such identification seems permissible, since the two terms can be identified by what is (contextually) excluded as well as by what is included. Until contextual identification is established, however, such identification is much more difficult ; grammatical identification would seem to require the *exclusion* of a like number of terms. If for example the Modern Pekingese form (verb plus) guə is included as a fourth term in the aspect system, can we still identify the liau of the " Secret History " with the liau of Modern Pekingese ?

[3] For example English " you " is not identifiable with Modern Pekingese *either* ni *or* nimən.

VIC. 1.5.1. The (personal) pronoun systems of the three languages can be stated and compared as follows:

Reference	SH	Mod. Pek.	English
1 [1]	wuo	wuə [2]	I [3]
11	ŋam	wuəmən	we
13	wuomui		
133	ŋammui [4]		
1133			
12	za	zamən	
122 [5]	zamui [6]		
1122			
2	ni [7]	ni [8]	you
22	nim	nimən	
223	nimui		
2233	nimmui [9]		
3	ta	ta	he / she [10]
33	tamui [11]	tamən	they [12]

[1] Explanation of reference: 1 = speaker; 11 = speakers (more than one); 2 = addressee; 22 = addressees; 3 = other person; 33 = other persons. The combinations given are those occurring in the "Secret History", though these in fact include most of those possible. 2233, for instance = "more than one addressee plus more than one other person".

[2] For the transcription of Modern Pekingese, see Appendix A.

[3] Case distinctions in the English personal pronoun system are ignored. For contextual reference, "I/me" *forms a single term. Since English is not the* language under description, the complex pronouns recognized by some grammarians, such as "you and me", are also ignored.

[4] za occurs once as 133, in (V. 35a; 163.3), zamui once as 11, in (V. 16b; 162.20).

ŋam and wuomui cannot be distinguished by contextual reference. ŋam is more frequent (39 occurrences, wuomui 8); ŋammui occurs once only (XII. 31a; 275.25).

[5] including 123, 1233 etc.

[6] ŋam occurs twice and wuomui once where reference includes 2 (22), in (I. 21b; 35.6) (III. 40a; 121.5) and (V. 8a; 149.29). za, zamui occur 42, 18 times respectively; there is a tendency for more than one addressee or other person (22 or 33) to be included in the reference of zamui (13 out of 18 occurrences), while za is frequently 12 only (25 out of 42 occurrences). za and zamui are also used in the narrative (with the author as speaker, the reader as addressee): (III. 16b (116b); 110.4) (VI. 10b; 171.19) (XII. 7a; 265.52) and (III. 33a; 119.9).

[7] According to Lü Shu-hsiang, 'Shih "nin, an, tsa, tsan", fu lun "mên" tzŭ', nin (nim) is never singular in the "Secret History". nim does however occur in a few doubtful cases where there *seems* to be only one addressee: (V. 45a, b; 167.29, 32) (VII. 12b; 189.14) (VII. 40a, 41a; 195.5, 59) and (X. 45a; 246.16).

[8] nin is excluded from the Modern Pekingese system as being rather narrowly restricted in use.

[9] ni occurs sometimes for 22 = *two* addressees only, usually (but not always) followed by liaŋgo 'two' or ř$_2$řin 'two people', e.g. in (II. 36a; 93.18) (III. 23a; 113.5) (liaŋgo), (IX. 26b; 219.22) (XI. 34a; 255.18, 21) (ř$_2$řin); also in (IX. 7b; 212.2) (IX. 26b; 219.3) (ni fu$_3$z (mui) 'you (two) father and son'), and in (IV. 21a; 136.21) (VI. 38a; 179.29) with only contextual indication that two addressees are referred to. nimui, nim and nimmui are contextually identical (except for doubtful occurrences of nim, above), occurring 14, 53 and 5 times respectively. řu$_3$ occurs once (XI. 17b; 22.21) as 2, actually singling out one of three possible addressees.

[10] All pronominal reference in this system in the "Secret History" is to persons. In Modern Pekingese pronominal reference to inanimate objects is infrequent.

[11] ta is used sometimes for 33 = *two* persons only, e.g. in (VI. 37b; 179.19) (VI. 43a; 181.17) (ta liaŋgo), (VII. 4b; 187.13) (ta ř$_2$řin). bi occurs once (IV. 44b; 145.43) as 33 with contrasting reference to that of tamui in the same sentence. ji$_3$ occurs nine times, always postverbally, with reference (3 or 33) to a noun in previous clause of the same sentence or in previous sentence: (IV. 48b (198b); 146.21) (VII. 20a; 191.13) (XII. 25a; 272.8, 12, 13 (?), 15, 20, 21) (XII. 26b; 273.5).

[12] Wang Ching-ju, 'Chiu Yüan Pi-shih I-wên so chien chih Chung-kuo jên-ch'êng tai-ming-tz'ŭ', gives the following comparison of personal pronouns of the "Secret History" and Modern Pekingese:

Secret History	Modern Pekingese
wuo	wuə
za	zamən
ŋam	wuəmən
ni	ni
nim	nimən
ta	ta
tamui	tamən

regarding tamui as the only pronoun regularly found with -mui, thus ignoring wuomui, nimui and nimmui, and suggesting that the -mui in zamui and ŋammui was added later. But there are only 12 occurrences of tamui, with 389 of ta; zamui, nimui occur 18, 14 times respectively. (See tables in Appendix C below.) Wang's reason for regarding tamui only as regular is no doubt that no monosyllabic third person plural (33) form corresponding to ŋam, nim exists; 33 reference is rare altogether (in fact both ta and tamui are almost exclusively

VIC. 1.5.2. Any two of these systems may be compared and a degree of relationship stated for each pair. Comparing the 12-term system of the "Secret History" with the 7-term system of Modern Pekingese we find that of the total of 19 terms 4 are identical, giving a possible reduction in a comparative statement to 19—4 = 15 terms, or a degree of relationship $\frac{5}{9}$. (In the "Secret History" and English a reduction of only two terms is possible, giving a lower degree of relationship $\frac{8}{9}$.) In making a terminological identification between these four

terms (for example as first, second and third person singular and third person plural) we should be identifying these terms *between the two languages* (whereas we should not identify, for example, " perfective aspect " in the " Secret History " and in Modern Pekingese until some similar comparative statement had been made).[1]

VIC. 1.6. In fact, though the degree of relationship between any pairs of systems in the " Secret History " and Modern Pekingese may vary considerably, the systems of grammatical

confined to the passages of dialogue, rarely occurring in the narrative). Lü Shu-hsiang, op. cit. and ' Han-yü ti-san-shên tai-tz'ŭ shuo ', agrees in regarding tamui as the primary pronominal use of -mui, extended by analogy to ni and wuo. Ōta Tatsuo, ' Rōkittai no gengo ni tsuite ', gives the complete list of personal pronouns from the " Secret History " and contrasts the total of twelve with 37 found in the Yüan drama and only eight (wuo za ni ta, each with plural -mun) in Rōkittai (Lao-ch'i-ta (38)), a Chinese textbook published in Korea in 1423–34.

Of historical interest is the alternance in the " Secret History " system of syllabic and non-syllabic -m (—) in plural forms (ŋam, nim are both -m in Chung-yüan yin-yün (37), 1324), the syllabic forms alone remaining (as in Modern Pekingese) when -m disappears from the final nasal system, though nin, ŋan remain dialectally with -n, no longer plural. Possibly syllabic -m— is an archaism (cf. Demiéville, ' Archaïsmes de prononciation en chinois vulgaire ') even though the origin of the non-syllabic -m may itself be syllabic (mui or some other syllable). Compare the alternance in interrogative words in the " Secret History ": see VIC. 3.16. Lü Shu-hsiang notes that ŋam is often exclusive ; it is in fact (in spite of two definitely *inclusive* occurrences : see above, n. 6) *opposed to* za in the system ; contrast Modern Pekingese where zamən is inclusive, wuəmən neutral. On the origin of za, Lü suggests it is derived from $z_2$gia ; for the relation between pronoun za and (imperative) particle za in the " Secret History " see below, VIC. 2.6.2.

What appears synchronically as the plurality of forms in the personal pronoun system of the " Secret History " having the same contextual reference suggests diachronically a ' fluid ' state of the system. It may possibly be helpful to recognize ' transitional systems ' in historical studies, regarding a particular state of affairs as (relatively) unstable, a sort of intermediate stage in the replacement of one system by another.

[1] Further reduction is possible if two or more exponents of a term in one system are identified with the exponent of an exactly coextensive term in the other : nim, nimui and nimmui will then be identified with nimən, giving a further reduction of 3. If on the same basis za and zamui are identified with zamən, even though wuəmən includes all references of zamən, there is a further reduction of 2 terms. The final degree of relationship would then be high. If this is to be done however it would be preferable that two or more terms with identical reference in the same system should be identified as one ; nim, nimui and nimmui in the " Secret History " would then be considered as one term, and we should have two seven-term systems reduced in the comparative statement to one of eight terms : degree of relationship 4/7. Otherwise (if nim, nimui and nimmui are not first reduced to one term) the method becomes such that a degree of relationship higher than $\frac{1}{2}$ is obtainable and the comparison is meaningless.

categories in the two languages, identified grammatically (with lexical support, but without reference to context), are closely related. In naming the categories of the " Secret History " I have used the same names as can be (and are by myself) applied to categories of Modern Pekingese with which they are identified (at any level), for example " voice " and " aspect " as categories of the clause ; where formal identification has not been made, I have used terms also employed for Modern Pekingese where they seemed appropriate, a procedure which seems justified not only for terminological economy but because of the obvious (if unformulated) relationship between the totality of the systems of the two languages and the identity of the techniques of description applied by myself to both. The closeness of the systems of grammatical categories is itself the comparative basis (at the grammatical level) for a view of the " Secret History " and Modern Pekingese as two stages of the same language.

VIC. 1.7. Since the aim and scope of the present work are descriptive and particular rather than historical and comparative, a systematic comparison with Modern Pekingese, which is not the language of description, should be reserved for separate treatment. Moreover the field of application of contextual criteria to grammatical identification across languages is restricted. For this reason in approaching the language of description at a point intermediate between the " metalanguage " of systematic statement and the language of translation it may be desirable to face the latter pole, as it were, rather than the former ; that is to say, in referring the forms of the " Secret History " to English we may take as the point of reference the language of an English translation of the text.

A form of the " Secret History " will then be regarded as corresponding to (that is, capable of being translated, in the event, by) a form in the English translation.[1] This translation

[1] I should not invoke the fact that the Chinese version of the " Secret History " is itself a translated text as the sole justification for this procedure ; nevertheless this fact does offer interesting considerations.

On the use of criteria of translation in grammatical description cf. Robins,

reference may be systematized to the extent that the English form can be assigned to some category definable in use ; but the description will always face the pole of translation, so that such categories carry no implications of systematized statement of English.

VIC. 1.8. There does exist however a possibility of further assisting the identification by translation reference, through the use of *linguistic* contextualization. This is possible where the choice of a form can be shown to be determined by some feature of the linguistic context. In a written text, where there is no situational context for any unit lower than the whole text, all reference to context from the level of sentence or clause must in fact be to linguistic context ; but whereas pronominal reference may be made on the basis of a situation constructed as it were within the text, the features of which are capable of abstraction such as to permit comparison with other situations and thus identification across languages, direct linguistic context, or " context of mention ", may function in the description of the single language.[1]

This could be viewed as an extension of grammatical statement beyond the limits recognized in the description for grammatical determination : that is, beyond the sentence. Since however the determining factor is not the grammatical form, but the presence or absence of a lexical form in the linguistic context (or, with a spoken text, of a lexical form or a term—participant, relevant object or action—in the context of situation), the occurrence of a member of a given class in a structure is here not only determined by the possibilities of the structure

' Noun and verb in universal grammar ', pp. 296–7. Of the translation of the basic categories of noun and verb Robins says : " There is the additional fact that, when two formally differentiated word-classes are established in any language as the basis of its grammatical system, a large proportion, at least, of the words in these two classes can be translated into the noun and verb, respectively, or nominal and verbal phrases, of the analyst's language " (p. 296).

[1] " Context of mention " could perhaps be applied also in descriptive comparison. With spoken texts it would probably reveal some correlation between positional structures in Modern Pekingese and intonational structures in English.

itself but also related to non-structural features of the larger unit.[1]

VIC. 1.8.1. In describing, for example, the ergative clause, which in the grammatical system operates in the sentence structure with value F (= free clause), we may find that its occurrence is related to the occurrence in the previous linguistic context of a certain lexical form defined by repetition in the ergative clause itself. In this way we may set up a two-term system of context of mention : the " given " and the " new ". A lexical form (which may be verb, noun or adverb), operating in a given sentence or clause, is said to be " given " if it has been mentioned in a previous sentence or clause. The extent of operation of context of mention is not defined, though where it can be shown to operate it is to a certain degree self-defining ; clearly the definition cannot be made in terms of a fixed number of clauses or sentences, but rather in terms of the relatedness of context. A sentence or clause is said to have " related context " with a previous sentence or clause if at least one lexical form is given in the context of mention.

The use here made of context of mention is only very limited ; it is not contended that its application extends to the determination of all or even the majority of grammatical forms. For this reason I have subordinated it in the statement to the translation reference, only appending contextual reference where I have been able to establish a correlation of this type.

2. *Sentence and Clause*

VIC. 2. The sentence, compound or simple, can usually be translated as one English sentence.[2] Sometimes however (i) a sentence consisting of parallel free clauses is rendered by more

[1] Thus, whereas in the procedures of collocation and " colligation ", the forms brought into relation one with another operate at the same descriptive level, in the use of " context of mention " grammatical forms are brought into relation with lexical forms.

[2] In an English translation which I have made of Chapters I–VI of the Chinese version almost all the sentences are coextensive with those of the original.

than one; (ii) successive short sentences characteristic of passages of narrative are combined in the translation, and (iii) occasionally two sentences are rendered as one sentence of two clauses, the first subordinate.

In Modern Pekingese syntagms of type (iii) are frequently marked as one sentence by the punctuation [1]: in other respects sentence division closely parallels that of the "Secret History".

VIC. 2.1. Since pre-verbal position in the clause is associated with the contextual category of the given (see below, VIC.2.4.1) in a related context, the presence of a pre-verbal noun constitutes "re-mention" and is therefore considered to mark the beginning of a new sentence [2]; where all terms are new, and there is no related context, pre-verbal noun may occur there also and for this reason again is considered to mark a new sentence. Occasionally, where the previous clause is bound, pre-verbal noun marks the second clause in a sentence.

The number of clauses in a compound sentence shows an average of about 2.3. Some very long sentences are found, especially where there is parallelism between the clauses, often reflecting passages of traditional narrative in the Mongolian: for example the imprecation of Hoelun on her sons Temujin and Qasar in (II. 12b–13a; 78.8–19), 26 clauses. (Examples of the sentence: VID. 2.1.)

VIC. 2.2. Like the sentence, the clause can usually be translated equivalently, as one English clause. Sometimes a genitival (bound) clause may require in translation a form less than a clause (a word or phrase). While to the distinction of free and bound clause frequently corresponds one of main or co-ordinate and subordinate clause in English, a non-sentential free clause, when not sentence-final, is often rendered by a subordinate clause; and in particular it frequently occurs that when a clause,

[1] The type is sufficiently rare in the "Secret History" not to be taken into account in the delimitation of the sentence.

[2] Whereas the absence of an exponent of the given frequently implies (not related contexts but) one and the same context.

free or bound, is followed [1] by a free clause with conjunctive adverb, the whole may be rendered by an English subordinate clause followed by a main clause. Thus in a free clause the translation meaning of a conjunctive adverb may be considered to be the subordination of the previous clause. (Examples of free clauses: VID. 2.2.)

Types of bound clause are discussed in detail below, VIC. 2.7–8.

VIC. 2.3. The verbal/nominal dimension of clause classes is not reflected in translation, though some common feature can be abstracted from the translation equivalents of the pro-verb, which marks a nominal clause; and the absence from the nominal clause system of marked voice and imperfective aspect may be to a certain degree reflected in the absence from its equivalents in the translation of the passive form of the verb and of tense-forms "is (was, etc.) —ing". The verbal clause includes the type of those which in English have predicative adjective. (Examples of verbal and nominal clauses: VID. 2.3.)

VIC. 2.4. The categories of voice, aspect and mood are categories of the clause. The terms here chosen are those regularly employed with other languages in the description of the verb; the translation and contextual reference, however, suggest some reasons for the use of these terms in the naming of certain categories formally established in the clause.

In the system of voice there is no regular grammatical translation reference, and what English equivalence can be observed depends on identification by context of mention. It is possible to make some contextual distinction (i) between marked and unmarked voice and (ii) between ergative and passive. If we consider a given syntagm active in voice, structure $N_{(a)}VN_{(b)}$, where (a) and (b) are contextual referents, we can set up two non-commutable variants (having, that is, the same contextual reference) with marked voice where both $N_{(a)}$ and $N_{(b)}$ precede

[1] "Followed" is to be understood throughout as "followed in the same unit next above": that is, a clause followed by a clause in the same sentence, or a word followed by a word in the same clause.

V. Of these variants, the ergative will appear as $N_{(a)}N_{(b)}V$, the passive as $N_{(b)}N_{(a)}V$.[1]

VIC. 2.4.1. There is some correlation between the dimension of voice in the clause and the contextual dimension in which are opposed the given and the new. The tendency is for the referent of the given to precede that of the new within the limits imposed by the basic grammatical structure. This can be expressed in tabular form (where N_1, N_2 are the grammatical (positional) categories, (a), (b) the contextual referents) :—

Voice	*Structure*	*Given*	*New*
Active	$N_{1(a)}VN_{2(b)}$	$N_{(a)}$ or $N_{(a)}V$	$VN_{(b)}$ or $N_{(b)}$
Ergative	$N_{1(a)}N_{2(b)}V$	$N_{(a)}N_{(b)}$	V
Passive	$N_{1(b)}N_{2(a)}V$	$N_{(b)}V$ or $N_{(b)}$	$N_{(a)}$ or $VN_{(a)}$[2]

Since this type of contextual reference is normally made in spoken English by intonation/stress, and in written English is ignored, there is no grammatical translation equivalent

[1] It is because of this " inversion ", that is change of position without change of contextual reference, that I have given the name " voice " to this system. The term " passive " is generally associated with an inversion (relative to the " active ") of the nominal terms (if active has $N_{(a)}N_{(b)}$ then passive has $N_{(b)}N_{(a)}$) ; this is usually coupled with a change in the form of the verb, but in Chinese the verb form is identical and the formal changes, even those other than of position, take place in the clause. The term " ergative " has been borrowed from the description of those Caucasian languages (and some so-called " Palaeo-asiatic " languages such as Chukcha) (see e.g. W. K. Matthews, ' The Ergative construction in Modern Indo-Aryan ', especially pp. 403–5), where it is the name given to a structure of a transitive sentence with two nominal terms of which N_2 (the " object "), and not N_1, takes the case-form of the nominal term of an intransitive sentence (compare the *pre-verbal* position of N_2 in the Chinese ergative). The term " transitive " might be used instead of " ergative " (cf. Chao's use of " pretransitive " for ba in this structure in Modern Pekingese), but I have wished to retain the term " transitive " for a type of free verb in opposition to " intransitive ". Wang Li, *Chung-kuo yü-fa li-lun*, p. 164, calls this structure *ch'u-chih-shih* (39) which he translates " execution form ". (Since the above was written Frei has come independently to the use of the term " ergative " for this structure ; see H. Frei, ' The Ergative construction in Chinese ').

[2] The distribution in passive clauses is very noticeable in Modern Pekingese. In the " Secret History " the passive is, as already noted, very rare ; but of the five occurrences, four demonstrate this contextual correlation and in the fifth $N_{2(a)}$, although given in the preceding context, is clearly marked by the structure as new in relation to the context in which it occurs. See examples VID. 2.4.

(except insofar as in a spoken language intonation can thereby be considered a grammatical category).[1]

There are two subsidiary structures in the active clause, one of which is likewise contextually determined. These are : (i) NNV(N) which, like the passive, has contextual reference $N_{(b)}N_{(a)}V$, with N_b given and V new (occasionally, like the ergative, $N_{(a)}N_{(b)}V$) [2] ; (ii) (N)VNN which is restricted to certain exponents of V, of which the only regular one is yiu " give ".[3]

VIC. 2.4.2. In most cases the ergative of the " Secret History " is equivalent to that of Modern Pekingese ; sometimes however for the ziaŋ of the ergative Modern Pekingese would have prepositive verb na_2 (in active clause). There is perhaps some inconsistency in the assignment of ziaŋ and the ši of the passive to the *lexico*-grammatical word class of prepositive verb, since their meaning in this structure can be stated purely grammatically and they are unrestricted by collocation,[4] rather than to the class of particle ; their position in the structure is however that of prepositive verb and not that of particle (which follows, or is final in, what it modifies). ziaŋ is frequently found also as a free verb and as a postpositive verb, and occasionally as a verbal adverb [5] ; ba, which occurs 8 times in ergative clause, is found also twice as free verb. The passive clause is to be distinguished from the special instance of the bound genitival (active) clause

[1] This point is illustrated in the examples (VID. 2.4). The English marked (stressed) falling intonation is often associated with the category of the new. In fact, probably because of its stress correlation, contextual reference to given/new is often termed " emphasis " ; cf. with regard to such reference in the postpositive complex group, VIC. 3.5.3.1n.

[2] In fact in the " Secret History " this structure might be regarded as a subsidiary form of the passive, admitting the criterion of position alone. The difficulty is that it would then be formally indistinguishable from the (much less frequent) variant of ergative.

[3] e.g. (II 42a ; 97.7) wuo yiuliau ni yi go $diau_3šu_2$ $guo_3řfu_6$ yieulai " I gave you a sable swaddling cloth ".

[4] Cf. for example (II 22b ; 84.9) řugim Sorqan-šira ziaŋ wuo gian liau " now Sorqan-šira (given) has seen (new) me ".

[5] Strictly speaking, " there exists also in the text a free verb ziaŋ (etc.) lexically identified with the prepositive verb ziaŋ marking ergative clause ". The simpler form of expression has been preferred throughout. It should preferably not be interpreted as " the word ziaŋ functions also as . . . " ; indeed " the word ziaŋ " as an entity is indescribable.

(of type (ii) and preceded by ši) which it resembles but from which it is formally distinct (see below, VIC. 2.8.2). (Examples of voice: VID. 2.4.)

VIC. 2.5. In the aspect system likewise it is possible to observe a contextual correlation, and the translation of aspectival forms can be systematized to the extent that it depends on this correlation. In general marked aspect denotes the relatedness (imperfective and non-final perfective) or unrelatedness (final perfective) of the following context. An imperfective clause or a non-final perfective clause has at least one referent given to the following clause or itself operates as a term in the context of the following clause: it has context either related to, or the same as, the following clause; while in a clause following a final perfective clause all referents are new. A clause unmarked in aspect is neutral as to contextual reference, and an unmarked (final/non-final) perfective clause is as a category similarly neutral, though any given exponent may be syntagmatically assigned to one or the other term.

VIC. 2.5.1. The terms "perfective" and "imperfective" are chosen (their use being current with regard to Modern Pekingese) because the reference given by an imperfective clause is one of *prolongation*, while that given by a perfective clause is one of *succession*.[1] That is to say, a perfective clause, in its operation

[1] The term "aspect" has been current for some time in the description of New Chinese, and much has been written on the subject of aspect in the Chinese verb. Mention may be made of some of the works dealing with the subject:
(i) H. Maspero, 'Les langues de l'Extrême Orient'. Maspero considers that the Chinese verb has aspect (and not tense); the usual aspects are: déterminé (with lai, ciu); accompli (with liau); duratif (with ǰə (ǰo)), and aoristique (with guə). Aspect may be marked by either particles or auxiliaries, the latter retaining some of their lexical meaning.
(ii) H. Frei, 'Un système chinois des aspects'. Frei classifies aspect into perfective (with liau and other forms, my "postpositive verbs") and imperfective (with ni_2, laiǰə and ǰə (ǰo) (as opposed to ǰau perfective)); in addition certain adverbs are used exclusively with verbs of one or the other aspect. While Maspero considers aspects as undetermined and expressing shades of verbal meaning, Frei regards them as determined, though aspective particles may sometimes perform modal function.
(iii) J. Průšek, 'Quelques remarques sur les aspects en chinois'. Průšek, who in this article is discussing the language of the colloquial novel

(or that of one of its terms) in contextual relation to the following clause, appears as a term in a series or succession, while an imperfective clause appears as one in a hierarchy or progression. For this reason the perfective has the formal dimension of final/non-final, the final marking the last of the series, while the imperfective has no such dimension.

It thus happens that a clause with non-final perfective or with imperfective aspect is almost never sentence-final (cf. Průšek: function of subordination), while a clause with final perfective aspect is always sentence-final.[1]

With regard to non-final perfective aspect, four points may be noted. (i) It frequently occurs in a bound clause, the non-finality of which in a succession is implied in its being bound. (ii) It has no direct time reference, occurring in both free and bound clauses where past reference is excluded: here English (which usually employs past tense forms in narrative, the narrative as such in

Lao Ts'an Yu Chi (40) of 1907, considers aspects to be a special instance of the Chinese tendency of "élargissement des mots" by which the second element of a compound verb, forming a bridge between the general sense of the verb and its concrete application, expresses the outcome of an action and becomes aspective: this applies both to elements retaining a lexical meaning (my "postpositive verb") and to those becoming purely grammatical. Syntactically the function of aspect is to subordinate one clause to the next (cf. my "related context"); ǰə (ǰo) is especially common in this function, from which is derived its use with prepositions (cf. my "prepositive verb plus ǰo" below, VIC. 3.4.1). Further, the aspective particle is much more frequent with simple than with compound verbs (cf. my liau, ǰo with monosyllabic verbs, below).
(iv) Wang Li (Wang Liao-i), *Chung-kuo yü-fa li-lun*, and *Chung-kuo hsien-tai yü-fa*. Wang Li, drawing his examples from the eighteenth century colloquial novel *Hung Lou Mêng* (41) ("The Dream of Red Chamber"), regards aspect as a category of the clause ("aspect in Chinese cannot be considered as directed to the verb or the narrative; it can only be considered as directed to the whole narrative predicate, since the aspective element does not necessarily follow directly after the narrative") (p. I. 297). From aspect, which is concerned with time reference other than simple past, present or future, should be distinguished the "causative form" (*shih-ch'êng-shih* (42) my "free verb plus postpositive verb") which, while historically the origin of aspect, indicates the result, extent or condition of an action (though also indicating *perfective* aspect, e.g. guə). Seven aspects may be distinguished, each with clearly defined time reference.
(v) Lü Shu-hsiang, *Chung-kuo wên-fa yao-lüeh*. and
(vi) Kao Ming-k'ai, *Han-yü yü-fa lun*. Lü and Kao both recognize aspect, distinguishing various aspective categories; Wang's "causative form" is considered by Kao to be "resultative aspect".

[1] But note that final ǰo occurs in the text as a variant of ǰe in imperative clauses (always sentence-final).

the "Secret History" being neutral in aspect) may have a variety of forms, including compound past tenses, determined in subordinate clauses by structures of tense-sequence. (iii) It is frequent in parallel clauses, where however non-final perfective is usual even in the second (last) clause (if the second had final perfective in fact there would be no parallelism). (iv) There are some instances of it in a paragraph-final clause, where it is prima facie unlikely that contextual reference would extend forward; but the majority of these instances are in the genealogies in Chapter 1, which could be regarded either as extended parallelism or as related in context (with e.g. zuoliau . . . siŋši$_6$ "founded the clan. . ." given); a few other instances do not seem to be accounted for in this description.

VIC. 2.5.2. As additional features of aspect may be noted:

(i) The imperfective particle ǰo is frequently found (47 out of a total of 328 occurrences) in prepositive complex group modifying a prepositive verb (where, therefore, the clause is not itself imperfective); here the same prolongation reference *within* the clause is marked as a feature of prepositive verb.

(ii) There seems to be a correlation between marked aspect and structures with monosyllabic final free verb (cf. above, n., Průšek: aspective particle with simple verbs). This is generally observable throughout, and is particularly pin-pointed by one clause (see example VID. 2.5. no. 5). The only frequently occurring combination of marked categories is indeed that of ergative voice (NNV) with perfective aspect; here, as in other perfective clauses with final V, the perfective clause is marked merely as one term in a series but unmarked as to final/non-final.

(iii) In Modern Pekingese the combination of perfective aspect with negative adverb normally implies contrast with (i.e. non-operation of the negative adverb in) the previous context, and can usually be translated as "no longer" or "not, after all (as originally intended)". This is not generally so in the "Secret History" where negative perfective is not a separate term in the system but is merely as it were the sum of its parts; there are

however a few instances resembling Modern Pekingese (see examples VID. 2.5 nos. 6, 7).

(iv) Occasionally liau modifies a prepositive verb; this is not considered to constitute a separate verbal system, but rather, like the regular use of jǒ with prepositive verb, to specify a relation normally linking clauses or sentences as operating within the clause. In a verb group with postpositive verb the position of liau and ǰo is following the postpositive verb; ǰo is however very rare here. For the relation of postpositive verb to perfective aspect, see under the former, below, VIC. 3.5.1.

(v) Combinations of aspective particle with the postpositive verbs (type (ii)) lai, kiu and yieu do not form a separate system. These are discussed in relation to postpositive verbs, below (VIC. 3.5.4).

VIC. 2.5.3. The Modern Pekingese aspect system shows certain important differences, in particular: (i) the presence of a term with (post-verbal) guə (perhaps best regarded as a specialized form of the perfective; alternatively as postpositive verb); (ii) the presence of a specialized negative system; (iii) the possibility of occurrence of both non-final and final liau in one clause.[1] The systems are however clearly comparable; no comparison has been attempted here, in view of the detailed discussion of Modern Pekingese aspect which this would entail.

As is implied by the contextual reference a free clause with imperfective or non-final perfective aspect may often be translated as an English subordinate clause (with "after . . .", "seeing that . . ." and so forth). An imperfective clause often requires English verb-forms "is (was, etc.) —ing".

The imperfective particle ǰo should be distingushed from the postpositive verb ǰau occurring only after certain free verbs (VIC. 3.5.1.1), and from clause-final ǰo marking imperative mood: all are written with the character ǰo. (Examples of aspect: VID. 2.5.)

[1] See above, VIB. 2.5.2. n. There is actually one such occurrence in the "Secret History", in (VII. 26a; 193.35); here in the "Secret History" only non-final liau would be expected, though both would be expected in a Modern Pekingese rendering.

VIC. 2.6. The category of " mood ", like that of aspect, is marked by certain particles in the clause, those of mood being always final. The neutral term in this sytem is affirmative mood, and no change in the clause structure is associated with the marked terms of the modal system.

VIC. 2.6.1. The regular form of the interrogative has final particle ma ; clauses of this type can be translated with English interrogative verb form. Clauses with $madau_3$ (15 occurrences) require an exclamatory form, which may or may not be interrogative in English. There is one interrogative clause with feu (XI. 17b ; 252.17). All these forms exclude the occurrence in the clause of an interrogative word (some, but not all, of which have ma as final syllable ; see below, VIC. 3.17) ; clauses with interrogative word (noun or adverb) are considered affirmative, there being no grammatical distinction between these and other affirmative clauses. Thus English interrogative verb form is the translation equivalent not only of interrogative mood but also of affirmative mood in " information questions " with words such as šuei " who ? ".

Modern Pekingese has not only ma (now written ma_2) similarly restricted, but also ni_2 which can both replace ma and combine with interrogative word ; ni_2 is absent from the " Secret History ". $madau_3$ is absent from Modern Pekingese ; we may compare the latter's (pre-verbal) $nandau_3$ which has however a contrary implication absent from $madau_3$ (" (surely) you don't mean . . . ? ")[1] ; and Modern Cantonese me (m tuŋ . . . me ? = $nandau_3$ . . . ma_2 ?)

[1] Contrast nan, as free verb = " difficult, unpleasant ", with the formal identity of the first syllable of $madau_3$ and interrogative particle ma. One could translate analytically $nandau_3$ = " unsayable " (cf. " unthinkable " in this use, and " unspeakable " with different use), $madau_3$ " what (do you) say ? ". For ma = " what ? ", cf. below VIC. 3.17 n. Haenisch points out that in the Gloss $madau_3$ is regularly the equivalent of Mongolian kemen, kemeku marking the closing of direct speech, and is thus quite " un-Chinese ". It seems however that the use of $madau_3$ in the Chinese version, which is much less frequent, should be clearly distinguished as operating within the Chinese interrogative system. Moreover in (II. 2a ; 70.9) and (II. 3a ; 71.4) $madau_3$ occurs in the Chinese version but not in the Gloss. References to Haenisch throughout this section are to Section VIIIB (pp. 72–97) of his ' Untersuchungen über das Yüan-ch'ao Pi-shi '.

contrasted with interrogative ma. Modern Pekingese has in addition a quite distinct interrogative form of an " alternative " type, characterized by the repetition of (at least) the verb, preceded in second instance by the negative adverb. This form is very rare in the " Secret History " ; perhaps the only two occurrences are (II. 45b–46a ; 100.15, 20), one of which is an answer to the other. Because of its rarity and incomplete identity with the Modern Pekingese, this form is not regarded as interrogative here. (Examples of interrogative mood : VID. 2.6.1.)

VIC. 2.6.2. In imperative mood the " Secret History " distinguishes a first, a second and a third person imperative, rendered as such in English but, unlike English, all formally marked. First person imperative is marked by final za (5 occurrences), formally identical with personal pronoun za.[1]

Second person imperative has regularly ǰe, sometimes ǰo (17 occurrences [2]) ; there is no observable distinction between the two. Very occasionally ǰe occurs in clauses (e.g. X. 13b ; 238.8–9) translated as first person imperative. ǰe and ǰo regularly collocate with prepositive verb giau " tell, order ", requiring " indirect command " in translation.

Third person imperative is marked by final yieǰe, which occurs 9 times, four of these following $ǰi_7$ or $ǰi_7dau_3$ " know ", " let it be known ".[3]

[1] The two never occur in the same clause. Personal pronoun za (reference 12 etc. : see above, VIC. 1.5.1) is rarely post-verbal. In (V. 35a ; 163.3) which is translated as (unmarked, i.e. second person) imperative in English, za occurs in clause-final position apparently as pronoun with reference 133, value N_2 ; this might be regarded as an instance of imperative za ; it seems in fact to be intermediate between the two regular forms, the reference being the reverse of that which is normal in either. There is one instance of za following first person wuo (IX. 22b ; 218.8).

[2] Plus a small number of formally ambiguous instances where ǰo is both final and directly post-verbal ; these have been assigned on statistical grounds (of frequency) to imperfective aspect, though some (e.g. (XII. 25b ; 272.32), where there is collocation with giau " tell, order ") require imperative in translation.

[3] Once where a first person imperative seems required and four times in exhortations which could be rendered in the second person. Exhortations (as here to heaven and to the emperor) may well however be considered as, and translated in, third person ; and in the former instance (VIII. 23b (379b) ; 201.35) yieǰe follows wuo s_3 heu " let me, after I die ", which could well be

Modern Pekingese has no system of imperative mood, though the final particle ba_2 (now normally written ba_3), clauses with which may be translated now with interrogative, now with imperative verb form, should be recognized as falling within the modal system. (ba_2 in the "Secret History" is regularly postpositive verb, though it occurs once following yieulai (X. 45b; 246.25) (see below, VIC. 3.5.1.1).) The restriction of certain attributive verbs to clauses which might thereby be regarded as imperative in Modern Pekingese is not observable in the "Secret History".

Some clauses requiring imperative or "indirect command" in translation are affirmative in the "Secret History"; these include some with prepositive verb giau, some with negative adverbs hieu and mo (prohibitive: "do not ...") and others with no formal identification. (Examples of imperative mood: VID. 2.6.2.)

VIC. 2.7. Of the bound clause classes the conditional is marked lexico-grammatically, by a system of adverbs; these, designated by position as "preverbal" and "final", occur either alone or in combination one with the other. In addition, a small number of conditional clauses are marked by (i) preverbal adverb combined with the (final) genitival particle di, and (ii) one of three postpositive verbs, ba_2, ki_2 and de.

The regular translation equivalent of the conditional clause is a subordinate ("adverbial") clause of the types classified as temporal, conditional, causal, concessive etc. and introduced by a subordinating conjunction. Some, including those with final di, require "whatever, whoever" or "if any, if anyone" etc.

rendered as "let my spirit ...". Haenisch points out the imperative use of je in the "Secret History", regarding this, together with the "voluntative" yieje, as a Mongolism; he compares Mongolian verb-termination ja ("voluntative"). There is no exact correspondence between the use of je and yieje in the Gloss and in the Chinese, yieje for example being rarer in the latter but occurring nevertheless in places (for example (I. 23b; 21.13) and (XII. 31a; 275.30)) where it is absent from the Gloss. The occurrence of je in imperial orders where the Mongolian has (-tuqai keyen) jarliq bolba is indeed frequent (see Chapter 9 of the "Secret History", passim), but it is not confined to such instances. jo, za as imperative particles are not mentioned by Haenisch, who regards za as a personal pronoun derived by ablaut from z_2.

Almost all those with postpositive verbs ba_2 and ki_2 have free verb šuo "say" and may be omitted altogether in translation, or rendered "when (he) had spoken". The translation of those with de is very varied and is discussed in relation to the position of de in the system of the postpositive verb (see below, VIC. 3.5.1.3).

A conditional clause is never sentence-final unless the following clause is marked as sentence-initial *other than by the presence of pre-verbal noun*[1]: if the following clause has pre-verbal noun *the conditional clause itself* is considered thereby to be marked as sentence initial. The clause following a conditional clause frequently has a conjunctive adverb, and indeed the presence of a conjunctive adverb may be considered regularly to require the subordination in English of the previous clause *whether bound or free.*[2]

The conditional clause is comparable with that of Modern Pekingese, which has however a more restricted system of final adverbs and combinations with final adverb. The preverbal and final adverbs are discussed further below (VIC. 3.12–13). (Examples of conditional clause: VID. 2.7.)

VIC. 2.8. Genitival clauses have final particle di and are of two functional types, defined by exterior form:—

VIC. 2.8.1. (i) Immediately preceding a noun (rarely noun group,[3] never pronoun) (347 occurrences). The clause in which this noun operates may either follow or surround the genitival

[1] In fact this only occurs once, in a paragraph-final clause (XII. 26b; 274.21) where the preverbal adverb is yi_2, a form taken from literary Chinese and confined to Chapter 12.

[2] The conjunctive adverb does not however mark the previous clause as bound, since (i) this would rest on a criterion of exterior, not interior, form, which marks functions, not classes, and (ii) clauses with conjunctive adverb are sometimes marked as sentence-initial (so that even on this criterion of exterior form a clause preceding another containing, for example, the conjunctive adverb bian would not always be regarded as having "subordinate function").

[3] But commonly in Modern Pekingese. See H. F. Simon, 'Two substantival complexes in Standard Chinese' p. 340. Cf. example VID. 2.8.1 no. 4.

clause.[1] A genitival clause of this type has attributive function; di is the mark of attribution (compare nominal particle di which marks the attribution of a noun), but in fact such attribution is a function of exterior form and there are a few clauses attributed by position alone to the following noun, not having final di and therefore considered free clauses.[2]

There are four instances of this type of genitival clause with the literary form ǰi$_3$ replacing di.[3] Otherwise the form is identical with that of Modern Pekingese, translated like the latter by an "adjectival" clause, with the difference that clauses of this type translated by a relative clause between commas (i.e. "non-restrictive") are considerably more frequent in the "Secret History" than in Modern Pekingese.[4]

Some polysyllabic final adverbs have first syllable di, as diši$_2$fun "when"; these forms are regarded as compound adverbs because they always mark a bound clause, though clauses to which they are final are syntagmatically identical with genitival clause plus following noun.

VIC. 2.8.2. (ii) Not immediately preceding a noun (51 occurrences). This type, which is rarely sentence-final, has substantive function with value N in the clause to which it is adjacent or

[1] As always where a form is defined as preceding another form with given value in the structure, the latter admits direct attribution, the attributive element thus intervening. Further, between the genitival clause and the noun there may intervene (i) another genitival clause, as in (II. 36a; 93.13) or (ii) a noun (N) itself followed by genitival particle (nominal) di, as in (II. 5a; 73.3).

[2] E.g. (III. 44b; 123.16) wu řin yian$_2$ di$_2$mian "an uninhabited place". Attribution does not figure in the description as a function of clauses, since these recognize a bound class and attribution would be definable simply as precedence within the sentence. Note however the single instance (IV. 44b; 145.52) where, if it were not unique, ǰe$_2$ might be regarded as a formal mark of attribution (not however of a bound clause, since, like the conjunctive adverbs, it is outside the clause to be considered "bound" by it); compare the frequent alternance in Modern Pekingese of (nominal) di with ǰə$_2$/na ("this", "that") (with or without auxiliary noun) especially following a pronoun.

[3] Three in the more literary Chapter 12. The four are: (IV. 29b; 140.28) (XII. 28a; 274.1) (XII. 50b–51a; 279.6,25).

[4] For example (VI. 11a; 171.36) "Quyildar, who was injured", or "the injured Quyildar". This is unexpected from the point of view of Modern Pekingese (cf. Chao, *Mandarin Primer*, p. 57). Genitival clauses of this type, like attributes in general, are normally new, but if given may be non-restrictive (Quyildar's injury is mentioned in 171.19).

nternal. The Modern Pekingese form is identical but regularly sentence-final; a particular instance of this type, following ši, is very rare in the "Secret History" but so frequent in Modern Pekingese as to require a distinct classification.[1] The translation usually has a relative clause with pronominal antecedent: "what (= that which)", "those who", "the one who" etc.

All this type have final di, and are distinguished from various related forms: the passive voice structure,[2] conditional clauses with preverbal adverb and final di,[3] and certain polysyllabic free nouns with final syllable di (see below, VIIB. 3).[4] There are a few bound clauses with final ǰe but, since most of these have preverbal adverb, all are considered conditional and ǰe is regarded as final adverb marking a conditional clause. (Examples of genitival clauses: VID. 2.8.2.)

VIC. 2.9. The translation of the verb group, the noun group and the complex group is discussed in relation to the word-classes making up the groups.

3. *The word*

VIC. 3. In the consideration of the translation of word-classes, some correspondence with English word-classes can be indicated, with (in the case of the bound word-classes) some reference to the translation of the group in which these operate. In addition translation reference by means of "specimen trans-

[1] Two instances only: (IX. 18a; 214.19) and (XI. 27b; 254.17). There are likewise only three instances of this type of clause in sentence-final position: one is (IX. 18a; 214.19), following ši; the others, not following ši, are (III. 32a; 118.12) and (XI. 34b; 255.58).

[2] Related likewise in Old Chinese, which has passive (N)wueiNsuoV (cf. (N)šiNVdi), "genitival (ii)" (suo)Vǰe. The former occurs once in the "Secret History", but in Chapter 12; (XII. 6a; 265.10).

[3] These may precede a noun, in which case they resemble type (i). They are considered conditional since the preverbal adverb may be one of a number, while the genitival clause can thus be restricted to di alone; but an alternative statement would recognize these as genitival, or even consider the category of genitival clause as a type of the conditional.

[4] Such as faŋ$_2$yiaŋ$_4$di "shepherd". These could be considered as genitival clauses; that they should be considered rather as compound free nouns is suggested by their possibility of combination with nominal (plural) particle mui. The assignment of some such elements must nevertheless, for lack of syntagmatic evidence, remain arbitrary.

lation " is given for members of a word-class which are of particular interest or of frequent occurrence. Reference to context of mention is valid in some instances in relation to the group; and some comparison is made with Modern Pekingese forms.

VIC. 3.1. A free verb may have substantive or attributive function, and attributive function permits the further distinction of the free verb into the sub-classes " transitive " and " intransitive ".

VIC. 3.1.1. (i) A free verb which in combination with a following noun forms a verbal clause is said to be " transitive ".[1] Such a verb never has attributive function, since in structure VN it is always substantive (its " attribution " taking the form of a genitival clause), while there is no unambiguous instance in the " Secret History " of a transitive verb attributive to a verb. Only a transitive verb can have substantive function in a clause with marked voice.

A transitive verb is usually rendered in English by a (finite) verb. This may be of the type recognized in English as " intransitive ", for example lai " come ".

VIC. 3.1.2. (ii) A free verb which in combination with a following noun does not form a clause, but is attributive to it, the combination thus having value N in the structure, is said to be " intransitive ". An intransitive verb may thus have substantive or attributive function, but it never has substantive function in a clause with marked voice or with post-verbal N.[2]

[1] A transitive verb may occur in active clause without following noun. Such instances, actually relatively infrequent in the " Secret History ", do not of course affect its place in the paradigm.

[2] In Modern Pekingese this type admits a post-verbal " minor noun group " (Chao's " cognate or quantified object ") but there are no instances of this in the " Secret History ". There is however one instance (I. 47a; 66.5) of an intransitive verb followed by a noun followed by a minor noun group, where the intransitive verb da must be considered to have substantive function: da Temujin yisuei$_2$ " (she was) a year older than Temujin " (alternatively this could be analyzed as da prepositive verb (only instance), yisuei$_2$ (as regularly) pro-verb).

An intransitive verb in substantive function is usually rendered by an English predicative adjective with " is " etc.; in attributive function by an attributive adjective or, if attributive to a verb, by an adverb.[1] (Examples of free verbs: VID. 3.1.)

VIC. 3.2. The pro-verb has value V in the structure of the nominal clause, the order of elements in which is, as in the active verbal clause, (N)V(N). Specimen translations of the eight pro-verbs of regular occurrence in the " Secret History " are as follows:—

ši	" is "
yieu	" there is; has "
wu	" there is not, has not "
zai	" is at "
miŋ	" is called "
řu and s	" is like "
suei$_2$ preceded by numeral noun	" is . . . (years old) "

Of the 30 occurrences of pro-verb řu, 6 are in řu ho " what is . . . like ?, how is ?, why is ? " and 4 in řu x " is like this ".

In Modern Pekingese the category can be established on the same criterion of non-operation in the verb group; Modern Pekingese has məi (mui$_2$) or məiyiəu for wu and (hau)siaŋ for řu, s. It is doubtful whether to regard yiəu as a pro-verb in Modern Pekingese, where, unlike məiyiəu, it regularly combines with auxiliary verb.

Of the 118 and 30 occurrences of pro-verbs yieu and wu, 7 and 1 respectively are in structure NV (one NNV) where VN might be expected.[2] This is not unparalleled in Modern Pekingese, especially where the N : V relation is that of given : new in the

[1] The categories of " transitive " and " intransitive " are not coextensive with Chao's (*Mandarin Primer*, p. 48) for Modern Pekingese, since his " action verb intransitive " (e.g. lai " come "), which does not have attributive function in the " Secret History ", is classified here as transitive. Such a verb combines with following noun to form a clause (for example in (VI. 17b; 174.1) lai Činǧis ču$_2$ " came to Genghis ").

[2] Haenisch regards this, together with the use of yieu as postpositive verb, as a Mongolism: see below, VIC. 3.5.5n. But the clause-final position of yieu is not confined to the " Secret History "; cf. Ōta, ' Rōkittai no gengo ni tsuite ', p. 11. See example VID. 3.2. no. 3.

context: compare (I. 36b; 55.11) s wuo ban fu_4řin yieu yieǰe " let there be a(nother) woman like me ". To this may be related the regular use of yieu as postpositive verb (type (iib)) (see below, VIC. 3.5.5).

All pro-verbs occur also as either prepositive or postpositive verbs, or both: the identification of some of these is given in the table in VIC. 3.5.3.1. (Examples of pro-verbs: VID. 3.2).

VIC. 3.3. Of the bound verb classes, the auxiliary verb operates in both the verb group, where it precedes the free verb, and the prepositive complex group, where it precedes the prepositive verb.[1] Those of frequent occurrence in the " Secret History ", with specimen translations, are:

lai and kiu	" to, in order to, came/went and " [2]
ko and $koyi_2$	" can, may, is qualified to, it may be that "
yiau and yiu_3	" will, is going/wants to "
neŋ and de	" can "
ken	" is willing to "
gam	" dare "
bei	(passive verb form)
bi_2	" must "
ši [3]	

lai and kiu frequently occur following another auxiliary verb or a quasi-complex group (see below, VIC. 3.4.2).

The system is comparable with that of Modern Pekingese, where however yiu_3 and the less common yiu_3yiau are absent, while kə (ko), regular (69 occurrences) in the " Secret History ", is narrowly restricted in Modern Pekingese which has regularly kəyi ($koyi_2$); the latter form in the " Secret History " (19 occurrences) never follows a negative adverb and in 9 instances can be translated " is qualified to ".

[1] That is, with no intervening N. The auxiliary verb may be separated from the free verb by an adverb.

[2] See especially examples VID. 3.3 nos. 1–3. As in Modern Pekingese, lai and kiu as auxiliary verbs often require in English translation the infinitive form of the verb, sometimes a more specific form such as " so as to ", " in order to ".

[3] ši as auxiliary verb does not normally figure in translation. It might perhaps best be regarded as a *marked positive* form, excluding the negative and contrasting with unmarked positive. e.g. (V. 51a–b; 169.24) kiaxai $ti_2šim_2$ ni šuo di hua ši $ši_5$ liau " I have just been able to check that what you said *was* true ". See further example VID. 3.3. no. 4.

A number (but not all) of the auxiliary verbs occur also as free verbs; some of these and others also as prepositive verbs. ziaŋ, which also occurs frequently as free verb (" bring, take "), as prepositive verb in ergative clause and as postpositive verb (see below, VIC. 3.5.2), occurs 10 times as auxiliary verb, translated as " will ": compare Modern Pekingese adverb jiaŋlai (ziaŋlai) " in the future ", which occurs once in the " Secret History " where it could be regarded as auxiliary verb ziaŋ plus auxiliary verb lai; and " Secret History " (once only, in (II. 32b; 91.4)) $ziaŋx_2$, adverb " about to ". (Examples of auxiliary verb: VID. 3.3).

VIC. 3.4. Prepositive verbs are distinguished into two types according to whether or not they operate in a complex group having adverbial value in the clause structure.

VIC. 3.4.1. (i) A prepositive verb of this type combines with following N into a complex group which normally has direct pre-verbal position, occasionally initial position, in the clause; the complex group then has adverbial value, so that (vN)V = AV. Prepositive verbs of this type are frequently modified by the imperfective particle ǰo, recalling the -ing form of words used in their translation. The most frequent prepositive verbs of this type, with specimen translations, are:

yiu	" with (accompanying), for (on behalf of) "
zai and yiu_2	" at, in, on "
řu	" like "
duei (collocating with free verb šuo " say ")	" to "
bei	" by (with passive verb form) "
z_2	" from, through "

ǰi and dau	" to, reaching, by (time) "
zuo	" as, being "
yiuŋ	" with (using) "
liŋ$_2$	" with, leading "

The translation of the complex group is thus usually a prepositional phrase, the prepositive verb (together with postpositive noun where present) being rendered by a preposition (with postpositive noun there is often the possibility of a compound preposition : e.g. zai . . . heu " behind, at the back of ", dau . . . heu " behind, to the back of ").

The Modern Pekingese system is comparable ; of the forms listed above, some are not usual in Modern Pekingese, their regular equivalents being shown in the following table with occurrences of both in the " Secret History " in parentheses :

Secret History	Modern Pekingese
yiu (171)	gən$_2$ (–), tuŋ (16) " accompanying "
	gəi (–) " on behalf of "
z$_2$ (60)	xuŋ (13)
ǰi (47)	dau (37)
yiu$_2$ (100)	zai (51)
řu$_1$ (100)	gən$_2$ . . . yiyiaŋ (–), etc.

Of the occurrences of řu in the " Secret History ", 58 are in řuho " how ? ", Modern Pekingese zənma(yiaŋ), and 12 in řux " like this ", Modern Pekingese ǰəyiaŋ (ǰe$_2$yiaŋ), nayiaŋ. Frequent in Modern Pekingese also is na$_2$ (1), of which the equivalent in the " Secret History " is ziaŋ in ergative clause.

For the relation between prepositive and postpositive complex group, see under the latter below, VIC. 3.5.3.1.

VIC. 3.4.2. (ii) A prepositive verb of this type occurs in formally identical combination with following N, but the combination (vN) has no value as such in the structure, and is regarded as forming a " quasi- " complex group.[1] Most frequent

[1] It would be possible to regard a prepositive verb of this type as combining with *preceding* (pre-verbal) N to have adverbial value in the structure (or, where there is no pre-verbal N, as having this value alone) : (N)v = A. The position would then be that of clausal adverb, as distinct from the true complex group which normally has position of verbal adverb.

among this type, which never has imperfective particle ǰo, are :

giau	" tell (order) "
miŋ$_2$ and liŋ	" order "
gian	" see "
ši$_4$	" make (cause) "
čai	" send (order . . . to go and) "
šuo	" say "
ǰi$_7$	" know "
hiu	" permit "
kuŋ	" be afraid "

The translation of the quasi-complex group thus takes the form of a verb followed by noun clause or by noun and verb infinitive : " told him (to go) ", " saw him (go) ", " know that he (went) " etc. ; including " say " etc. with reported speech.

Modern Pekingese has a comparable system, in which some rather more usual equivalents are as follows :

Secret History	Modern Pekingese
giau (230)	jiau (giau$_2$) (–)
liŋ (19)	miŋ$_2$ (43)
gian (42)	kanjian (-gian) (–)
ši$_4$ (34)	š (ši$_4$) and jiau (giau$_2$)
čai (30)	da$_2$fa (–)
ǰi$_7$ (17)	ǰ$_7$dau$_3$ (–)
hiu (16)	siu (hiu) and řaŋ (–)
kuŋ (12)	kuŋpa (2), pa (2)

Some prepositive verbs of this type are disyllables of which the second character is regularly a postpositive verb (e.g. tiŋde " hear ") ; since however these are relatively few it seems simpler to regard them as compound prepositive verbs than as prepositive verbs followed by postpositive verb (restricting the latter to occurrence following a free verb). Among collocations regular with prepositive verbs of type (ii) is that of giau with imperative final particle ǰe.[1]

[1] As an alternative form of statement, prepositive verbs of type (ii) could be regarded as free verbs with either the setting up of a separate clause or the recognition of a type of verbal clause containing two free verbs in substantive

VIC. 3.4.3. A special sub-type within this type of prepositive verb is formed by the three words ši, yieu and wu. This might be considered a third type intermediate between types (i) and (ii), or the forms could be assigned to both types, since it is sometimes doubtful whether to regard the group in which they occur as a complex or a quasi-complex group, and sometimes one, sometimes the other seems preferable. In translation, ši and yieu are often omitted ; if translated, their rendering when preceded by a noun resembles the forms used in type (i) : ši " (being =) is . . . and " (or passive verb form, e.g. (II. 44a ; 99.7) ; compare passive form), yieu " having, with, has . . . who/which " ; without preceding noun, the form is more comparable with those of type (ii) : ši " it is (. . . who/which) ", yieu " there is (. . . who/which), some ". wu with preceding noun may be translated " without, not having, has not . . . who/which ", without preceding noun as " (there is) no (. . . who/which), no-one/-thing ".[1]

Modern Pekingese has š and yiəu, while wu is replaced by məi(yiəu). yiəu however is more restricted, the use to which corresponds zero translation reference (for example (I. 23a ; 38.3) yieu na fu_4řin $hueidau_3$ " the woman answered "), which is very frequent in the " Secret History ", not being found in Modern Pekingese.[2]

Likewise transitional between the two types are the words bei and giau, here assigned to types (i) and (ii) respectively, where in most instances they clearly belong. Examples where assignment would be doubtful are : (IV. 21a ; 136.6) hogu bei J̌urkin řux zuo " why do we let the J̌urkin do this to us ? " ; (IV. 48b (198b) ; 146.13) ǰaŋ$_3$$fu_2$ gian bei giun yiau ša " I saw the soldier going to kill my husband " ; (IV. 44b ; 145.57) zaixian bei Merkit yiu_2 Burqan šan kun wuo $ši_2$ " that time when I was surrounded by the Merkit on Mt. Burqan " ; (IV. 32b ; 141.11–13) bei . . .

function. The objection to the former is that there is never a corresponding division of pieces ; and the present form of statement has been preferred to either alternative because those verbs which operate in the quasi-complex group do constitute a finite word class, some of whose members, moreover, are not lexically identifiable with free verbs.

[1] See especially examples VID. 3.4 nos. 7–8.

[2] This use is reminiscent of that of yiəu ($yieu_2$) in modern newspaper style.

Qoridai dau Gurelgu di_2mian gau yiu Činggis " (their plot was revealed by) Qoridai (who) went to Gurelgu and told Genghis " ; (VI. 53b ; 185.19–20) wuo yiu_2 ǰiŋǰu bu $řin_2$ giau nim na_2 kiu ša liau " I would not let my own lord be taken and killed by you " ; (VII. 13a ; 189.32) ziaŋ zaixian lau Woŋqan giau ziantuŋ$_2$ hu_3 de zeučulai s_3 liau, kanlai ta gam yiau zuo $huaŋdi_6$ $madau_3$ " Seeing that Woŋqan was so frightened that time by the quivers that he ran away and got killed, does it look as though he had the courage to become emperor ? " (Examples of prepositive verbs : VID. 3.4.)

VIC. 3.5. Postpositive verbs are divided into two main types according to their incidence within or outside the group, while subdivisions within those types depend on position in the group or clause and certain possibilities of combination.

Type (i) are those which operate in the verb group or postpositive complex group. These occur either directly post-verbally (sometimes separated from the free verb by another postpositive verb of this type) or following post-verbal N but in this case always followed by N. Type (ii) are those which operate outside the group and take clause-final position, separated (where applicable) from the free verb.

VIC. 3.5.1. Type (i) sub-type (a) includes the majority of postpositive verbs : these operate in the verb group and always directly follow the free verb. It is impossible to point to an English category as translation equivalent of this type. The comparable class in Modern Pekingese (see below, VIC. 3.5.1.1) has been variously regarded as marking perfective aspect, resultative aspect, causative form and other categories[1] ; and it has been noted[2] that a free verb on the one hand and the same free verb with postpositive verb on the other often require lexical distinction in other languages (e.g. ǰau$_2$ and ǰau$_2$dau, English " look for, seek " and " find ").

[1] Cf. above on aspect, VIC. 2.5.1 n. " Causative form " is Wang Li, *Chung-kuo yü-fa li-lun*, p. I. 153 (*shih-ch'êng-shih* (42)).

[2] E.g. by Frei (cf. below, VIIA. 3n.).

With regard to the "Secret History", where the system is closely related to that of Modern Pekingese, the same is true. We may instance this and two other general types of translation reference: (i) use of a distinct lexical form, e.g. wuaŋ*gian* "see" (contrast wuaŋ "look at"); (ii) post-verbal adverb, e.g. (da$_2$)*dau*$_2$ "(knocked (him)) over"; (iii) use of a lexical form which would itself be the translation equivalent of the post-positive verb as free verb,[1] e.g. ǰe$_4$*gieu* "saved" (where ǰe$_4$ = "protect" and gieu as free verb = "save").

With regard to contextual reference, two forms may be observed: (i) the free verb is given, the postpositive verb new, e.g. (IV. 29a; 140.2–3) ... s$_2$bo ši$_2$, ... bo*dau*$_2$ "when (they) were wrestling, ... (he) wrestled (him) over (threw him)"; (ii) the whole verb group is (marked by the postpositive verb as) new, this being further suggested by the fact that the postpositive verb is particularly frequent in ergative clauses (and, among active clauses, in those with no post-verbal noun).

That the postpositive verb cannot here be regarded as marking perfective aspect is shown by its occurrence, admittedly infrequent, with imperfective particle ǰo, e.g. (II. 33a; 91.18) li$_3$ǰu$_2$ǰo luoheu liau "stopped and (stopping) were left behind".

VIC. 3.5.1.1. Those most frequently met with (with some indication of their specimen translation!) are:

de (diau$_2$de "hooked"; diau$_2$ = "fish, angle")
(and see below VIC. 3.5.1.2–3)
yiu (huanyiu "gave in exchange"; huan = "exchange")
ǰu$_2$ (na$_2$ǰu$_2$ "grip"; na$_2$ = "take (hold of)")
dau (laidau "came up, arrived"; lai = "come")
dau$_3$ (wundau$_3$ "asked (saying)"; wun = "ask")
gian (tiŋgian "hear"; tiŋ = "listen")
po (kampo "clove, broke"; kam = "chop, strike")

This type corresponds to the system of *stressed* postpositive verbs in Modern Pekingese. In the Modern Pekingese postpositive verb system many of the same forms occur. Of those above, də (de) is rare in this use (but operates in the negative/potential system: see below), dau being the regular equivalent; yiu is replaced by gəi (which however is assigned only to sub-type (c)), while dau$_3$ is absent from the system, the only relic being the compound free verb šuədau$_3$ "say".

[1] That is, of the free verb lexically identified with the postpositive verb.

ǰau is distinguished from the graphically identical ǰo marking imperfective aspect, the transcription retaining the Modern Pekingese distinction; there are 22 occurrences, the majority following the free verb yiu$_6$ "meet". ba$_2$ and ki$_2$ occur (15 and 6 times) only, with one exception each, following šuo "say"; they are regarded as marking a conditional clause ("when (he) had spoken"): Modern Pekingese equivalent wuan$_2$ is not found in the "Secret History".

VIC. 3.5.1.2. There is with this type of postpositive verb a sub-system of negative/potential with four terms in two dimensions, one term unmarked; this is formed by the negative adverb bu and the postpositive verb de[1] in position between the free verb and the postpositive verb, thus:

FPo, (unmarked); F-bu-Po, negative; F-de-Po, potential; F-bude-Po, negative potential.

Examples from the text of the marked terms are: (negative) (VIII. 48b; 208.12) xši$_2$ řuo še$_2$buǰuŋ Saŋgun "if you had not hit Saŋgun then" (še$_2$ = "shoot"); (potential) (II. 51b; 103.12) wuo suoyi$_2$ duo$_2$deguo "that was how I was able to escape"; (negative potential) (II. 49a; 102.5) hiŋbudeřu$_2$ "could not get in". Since adverbial modification is by immediate precedence, it is the postpositive and not the free verb that is modified by the negative: the first example might be (non-contextually) translated "if, when you shot at Saŋgun, you had not hit him".

In Modern Pekingese this system is much more extensive than in the "Secret History", but has only three terms, the negative potential —budə— being absent, while the negative term is often translated "cannot" and contrasts with the form with negative

[1] de might be regarded as an adverb here. It is however a regular postpositive verb of this type (see below).

adverb (bu, more often məi (mui$_2$)) preceding the *free* verb (in the "Secret History" the verbal adverb buxeŋ, equivalent of məi (see below, VIC. 3.16), likewise precedes the free verb). Modern Cantonese has the four terms FPo, F-m-Po, F-dak-Po and m-F-dak-Po (with dak and the regular negative adverb m) in a comparable system.

VIC. 3.5.1.3. The postpositive verb de occurs also as a regular postpositive verb of this type; it never occurs however in potential form (i.e. is never repeated). It occurs in three formally distinct types of syntagm, requiring different translation forms: (i) in negative form or in interrogative clauses or clauses with interrogative word, translated as a potential form of the free verb: (VII. 17a; 190.14) wuo zuobude ni yieu$_4$šeu "I cannot act as your right wing"; (ii) in other ("positive") clauses, not clause-final, usually requiring a distinct lexical form (but sometimes possibly "get, catch"): (II. 8b; 76.3) diau$_2$de yi go gim$_2$se yiu$_4$ř "hooked a golden fish" (or "was fishing and caught ..."); (iii) in positive clauses but with clause-final position, marking the clause as bound (conditional) as sometimes reflected in the translation of this and the following clause as one: (II. 6b; 74.8) yiaŋ$_2$de řzmui ǰaŋčiŋ liau "her sons grew up *in her care* (by her tending)".[1] It is sometimes doubtful whether to regard a form as potential (F-de-Po) or as two clauses (F-de/F), e.g. (IX. 26b; 219.8) laideči liau or laide/či liau "came late"—here the latter is preferable as či does not occur elsewhere as postpositive verb.

[1] Wang Li, *Chung-kuo yü-fa li-lun*, distinguishes this type (iii) into (1) with də (de) or di, a type of the continued form (which includes my quasi-complex group) and (2) with də only, a contracted form of the resultative form (or, from the opposite standpoint, a dilated form of the causative form (as in my type (ii) here)), on the grounds that the former is followed by a "descriptive predicate", the latter by a "narrative predicate": examples (from *Hung Lou Mêng*) (1) wuə laidə bu ciau liau "I have come at an awkward time" and (2) šuodə Lin Daiyiu "puč" di yi šəŋ (šiŋ$_2$) siau$_2$ liau "what he said made Lin Tai-yü burst out laughing" (Wang Li pp. I. 190–205). I have not regarded de and di as being non-commutable variants in the "Secret History", but in fact the "Secret History" has de in clauses which on Wang Li's criteria would be classified as (1). While I have not distinguished clauses into classes corresponding to "descriptive" and "narrative", it may be noted that a clause following a bound (postpositive de) clause may be nominal: (... šeŋde) yieu yian$_3$se "pretty" (I. 34b; 54.6).

In Modern Pekingese the first type is restricted (to a use which may be exemplified by pəŋbudə(-de) "can't stand knocking about"), de here in general being replaced by other postpositive verbs; in type (ii) it is, as noted above, replaced by others, but a number of Modern Pekingese compound verbs have də as the second character. Type (iii) is regular in Modern Pekingese.

VIC. 3.5.2. Type (i) sub-type (b) contains 11 postpositive verbs, operating (like those of sub-type (a)) in the verb group following the free verb, but distinguished by certain possibilities of combination one with another. If these eleven are stated in three groups, symbolized x y and z, combinatory possibilities (where F = free verb) (in addition to Fx[1], Fy and Fz) are: Fxz, Fyz, Fxyz.

The members of the groups are:

group x (1 member)	ziaŋ
group y (8 members)	huei, ču, zin$_2$, řu$_2$, ki, hia, guo, zeu[2]
group z (2 members)	lai, kiu.

Specimen translations of group y, which usually requires an English post-verbal adverb, are: "went *into* the forest" (řu$_2$, in (II. 14b; 79.20)), "drive the horses *out*" (ču, in (II. 31b; 90.45)), "has run *away*" (zeu, in (II. 19b; 82.3)). Group z will usually not figure in the translation but may affect the form of the verb: "*went* in pursuit" (not "came") for si$_2$ziaŋ kiu in (IV. 3b; 128.7).[3] ziaŋ, group x, should, it seems, be grouped in some way with lai and kiu, though not into a single system since lai and kiu are mutually exclusive, while neither excludes ziaŋ. It requires no translation but frequently collocates with free

[1] Fx only with lai or kiu (postpositive verbs type (ii a)) as clause-final. This could be regarded (since group z here = lai, kiu) as extended (split) Fxz; but it seems preferable to regard clause-final postpositive verbs as a separate type.

[2] The unique example of postpositive šuolai (I. 39b; 57.2) should be analyzed as postpositive verb (type (i a)) šuo plus (type (ii b)) lai.

[3] It is sometimes doubtful whether to assign lai and kiu in a given syntagm to the first of two clauses as postpositive verb or as auxiliary verb to the free verb in the second, e.g. (V. 16b; 162.7) xeŋ bei Merki lu$_3$kiu/čuŋ$_2$ duei$_2$ *or* xeŋ bei Merki lu$_3$/kiu čuŋ$_2$ duei$_2$ "he had been taken captive by the Merkit and made to pound a quern" (the distinction could be brought out in translation: "had been taken *off*... and had pounded" *or* "had been taken ... *to* pound").

verbs denoting movement where English may have "over", "along", "away" etc.[1]

The comparable type in Modern Pekingese is that of *unstressed* postpositive verbs, which likewise have combinatory possibilities, though only in two groups (y and z; jiaŋ (ziaŋ) being absent). Modern Pekingese excludes ǰu$_2$ from the postpositive verb system, having as equivalent jin (zin$_2$) (sense "in"; the "Secret History" has zin$_2$ in the system (11 occurrences) but in sense "forward"[2]), and has zəu (zeu) as type (i a) (non-combining, stressed); but includes in this type šaŋ which does not combine in the "Secret History" (it probably should be assigned to this sub-type, especially in view of its special relation to hia (in translation šaŋ = "up", hia = "down"); but since there are no occurrences of šaŋ in combination there is no alternative but to assign it to sub-type (a)).[3]

VIC. 3.5.3. Type (i) sub-type (c) contains 12 postpositive verbs operating not, as those of sub-types (a) and (b), in the verb group, but in the postpositive complex group. Three features distinguish the members of this sub-type; (i) they may occur separated from the free verb by a noun; (ii) they may follow a postpositive verb of type (i a); (iii) they never occur without following noun.

The translation resembles that of the prepositive complex group, and indeed all the members of this sub-type are also prepositive verbs of type (i) (but not vice versa).[4] The twelve, with specimen translations (and compare above, VIC. 3.4.1), are:

zai and yiu$_2$	"at, in, on"
yiu	"for"

[1] Průšek, 'Quelques remarques sur les aspects en chinois', p. 423, notes instances of postpositive ziaŋlai ("getting hold (of something) to ..." = "preparing to ..."), thus regarding ziaŋ as comparable with ziaŋ (lai) in its "future" sense (and compare lai as auxiliary verb). But note hiŋziaŋ lai *paragraph-final* in (I. 4a; 5.6).

[2] I.e. in the "Secret History" zin$_2$ is the opposite of huei; in Modern Pekingese it is the opposite of ču.

[3] The Modern Pekingese specialized combinations cilai (kilai) "start, become" and siaciu (hiakiu) "go on (becoming)" are not found in the "Secret History".

[4] Except yieu and wu which are assigned to type (ii), but with one use resembling those of type (i): see prepositive verbs above, VIC. 3.4.3.

z$_2$	"from, through"
ǰi and dau	"to"
zuo and wuei	"as"
řu	"like"
yieu	"with, having"
wu	"without, not having"
miŋ	"(who is) called, named"

Modern Pekingese recognizes this type, with some difference in the forms in regular use: yiu$_2$ ("at"), ǰi and wuei are excluded, zai, dau and zuə (zuo) or daŋ being regular (respective) equivalents; yiu ("for") is replaced by gəi, z$_2$ by xuŋ, řu by e.g. gən (gen$_2$) ... yiyiaŋ and wu by məi(yiəu); in addition to miŋ there is the comparable siŋ "(who is) surnamed".

VIC. 3.5.3.1. This lexical identification of postpositive verbs of this sub-type with prepositive verbs extends to the identification of most of the members with either free verbs or pro-verbs. The following table shows the forms identified, with occurrences in the "Secret History":

	Prepositive	Postpositive	Free verb	Pro-verb
yiu$_2$	100	19		
z$_2$	60	1		
yiu	171	70	freq.	
ǰi	47	33	freq.	
dau	37	31	freq.	
zuo	26	52	freq.	
zai	51	26		35
řu	100	4		30
miŋ	9	13		90
wuei	14[1]	21		4
yieu	103	4[2]		119
wu	13	1		30

[1] But wuei as prepositive verb would (except in one instance (XII. 6a; 265.7)) be read by a Modern Pekingese speaker in fourth (*ch'ü-shêng*) (43) tone; eight of these occurrences are in wueišim "what for?, why?". As postpositive verb and pro-verb it would be read in second (*yang-p'ing*) (44) tone, translated as (pro-verb) "is" etc., (postpositive verb) e.g. zuowuei "act as".

[2] Excluding (15) occurrences as postpositive verb of type (ii b).

There is thus, with these exponents, a formal identity of prepositive and postpositive complex groups. The distribution is again linked with contextual reference, the later position being as usual that of the new: for example (II. 45b; 100.5) giau zuo_3 zai heičez li "told her to sit in the black wagon", but (III. 16b (116b); 110.10) Borte zai na baisiŋ nei tiŋ ǰo "Borte heard him from among the folk", where heičez "black wagon" does not occur above while baisiŋ "folk" does (110.7).[1]

VIC. 3.5.4. Type (ii) of postpositive verbs includes two systems, sub-types (a) and (b), of forms occurring in clause-final position; they are however positionally distinguished, as those of sub-type (a) precede final (perfective) liau, those of (b) follow it (but precede the modal particles, which have absolute final position). Where the two occur in the same clause, (a) precedes (b). Since they do not directly follow the verb, they might be considered as belonging outside the class of postpositive verb; but since most of the forms are lexically identified with postpositive verbs of type (i), their assignment to this class seems justifiable. The two systems have respectively place and time reference.

Sub-type (a) includes only the two forms lai and kiu. These terms operate in a simple dimension of direction towards or away from the speaker or narrator, sometimes other relevant person or object. They thus resemble lai and kiu in type (i) and likewise frequently require no translation; often however they may affect the choice of verb (e.g. "come", "bring" in clauses with lai, "go", "take" in clauses with kiu), and sometimes are rendered analytically, as (it might be) "walked up", "send here" contrasted with "walked away", "send there".

Modern Pekingese has an identical system. In both the "Secret

[1] Contextual correlation of this type is often referred to as "emphasis" (cf. above, VIC. 2.4.1 n.): the difficulty is that it is often not clear which term is to be regarded as emphasized, the given or the new. Cf. Chao, *Mandarin Primer*, p. 54: "(Modern Pekingese) *Ta juh tzay Beeipyng* (45) 'He lives in Peiping', emphasizing the idea that his home is Peiping, whereas *Ta tzay Beeipyng juh* emphasizes the idea of his maintaining an abode and the locality is only an accompanying circumstance". Frequently, at least, in the first example "Beeipyng" is new: this might be an answer to "where does he live?"; while in the second "juh" is new: this might be an answer to "what is he doing in Peiping (—staying a few days)?"

History" and Modern Pekingese there is a tendency for these forms to occur in sentence-final clauses.

VIC. 3.5.5. Sub-type (b) has the four terms yieu, yieulai, lai and yie, occurrences 15, 20, 24 and 9 respectively. This system has direct time reference, and would if its use were more extended be considered a fourth category of clause classes along with voice, aspect and mood: the terms would be neutral (unmarked), present (yieu and yie) and past (lai and yieulai). Since however not many more than one in a hundred clauses (67 out of 5719) would have marked "tense" (if it were so called) it seems preferable to consider it a postpositive verb system with time reference in contrast to the place reference of sub-type (a).

In view of the special interest of this system (the absence of any comparable system in Modern Pekingese) every instance has been either quoted or referred to in the examples (VID. 3.5). It may be noted here that of the occurrences of yieu, 6 are in nominal clauses with pro-verb zai "is at" and of the rest 3 are in imperfective and one in unmarked perfective clauses; of yie, 7 have lai as free verb or postpositive type (i), one of these and the other 2 are perfective, while 4 have adverb řugim "now" and 1 has auxiliary verb ziaŋ "will, is going to". Of clauses with yieulai, 14 have adverbial past time reference (as with xeŋ, zaisian etc.); of those with lai, 15 have adverbial past time reference. All clauses with postpositive verbs of this type are free.

There is an interesting correlation with the English tense forms of the translation. The equivalents given here (with the verb "come" as example) are appropriate in every instance and in many seem to be demanded:

> yieu and yie "comes, is coming", yieulai "has been coming, used to come, was coming; came (after subordinate clause)", lai "had come, came".

yieu shows a preference for nominal clauses and clauses with intransitive free verb, yie for those with transitive free verb.[1]

[1] The clause with final yie in (IV. 51a; 147.22–23) is an editorial footnote in classical commentary style and has not been included under instances of yie in this system.

This system is absent from Modern Pekingese, which has however one comparable form laiǰə (laiǰo), the equivalent of lai here (e.g. in (II. 37b ; 94.2) " when Temuǰin was nine, he had been parted from Dei-sečen's daughter Borte-wuǰin " Modern Pekingese could certainly have laiǰə) : laiǰə may, with guə (absent from the " Secret History "), be included in the Modern Pekingese aspect system.[1] (Examples of postpositive verbs : VID. 3.5.)

VIC. 3.6. The free noun is regularly rendered by an English noun. The members of this class include the many personal and place names in the " Secret History " : the vast majority of these are Mongolian words, but their place in the Chinese system is identical with that of Chinese free nouns. A free noun regularly has attributive function to another (following) free noun ; it is sometimes doubtful whether to regard a given syntagm as a single (compound) free noun or as two free nouns the first with attributive function : in general if both elements are found separately as free nouns substantive the latter statement is preferred, otherwise the former.

A free noun may operate in a noun group ; personal and place names do so only infrequently. It may be followed by the plural

[1] The need to recognize lai as a term in the system of both sub-types is formally determined (i) by the occurrence as clause-final of both liau lai, e.g. (II. 36a ; 93.9) and lai liau, e.g. (II. 36a ; 93.13), and (ii) by the occurrence of final kiu lai, i.e. the juxtaposition of two forms which *in any one system are always mutually exclusive*, e.g. in (II. 36a ; 93.9) and (II. 45b ; 100.13).

Lü Shu-hsiang *Chung-kuo wên-fa yao-lüeh*, p. II 158, regards lai and laiǰə identically, laiǰə being the more modern, as *hou-shih hsiang* (46) (" successive aspect ") and instances ni jian šəma laiǰə " what was it you saw ? " ; he explains this as " an action having already taken place ", an explanation that is certainly more appropriate than Wang Li's " recent past aspect " (*chin kuo-ch'ü mao* (47)) which Wang compares with French " il vient de . . . . ". Haenisch regards lai as a phonetic transcription of the Mongolian verb-termination -luqai (-lai) which was then taken over into Chinese colloquial, and thus as distinct from the (type (i)) postpositive verb lai ; he further suggests a contamination with Modern Pekingese (final) liau (lə), and notes the alternance of liau and ǰo lai in one instance in the translation of the same Mongolian form. Haenisch further considers final yieu as a transcription of Mongolian verb-termination -yu (*pro-verb* yieu in final position being equivalent to Mongolian " copula " baiyu which takes final position, with yieu again a transcription) ; yieulai is then equivalent to bailuqai or buluqai, with lai transcription, yieu translation (of bai- " sich befinden " or bu- " is ", its transcription equivalence in baiyu being as it were transitional).

particles mui and deŋ, especially personal names. It may be followed by di, marking its attribution to what follows ; there is also a small group of free nouns, polysyllabic with di as final syllable (see VII.B. 3).[1]

VIC. 3.7. The pronoun has been discussed above (VIC. 1.5.1). (Examples VID. 3.7.)

VIC. 3.8. The numeral noun occurs as the first element in the structure of the noun group. The forms of the noun group in which it occurs have structure (i) NuAuF(Po), with a rare variant FNuAu ; (ii) NuF(Po), and (iii), the " minor noun group " without free noun, NuAu. Forms of the noun group in which it does not occur are (i) FPo and (ii) AuF(Po).[2]

The numeral nouns are :

yi " one "

$ř_2$ " two " (structures (ii) and (iii) only, and in (iii) only in di_4 $ř_2$ " second " and yi $ř_2$ " one or two ")

liaŋ " two ",

the numbers three to ten and all compound numerals ending in the numbers one to ten, and

gi the unmarked plural numeral which is variously translated as " how many ? ", " a few ", " which (one) ? " etc.

To this class corresponds in the system of categories the " determinative noun " of Modern Pekingese, which, however, is more extensive ; Modern Pekingese has ǰə (ǰe$_2$) " this ", na " that ", məi (mui) and gə (go$_3$) " each, every ", followed by auxiliary noun : in the " Secret History " these words are not followed by auxiliary noun.[3] In Modern Pekingese the noun group without

[1] Compare attributive and substantive uses of di in the genitival clause above (VIC. 2.8).

[2] With auxiliary noun go only ; see below, VIC. 3.9.

[3] Actually ǰe$_2$ (172 occurrences) is found once, na (175) four times, followed by auxiliary noun.

This class in Modern Pekingese is H. F. Simon's " determinative " (op. cit., pp. 330 sqq.). The " Secret History " has no " demonstrative determinative " (on the criterion of " colligability " with auxiliary noun), and it is (partly for this reason) convenient to restrict this class to the " numeral noun " and to regard Simon's " specific determinative " as an adverbial class. The use of ǰe$_2$ " this " and na " that " before a noun group with numeral noun is regarded as an instance of nominal adverb (compare the instance of verbal adverb preceding verb group or complex group) : see below, VIC. 3.11.3.

auxiliary noun (structure (ii)) is much more frequent with these words than with numerals, while in the "Secret History" the numeral regularly occurs in the noun group without auxiliary noun. The following table shows the occurrences of numeral nouns in noun groups (i) with and (ii) without auxiliary noun :

Numeral	With NAu	Without NAu
yi "1" [1]	128	79
$ř_2$ "2"	3	63
liaŋ "2"	54	23
(3 to 9)	81	119
$ši_3$ "10"	13	11
gi	9	—
Total :	288	295

The words ban_2 "half", bai "hundred", $xian_2$ "thousand" and wuan "ten thousand" are auxiliary nouns. (Examples of numeral noun : VID. 3.8.)

VIC. 3.9. The auxiliary noun in the "Secret History" is a small class of which only one member occurs more than 25 times (go, 223 occurrences). Two types may be recognized according to the structural type of the noun group in which they occur.

VIC. 3.9.1. Type (i) are those which may occur in all forms of the noun group, including the minor noun group. Of these only go occurs (29 out of 223 occurrences) without numeral noun. In the translation some are omitted, their occurrences being determined solely by collocation with a given free noun :

ba_5 *pi* ma_3 "eight horses", wu_5 *ǰi*$_2$ $ziangan_4$ "five arrows". go, which likewise requires no translation, is however collocationally unmarked, having the possibility of occurrence with any free noun. Others require the limiting of the free noun by a collective or quantitative :

yi *xuŋ*$_2$ baisiŋ "a throng of folk", yi *wuŋ* ma_3nai_2z "a jar of maresmilk".

[1] Including "compound numerals ending with" yi, etc.

The auxiliary noun with numeral "one", and go without numeral noun, is translated as "a, an" or "one". Where the free noun follows the numeral plus auxiliary noun, the translation is unaffected :

$šan_2ma_3$ ba_5 pi "eight geldings", $gie_2yiaŋ_4$ yi $xian_2$ bai_2tuo_2 yi go "a thousand wethers and a white camel".

The minor noun group with auxiliary nouns of this type occurs where the auxiliary noun is given in the context of mention together with a free noun (occasionally where a collocable free noun only is mentioned).

The Modern Pekingese system is much more extended, both in the number and frequency of those with restricted collocability (such that the unmarked gə (= go but now written go_2), while still preponderant, is less decisively so), and in its frequency of occurrence in the noun group (such that the structure NuF is restricted to a few exponents of F [1]).

VIC. 3.9.2. Type (ii) is a small class of auxiliary nouns which occur only in minor noun groups and only in post-verbal position. In practice these can almost always be translated as "time" (where French would have "fois") or, synthetically, as "once" "twice" etc., though sometimes a more specific form is appropriate :

liaŋ x_2 "twice", $či_2$ sam hia "will be flogged three strokes".

The question of the separate classification of this type in Modern Pekingese is a difficult one ; but while the "Secret History", being a limited text, permits its formal distinction on the basis of non-occurrence with free noun, one form which may favour a separate classification in Modern Pekingese is almost totally absent from the "Secret History" : there is

[1] H. F. Simon's "unrestricted determinates". This class is not required in the "Secret History" since it would need to include (apart from a few forms which in the text are bound characters) all free nouns occurring in noun groups structure NuF (of which there are 45, in a total of 293 occurrences). Simon's "restricted determinates" recall my auxiliary nouns of type (ii) below, a small class of nine members—which might have been eliminated altogether if the "Secret History" had been a longer text : thus $ču_2$, which one might (because of Modern Pekingese) have expected to be restricted to minor noun groups, in fact occurs in noun groups with free noun, as sam $ču_2$ di_2mian "three places", and is therefore classified as type (ii).

only one instance of the type (such as kankan, kanyikan " have a look ") so frequent in the former where a free verb is repeated with or without intervening yi " one ". The unique example is (II. 25a ; 86.4) seu yi seu, translated " search " ; alternatively " make a search ". (Examples of auxiliary noun : VID. 3.9.)

VIC. 3.10. The postpositive noun occurs as final element in the noun group. Whether or not the noun group of which it forms a part is itself part of a complex group, the postpositive noun can usually be translated by an English preposition, the latter being, with complex group, the translation equivalent of prepositive (or postpositive) verb plus postpositive noun.

About half of the postpositive nouns in the " Secret History " are simple (monosyllabic) words, the other half compound, disyllabic ; many of the latter are formed from a simple positive noun plus following $bian_2$, mian, $gian_2$, or teu_2. Frequently the translation of such a pair is identical, and it is unnecessary to regard the two as separate types ; it may be noted however that compound postpositive nouns (alone among the bound nominal classes) are lexically identifiable with free nouns.

Those of frequent occurrence, with specimen translation, are :

li, $liteu_2$	" in (inside, into) "
$ču_2$	(see below)
nei	" among, inside "
šaŋ, šaŋmian, $šaŋteu_2$	" on "
hiŋ	(see below)
ban, yiban	" like "
$bian_2$	" beside "
ǰuŋ, $ǰuŋgian_2$	" amidst, between "
xian, $xianteu_2$, xianmian	" in front of "
$duŋ_2bian_2$	" to the east of "
$gian_2$, $liaŋgian_2$	" between "
genxian [1]	" in front of " (see below)

[1] Written throughout with gen (" root ") not gen_2 (" heel "). The two characters are now kept distinct, and the latter would therefore be regarded as more correct ; speakers of Modern Pekingese are aware of etymological identity between the words.

Modern Pekingese has a comparable system, in which most of the same forms operate ; there are however some differences. yiban is usually replaced by yiyiaŋ, $liaŋgian_2$ by $ǰuŋgian_2$, ǰuŋ often by daŋǰuŋ. Of the remainder listed above, three (hiŋ, $ču_2$ and genxian) are absent from Modern Pekingese.

VIC. 3.10.1. hiŋ, $ču_2$ and genxian form a separate sub-system in that, unlike other postpositive nouns, they may occur following pronouns.[1] hiŋ may be regarded (with Haenisch) as a grammatical translation form, the equivalent (as in the Gloss) of the Mongolian noun-terminations of the accusative and locative (occasionally other) cases. It is possible however to circumscribe the use of hiŋ, together with $ču_2$ and genxian, in the Chinese version. (i) They follow nouns of human reference (pronouns, personal names, kinship terms and the interrogative word šuei " who ? ") and place names. (ii) The noun group in which they operate, whether or not preceded by prepositive verb, regularly takes preverbal position and has the value of prepositive complex group.

They seem in many instances to be interchangeable, and will often not figure in the translation ; where they do, the translation may be more or less specific, the more specific being the more differentiated : hiŋ collocates more readily with free verbs of motion (" to "), $ču_2$ and genxian with those of location (" at "). Sometimes $ču_2$, omitted in English, would require French " chez " ; while genxian collocates with šuo " say (to) ",[2] and with place names may be translated specifically as " in front of ", " at the foot of ".[3]

Modern Pekingese has no exact equivalents, but would often have postpositive nali (" there ") for hiŋ and $ču_2$, sometimes di

[1] Thus forming an exception to the non-occurrence of pronouns in the noun group.

[2] Compare Modern Pekingese gən ta šuə " said to him," where gən (gen_2) is prepositive verb ; the " Secret History " has never gen here but always duei —which itself collocates with genxian. Compare also the later zusia (zu_2hia) as a form of address.

[3] E. Hauer : (review of) ' " Untersuchungen über das Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi " von Erich Haenisch ', pp. 177–180, points out that in its original sense genxian should be translated " zu füssen ", whence it comes to have the meaning " bei, zu ".

di$_2$faŋ for the latter. Modern Cantonese has a (phonological) variant of ču$_2$ as postpositive noun, beside the regular form in other uses. With genxian may be compared Modern Pekingese (especially) ciantəu (xianteu$_2$) in this use.[1] (Examples of postpositive noun : VID. 3.10).

VIC. 3.1. As a category the free adverb belongs to the lexically defined, " infinite " word classes ; but the text of the " Secret History " is limited in extent and in fact contains 296 different members of this class. A few of these are listed in VIIC. 6–10. Unlike the other free word classes, the free adverb does not admit a distinction of function into substantive and attributive ; its class function is attributive. Three types are distinguished according to the unit modified (clause or word) and, if a word, the class of word (verb or noun). Of the three types, only type (i) is free in the sense that the free verb and noun are free.[2]

VIC. 3.11.1. Type (i) are clausal adverbs. They take pre-verbal position, initial or non-initial, in the clause which they modify : in general, initial position is that of the given, non-initial that of the new. The majority have time reference, including specific (miŋ$_3$ři " to-morrow ") and non-specific (naši$_2$ " at that time ") ; the remainder, including interrogative adverbs,[3] are such as are often designated as adverbs of cause, manner and so forth (řuho " how, why ? ", yinx " therefore ", je$_2$ban " in this way ").

VIC. 3.11.2. Type (ii) are verbal adverbs. These take immediate pre-verbal position, which may therefore in a given syntagm be ambiguous : an adverb which cannot occur separated from the verb is considered verbal, but in the text many are left

[1] See especially example VID. 3.10 nos. 8–9. Haenisch notes that genxian in the Gloss is equivalent to Mongolian dergede (" bei, zu ").

[2] As said above (VIB. 3.4), the implication of " free/bound " as applied to this class is somewhat different : the bound adverbs, like bound verbs and nouns, are bound by their grammatical form, whereas the free adverbs of types (ii) and (iii) are bound by their function of being attributive to a word. Those of type (i), being attributive to a clause, are free to stand as exponent of a clause.

[3] Curiously, there is no interrogative adverb with time reference (" when ? ") in the " Secret History ".

in doubt. Since the distinction is valid for Modern Pekingese, the difficulty may be avoided by a " squint " at the latter ; if no reference were to be made to Modern Pekingese, there would be no alternative but to regard all those which never occur separated from the verb as unmarked, limiting type (i) to those found in marked clausal position. The verbal adverbs include negative adverbs and a number with time reference (including complex time-negation forms : see below, VIC. 3.16) and place reference (yi$_3$z$_2$ " already ", je$_2$li " here ") ; the remainder are of " number ", " extent ", " degree " and so forth (du " all ", xinz$_2$ " —self ", haušeŋ " very ").

VIC. 3.11.3. Type (iii) are nominal adverbs. These immediately precede a noun and are rarely ambiguous in the text. One group of nominal adverbs occur between nouns and may be described as " linking " (biŋ " and ") ; the remainder may be designated " pointing " (singular reference) (je$_2$ " this ", x$_2$ " second, next ") and " grouping " (plural reference) (ju$_3$ " all ").

These classes may be recognized in Modern Pekingese, with many of the same exponents though with perhaps more lexical variation than in the free verbs and nouns (though less than in the bound adverbs : see below). As an example, there are 13 compound clausal adverbs with ři (" day ") as final syllable in the " Secret History " : ten of these remain in Modern Pekingese but with tian replacing ři, the other three retain ř (ři) but are infrequent ; tian does not occur in adverbs in the " Secret History ". On the other hand such distinctive forms as the clausal adverbs guo$_2$řan and yiuanlai (Modern Pekingese guəřan š ni " so it *was* you ! (as predicted) " and yiuanlai š ni " so it was *you* ! (no prediction) ") occur in the " Secret History " with exactly the same connotations as in Modern Pekingese.[1] (Examples of free adverbs : VID. 3.11.)

[1] E.g. (VII. 50a ; 197.51) guo$_2$řan buxeŋ bei wu$_3$ " and indeed she had *not* been violated " ; (II. 49a ; 102.8) na giunmui yiuanlai ši sam jun$_2$ Merki řin " now the soldiers were (turned out to be) men of the three Merkit peoples ".

VIC. 3.12. The preverbal adverb, which not only itself is bound but also marks the clause in which it operates as a bound (conditional) clause, is so called because it takes pre-verbal position preceding or following N_1 in the clause: in general, a noun preceding preverbal adverb is given to the context of the following clause, one following preverbal adverb is not. This class has the possibility of (extended) colligation with the final adverb.

VIC. 3.13. The final adverb, likewise both bound and "binding", always has absolute final position in the clause.

Both the preverbal and the final adverb, and the combination of the two, are normally translated by a subordinating conjunction. The preverbal and final adverbs of regular occurrence in the "Secret History", with specimen translation, are as follows:—

Preverbal adverb	Final adverb(s) with which collocation is regular	Translation
yin	(di-)šaŋteu$_2$	because, since
wuei	,, ,,	(it was) because (... that)
řuo	ŋa, ši$_2$, je	if ("if and when"), if anyone
suei$_3$	ŋa	although
gi$_2$	ŋa	when, after, since
ču$_4$	ši	earlier when
dan, danxeŋ, danfan	ŋa, ši$_2$, di	if (...) any, whenever, whoever, whatever
fan	ši$_2$, ču$_2$, di	every (time, -where that, -one who etc.)
ki$_3$	ši$_2$, gian$_2$ etc.	(as final adverb)
z$_2$	ši$_2$, heu	after
suo	di, je	that which, those who
xai		just when

Final adverb (without preverbal adverb	
ši$_2$, ši$_2$gian$_2$, diši$_2$fun	when
gian$_2$, juŋgian$_2$	while
heu, diheuteu$_2$	after
ŋa	if
šaŋteu$_2$	because
ču$_2$	where
je	whoever, anyone who; that which

Some simple preverbal adverbs have alternative compound forms with ši as second syllable (řuoši, fanši etc.); the translation is unchanged. Sometimes this ši could alternatively be regarded as prepositive or auxiliary verb. Some others have yieu as second character, particularly in collocation with final adverb je (e.g. řuoyieu wuei$_4$ je "if anyone disobeys").

It is perhaps in the classes of preverbal and final adverb that there is the widest lexical divergence between the "Secret History" and Modern Pekingese. As examples from those listed above, (i) for both yin and wuei (preverbal) Modern Pekingese has yinwuəi, which occurs only once in the "Secret History"; (ii) dan with its compounds (preverbal) is absent from, and has no equivalent in, Modern Pekingese [1]; (iii) for ši$_2$, ši$_2$gian$_2$ etc. (final), Modern Pekingese has equivalent dišəu (diši$_2$ heu$_2$), which is not found in the "Secret History"; (iv) Modern Pekingese has no final adverb corresponding to ŋa (dihua, which can often be translated "if", is more restricted than either the ŋa of the "Secret History" or the Modern Pekingese *preverbal* adverbs regularly translated as "if") [2]; (v) there is no final

[1] I am indebted to Dr. C. Birch, of the School of Oriental and African Studies, for the following example from the *Ku chin hsiao-shuo* (24), which parallels the use of this form in the "Secret History": jin jun maifu$_5$jo gunzianšeu, dan kiu ču$_n$ jen di du bei še$_2$huei "within the defence ring bowmen were concealed, and anyone attacking (dan ... di) was driven back by their fire" (*chüan* 6 "Ko Ling-kung shêng-ch'ien nung Chu-êrh" (48), probably Sung).

[2] Haenisch considers ŋa to be a final particle (emphatic); that I regard it as an adverb is due to the fact that not merely does it operate as one term in the system of forms marking a conditional clause but also it regularly combines with preverbal adverb. For ŋa in clauses with interrogative word, see below VIC. 3.17.

adverb in Modern Pekingese corresponding to šaŋteu$_2$ [1]; (vi) ki$_3$ does not enter into the Modern Pekingese system.[2] (Examples of preverbal and final adverb: VID. 3.12–13.)

VIC. 3.14. The conjunctive adverb occupies pre-verbal position in the clause, always following pre-verbal noun where one is present. Itself a bound form, it is not "binding": the clause in which it operates is free. It is distinct from the verbal adverb, with which it normally has identical position, in that (i) it regularly occurs in a clause following a conditional clause, where it marks the free form in the sentence structure of bound-free; (ii) it collocates in this relationship with certain preverbal and final adverbs, and (iii) it normally indicates a related or same context with the previous clause even where the latter is not bound.

In a clause following a conditional clause the conjunctive adverb is normally untranslated in English; and its translation frequently takes the form of the subordination of the previous clause even when this is free; in general the conjunctive adverb is specifically rendered in English only when the previous clause is not subordinated. Those of most frequent occurrence, with specimen translation, are:

bian, zieu, suei and yiu$_2$ši	"then"
suoyi$_2$	"so"
kiuo	"but"
yie and yieu$_3$	"even then, also"
ši$_2$	"at that time"
heu	"afterwards"

[1] Haenisch regards šaŋteu$_2$ as (with šaŋ) postposition, equivalent to Mongolian instrumental suffix or to tula "because". I have distinguished between the two uses as final adverb and as postpositive noun (where however it can be translated "because of" and collocates in all three occurrences with prepositive verb wuei).

[2] ki$_3$ in the "Secret History" marks a conditional clause the sense of which is determined by the final adverb. ki$_3$ excludes preverbal N from the clause, and this fact (or, from a historical point of view, its pronominal origin) could be accounted for by the ascribing to ki$_3$ itself of value N—or (since this would not account for its restriction to a bound clause) of value N to the complex ki$_3$ + V. In translation, e.g. (VII 20a.; 191.12) ki$_3$ siuan$_2$ ... ši$_2$ = "when selecting..." or "in the selection of..." (rather than "in his selection of..."). The one occurrence of ki$_3$ without final adverb (VII 25b; 193.27) could likewise be analyzed as ki$_3$ + V = N. The inclusion of ki$_3$ in the preverbal adverb system has however been preferred for (non-historical) descriptive statement, since it does not require the (unique) provision for verb substantive occurring at value N.

Of these, yiu$_2$ši and suoyi$_2$ are also clausal adverbs, yie and yieu verbal adverbs and ši$_2$ and heu final adverbs.

This class constitutes a distinctive feature of Modern Pekingese, which has many of the same exponents. Of those above, suei is missing and ˌbian restricted to ˌwriting; kiuo is normally replaced by danš (danši) or dau$_2$; ši$_2$ and heu are entirely absent [1]; while one of the most characteristic conjunctive adverbs of Modern Pekingese, xai (written xai in the "Secret History", more frequently now ˌxai$_2$), which operates in a special two-term sub-system in opposition to jiəu (zieu), has as equivalent the comparatively infrequent (7 occurrences) faŋ.[2]

A special instance of the conjunctive adverb is its occurrence in two adjacent clauses which are thereby related to one another, and not, as normally, to the preceding clause. Six pairs occur in the "Secret History", all infrequently:

yie ... yie, yieu$_3$ ... yieu$_3$, and yie ... du	"both ... and"
huo ... huo	"either ... or"
yibian$_2$ ... yibian$_2$	"and ... at the same time"
siuan ... siuan	"... and ... in turns".[3]

Finally the conjunctive adverb in the "Secret History" is particularly frequent in occurrence at the resumption of the narrative following a passage of direct speech. Those found regularly in such instances are bian, zieu, suei, yiu$_2$ši and suoyi$_2$. (Examples of conjunctive adverb: VID. 3.14.)

VIC. 3.15. The particles, being purely grammatical, have no separate, lexical translation equivalents; they are rendered in English through the translation of the clause, verb or noun which they modify.

[1] The classification of ši$_2$ and heu as conjunctive adverbs in the "Secret History" depends on the punctuation; since they occur (9, 8 times respectively) following a stop, as piece-initial, they are assigned to the (first) clause in the piece in which they occur. If the stop were ignored, they could be assigned as final adverbs (which they regularly are) to the previous clause.

[2] Also xai (3), faŋxai (1) and xaifaŋ (1).

[3] Siuan ... siuan occurs only once in the "Secret History" (IV. 44a; 145.16). For examples from other texts see Ōta, 'Rōkittai no gengo ni tsuite', pp. 8–9.

(i) Clausal particles have been discussed above in relation to the classes of clause in which they operate. Strictly speaking, if the particle is characterized as modifying that which it follows or to which it is final, the aspect particles non-final liau (perfective) and ǰo (imperfective) should be considered verbal particles ; they are however regarded here as clausal particles because of their function as marking certain classes of the clause.

(ii) The single verbal particle is the rare sie (4 occurrences). The English equivalent is either " a little " or the comparative form of the adjective. sie occurs likewise in Modern Pekingese, where however yidian is a more usual equivalent ; yidian (yidiam) does not occur in this use in the " Secret History ".

(iii) Of the nominal particles, di (and its rare variant $ǰi_3$) occurs between two free nouns, or a pronoun and free noun, as a formal mark of the attribution of the first to the second ; the use is thus parallel with that of di as clausal particle in genitival clauses of type (i). This use is identical with that of di in Modern Pekingese, and is reflected in English translation with possessive form or " of ". mui is a plural particle and is restricted with one exception [1] to nouns of human reference : kinship terms (54 occurrences), personal (including tribal etc.) names (21) and other words (33). In its occurrence with pronouns it is considered as final syllable in a compound pronoun. Modern Pekingese has as equivalent the *chuan-yin* [2] mən (mun), somewhat more restricted in use.[3] deŋ, which is also a nominal adverb (62 occurrences ; see examples VID. 3.11.3), occurs 51 times, usually

[1] $šan_2ma_3$mui " geldings ", in (VI. 43b ; 181.27).

[2] The term " *chuan-yin* " (49) was applied in Chinese phonology to pairs of characters (regarded as one derived from the other) distinguished by a simple opposition at one position in the structure ; in particular " *tui chuan* " (50) signified an opposition of nasal final and open final. The term may well be applied to pairs having in final position different terms in the same prosodic system : thus Modern Pekingese məi/mən, " Secret History " mui/mun are *chuan-yin*. See Wang Li, *Chung-kuo yin-yün-hsüeh*, pp. I. 78–79.

[3] Haenisch considers mui as coming into the Chinese version, and into spoken Chinese generally, through the translation of Mongolian documents, via the Gloss, where it is regularly used for the Mongolian plural termination (but derived from Chinese nominal adverb mui, not a phonetic borrowing). Its use in the Gloss is considerably wider, not being restricted to human reference. On the use of mui and mun in other Yüan texts, see Ōta Tatsuo, op. cit., pp. 9–10.

following personal names and normally translated " and (the) others " ; sometimes, especially following the last in a list of names, it merely marks the plurality and requires no translation. It is much more frequent in the later than in the earlier chapters. In Modern Pekingese newspaper style it is regular in both uses, while other forms of the language have it more usually doubled : dəŋdəŋ " and so on ". (Examples of particles : VID. 3.15).

As a conclusion to this section dealing with the translation of grammatical categories, it may be useful to consider three groupings of words which, while they do not figure as categories in the grammatical system of the " Secret History ", may conveniently be brought into relation for translation reference : negative words, interrogative words and pronominal words. These are exemplified in VID. 3.16–18.

VIC. 3.16. (i) Negative words. The verbal adverbs bu, buxeŋ, $wuei_2$ and $wuei_2$xeŋ (occurrences 288, 59, 17 and 1 respectively) required a negative verb form in English. bu is the regular negative, while buxeŋ is the negative term in opposition to xeŋ (47 occurrences [1]) with past time reference. $wuei_2$ occurs 6 times in conditional clause with final adverb $ši_2$ " when " (5) or $ǰi_3$xian " before " (1) ; here and in at least three other instances it could be regarded as a preverbal adverb (" when ... not " = " before ") [2] ; of the remaining four occurrences, two are in Chapter 12, where the use of $wuei_2$ where buxeŋ would be expected may be regarded as a feature of literary language, while the other two are preceding the verb $ǰi_7$ " know ".[3] In Modern Pekingese məi(yiəu) is the regular equivalent of buxeŋ and $wuei_2$; this form (i.e. mui_2) never occurs in the " Secret History ".

wu occurs as pro-verb and prepositive and postpositive verb, always in opposition to yieu (for translation see above, VIC.

[1] Including once with negative prepositive verb wu : (IV. 44a ; 145.13) xeŋ wu yi ǰin gian ǰe " there was no-one saw him ".

[2] E.g. (XI. 27b ; 254.19–20) Joči $wuei_2$ duei, Čaadai šuo " before Joči had answered, Caadai said ".

[3] It is interesting that the Modern Pekingese equivalent ǰdau ($ǰi_7dau_3$) is similarly rarely found with the usual perfective negative məi (when it is, it requires translating " find out ").

3.2,4,5); Modern Pekingese has likewise məi(yiəu). wuyieu occurs twice as pro-verb, variant of wu.

The verbal adverb hieu (35 occurrences, with frequent collocation with prepositive verb giau) is the normal prohibitive form " do not "; mo occurs once (V. 51a; 169.8) with this translation, before šuo " say " in active clause with structure NNV.[1] Modern Pekingese has bu yiau or biə here.

The compound clausal adverbs moši, mobu, mobuši and mogam (occurrences 1, 4, 8, 1), together with mo as verbal adverb (1), may be translated identically as " must (= it must be that) ", or (as frequently) in interrogative clauses as " surely ... cannot (= it cannot be that ...)? "[2,3]; compare Modern Pekingese $nandau_3$.

bu and mo occur identically in the clausal adverbs buřu, buřuo and mořuo which may be rendered " it would be better if "; Modern Pekingese buřu.

feu occurs once (XI. 17b; 252.17) as final interrogative particle, collocating with xeŋ in the clause, where Modern Pekingese would have məiyiəu (" (did ...) or not ? ").

VIC. 3.17. (ii) Interrogative words. These include the two free nouns šuei " who ? " and šimma " what ? " (occurrences 24, 8), identical in Modern Pekingese, together with the numeral noun gi (9) which sometimes = " how many ? " and " which ? ", and some clausal, verbal and nominal adverbs.

řuho " how ?, why ? " (64) and hogu " why ? " (3) are clausal adverbs; Modern Pekingese has wuəišə(n)ma (wueišimma) and zə(n)ma (zemma), of which in the " Secret History " the latter never occurs, while the former occurs once, but, like wueišim, not before preverbal noun.

[1] Thus mo šuo here has the final position taken also by the analytically comparable interrogative particle $madau_3$; cf. below, VIC. 3.17 n.

[2] E.g. (V. 45a; 167.28 (as amended)) tian mobu bu ŋai$_2$hu ma " surely heaven will (it cannot be that heaven will not) protect us ? "; (V. 43a; 166.7) nim mo $huan_3$ yi$_7$ǰaŋ$_4$ ta ma " surely it cannot be that you still trust him ? ".

[3] bu here does not function as a negative adverb, as shown by the identity of moši and mobuši; for this reason these forms are regarded as single (compound) words.

Verbal adverbs are zemšeŋ (9) and zemšeŋban (3) " how ?, why ? "[1]; wueišim (6), wueišimma (1) and ho (1) " why ? "; hoču$_2$ (2) " where ? ", and ki$_4$ (6) " how (could (it) possibly (be that)) ? ". Modern Pekingese has zə(n)ma(yiaŋ) " how ?, why ? "; wuəisə(n)ma " why ? "; nali " where ? "; and ci (ki$_4$) with similar use but more restricted.

Nominal adverbs are šimma (13), šim (7) and ho (8) " what ?, which ? "; and duošau (3) " how many ? ". Modern Pekingese has šə(n)ma (šimma) and duəšau (duošau), together with the determinative noun na " which ? " (*shang-shêng* (51) tone; na in the " Secret History " would never be read in this tone).

The " Secret History " thus presents a series of negative and interrogative words (including interrogative particles) in which the labial nasal (m) operates as either initial or final. The forms occurring may be summarized here:

Form	Word class	Negat./Interrogat.
šim	Adverb (nominal)	Interrogative
šimma	Noun (free); Adverb (nominal)	,,
zem(šeŋ)	Adverb (verbal)	,,
ma	Particle	,,
$madau_3$	,,	,,
mo	Adverb (verbal)	Negative
mo(-ši, etc.)	Adverb (clausal)	Negative (freq. in interrog. clause)
wuei$_2$	Adverb (verbal)	Negative
wu	Pro-verb; Verb (prepositive)	Negative

Of these, negative adverb mo (and in moši etc.) has final -k in the Middle Chinese system, while wuei$_2$ and wu have initial m-.[2]

[1] And zemřin$_2$ (1) in (X. 25a; 242.25) " how (could (you) bear to) ? ", and zem (1) in (IX. 18b; 214.43) zem nai ta ho " how could you have coped with him ? "

[2] The single instance of verbal adverb mo (" do not ! ") is (i) preceding šuo " say " and (ii) (with šuo) clause-final, which suggests comparison with interrogative particle madau, of which the syllable dau_3 as free verb = " say ". In Maspero, ' Sur quelques textes anciens de chinois parlé ', ma occurs as final particle beside zuoma (-šeŋ) " how ? ", the latter form suggesting (i) some relation

VIC. 3.18. (iii) Pronominal words. The pronoun system proper of the "Secret History" has been regarded as made up of the twelve personal pronouns in two parallel series of six, plus the irregular ŕu$_3$, bi and ǰi$_3$. A small number of other words of infrequent occurrence could be included in the pronoun system, on the grounds that they stand as exponent of value N but do not operate in the noun group: z$_2$ and z$_2$gi$_4$ (occurrences 6, 2) "self", and the forms x (1) "this" and ǰe$_2$ and na "this", "that" (*pronominal* occurrences 2, 1 only). In Modern Pekingese ǰə (ǰe$_2$) and na, and zji (z$_2$gi$_4$) especially in combination with a personal pronoun, regularly have value N.[1]

šuei "who?" and šimma "what?" might also be considered as pronouns. There is no system of negative or indefinite pronominal or attributive forms; but the use of interrogative words in repetition or in combination with negative or other verbal adverbs (du, yiə), characteristic of Modern Pekingese as regular equivalent of English forms such as "anyone", "no-one", "whoever", is almost unknown to the "Secret History". The latter has instead certain terms in the conditional clause system

between zuoma and ("Secret History") zem, (Modern Pekingese) zə(n)ma, and (ii) a use of ma = "what?" (cf. "Secret History" šimma; Modern Pekingese gan ma "what (are you) doing?" (= "why?"); and Cantonese zou mat, same use). Demiéville, 'Archaïsmes de prononciation' pp. 15–22, suggests that ma may originate in an alternative form of question having negative with initial labial nasal combining with final particle ŋa into a single syllable. He further suggests that the Modern Pekingese pro-verb məiyiəu is an archaizing form of wu whose Middle Chinese final (-iu) could only be preserved disyllabically in the Modern Pekingese phonological system (we may note that while Modern Pekingese does contain one syllable miəu (e.g. in huaŋ$_2$miəu "absurd"), this is a unique form, and in *ch'ü-shêng* (43) tone); in this connection we may note the alternance of šim/šimma in the "Secret History", of which Modern Pekingese, which excludes final -m, preserves only šə(n)ma. As an example of a similar series in a southern dialect where -m remains in the final system, mention may be made of the Cantonese forms mat "what?", dim "how?" and the negatives m, mei and mou; together with final interrogative particles ma (regarded by Chao, *Cantonese Primer* (p. 162), as "fusion of" m and a) and me "surely ... not ...?".

[1] The total occurrences of ǰe$_2$ and na may be broken down as follows: (a) = nominal adverb, (b) = "numeral" noun (before auxiliary noun), (c) = in adverb ǰe$_2$li, nali "here", "there(/where?)", (d) = in adverb ǰe$_2$ban, naban "like this", "like that", (e) = in other adverbs.

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	Total
ǰe$_2$	80	1	18	37	35	171
na	85	4	41	25	20	175

of bound adverbs, occasionally in combination with interrogative words but more often without any form that could be regarded as pronominal.[1]

D. Examples

1. *Exemplification*

VID. 1. The present section contains examples of the grammatical categories. Each category is represented as such; in some cases additional examples of special interest are quoted. Each example is given in Chinese transcription followed by a translation, with textual reference. A diagonal stroke in the transcription represents a piece division. In some instances a short note is added to the example referring to the description in Section VIC; sometimes an example is followed by a reference to other passages in the text where further examples of the same category may be found. The examples have been subdivided in such a way as to correspond with the divisions of VIC.

2. *Sentence and clause*

VID. 2.1. Sentence classes: compound/simple.

1. Meŋlik yi$_7$ Yesugei kiu duei Deisečen šuo./Yesugei siaŋ$_2$ Temuǰin/haušeŋ simteŋ/giau wuo lai xiu./Deisečen šuo./Gi$_2$ši siaŋ$_2$ ŋa giau kiu gian liau bian huei./Suei yin$_2$ ziaŋ hueilai liau.

Meŋlik, as Yesugei (had asked), went and said to Deisečen: "Yesugei is thinking of Temuǰin; he is in great anguish, and has told me to come and fetch him". Deisečen said: "Since he

[1] E.g. (III. 28b; 117.3) danfan zuo 'anda' ŋa "whoever became sworn brothers" or "any who ...", Modern Pekingese e.g. šəi zuəliau 'anda', (šəi du yiau ...) with repetition of šəi (= šuei) "who". The only two instances of interrogative pronominal word with following negative adverb comparable to the Modern Pekingese form are (V. 27b; 157.7) řim šimma xai$_3$wu$_2$ du buxeŋ yiu "did not give any booty at all", and (VIII. 32b (388b); 203.23) řim šuei bu hiu wuei$_4$ liau "no-one is allowed to disobey". Instances of interrogative pronoun with final adverb are: (V. 42a; 166.23) ni siaŋ$_2$ zuo šimma ŋa "whatever you are thinking of doing"; (VI. 37b; 179.5) šuei zau ki ŋa "whoever got up the first" (with no repetition of šimma, šuei). There is one (and only one) clause with final ŋa which is not bound (it closes a passage of direct speech), where ŋa combines with interrogative pronoun: (V. 51a; 169.6) bu ǰi$_7$ zemšeŋ šaŋ$_2$ ŋa "I do not know how he would reward him (i.e. he might offer *any* (a very great) reward)".

is thinking (of him), let him go and see (his father) and then return". And so he took him back with him.

(i) simple; (ii) compound, three free clauses, second and third no pre-verbal noun; (iii) simple, followed by direct speech; (iv) compound, bound clause followed by two free clauses (the first perfective, the second with conjunctive adverb); (v) simple, free (with conjunctive adverb following direct speech). (II. 1b; 69.1–6).

2. Činŋgis ziaŋ Taiyičiwu-di Awuču-baatur deŋ zsun ša zin ziaŋ baisiŋ ki lai/ǰi Qubaqaya di_2mian $ǰu_2$ $duŋ_3$ liau.

Having exterminated the children and grandchildren of the Taiyičiwut, Činŋgis (Genghis) took their folk on the move and went to Qubaqaya and spent the winter there.

Compound sentence: three free clauses, second and third having no pre-verbal noun. (V. 1b; 148.1–3.)

3. Xeŋ $ǰe_2$ban šuo lai/za Dadamui $da_3yiŋ_5$ liau di hua/bian ši dam yiban./Řuo bu $yi_7ǰo$ ŋa/$tuŋban_4$ li yie bu řuŋ.

Once we have spoken in this way, the word which we Tatars give is as our bond. Those who do not keep it we do not admit among our comrades.

(i) compound, first clause is bound (conditional: xeŋ here is pre-verbal adverb), second bound (genitival), third free (with conjunctive adverb); (ii) compound, first clause bound, pre-verbal noun in second, free clause.

(III. 13a (113a); 108.17–21.)

VID. 2.2. Clause classes: free/bound.

1. Řugim giau wuo s_3 ŋa bian s_3/$ŋenx_4$ giau huo_3 ŋa ču ki_9li_5 ǰe.

Now if you order me to die I shall die; if you show kindness and let me live I shall put my strength (to your service).

Four clauses, order BFBF; second clause has conjunctive adverb. (Fourth clause is second person imperative where first expected, only instance; possibly due to collocation with giau: see imperative mood VID. 2.6.)

(VI. 53b; 185.23–24.)

2. Yesugei anda/xeŋ yi x_2 ziaŋ wuo yi_3 $šu_3$ liau di baisiŋ gieu yiu liau.

My sworn brother Yesugei once rescued for me the folk that I had lost.

Two clauses, order F(B) (= bound clause internal to free clause). Bound clause is genitival.

(V. 38a; 164.2–3.)

3. Qabul yin ki_3 zuei ǰaŋ/yiu_2 baisiŋ nei $siuan_2gian_5$ yieu $dam_2liaŋ_2$/yieu ki_9li_5/$gaŋyiuŋ_2$ neŋ $še_2$ guŋ di řin $suei_4xuŋ$ ta.

Because he (Okin-baraqaq) was the eldest, Qabul chose from among his folk those who were the bravest, the strongest and the stoutest archers, (and told them) to follow him.

Seven clauses, order F(B) (B(F) (F)(F))F. The three clauses yieu ki_9li_5, $gaŋyiuŋ_2$ and neŋ $še_2$ guŋ are considered to be free clauses bound by position internal to the bound (genitival) clause yieu $dam_2liaŋ_2$ (. . .) di.

(IV. 26b; 139.4–7 (as amended).)

4. Zieu čai ǰuŋ $yi_7ǰaŋ_4$ řin Yiturgen/tuŋ Qaliwuder-deŋ kiu.

And he sent Yiturgen, who was trustworthy, to go with Qaliwuder and the others.

Two clauses, order F(F). ǰuŋ $yi_7ǰaŋ_4$ is a free clause ($yi_7ǰaŋ_4$ cannot be verb attributive because of presence of auxiliary verb ǰuŋ). (VI. 50a; 184.9–10.)

VID. 2.3. Clause classes: verbal/nominal.

1. $Tianki_9$ $šu_4$ře/ko lai yiu wuo $siaŋ_3ho_2$.

The weather is very hot; you might come and join me.

Two clauses, both verbal; first has intransitive verb, second transitive, with two auxiliary verbs in prepositive complex group. (XI. 44a; 259.6–7.)

2. Nim $ču_3$ $yiŋ_4$z wuai wu $ban_4daŋ$/$wuei_9$z wuai wu $bian_5$z.

You have no comrade but your shadows, no whip but your tails.

Two free (parallel) nominal clauses.

(II. 13a; 78.20–21.)

3. Ki_3 z Gučuluk yin bu zai yi $ču_2$/de tuo šin $liŋ_2$ sie řinmui zeu ču.

His son Gučuluk, because he was in a different place, was able to escape, and fled with some followers.

Nominal (bound conditional) clause internal to a free verbal clause.

(VII. 44b ; 196.15–16.)

4. Ziaŋ Činas di_2mian yieu di dawuaŋ$_3$mui/giau $xiši_3$ guo_4 du ju_6 liau.

And had all the princes who were at the place Činas boiled in seventy cauldrons.

Nominal (bound genitival) clause internal to a free verbal clause.

(IV. 5b ; 130.17–18.)

5. Wunšuo. Šimma řin ?

Asked : " Who (is there) ? "

(II. 45b ; 100.11.)

6. Gia ŋa bu $yiuan_4$.

It is not far, our house.

(II. 45b ; 100.18.)

7. Wuo fu_3xin ji_4 wuo yi go řz.

I am my father's only son.

(II. 34b ; 92.11.)

Šimma řin in (5), gia ŋa in (6), and (7) are nominal clauses without pro-verb.

VID. 2.4. Clause classes : voice.

1. Šuo liau/ta ziaŋ Temuǰin ki_5 di ma_3 $faŋ_2$ liau.

With these words, he unharnessed the horse Temujin was riding.

Ergative ; $N_{(b)}$ (ma_3) given (90.13), V new.

(II. 31a ; 90.28–29.)

2. Huei lai liau/ziaŋ na fu_4řin guo_3 ziaŋkiu.

So they came back and bundled the woman away.

Ergative ; $N_{(b)}$ (fu_4řin) given (54.6), V new.

(I. 38b ; 56.5–6.)

3. Bu xuŋ ta $kiuan_2$/ki liau/$yieu_3$ ziaŋ Čaraqa lau řin $zi_2$$bui_2$ šaŋ laliau yi xiaŋ.

And they took no notice of his admonishing, but as they set out they slashed the old man Čaraqa across the back with a lance.

Ergative ; $N_{(b)}$ (Čaraqa lau řin) given (72.9), V. new.

(II. 4a ; 72.13–15.)

4. Ban_4daŋ/ni je_2li li_3ǰo wuo kiu ba je_2 ma_3 gan_2 čulai.

" Comrade, you stand here while I go and drive out the horses ".

(II. 31b ; 90.44–45.)

5. Řugim Sorqan-šira ziaŋ wuo gian liau/yie bu ken duei řin šuo.

Now Sorqan-šira has seen me, and did not tell anyone.

(II. 22b ; 84.9.)

6. Mobuši ta šeŋ di $madau_3$?

It must be he that is the father ?

Passive ; V (šeŋ) given (18.8), $N_{(a)}$ (ta) new in relation to this context.

(I. 11b ; 18.10.)

7. Nim liaŋ go řz $yi_6$$huo_2$ wuo je_2 sam go řz/ši šuei šeŋ di.

You two, my sons, are suspicious about who is the father of these three (other) sons of mine.

Passive ; V (šeŋ), $N_{(a)}$ (řz) given, $N_{(a)}$ (šuei) new.

(I. 12b ; 20.3–4.)

8. Ta ši Merki $juŋ_2$ dai_2 lai di.

The *Merkit* people brought him.

(XI. 27b ; 254.22.)

Other examples of passive : (I. 14b : 22.3), (VII. 12b ; 189.21).

VID. 2.5. Clause classes : aspect.

1. Woŋqan deliau ŋauz/da $huan_4$$hi_2$ǰo šuodau$_3$.

Woŋqan received the cloak and said in delight.

Perfective (non-final) followed by imperfective ; same context throughout.

(II. 40b–41a ; 96.23–24.)

2. Taizu ziaŋ x ǰuŋ$_2$ řin yie fu$_8$ liau/yieu$_3$ ziaŋ ta baisiŋ zuo z$_2$gi$_4$di baisiŋ liau.

The Emperor subdued this clan and made their folk his own folk.

Perfective (unmarked) followed by perfective (final).

(IV. 26b ; 139.12–13.)

3. Koyi$_2$ zuo xi$_2$ di zuoliau xi$_2$/zuo nubei$_3$ di zuoliau nubei$_3$.

Those who were fitted to be wives were taken as wives, and those who were fitted to be servants were taken as servants.

Perfective, parallel clauses, both non-final, though second contextually final.

(III. 22a ; 112.26–27.)

4. J̌uŋ$_3$ Dada baisiŋ hi$_2$huan$_4$/řau ǰe$_2$ šu$_5$ tiau$_2$yiue$_2$/ziaŋ di$_2$ zian$_2$ta$_2$ čiŋ šim$_3$ geu$_3$ liau.

The whole Tatar folk rejoiced, and danced round the tree, until they had trampled a deep ditch in the ground.

Perfective (final), no following related context.

(I. 39b ; 57.6–8.)

5. Yieu$_3$ řu gan$_2$ bu duŋ řz ziaŋ řz či$_4$ liau di yiuan$_6$yiaŋ$_5$ ban.

And like the mandarin duck that bites the ducklings that it cannot make to move.

This is the most striking of many examples suggesting a correlation between (verbally) marked aspect and monosyllabic free verbs in clause-final position. Out of 26 clauses in the sentence (Hoelun's curse on her sons), only this one—which is right in the middle—has marked aspect ; it is also the only clause of the 26 having a final monosyllabic verb. In fact, very few clauses in the "Secret History" end in a monosyllabic free verb without aspectival particle.

(II. 13a ; 78.16.)

6. Ta gi$_2$ bu siŋ$_2$ ši$_{14}$/ni ko siaŋ$_2$ǰo ni fu$_3$xin/hieu ziue liau.

Since he (your uncle) has no understanding, you might be mindful of your father and spare him after all.

Perfective clause with negative adverb, use as Modern Pekingese "(do) not (. . . as intended)".

(X. 25a ; 242.26–28 (as amended).)

7. Danfan baisiŋ fan$_3$ di/yiuŋ guŋ zian šeu$_4$bu$_2$./Řugim di$_7$řin zinziue/bu yiuŋ ta liau.

If any folk ever revolted, (he) rounded them up with bow and arrows. But now our enemies are exterminated, (you) do not use him any more.

Perfective negative, again as Modern Pekingese ("no longer").

(X. 32b ; 244.48–51.)

8. Huaŋdi$_6$ anda bi$_2$ bu ča liau.

You (the emperor), my sworn brother, will not fall short.

Perfective clause with monosyllabic final verb ; negative not translated as in Modern Pekingese.

(VIII. 16a ; 200.20.)

9. Yesugei kianǰo čez/Nekun-taiz yin$_2$ lu/Daritai paŋǰo čeyiuan$_7$ hiŋ.

Yesugei hauled the wagon, Nekun-taiz led the way and Daritai rode alongside the shafts.

Imperfective in first of two parallel clauses ; third clause has imperfective particle in prepositive complex group.

(I. 38b ; 56.7–9.)

10. Řux ziaŋ laurinmuidi yian$_5$yiu$_7$ yin$_2$ǰiŋ$_2$ǰo/ziaŋ ta řzmui guai liau.

Thus she invoked the words of the elders and scolded her sons.

Imperfective clause, followed by unmarked perfective clause with same context and monosyllabic final verb ; no further related context.

(II. 13a ; 78.26–27.)

VID. 2.6. Clause classes : mood.

1. Ni xeŋ gian xambai$_2$ šan$_2$ma$_3$ deŋ ba$_4$ pi lai ma ?

Have you seen eight grey geldings come past ?

(II. 31a ; 90.21.)

2. Mobuši tian ǰi$_6$daŋ ǰu$_2$ wuo ma ?

It must be that heaven holds me back ?

(II. 16b ; 80.11.)

Compare (V. 24a ; 155.13) (V. 42a ; 166.7) (V. 45a ; 167.28 (as amended)) (VI. 32a ; 177.23). Of the 9 occurrences of ma, four follow mobu or mobuši.

3. Yieu go naban řin/ki$_5$ǰo naban ma$_3$/yieulai madau$_3$?
Has there been such a man, riding such a horse ?
(I. 19a ; 30.5–7.)

4. Yesugei s$_3$ liau./Wuodi řz ziaŋlai pa ǰaŋ bu da madau$_3$?
Yesugei is dead. But do you think my sons will not grow up ?
(II. 2a ; 70.8–9.)

5. Na$_2$ ǰu$_2$ di řin tuo zeu liau madau$_3$!
The man we took has escaped !
(II. 19b ; 82.2.)

6. Wuo ki$_4$ bu bi$_3$ yi tiau yiuan$_7$/ yi go lun madau$_3$?
Am I less than a shaft, than a wheel ?
(VI. 32a ; 177.34–35 (as amended).)

Compare (I. 11b ; 18.10 (quoted above, VID. 2.4)) (II. 3a ; 71.4) (III. 3a ; 104.8) (III. 20a ; 111.22) (III. 28b–29a ; 117.5) (IV. 14b ; 133.2) (V. 39b ; 165.9) (V. 47b ; 168.14) (VI.43a ; 181.11) (VII. 13a ; 189.33) (VII. 30a (336a) : 194.25) (VIII. 49a ; 208.42) ; this is the complete list of occurrences of madau$_3$.

7. Ziaŋ ǰe$_2$ gi$_2$ šeŋ liau di řz Saŋgun tai$_2$giu$_3$ za.
Let us cherish this son Saŋgun who has been born (to you).
(VI. 17b ; 174.11.)

8. Zieu wuo řz siŋ$_4$miŋ$_2$ yieu ši/ko zai$_2$ giau čuŋ za.
While my son still has life, let us attack them again.
(VI. 17b ; 174.5–6.)

9. Wuo yiu$_3$ šeu$_4$zi$_3$ za./Čiŋgis hiu ta šeu$_4$zi$_3$.
" Let me round them up. " And Čiŋgis gave him permission to do so.
(IX. 22b ; 218.8.)

Compare (III. 27a ; 116.7) and (IV. 19a ; 25.1) ; and contrast the rare instances of final za as apparently personal pronoun, in (V. 35a ; 163.3) and (V. 45a ; 167.24).

10. Ziaŋ wuo li$_2$liau xi$_2$ z giaxai$_3$/fui$_2$pie zai wu řin yian$_2$ di$_2$mian li ǰe.
Take from us our wives and children and our property, and leave us destitute in a barren place.
(III. 44b ; 123.15–16.)

11. Řuo yieu řin yiuan$_3$yiau čuŋ$_5$ zuo/ǰu$_3$ řin hieu zu$_3$daŋ ǰe.
If anyone volunteers to replace him, no-one must prevent him.
(IX. 35b ; 224.47–48.)

12. Řugim tiam zuo$_2$ yi xian$_2$/giau Yesun-tee wueiǰaŋ ǰe.
Now he increased them to a thousand, and told Yesun-tee to take command.
(IX. 38a ; 225.17–18.)

And compare examples in Chapter 8, passim. Contrast two instances of ǰe with verb translated in first person, (VI. 53b ; 185.23–24) (quoted above, VID. 2.2) and (X. 13b ; 238.8–9).

13. Dan lau yiŋ nei wuei$_7$fu hia hau řin ǰo.
But leave a good man in charge of the base camp.
(XII. 20b ; 271.8.)

14. Ni na sam ho$_3$ yiuan$_2$teu$_2$ šeu$_2$ de xau ǰo.
And defend well the sources of those three rivers.
(VI. 38a ; 179.29.)

15. Zai Woŋqan ču$_2$ nim xaušeŋ zuo ban$_4$ ǰo.
Then be good comrades to Woŋqan.
(VI. 37b–38a ; 179.23.)

Compare (VI. 6b ; 170.18) (VI. 38a ; 179.29) (VI. 53b ; 185.22 and 27) and (VIII. 32b (388b) ; 203.25 and 29). Compare also, where ǰo may be either imperative or imperfective, (II. 31b ; 90.45) (VII. 40b ; 195.25) (VIII. 49a ; 208.35) (XII. 25a ; 272.32).

16. Ogodai gi$_2$ řux šuo/ǰuŋ yieje.
Since Ogodai speaks in this way, let it be so.
(XI. 34b ; 255.37–38.)

17. Ni řuo yieu siŋ$_4$miŋ$_2$ ŋa/s wuo ban fu$_4$řin yieu yieǰe.
If you live, let there be another woman in my place.
(I. 36b ; 55.11.)

18. Wuo s$_3$ heu yiu$_2$ ni zsun hiŋ/yiuŋ$_3$yiuan$_4$ huǰu$_2$ yieǰe.
After I die, may I (my spirit) always protect you.
(VIII. 23b (379b) ; 201.35.)

Compare (I. 13b ; 21.13) (V. 35b ; 163.13) (VI. 32b ; 177.57) (XII. 25b ; 272.45) (XII. 31a ; 275.30), and contrast the only other example of yieǰe which however follows pronoun za with first person translation (XI. 7b ; 248.15).

VID. 2.7. Clause classes : conditional.

1. Řuo gian řin ši$_2$ hieu šuo wuo gian ni lai.
If you see anyone, do not say that I have seen you.
(II. 21b ; 83.16.)

2. Řuo li$_2$liau ni mun$_2$hu$_4$ ŋa/bian ziaŋ giuegin tiau$_3$ liau/simgan$_5$ go$_5$ liau.
If ever they leave your threshold, sever their tendons and cut out their hearts and livers.
(IV. 23b ; 137.8–10.)

3. Řuo zau lai/kuŋ Taiyičiwut ziaŋ wuo xi$_2$ z ǰu$_7$ mie liau.
If I had come earlier, I was afraid the Taiyičiwut would slaughter my wife and children.
(IV. 48b–49a (198b–199a) ; 146.33–34.)

4. Yin hiŋ de gi$_6$ko zieu hia ma$_3$ ǰu$_2$ liau.
Hungry and thirsty with travelling, he dismounted and stayed (with them).
(I. 48a ; 67.4.)

5. Řugim huaŋdi$_6$ giau s$_2$ ŋa/ǰi$_6$ wu$_3$ šeuǰaŋ$_5$ ban yi kuai di$_2$.
If the emperor now orders me to die, I shall rot in a piece of ground no bigger than the palm of a hand.
(IV. 51a ; 147.7–8.)

6. Ki$_4$ duo bian$_3$ suo$_2$ liau yiu ŋa bian ǰuŋ$_4$/šau bian$_3$ suo$_2$ liau/yiu ŋa bian kiŋ.
I do not believe (the saying) that " give to one who has asked often, and the gift will be prized ; give to one who has asked but a few times, and the gift will be spurned ".
(I. 47b ; 66.10–12.)

(1) and (2) have preverbal and final adverb, (3) and (4) preverbal adverb only, (5) and (6) final adverb only ; in (2) (4) and (6) the following clause has conjunctive adverb. All represent very frequent types. In (6) the piece division shows the inadequacy of the piece as a unit of grammatical statement.

VID. 2.8. Clause classes : genitival.

1. Li$_2$san liau di baisiŋ/wuo yiu ni šeu$_4$ziu.
I will round up for you the folk that are scattered apart.
(III. 3a ; 104.11–12.)

2. Ni fu$_3$xin šeu$_4$ di biŋ ŋam ǰuŋ$_3$ řindi baisiŋ/bei ta ziaŋ kiu.
The folk your father collected, and all our folks, have been taken away by them.
(II. 5a ; 73.3–4.)

3. Ziaŋ ta yiuan gai$_2$ hia di zi$_4$ řu$_4$ di pi$_2$tuŋ$_3$ pi$_2$deu$_2$ lai liau/šaliau yi go či$_4$ ř$_2$ mu$_2$ řu$_4$ di fui$_3$ gau$_2$ř.
And fetched the leather milking pail and flagon that he had left covered, and killed a fat lamb that had been suckled by two ewes.
(II. 36a ; 93.13–14.)

4. Hian šuan di liaŋ ma$_3$/mui řin ki$_5$liau yi pi.
Then each of them rode one of the two horses that were ready harnessed.
(V. 51b ; 169.29–30.)

These are genitival clauses of type (i). In (2) the genitival clause is followed by a noun with nominal particle di ; both are attributive to the free noun baisiŋ. In (3) there are two genitival clauses both attributive to the free nouns pi$_2$tuŋ$_3$ pi$_2$deu$_2$.

5. Řuo yiau nidi ŋa/yiu ni zuo ban$_4$ lai di zi$_5$ šim ši$_{14}$?
If I took anything from you, of what help would my comradeship have been to you ?
(II. 34a ; 92.15–16.)

6. Na gan$_2$ lai di/řu laŋ ziaŋ kiun yiaŋ$_4$ ǰi$_5$ gan$_2$ ǰi kiuan nei/ši šimma řin ?
Who is that coming in pursuit like a wolf pursuing a flock of sheep, right into the fold ?
(VII. 40a ; 195.20–22.)

7. Ziaŋ Taizudi di$_5$ Belgutaidi gian$_6$gia$_3$ kam po di bian ši ǰe$_2$ Buri-boko.
This Buri-boko was the one who cleft the shoulder of the emperor's brother Belgutai.
(I. 31b ; 50.9.)

8. Guai di fa$_3$ di xuŋ ni.
Let my censure or punishment be up to you.
(III. 13a (113a) ; 108.26.)

These are genitival clauses of type (ii). In (7) the genitival clause is followed by a clause with conjunctive adverb. See especially para. 195, passim, for other examples.

3. *The word*

VID. 3.1. Word classes : free verb.

1. Wuo ši Temuǰin gia yiu$_2$ da gia li zian$_3$ yiaŋ$_4$mau$_2$ kiu lai.
I am from Temuǰin's household and I have been at the sheep-shearing.
(II. 45b ; 100.13.)

2. Kokoču suei ziaŋ gim$_2$yiu$_5$z pie hia liau/yiu xi$_2$ tuŋ lai Taizu ču$_2$.
Kokoču threw the cup aside, and went with his wife to the emperor.
(VII. 8b ; 188.33–34.)

zian$_3$ in (1), lai in (2) are transitive free verbs.

3. S ǰe$_2$ban ře tianki$_9$/yiaŋ$_4$mau$_2$ li řuo yieu řin/řuho daŋ de ?
In hot weather like this, if there was anyone in the wool how could he stand it ?

ře is intransitive free verb.
(II. 25a ; 86.12–14.)

VID. 3.2. Word classes : pro-verb.

1. Činǧis šuo ši.
" Yes ", said Činǧis.
(VII. 19b ; 191.2.)

2. J̌i$_4$ yieu yi z Saŋgun/yi$_4$ řu wuyieu.
I have only the one son Saŋgun, and it is as if I had none.
(V. 38a ; 164.10–11.)

3. Belgutaidi mu$_2$/řin gau yiu ta šuo/na yiŋ li yieu.
Belgutai's mother, someone told him, was there in the camp.
(III. 21b–22a ; 112.4–6.)

Pro-verb yieu in final position. For other examples (also wu), see (I. 36b ; 55.11) (quoted above, VID. 2.6. no. 17), (VI. 17b ; 174.5) (quoted above, VID. 2.6 no. 8) and (III. 31a ; 118.25) (II. 45b ; 100.15) (I. 6b ; 9.5) (I. 23a ; 39.4–5) (I. 47b ; 66.14) (IV. 14b ; 133.2).

4. J̌amuqa anda/suei$_3$ši liŋ$_4$ hiŋ/buxeŋ yieu ǰin$_2$ši$_5$ hai za di yian$_5$yiu$_7$.
Although our ways diverged, my sworn brother J̌amuqa never spoke words of real injury.
(VIII. 23b (379b) ; 201.37–39.)

5. Gi$_2$ ši$_{15}$ zuo$_3$ ču$_2$ lieu$_3$ di hiue du řu ni$_4$niŋ.
But when he looked, the blood where he was sitting was (thick) like mud.
(IV. 44a ; 145.22.)

6. Temuǰin gieu$_4$-suei$_2$ ši$_2$/Qasar xi-suei$_2$/Qačiwun wu$_5$-suei$_2$/Temuge sam-suei$_2$/Temulun niuz ǰiŋ zai yiau$_2$če nei yieulai.
When Temuǰin was nine years old, Qasar was seven, Qačiwun was five, Temuge was three and the girl Temulun was in her cradle.
(I. 41b ; 60.7–11.)

VID. 3.3. Word classes : auxiliary verb.

1. Řugim čin$_2$ǰo ǰe$_2$ gi$_7$huei$_2$ koyi$_2$ lai guŋ$_2$ ta.
Now we can take this chance and attack them.
(IV. 14b ; 133.3.)

2. Fu$_3$xin koyi$_2$ ǰu$_4$ wuo lai guŋ$_2$.
You, father, can help me to attack.
(II. 14b ; 133.9.)

3. Čiŋgis yin ta šuo ši$_4$ Buqatai Kiratai liaŋ go kiu či$_4$ yian$_7$si$_4$.
Čiŋgis took account of what he said and sent Belgutai and Kiratai to the feast.
(V. 47b ; 168.15.)

Auxiliary verbs lai and kiu, especially following quasi-complex group (nos. (2) and (3)) ; see further para. 133, passim.

4. Na fu$_4$řin Tayaŋ yieu$_3$ ši pa liau.
That effeminate Tayaŋ is frightened again.
(VII. 30a–b (336a–b) ; 194.27.)

ši (auxiliary verb) as " marked positive " form ; compare (II. 51b ; 103.2–3) (III. 13a (113a) ; 108.15 and 24) (VII. 25b ; 193.23) (VII. 26a ; 193.36). Sometimes this ši might alternatively be regarded as a bound character final in a compound adverb (e.g. suei$_3$ši).

5. Wuo z$_2$ ǰe$_2$li ki čiŋ$_4$/ko ziaŋ ta guŋ zian duo$_3$ liau.
I will set out from here ; we can seize their bows and arrows.
(VII. 17a ; 190.11–12.)

6. Ni bu ko šuo di hua/ǰe$_2$ hua ni zai$_2$ hieu šuo.
Do not go on saying things that you cannot mean (to carry out).
(VII. 17a ; 190.3–4.)

7. Ki$_4$ bu ši ǰaŋ$_3$fu$_2$/koyi$_2$ zuo ban$_4$ lai.
He is a real man, and fitted to be a comrade.
(VI. 53b ; 185.29–30.)

For further examples of ko and koyi$_2$, see (III. 3a ; 104.17) (III. 7a ; 105.21) (III. 20a ; 111.20–22) (VII. 41a ; 195.64).

8. Ču$_4$ ta bei lu$_3$ ši$_2$/wuomui tau$_2$ kiu.
When the others were taken captive, we escaped.
(V. 26b ; 156.12–13.)

9. Sim$_2$ de lai ši$_2$/ken ziaŋ ni wuei$_6$z řaŋ yiu ma ?/Yesugen šuo./ Řuo de gian ši$_2$/bian řaŋ yiu ta.
" When I fetch her, are you willing to yield her your place ? "
" When I have seen (managed to see) her ", said Yesugen, " I will yield to her ".
(V. 24a ; 155.12–15.)

10. Yieu šu$_6$fu$_3$ Daartai/yin sian xeŋ xuŋ Woŋqan/Taizu yiu$_3$yiau fui$_2$ ta.
His uncle Daartai, since he had been a follower of Woŋqan, the emperor wanted to execute him.
(X. 25a ; 242.17–19.)

VID. 3.4. Word classes : prepositive verb.

1. Li$_2$san liau di baisiŋ/wuo yiu ni šeu$_4$ziu.
I will round up for you the folk that are scattered apart.
(III. 3a ; 104.10–11.)

2. J̌amuqa fu$_8$ li$_2$liau Naiman/ziaŋ duei Tayaŋ šuo di hua/giau duei Čiŋgis šuo.
J̌amuqa left the Naiman again and sent word to Čiŋgis of what he had said to Tayaŋ.
(VII. 44b ; 196.1–3.)

3. Nim suwuei$_5$di yiu$_2$ da yiu$_3$ siue di yie$_2$ li/huo xiŋ$_2$miŋ$_3$ di yie$_2$ li/huo di$_7$řin fun$_2$řau$_2$ s$_2$ša di yie$_2$ li/zai wuo ǰaŋ$_6$faŋ$_3$ ǰeuwuei$_3$ suwuei$_5$/ši$_4$ wuo šin sim gie ŋan$_2$.
In nights of rain and snow storms, or clear bright nights, or nights when an enemy is rampaging and killing, you guardsmen stand guard around my tent, so that my body and mind may be undisturbed.
(X. 3a ; 230.2–6.)

4. Taizu ni_3 šin ho_3/$guŋ_2$xiuliau Batkesen $čiŋ_6$/ǰi Zmu ho_3/ Baruan-keer di_7mian hialiau $yiŋ$.

The emperor went up the river Šin and took the town of Batkesen, and pitched his camp at Baruan-keer on the river Zmu.

(XI. 41a ; 257.30–33.)

5. $Gian_7$nan ǰi šim/bei Temuǰin $ǰin_3zi_5$ liau.

He suffered great hardship, and Temuǰin has given him help and charity.

(V. 16b ; 152.16–17.)

6. $Zia\eta$ ma_3 giau Kokoču na_2 liau/xiamǰo yiu_3 $še_2$ ǰuŋgian/ bei Kokoču kian ma_3 zeu liau.

He gave his horse to Kokoču to hold, and was stalking and just ready to shoot when Kokoču led his horse away and left (him).

(VII. 8a ; 188.18–20.)

The above are prepositive verbs of type (i). These are very frequent throughout ; see further (VI. 44b ; 182.6–7) (I. 5a ; 7.2) (VIII. 11a ; 199.9–10) (XI. 7b ; 248.28–29) (VIII. 11b ; 199.29, 33) ; for bei see further (IV. 21a ; 136.6) (IV. 32b ; 141.11–13) (IV. 44b ; 145.47) (IV.48b (198b) ; 146.13) : sometimes bei is intermediate between types (i) and (ii), as is giau in (VI. 53b ; 185.20) and (VII. 13a ; 189.32).

7. Temulun ši ta mu_2xin ma_3 $šaŋ$ bau_3 liau.

Her mother took Temulun up on horseback and held her in her arms.

(XII. 44a ; 99.7.)

8. Ši wuo $še_2$ lai.

It was I who shot.

(IV. 51a ; 147.6.)

For prepositive verb ši see further (II. 45b ; 100.13) (quoted above. VID. 3.1), (VII. 4b–5a ; 187.13–14) (III. 28b ; 117.4).

9. Fu_3xin wuo yieu šim $ši_{14}$ $čin_3$guai ?

What have I done, father, that you should be angry with me ?

(VI. 32a ; 177.9.)

10. Yieu yi huo_4 giun lai dau genxian.

There was a group of soldiers coming towards them.

(II. 45b ; 100.10.)

For yieu, see further (II. 26b ; 88.4–5) (V. 8a ; 149.11) (V. 16b ; 152.22, 27) (VII. 41a ; 195.70).

11. Borte fu_2řin wu ma_3 ki_5 liau.

His wife Borte had no horse to ride.

(II. 44a ; 99.9.)

12. Wu řin $neŋ$ di_7.

No-one could withstand them. (IV. 26b ; 139.10.)

For wu, see further (I. 11a ; 18.5–8.)

13. Řugim Woŋqan giau wuo $ǰiŋ_3ǰi_{10}$ ta giunma_3.

Now Woŋqan has told me to draw up his cavalry.

(VI. 7a ; 170.30.)

14. Taizu $miŋ_2$ Šigi-qutuqu zuo $teu_2$$šau_2$.

The emperor ordered Šigi-qutuqu to be forward patrol.

(XI. 40b ; 257.20.)

15. Hu_5řan gian tamui dau liau.

Suddenly he saw them arriving. (II. 35b ; 93.3.)

16. Gian Bodončar $yiu_9$$ruo_2$/bu $zia\eta$ ta zuo $hiuŋdi_5$ $sia\eta_3$dai buxeŋ fun yiu.

Seeing that Bodončar was weak, they did not consider him as a brother or give him any share. (I. 15a ; 23.7–8.)

17. Tiŋde zaixian lauřinmui $yian_5yiu_7$ li šuo.

We have heard that in the words of the old men of the past it was said : (III. 28b ; 117.2.)

18. $Suwuei_5$ $šu_7$ ři/bu hiu řin wun.

No-one is allowed to inquire about the daily rota of guard duty.

(IX. 49b ; 229.29–30.)

The above are prepositive verbs of type (ii). This type likewise is frequent throughout ; some further examples are (I. 32b ; 52.5) (VI. 7a ; 170.32) (VI. 37b ; 179.1) (VI. 49b–50a ; 184.5, 12) (VII. 44b ; 196.10–11).

VII. 3.5. Word classes : postpositive verb.

1. Z_2 $li\eta_3$ $ša\eta$ $zia\eta$ wuo ma_3 $hia\eta_2gu_4$ $še_2$ duan di/guo_2 ši šuei ?
Who was it shot from on the ridge and broke my horse's neck ?
(VI. 51a ; 147.3–4.)

2. Řuo yie_2li yieu řin $řu_2$ ηa/$zia\eta$ ta teu_2 da_2 po/$gian_6gia_3$ kam duan je.
If anyone enters at night, break his head and split his shoulder-blade.
(IX. 49b ; 229.21–23.)

3. $Zia\eta$ Saηgundi sai $še_2$ $ju\eta$ liau/$xši_2$ řuo $še_2$ bu $ju\eta$ Saηgun/yie bu ji_7 řu ho.
You hit Saηgun in the face with an arrow ; if you had not hit Saηgun then, I do not know what would have happened.
(VIII. 48b ; 208.11–13.)

4. Yin Qoaqčin lau mu_2/řu $hua\eta_3šu_2la\eta$ ban neη tiη/$yin_3šu_2$ ban neη gian dišaηteu_2/wuo $suoyi_2$ duo_2 de guo.
It is through old mother Qoaqčin, who can hear like a weasel and see like an ermine, that I was able to escape.
(II. 51b ; 103.9–12.)

5. Temuǰin řz $si\eta_2$ de ǰau.
You understand, Temuǰin, my son.
(V. 47b ; 168.12.)

6. J̌e$_2$ $sia\eta_4$ na $sia\eta_4$ yiau xiu ji_5 lu gan_2 ηa/du yiu_6 ǰau $hiam_2$ ni_4 mi lim_2/hiη bu de $řu_2$/ji_4 de z_2 heu gan_2ǰo/yinx na_2 bu de liau.
Whenever they wanted to take a direct way after him, on both sides they came to deep quagmire or thick undergrowth and could not get in ; they could do nothing but follow him from behind, and so they could not take him.
(II. 49a ; 102.3–7.)

7. Nimui bai_2 ři li $ši_{11}$liau řin/řugim hei yie_2 li řuho sim_2 de ?
You lost the man in broad daylight ; how can you find him now in the dark night ?
(II. 21a ; 83.2–3.)

8. $Yieu_3$ řu $řin_2$ bu de nu_2ki_9 di $ši_9z$ ban.
And like the lion that cannot contain its wrath.
(II. 12b ; 78.10.)

9. Ni $hiam_3$sie $zia\eta$ wuo duansuη de $yian_2$ $siau_3$ huo_4 mie.
You came close to making me as dead as a fire that is put out and its smoke dispersed.
(II. 26a ; 87.3.)

The above are postpositive verbs of type (i a), including negative, potential and negative potential forms ; compare (VI. 32a ; 177.30, 33) (VI. 47b ; 183.18–19) (VII. 17a ; 190.14). (7) and (8) have de as a regular postpositive verb of this type ; compare (II. 10b ; 77. 2, 4), and (I. 40a ; 58.4) where negative adverb buxeη precedes, as always, the free verb. Example (9) shows postpositive verb de of this type marking a bound clause ; compare (I. 48a ; 67.4) (quoted above, VII. 2.7 no. 4).

10. Na ki_3yiu_{10} baisiη/ta hiuηdi_5 wu_5 go/du lu_3 ziaηhueilail iau.
All the rest of that folk the five brothers took back as captives.
(I. 23a ; 39.1–3.)

11. Ambaqai $xši_2$ $ši_1$* Besu $ši_6$ Balaqači miηz_3di řin šuo ziaηhueikiu.
Then Ambaqai sent word with Balaqači of the clan Besut.
(I. 34a ; 53.9.)

12. Yin lu_3 $zia\eta$ Temuǰin-wuge lai $ši_2$ šeη/guzieu miη Temuǰin.
As he was born at the time when Temuǰin-wuge was taken captive, he was named Temuǰin.
(I. 41a ; 59.7–8.)

13. Sim_2 de lai $ši_2$/ken $zia\eta$ ni $wuei_6z$ řeη yiu ma ?
When I fetch her, are you willing to yield her your place ?
(V. 24a ; 155.12–13.)

The above examples contain postpositive verbs of type (i b). For other examples see (II. 31a ; 90.24–25) (IV. 3b ; 128.6–7) (V. 12b ; 151.2). (13) has potential form ; the negative/potential system is rare with postpositive verbs of this type, though regular in Modern Pekingese.

* as amended ; this $ši_4$ is omitted in the text.

14. Kiu di zuŋ$_2$zi$_6$/wuo ǰi$_8$ yiu ni.
I will show you the traces where they went.
(II. 31a ; 90.26–27.)

15. Ta fu$_3$xin Yesugei ziaŋyin$_2$ ta wuaŋ$_2$ mu$_2$gieu$_5$ Wolquno ši$_6$ ču$_2$ suo$_2$ niuǰ yiu Temuǰin zuo xi$_2$.
His father Yesugei was taking him to his uncle of the Wolqunot clan, to ask for his daughter as a wife for Temuǰin.
(I. 42 b ; 61.2.)

16. Nim řuho bu li$_3$ Temuǰin zuo huaŋdi$_6$?
Why did you not set Temuǰin up as king ?
(IV. 2a ; 127.10.)

17. Ziaŋ J̌amuqa li$_3$ zuo huaŋdi$_6$.
And set J̌amuqa up as king.
(IV. 32b ; 141.9.)

18. Tayaŋ tiŋde ta řz bi$_3$ ta zuo fu$_4$řin šuo.
When Tayaŋ heard his son liken him to a woman, he said :
(VII. 30b (336b) ; 194.36–37.)

19. Kuaŋ řgim geu$_2$ fui$_4$ yieu ziaŋ bai$_3$ di šiŋ$_2$yim.
And now the dogs are barking with a sound of impending defeat.
(VII. 12b ; 189.24.)

20. Ču$_3$ fu$_{10}$ma$_3$ wuai fu$_9$ šeu$_5$ tuŋ kai guo$_5$ yieu ŋen je/gieu$_4$ši$_3$wu$_5$ řin wuei xian$_2$hu$_4$.
Apart from his family he named 95 of those who had taken part with their services in the establishment of the state as " lords of thousands ".
(VIII. 27a (383a) ; 202.8–9.)

The above are postpositive verbs of type (i c) ; compare (III. 7a ; 105.21) (IV. 2a ; 127.10) (IV. 32b ; 141.9) (X. 22a ; 241.3–4) (X. 42b ; 245.47).

21. Šin zai šuei$_2$ li dan leu ču mian lai.
His body in the water but his face showing (above the surface).
(II. 18a ; 81.15.)

22. Ni z$_2$ sim$_2$ ni mu$_2$xin hiuŋdi$_6$ kiu.
You go and look for your mother and brothers.
(II. 21b ; 83.15.)

23. Deisečen huei gia lai liau.
Deisečen came back home.
(II. 37b–38a ; 94.14.)

24. Suoyi$_2$ šunǰo Wonan ho$_3$ sim$_2$ Sorqan-šira kiu liau.
So he went down the river Wonan to seek Sorqan-šira.
(II. 22b ; 84.14.)

Postpositive verbs, type (ii a), lai and kiu only. These are frequent throughout. Compare (II. 36a ; 93.13) (quoted above, VID. 2.8 no. 3).

25. Tian$_2$di$_2$ ǰan$_2$duŋ di šiŋ$_2$yim tiŋ de yieu.
I can hear the noise of the ground shaking.
(II. 42b–43a ; 98.5.)

26. Duoban$_2$ yiu J̌amuqa yituŋ zai ǰe$_2$li yieu.
Most of them are here with J̌amuqa.
(VII. 30b (336b) ; 194.29.)

27. Zai$_3$ǰo yiaŋ$_4$mau$_2$ yieu.
There is a load of wool.
(II. 47b ; 101.12.)

Postpositive verb type (ii b) yieu ; compare (complete list) : (I. 21a ; 35.5) (I. 43a ; 62.3) (II. 47b ; 101.18) (III. 7a ; 105.15–20) (V. 51b ; 169.35) (VI. 43a ; 181.21) (VI. 47b ; 183.23) (VII. 13a ; 189.41, 44).

28. Nim na ŋen/wuo sim ǰuŋ ři yie$_2$ čaŋ siaŋ$_2$ǰo yieulai.
Day and night I have been constantly thinking of your services.
(IX. 26b ; 219.7.)

29. Temuǰin anda zaixian xeŋ giau ši$_4$čin yiu Naiman hiŋ wuaŋ$_2$lai yieulai.
Brother Temuǰin has been exchanging envoys with the Naiman.
(V. 31a ; 160.2.)

39. Řin xeŋ šuo ta hau hi_2 sin_2 yiam $gieu_3$ yieulai./Řugim zamui hiŋ yiam liau yie.

People have said that he yearns for the new and hates the old. Now it is us he hates.

(III. 32a ; 118.22–23.)

Type (ii b) yieulai ; compare (complete list) : (I. 19a ; 30.5–7) (I. 26a ; 43.11) (I. 41b ; 60.11) (I. 45b ; 64.4) (II. 40b ; 96.7) (II. 42a ; 97.7) (III. 3a ; 104.13) (III. 29a ; 117.16) (VI. 13a ; 172.9) (VI. 37b ; 179.6) (VII. 12b ; 189.23) (VIII. 16b ; 200.40) (VIII. 49a ; 208.46) (IX. 3a ; 209.12) (IX. 49b ; 229.33) (X. 45b ; 246.25) (XI. 10a ; 249.5).

31. Z_2 Mauwundur šan xian wuaŋgian Hulaan-buraqat di_2mian $čin_4$ ki/di_7řin lai dau yie.

We were watching from in front of Mt. Mauwundur and we saw dust rising at the place Hulaan-buraqat ; the enemy has arrived.

(VI. 6b ; 170.9–10.)

32. Ši wuo Temuǰin anda/hun_2 šin $čuan_2$ǰo tie_2gia_3/s tam $ši_{16}$ di $yiŋ_6$ ban lai yie.

It is my brother Temuǰin, his whole body covered in armour, coming like an eagle hungry for prey.

(VII. 41a ; 195.55–57.)

Type (II b) yie ; compare (in addition to no. 30 above and no. 33 below) (complete list) : (II. 2a–b ; 70.12–13) (III. 20a ; 111.19) (IV. 14b ; 133.5–7) (VIII. 40b ; 195.32–33) (VIII. 41a ; 195.72–73).

33. Wuo bu ǰi$_7$ wuei šimma/gian ǰe$_2$ hau ban$_4$daŋ gian$_7$nanǰo lai/bian yiu ta zuo ban$_4$ kiu liau lai/řugim lai liau yie.

I do not know why ; I saw that this good comrade had come with great hardship ; so I have been with him as companion, and now I am back.

(II. 36a ; 93.7–10.)

34. Wuo zaixian čaŋ bu neŋ di$_7$ Temuǰin lai.

I have never been able to equal Temuǰin.

(VI. 7a ; 170.29.)

Type (ii b) lai ; see among others (II. 21b ; 83.16) (quoted above, VID. 2.7 no. 1), (II. 45b ; 100.13) (quoted above, VID. 3.1 no. 1), (IV. 51a ; 147.6) (quoted above, VID. 3.4 no. 8), and (I. 32b ; 52.1–2) (II. 37b ; 94.28) (II. 42a ; 97.8) (III. 40a ; 121.7) (VI. 43a ; 181.18, 20).

VID. 3.6. Word classes : free noun.

No separate examples are given of the free noun, which occurs throughout. The free noun with numeral and auxiliary noun occurs in example VID. 2.6 no. 6 ; with numeral noun only in VID. 2.8 no. 4.

VID. 3.7. Word classes : pronoun.

1. Wuomui řuo ziaŋ ta na$_2$ ǰi Temuǰin $ču_2$/bi_2 šuo wuomui na$_2$ liau ǰiŋǰu/nan zuo ban$_4$daŋ/bi_2 ziaŋ zamui ša liau/buřu faŋ$_2$ hueikiu/duei Temuǰin šuo./Wuomui bun$_2$ ziaŋ Tarqutai-kiriltuq na$_2$ lai/yin ši ǰiŋǰu/sim nei bu řin$_2$ dišaŋteu$_2$/faŋ$_2$ hueikiu liau./Čiŋgis bi_2 řuŋ wuomui./Yiu$_2$ši faŋ$_2$ hueikiu liau/dau Čiŋgis $ču_2$/bui yian$_5$ ki$_3$ ši$_{14}$./Čiŋgis šuo./Řuo nimui ziaŋ ta na$_2$ lai/wuo bi_2 šaliau nimui./Nimui bu řin$_2$ kiuo faŋ$_2$ liau/yie xau./Suoyi$_2$ te šaŋ$_2$ Nayaa.

" If we take him to Temuǰin, he is bound to say we laid hands on our own master and cannot be good comrades, and he will certainly kill us ; it would be better to let him go back, and to say to Temuǰin : " We had first thought of bringing Tarqutai-kiriltuq here ; but as he is our own master, and we could not bear the thought of it, we let him go back." Čiŋgis will surely forgive us." So they let him go back, and went to Čiŋgis and told their story. " If you had brought him here," said Čiŋgis, " I should certainly have killed you. But you could not bear to do so, and you let him go ; that was right." So he gave special favours to Nayaa.

(V. 8a–b ; 149.29–48.)

This extract exemplifies the use of the personal pronouns ; see further VIC. 1.5.1 nn.

VID. 3.8. Word classes : numeral noun.

1. Toqtoa tuŋ ř$_2$ z/Qudu/Čilawun/dai$_2$ gi go ban$_4$daŋ zeu liau.
Toqtoa escaped with his two sons Qudu and Čilawun and several comrades.
(VII. 49a ; 197.7–10.)

The numeral noun gi never occurs without following auxiliary noun. No examples are given of other numeral nouns, which occur throughout, in a total of 651 occurrences, 279 with auxiliary noun and 372 without.

VID. 3.9. Word classes : auxiliary noun.

1. Gian ta na ba$_5$ go ma$_3$ zai kiuanz wuai li$_3$ǰo.
And saw his eight horses standing outside the circle.
(II. 31b ; 90.43.)

2. Gim zau ři wuei$_2$ ču ši$_2$/yieu ǰe$_2$yiaŋ ba$_5$ pi ma$_3$/z$_2$ ǰe$_2$li gan$_2$ guokiu liau.
This morning before sunrise there were eight such horses driven past here.
(II. 31a ; 90.23–25.)

3. Yi ři Temuǰindi xambai$_2$ šan$_2$ma$_3$ ba$_5$ pi zai gia bei zei gie$_3$ ziaŋkiu liau.
One day Temuǰin's eight grey geldings were stolen from the home.
(II. 30b ; 90.1.)

4. Řu kiaxai ǰe$_2$ wu$_5$ ǰi$_2$ ziangan$_4$ yiban/go$_3$ z$_2$ yi ǰi$_2$ ŋa/řim šuei řuŋyi$_{10}$ ǰe$_3$ ǰe$_3$.
Like these five arrows just now, each one by itself can easily be broken by anyone.
(I. 14b ; 22.4–6.)

The above are auxiliary nouns of type (i), including an example of minor noun group (4) and one of numeral plus auxiliary noun following free noun (3).

5. Di$_4$ ř$_2$ x$_2$ yieu$_3$ bu řu$_2$ ǰe/či$_2$ xi hia.
Anyone not falling in a second time will receive seven strokes.
(IX. 44a ; 227.16–17.)

6. Ziaŋ Burqan šan řauliau sam zau$_2$.
Went three times round Mt. Burqan.
(VIII. 11b ; 199.36.)

The above are examples of auxiliary noun type (ii), which occurs in minor noun group only.

VID. 3.10. Word classes : postpositive noun.

1. Yiu$_2$ši seu dau Sorqan-šira gia./Faŋ$_3$ li če li čuaŋ his/du seu bian$_3$ liau/luoheu šaŋ dau zai$_3$ yiaŋ$_4$mau$_2$ di če šaŋ/ziaŋ če mun neidi yiaŋ$_4$mau$_2$ hian$_2$ ču./Hian$_2$ dau če heu ši$_2$/Sorqan-šira šuo.
In time they came in their search to the home of Sorqan-šira. They searched everywhere in the huts and in the wagons and under the beds ; in the end they climbed on to the wagon loaded with sheep's wool and pushed aside the wool in the entrance. When they were pushing through to the back of the wagon, Sorqan-šira said :
(II. 25a ; 86.5–11.)

2. Liaŋ go hai$_3$z ǰuŋgian$_2$di ho$_3$ miŋ Wuršiwun.
The river between the two lakes is called the river Wuršiwun.
(I. 33b ; 53.3.)

3. Wuei wuo šaŋteu$_2$/di$_5$hiuŋmui hieu wu$_6$ liau.
Do not be roused to hatred, brothers, because of me.
(IV. 10a ; 131.16–17.)

4. Ši$_4$ wuo sim nei kai huo$_5$ ǰe$_2$ sam x$_2$ ŋen/wuo sim ǰuŋ yiuŋ$_3$ bu wuaŋ$_4$ liau.
These three kind services have pierced my heart, and I shall never forget them.
(IV. 44b ; 145.52–53.)

5. Zuo$_3$ zai ǰuŋ$_3$ řin šaŋmian.
Sit above (at the head of) the crowd.
(IX. 20b ; 216.16.)

6. Řili lai ŋam hiŋ či$_4$ ma$_3$nai$_2$z.
In the daytime he comes to us to drink maresmilk.
(I. 19b ; 31.6.)

7. Řuo řugim ta hiŋ naban dai$_3$ siaŋ$_2$ ŋa/tian bi$_2$ bu ŋai$_2$hu za.
If we think such evil towards him now, heaven will certainly not protect us.
(V. 45a ; 167.6–7.)

8. Niuzmui hiŋ šaŋ$_2$x$_4$ za.
Let us reward the women.
(IX. 19a ; 215.1.)

Among other examples of hiŋ are (V. 42a ; 166.9) (II. 24a ; 85.7, 16) (IV. 29b ; 140.26, 27) (IV. 16b ; 134.10) (VII. 4b ; 187.1, 9).

9. Wuodi xi$_2$ z hian zai huaŋdi$_6$ fu$_3$xin ču$_2$ yieu./Řuo čai yi go ko yi$_7$jaŋ$_4$ di řin lai ŋa wuo wuaŋ$_2$ fu$_3$xin hiŋ kiu.
My wife and children are there with the king my father. If you send a trustworthy man to me, father, I will come to you.
(VI. 47b ; 183.23–24.)

10. Lian yie$_2$ kihiŋ/ři ču ši$_2$ dau Qasar ču$_2$.
She travelled all night and at sunrise came to where Qasar was.
(X. 32a ; 244.23–24.)

11. Řugim wuo genxian yieu šuei ?
Who is there in front of me now ?
(XII. 25a ; 272.22.)

12. Na fu$_4$řin Bodončar genxian/zai$_2$ šeŋ yi go řz.
To Bodončar this woman again bore a son.
(I. 24b ; 41.1–2.)

13. Ni duei Qabul huaŋdi$_6$di xi go řz jueŋgian$_2$di Qutula genxian/ biŋ wuodi ši$_3$ go řz neidi Qadaan-taiz genxian šuo.
Tell Qutula, one of the seven sons of King Qabul, and Qadaan-taiz, one of my ten sons.
(I. 34a ; 53.10–11.)

VID. 3.11. Word classes : free adverb.

1. Suei$_4$heu ni di$_5$ Erke-qara/yiu$_2$ Naiman ču$_2$ zie$_3$ de giunma$_3$.
Afterwards your brother Erke-qara borrowed troops from the Naiman.
(VI. 32b–33a ; 177.58–59.)

2. Ziaŋ buxeŋ gian ču$_2$ z$_4$si$_5$ pai sim$_2$ liau san ǰo/miŋ$_3$ři zai$_2$ ziuǰo sim$_2$.
Search carefully in a rank the places where we did not look, and then depart ; tomorrow (we will) come together again to search.
(II. 21a ; 83.5–6.)

3. Wuo zuo$_5$xian še$_2$ de go xiueř/yie bei ta duo$_3$ liau/gimbian$_3$ diau$_2$ de go yiu$_4$ř/yieu$_3$ bei ta duo$_3$ liau.
The other day I shot a lark, and he stole it ; this time I caught a fish, and he stole that too.
(II. 10b ; 77.2–5.)

4. Wueinaban wuo xeŋ šuo. J̌e$_2$ řin siŋ$_2$ de da dau$_3$li$_4$.
That was why I said " This man understands the moral codes ".
(IX. 29a ; 220.8.)

The above contain examples of clausal adverbs, which may precede or follow pre-verbal noun.

5. Wuo ǰaŋ$_3$fu$_2$ teu$_2$fa$_4$ buxeŋ bei fuŋ čuei$_2$/du$_4$fu$_{11}$ buxeŋ řin$_2$ ŋo.
My husband never before had his hair blown by the wind, never before did his belly go hungry.
(I. 38b ; 56.12–13.)

6. Wuo yi$_3$z$_2$ ǰiŋ$_3$šuo$_2$ giunma$_3$.
I have already drawn up my troops.
(III. 9a (109a) ; 106.3.)

7. Za yituŋ ziaŋ ni niuz hian$_3$ kiu.
Let us go together to present your daughter.
(VII. 49b ; 197.20.)

8. Gan$_2$ řu$_2$ wuo J̌erene di$_2$mian hia$_2$ ču$_2$/giau wuo haušeŋ kuŋgiu$_2$.
You came right into the gorges of J̌erene, and caused me much fear.
(VIII. 23b (379b) ; 210.52–53.)

9. Taiyičiwutmui zai$_2$ huei pai sim$_2$ guŋ$_3$ šuo ši$_2$/Sorqan-šira zai$_2$ šuo.

When the Taiyičiwut came back again to search and were talking amongst themselves, Sorqan-šira said again :

(II. 21a ; 83.1–2.)

The above contain examples of verbal adverb, which immediately precedes the free verb, sometimes auxiliary or prepositive verb.

10. Woŋqan yiu$_2$ Činggis hiŋ/řim šimma xai$_3$wu$_2$ du buxeŋ yiu.

But to Činggis Woŋqan did not give any booty at all.

(V. 27b ; 157.6–7.)

11. J̌iŋ yiu$_6$ ǰau ta yiu ki$_3$ siu$_3$ bi$_5$ luan zai lim$_2$ li.

They came upon her with her husband in a forest hiding from the fray.

(V. 24a–b ; 155.17.)

12. Wuo ši ǰuŋ$_3$ baisiŋdi ǰurin.

I am lord of the whole folk.

(I. 34a ; 53.12.)

13. Qadagin deŋ ši$_3$yi bu$_4$luo/yiu$_2$ Alqui-bulaa di$_2$mian/ziuhuei$_2$ šaŋ$_5$yi$_{11}$.

Qadagin and ten other settlements gathered to hold council at the place Alqui-bulaa.

(IV. 32a ; 141.2–4.)

14. Yieu$_3$ Kereyi ǰuŋ$_2$ gi$_3$ na Tubegen Duŋqa deŋ siŋ/kueisan di baisiŋ yi$_4$ lai hiaŋ$_3$.

Then from the Kereyit people and the Tubegen and Duŋqa and other clans the scattered folk came to submit.

(V. 10b ; 150.5–6.)

(10) to (14) contain examples of nominal adverbs.

VID. 3.12. Word classes : preverbal adverb.

1. Dafan gie$_4$ xin ŋa/řhai$_2$ř bian kan ta giadau$_3$/niuhai$_2$ř bian kan ta yian$_3$se.

When people are making a marriage, in the boy they seek position, in the girl beauty.

(I. 46a ; 65.1–3.)

2. Dan gian Merkit řin ŋa/giau puteu$_2$ zian še$_2$ǰo.

As soon as ever he saw a Merkit man, he had him shot with a bone arrow.

(III. 22a ; 112.20–21.)

For dafan, compare (I. 47b ; 66.13–14) ; dan, danfan (I. 14b ; 22.7–10) (I. 20a ; 31.8–9) (I. 45b ; 64.3–4) (III. 44b ; 123.9–10) (IV. 26b ; 139.8–9) (IV. 51a ; 147.14–15) (III. 28b ; 117.3–4) (I. 44a ; 63.4–6) (IX. 5a ; 210.10–11) ; fan (IX. 3a ; 209.3–5) (X. 6a ; 232.13–14) (XII. 19a ; 270.19).

3. J̌amuqa giun gi$_2$ kueisan heu/Naiman deŋ ši$_3$yi ǰuŋ$_2$/go$_3$ huei bu$_4$luo.

After J̌amuqa's army had been routed, the Naiman and the other ten peoples each went back to their settlement.

(IV. 38a ; 144.1–3.)

4. Yin gi$_8$ ki gieu$_3$ři bei lu$_3$ di yiuan$_8$čeu$_2$/ŋam$_2$ di$_2$ li ho$_2$liau du$_5$yiau$_3$ yiu či$_4$ liau.

And remembering the old score of their captivity, they mixed some poison in secret, and gave it to him in his food.

(I. 48b ; 67.7–8.)

For other examples of preverbal adverb, see VID. 2.7 above.

VID. 3.13. Word classes : final adverb.

1. Yesugei-baatur/Nekun-taiz/s$_3$ liau dišaŋteu$_2$/bei řin ǰe$_2$ban da$_2$.

It is because Yesugei-baatur and Nekun-taiz are dead that people beat me like this.

(IV. 8a ; 130.20–23.)

For other examples of šaŋteu$_2$, dišaŋteu$_2$, (I. 17a ; 26.1–2) (III. 40a ; 121.8–9) (I. 39b ; 57.1–4) (II. 27b ; 97.9–10).

2. Dau ta gia li řu$_2$ kiu ŋa/Sorqan-šira šuo.

When he went into his house, Sorqan-šira said :

(II. 23b–24a ; 85.4–5.)

3. Ni siaŋ$_2$ wuo ŋa zai$_2$ xiu di fu$_4$řin zieu huan$_2$ zuo wuodi miŋz$_3$ je.

If you think of me, then when you marry another woman call her by my name.

(I. 36b ; 55.12.)

For other examples of final adverb, see VID. 2.7 above.

VID. 3.14. Word classes : conjunctive adverb.

1. Zai xian řiz/ni yiu wuo fu$_3$xin ki$_7$ho$_2$/bian ši fu$_3$xin yiban.

In days past you and my father made a pact, so you are like a father (to me).

(II. 40b ; 96.17–19.)

2. Suoyi$_2$ ziaŋ Temuǰin gia$_4$ kaiǰo šau$_3$ liau.

So they unfastened the pillory from Temuǰin and burnt it.

(II. 24a ; 85.13.)

Conjunctive adverb in a clause following the end of direct speech.

3. Ta yieu$_3$ bu lai/dau$_2$ yi$_8$ǰo di$_7$řin/ yieu$_3$ zuoliau di$_7$řin.

He did not come ; instead he is getting support from our enemies, and has become an enemy himself.

(IV. 21a ; 136.12–14.)

4. Wuei fuŋ$_2$yiaŋ$_2$ ta mu$_2$xin šaŋteu$_2$/ziaŋ ǰim$_2$ zuo geuř yiu$_2$ Wonan ho$_3$ li diau$_2$ yiu$_4$/yieu$_3$ gie$_4$ wuaŋ$_5$ bu$_2$ yiu$_4$/kiuo ziaŋ mu$_2$xin fuŋ$_2$yiaŋ$_2$ liau.

To support their mother, they made a hook from a needle and fished in the river Wonan, and they wove a net for catching fish ; and so they supported their mother.

(II. 7a–b ; 75.4–7.)

For other examples of conjunctive adverb, in a clause following a conditional clause, see VID. 2.7 above.

VID. 3.15. Word classes : particle.

Examples of clausal particles will be found in the examples of the clause classes in which they operate, VID. 2.5, 6, 8.

1. Wuo šaŋ$_4$ gi$_2$ hausie/ni řuho luo$_2$šin řu$_2$ di$_7$ yiŋ ?

When my wound was healing, why then did you go naked into the enemy's camp ?

(IV. 44b ; 145.32–33.)

2. Yiuan$_4$sie ki$_6$ ŋa bu hau ?

Would it not have been better to spit it further off ?

(IV. 44a ; 145.24.)

The verbal particle sie ; in (2) it modifies attributive verb.

3. Dau gia li hiuŋdi$_5$mui šaŋ$_5$liaŋ$_2$ liau.

When they got home the brothers discussed it.

(I. 22b ; 37.1.)

4. Taiyičiwutmui yiu$_2$ Wonan ho$_3$ ŋan$_3$ šaŋ zuo yian$_7$huei$_2$.

And the Taiyičiwut held a feast on the bank of the river Wonan.

(II. 18a ; 81.6.)

5. Na giunmui yiuanlai ši sam ǰuŋ$_2$ Merki řin.

Now the soldiers were men of the three Merkit peoples.

(II. 49a ; 102.8.)

6. Nali ǰiŋ yiu$_6$ ǰau Qorulas ǰuŋ$_2$di Šowos-čaqan deŋ.

There he met Šowos-čaqan and others of the Qorulas people.

(VI. 44b ; 182.3.)

Nominal particles mui and deŋ.

VII. LEXIS

A. General

VIIA. 1. In lexicology, that is linguistic statement at the lexical level, the method most commonly employed is lexicography. The statement takes the form of a dictionary, and the meaning is stated either monolingually, in terms of the language under description, or bilingually, in terms of translation. The unit of meaning at this level, the word, is a category which in Indo-European languages is relatively easily defined ; as a result the existence of a distinct category susceptible to lexicographical statement is presupposed, and the need explicitly to differentiate between an element having lexical meaning and one having grammatical meaning does not arise. Each word entered in the dictionary is identified in the system of grammatical categories by being assigned to one (or more than one) part of speech ; this facilitates the statement of its lexical meaning by translation (especially into a language with a related system of categories) and forms a sort of cross-reference between the dictionary and the grammar.

In the description of a language such as Chinese, however, there does not immediately appear a distinct category which, and which alone, is susceptible of lexicographical statement. There is no obvious unit corresponding to the " word " of Indo-European languages. For the present study a category has been established in the grammar to which the name " word " has been given, and the name has been chosen because this is in fact the unit the meaning of which can best be stated by description at the lexical level. It is not however the only category that could form the object of lexical statement ; indeed the majority of bilingual dictionaries of Chinese enter the character as the lexicographical unit, polysyllabic forms being considered " compounds " and listed as sub-entries.

VIIA. 2. The practice of character lexicography in Chinese has persisted largely because of the nature of the script. It stems

however from traditional monolingual lexicography which arose to handle Old (and literary) Chinese. In Old Chinese it seems likely that the category " word ", the unit between the clause and the character, can be eliminated from the grammatical system, geminations and the few " digraphs " being handled at the character level, so that the use of the character as the lexical unit would conform adequately to the principles of simplicity and economy of categories.[1] The same cannot be said of New Chinese, where the character cannot be classified grammatically and leads to absurd lexicographical complexities : for example, for the meanings of the *character* no. 1999 fu Mathews gives (1) Clothes, mourning garments ; to wear, as clothing (2) To serve, to submit ; to be willing (3) A dose of medicine ; to swallow (4) The two inner horses of a team (5) To think of (6) A quiver. For the establishment of a system of classes below (and within) the clause in New Chinese the additional category " word " seems indispensable. Mathews,[2] for instance, enters the character, but makes no attempt to assign his characters to parts of speech.[3] Simon,[4] on the other hand, although for practical reasons (especially in order to achieve the most effective combinations of Chinese and romanized script) listing monosyllabic words distinctly from polysyllabic ones, yet in fact bases his dictionary on the word as the unit, since he gives no translation meaning to bound (in Chao's sense) characters and arranges the compounds in a strict alphabetical order of the romanized script. Simon's is, I think, the only Chinese-foreign dictionary yet to have been compiled in this way.

VIIA. 3. Doubtless the difficulty of delimiting and classifying the word in New Chinese has contributed to this adherence to traditional character lexicography ; and here of course grammatical

[1] One would then establish character classes of (for example) verb, noun etc.

[2] R. H. Mathews, *A Chinese-English Dictionary*, American edition revised by Y. R. Chao and M. Y. Wang, Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Press, 1947 .

[3] Mathews tends to restrict the translation forms for one character to one English word class. But exceptions are by no means rare : e.g. no. 3025 i " Idleness, ease. To err. Out of office ".

[4] W. Simon, *A Beginners' Chinese-English Dictionary of the National Language (Gwoyeu)*.

studies must precede lexicography since it is at the grammatical level that the category of word must be set up. The grammatical statement, besides establishing the category of word, sets up a system of word classes or " parts of speech " and, for the " Secret History " at least, distinguishes between those classes of word which are purely lexical (free verb, free noun and free adverb) and those which are lexico-grammatical (the remainder, except the particle which is purely grammatical). A word assigned to a lexical word class cannot be further described at the grammatical level beyond the assignment to its class of a value in the clause structure ; it does not form part of a grammatically determined system, so that we can characterize the lexical word classes as " infinite ". The lexico-grammatical and grammatical word-classes, on the other hand, are " finite " ; the members are terms in a grammatically determined system (or systems) so that, in addition to the lexical statement, grammatical identification of these words in their places in the systems is necessary for their full description.[1] For the particles, no further, lexical, information can be added to what is stated about them in the grammar.

The fact that a comparatively large part of the Chinese word stock must be stated both lexically and grammatically is linked with the absence of morphological distinction between word classes ; there is no morphological grouping of elements into systems.[2] A system of verb terminations such as the person and tense system of the Latin verb can be exhaustively stated by paradigmatic treatment of the verb ; but the Chinese verb has no paradigm. The statement of voice, aspect and mood,

[1] The partly grammatical character of a large part of the Chinese lexicon has been remarked on by Frei (' Un système chinois des aspects ' p. 142) with reference to the Modern Pekingese verb system ; and even de Saussure's observation that " le type de l'ultro-lexicologique est le chinois " (see F. de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale*, p. 183), while seeming to contradict this view, in fact reflects the same phenomenon (though no doubt with reference to Old Chinese) : what de Saussure saw as the relative arbitrariness of Chinese (" les langues où l'immotivité atteint son maximum sont plus lexicologiques ") was the *lexico*-grammatical exponence of grammatical categories, which when observed from another standpoint is seen to be the partly *grammatical* character of sections of the lexicon.

[2] With some exceptions ; see VIIC.

like that of the other grammatical classes, is indeed paradigmatic, or systemic ; but these are categories of the clause and imply no paradigm within the word. The ' group ' resembles the word paradigm of inflected languages in that it consists of a free form with determining elements ; but the systems made up by the bound elements, such as the postpositive verb, can only be stated lexically and do not constitute paradigms of the free form.

VIIA. 4. The distinction made in the grammatical analysis between the ' purely lexical ' or ' infinite ' and the ' lexico-grammatical ' or ' finite ' sections of the lexis is of course operative at both these levels of analysis. The classes of words which form the ' infinite ' section, namely the free verb, free noun and free adverb, are placed in the grammatical system in such a way as to define their structural relations with each other and with the other word classes ; but the classes themselves are diachronically ' open ' (new words entering the language will come into these classes—the synchronic correlate of this is what is referred to here as infinite) and their members have purely lexical meaning and cannot be further described grammatically.

For the lexical statement of such words the method most suited to a textual description, which will not normally extend to lexicography,[1] is that of statement by collocation.[2] This method records the occurrences of a word in regular associations with other words. This may be supplemented by a lexical grouping of words into ' ordered series '. By these two methods words

[1] Cf. Firth ' General Linguistics and Descriptive Grammar ', p. 80 : " In the case of those languages of which a dictionary has not yet been written, the investigator is not, in principle, expected to compile one, but he should endeavour to classify as large a number of vocabulary elements as possible. He should specify which areas of vocabulary are the richest and the most differentiated ".

[2] For collocation and " collocability ", see especially J. R. Firth, ' Modes of Meaning ', esp. pp. 123 sqq. Of statement by collocation, Firth says : " Just as phonetic, phonological and grammatical forms well established and habitual in any close social group provide a basis for the mutual expectancies of words and sentences at those levels, and also the sharing of these common features, so also the study of the usual collocations of a particular literary form or genre or of a particular author, makes possible a clearly-defined and precisely stated contribution to what I have termed the spectrum of descriptive linguistics, which handles and states meaning by dispersing it in a range of techniques working at a series of levels " (p. 125).

are ordered in lexical series, defined as groups of words having in common some feature or features of lexical context.

VIIA. 5. The interrelations among the members of the finite word classes are stated grammatically rather than lexically, and these have been accounted for in Section VI. The following two sub-sections therefore are concerned with the classes of free words. VIIB gives the principal collocations of the free verbs and free nouns that are important in the text, including 'extended' collocations (where the forms collocated are not contiguous). The principle of ordering is that of the thesaurus. Words are arranged under some twenty headings, these being such that words found to operate in identical or closely related contexts can be grouped under one heading. The headings themselves are thus abstracted from the material presented by the text, though they may be fairly well predicted from a knowledge of the social context; it should be stressed however that the collocations are linguistic and not sociological—they show the place of a word in the language, not the role of an idea in the society.

In VIIC the 'ordered series of words' are again limited to the free word classes, and the grouping is restricted to words ordered by their interior form (morphologically); it could be more widely interpreted (for example to include purely contextual ordering, as with the kinship terms which I have in fact handled in VIIB). The lists are exhaustive in each case, and each word is accompanied by a specimen translation.

B. Collocations

VII B. 1. Kinship terms.

All kinship terms collocate (i) with personal pronouns *with and without* nominal particle di, and (ii) with nominal particle mui.

子： 生子 有子 諸子 長子 次子

兒 兒子： 生兒子 第六个兒子 抬舉兒子 將他做兒 养活兒子每 有衣服-生的兒子 赤裸生的兒子

女： 長女 次女 取長女

女兒： 生女兒 索女兒与x做妻 將女兒嫁-与他

孩兒： 兒孩兒 女孩兒

女子： 其女子 你这女子 索女子

弟兄

兄 哥 哥哥

弟 兄弟： 諸弟 收集兄弟 兄弟之國 異-母弟

姐姐

妹

母 母親： 俺这母親 奉养母親

父 父親：皇帝父親 我父親只我一个兒子

父母

祖父

祖： 俺的祖

X= personal or place name.

叔　叔叔　叔父：　不做叔叔般相待

伯父

母舅

嫂　嫂嫂：　收嫂为妻

壻　女壻　夫壻：　做女壻

妻：　其妻　与x做妻　取妻　可以做妻的　做了他妻　配与x为妻

夫人

丈夫

父母子孙　我的子子孙孙　後世子孙

母子每

妻子

無子嗣

VII B. 2. Persons and social groups.

小：　年小的人　恁兩个年小的　年小妇人　小娘　一个小兒子　五歲的小兒子

老：　老人每　老的每　老母　使喚的老妇人

長：　年長　兒子長大　長成　長大　長進

一个後生

家　氏　姓　种　部　部落 (all followed by 人)　做x姓　做x姓氏　囘家　囘部落　衆部落百姓

祖：　父祖　祖宗　祖宗父親　一宗祖的人

親：　親人　親家　房親兄弟　結親　姻親

嫁：　嫁人　將女兒嫁与他　從嫁來的妇人　許婚筵席

孤兒寡妇　抬舉孤兒

VII B. 3. Body.

身　身子：　身子不好　生得身子大　人的身子有頭呵好　渾身　身材壯　身有三度長　辛苦的身軀　身在水裡但露出面來　裸身　罄身

頭：　他頭　死人的頭　劊頭　打破頭　砍断頭

顋：　顋上教釘釘了　顋上中箭

項：　捉住項

頸：　伸頸

鼻：　鼻上帶一个金圈子

脣：　咬下脣

眼：　開眼　眼中有光彩　眼明面光　眼淚流

耳：　做眼教看做耳教听

肩甲：　砍断肩甲　砍破肩甲

脊　脊背：　打断脊骨　打断脊梁　折折脊骨　按脊背　男子的脊背

腰：　折折腰

手： 手裡握着 手裡执着 兩手拿着 手掌-般一塊地 一手一足

脚： 手脚 脚後根 排脚筋

膝上 肘下挾着 人體肥

血： 口上帶血 凝住的血 唾去血 吮去血 不出血死 流血蒼黃

割心肝 遮死尸 葬骨殖

养病 与x养活

VII B. 4. Food.

茶飯： 料理茶飯 好茶飯吃 吃茶飯

吃： 喉嚨裡吃 吃生牛皮筋 吃乳

飲： 飲水 飲酒時喝盞 尋水飲 旋飲旋歇

馬奶子 馬乳： 吃馬奶子 飲馬乳 放一甕-馬奶子 抬馬乳的木椎 挤-馬乳的皮桶皮斗 皮桶裡盛-着馬奶子

酪： 一桶酪 調開酪

飢渴 困餓 止渴的物 不够點心

尋衣食 行粮尽 乏了粮食

燒吃 煮熟

做筵席 做筵会

VII B. 5. Clothing.

衣服 衣裳： 好茶飯吃好衣服穿 穿着衣裳 脫衣服 剝了衣服 剝脫衣服 衣裳有領呵好 有衣服生的兒-子

衣： 穿着破羊皮衣

衣領： 揪住衣領

衣袖： 將起衣袖

穿： 穿一双靴 穿紅的妇人

着： 騎白馬着白衣

披： 披着毡衫

戴： 戴一个帽

貂鼠襖子 貂鼠裏兒袱

VII B. 6. Habitation.

房子 房屋： 房子周圍宿 房屋空

天窗： 自房子的天窗入去 天窗開

帳房： 帳房門興天窗 有帳房住

門： 把門 塞着門 貼門 出門 輪着門口-立 門限外 離門戶 自門右裡入去 自門左裡出去

营 营盤: 下营 起营 做下营盤 在营盤裡 囘营 老营內

VII B. 7. Travel and vehicles.

車 車子： 上車 下車 跳下車來 牽車子

駕着車子　車行不得　載放車內
載羊毛的車　盛羊毛的車子
車輪　車轅　車軸　車梢頭　車-
軸折了　折轅

筏子：　拴筏子

路　道路：　行路　踏着道路　引路　當路
截路　取直路赶　路從x經過

踪跡：　行的踪跡　去的踪跡　踏着踪跡

起　起來：　百姓起來　自後房子起來　從x
起去　自那裡起去　起身　起程
自營盤起

行：　步行　行將來　傍着車轅行

往：　往來　來往

走：　脫走　走得远

車路：　行的車路

VII B. 8. Topography.

山：　小山　在小山上　高山　雪山　孤山
上山　下山　越山　繞山　緣山　隔山-
射弓　挨着山　山背後　山蔭的地面
山的狹处　把住山寨

山崖：　山崖边　墜于山崖

山頂：　山頂上　上高山頂

山嶺：　山嶺上

林：　山林　密林　黑林　河林　深林
林裡　入密林內　于密林裡　密林口子
川裡林木　林木中百姓　深林徑路

步行走入山林去　逃入山林

河：　小河　大河　順河　逆河　渡過河
西通着x河　河边　河岸　河洲
河源頭

口子：　塞住口子

嶺：　緣嶺　過嶺　越過嶺

谷子：　渡過谷子

狹处：　于狹处屯札　黑暗窄狹处鑽入去

關：　入關　過關

岸：　岸边

半崖：　半崖上

地面：　無人烟地面　經過地面

小徑：　行小徑

路：　(see VII B. 7.)

澗：　挨着澗　墜澗中

海子：　兩个海子中間

水：　渡過水　順水

海：　海深

樹：　鬆鬆樹下　于樹影下　繞樹跳躍
將樹枝折折　在樹木下宿
For collocations with proper names see IX D 2.

VII B. 9. Time and weather.

天氣：　似这般热天氣　天氣暑热　天氣昏暗-
將明

風： 西北風起 被風吹
雨： 霖雨 風雨逆回 有術能致風雨
雪： 大雨雪

天： 天明 天地晦暗 次日天明 天色已晚
月： 月明 白日般月明裡
明： 晴明 一日清早蒼黃將明的時分

日： 日出 白日裡 日晚後 日已晚
日色晚 日未出時 到日落時 日落黃-
昏天色黑了 每日 住了三日

夜： 自夜到明 到夜半 黑夜裡 宿夜
夜間宿 每夜 連夜兼行 日夜兼行
晝夜兼行 兼行了三晝夜 夜間

宿： 住一宿 過了一宿
早間 早辰 晚間 晚夕
明日午後
冬： 住冬 過冬 住過冬

日期： 約日期 約会的日期
日子： 在前日子裡
日頭： 日頭落時

早眠迟起 來得迟了
後到了三日
他也不曾落後
鷄兒年秋 春間一日 住夏

VII B. 10. Animals and hunting

馬： 騎馬 點馬 放馬 牧馬 打着馬 拴馬
上馬 下馬 墜馬
跑着馬 走着馬 赶野獸走馬 每人騎-
了一匹馬
馬放得肥着 牧养馬羣 我馬已飽
肥馬 瘦馬 馬匹瘦
馬快 馬鈍
野馬 紅沙馬 慘白騮馬
我馬項骨 伏在馬鬃上 馬尾上拖着
馬臂尖 馬腿
馬上馱了 搶馬羣 他母親馬上抱了
準備一个從馬 留下他一个從馬
打馬奶子 挤馬乳 吃乳飽的馬駒

羊： 放羊 牧放羊隻 羣羊
羊尾子 羯羊 剪羊毛

羔兒： 自羔兒 放羔兒

牛： 打着駕車的花牛 牛･･･ 触着折了一-
角･･･ 揚着土吼着
挤牛羊乳

狗： 狗吠 拴狗 怕狗 猛狗
妇人是狗面皮 如狗般

魚 魚兒： 鈎魚 結網捕魚 一个金色魚兒
打魚

鼠： 打捕・・・鼠

雀兒： 射得个雀兒

鷹： 放鷹 飛放鷹 貪食的鷹 調習的鷹雛

鴨： 飛放拿得鵝鴨多了

黑老鴉： 做黑老鴉 黑老鴉拿鴨

打獵： 飛放打獵

圍獵： 圍獵野獸 圍獵得野獸

打圍： 野獸行打圍 打圍着做行粮

捕： 捕獸 打魚捕獸

打捕： 打捕鼠

VII B. 11. Speech.

話： 說話 听話 對面說話 囘話
与使臣往來通話 答应了的話
眞話 实話 大話 不可說的話

言語： 說言語 听言語 依言語 違言語
应言語 言語遜 言語明白 省得言-
語的計量 言語至誠 恰才的言語
前頭的言語 泛濫言語
言語誑誕不可信 先兆的言語 有言-
語的人

言： 前言 從其言 發大言

說： 口裡說 不曾隱諱都說 共說 共說來
歇息着說 自尊大着說 意思說將去

商量： 共商量着 商量・・・意思 商量大事

商議： 同x商議

議： 議大事

号令： 傳号令 違号令

VII B. 12. Emotion and appraisal.

心： 心疼 心・・・依仗你 心安 心不安
心落後 心有技能 眼明心省

心裡： 心裡不好 心裡喜歡 心裡想着
心裡憐憫我 心裡安着 心裡不忘了
心裡艱難 心裡受艱辛

心內： 心內憂悶 心內艱難 心內受苦
心內想起

心中： 心中想

心上： 心上畏怕 心上好生記着 心上好生痛

心下： 心下辛酸

惡心 伤心 生心恐怕

身心皆安 心性惡

好： 生得好 生得好妇女

美： 生得美 美好的女子

顏色： 生得有顏色 有顏色的女子 女孩兒-
便看他顏色

省： 不省事 省得大道理

怕羞 羞面

恐懼流汗　驚起

辛苦着來　艱難着來　受辛苦　受不得苦
報不得苦

想：　不知想甚麼　歹想　常想着

知：　知其意　知感着說

大怒　怒息　大喜歡　喜躍　安寧快活
胸中寬快　一个爽利後生

愛：　相親愛　甚加寵愛　相親厚　得寵

聰明　俊杰　豪强　剛勇能射弓的人
好生能事　賢能的祖
不可比做凡人　可倚仗的人　不可惹鬥的人
有見識　有义氣　有氣力　有胆量　有帝王的一氣象　有力有勇的
好根脚人　歹氣息
性懶　性剛仔細　無德性
不知順　柔弱

VII B. 13. Property.

百姓：　管百姓　整治百姓　定百姓
屈下百性　守不得百姓　与百姓
分百姓　還百姓　賞百姓
夺百姓　收捕百姓　散開百姓
爭百姓　擄百姓　取百姓　輸百姓
收百姓　收聚百姓　收拾百姓
完聚百姓　动百姓　起百姓

將百姓起來
百姓起　百姓叛
自家百姓　衆部落百姓
衆百姓的主人
無戶籍的百姓　林木中百姓
土城內住的百姓

人口：　家內人口

主人　正主：　國土主人　敢拿正主
自己的主人

奴婢：　奴婢拿主人　做奴婢使喚
使喚的

頭口茶飯使喚的
美女妇人好馬
百姓城池兒子
爭國土百姓
妻子百姓頭匹
妻子家財
金銀珠子段匹
金銀匹帛
衣甲弓箭器械
金帛器械
金帛頭畜人口等物
房子車輛生熟飲食頭口机械

財：　置家財　貪財　做外財

財物：　賞財物　搶財物　分与財物

賞賜金帛
家財並自置財物人口
廩給羊馬及車輛牛隻

VII B. 14. Life and personal relations.

命 性命： 逃命 有性命 無性命 害性命
救性命 捨性命 爱惜性命
断性命 送性命 我的小性命
人死的性命 刁着獨自的性命

死 活 生： 死呵死活呵活
教死便死教活出氣力者
一同死生 吃着過活

恩 恩賜： 報恩 有恩与我 忘前恩
開國有恩 有恩的道理
太祖处有恩 緊要的恩 得恩賜
恩賜教活呵

功： 有功 功多 功少 功大的官人
爭頭功 得頭功 有功劳

讎： 報讎 報冤讎 記起在前的冤讎

罪： 有罪 伏罪 九次犯罪休要罰者

伴 伴當： 做伴 做伴當 同伴裡也不容
做得伴 平等的伴當 禍慶的伴當
可倚附的伴當每

安答： 做安答

使臣： 差使臣 使臣來往

VII B. 15. Military.

軍： 出軍 引軍 領軍剿捕 駐軍 管軍
起軍的頭目
大軍 大中軍 右手軍
犯軍令 軍大潰 軍大敗 亂軍
那軍每

軍馬： 整拂軍馬 整治軍馬 整點軍馬
收集軍馬 嚴整軍馬 點視軍馬
軍馬事务 緊要的軍馬 起二萬軍馬
軍馬却退

征： 出征 征戰 征國

攻： 攻破 攻取 攻城

陣： 排陣 對陣

班： 入班 換班 輪班次序 散班

弓 弓箭： 帶弓箭 帶弓箭的 夺弓箭
大拽弓 小拽弓 隔山射弓

做頭哨 哨望人 做後哨
做先鋒
做左手 做右手
做後援
做耳目

C. Ordered Series of Words

VII C. 1. Free nouns with final z.

řz son
namz boy, young man
niuz girl, young woman
niaŋz woman
ču$_5$z cook

mauz hat, cap
ŋauz cloak
liz lining
ŋanz saddle

hai$_3$z lake
yiaiz cliff
gu$_2$z valley
keuz opening, col

řiz day
funz share, portion
yiŋ$_4$z shadow
wuei$_6$z seat, place
kiuanz circle, group

šinz body
fuiz lung
wuei$_9$z tail
nai$_2$z milk
ši$_9$z lion

faŋ$_3$z house, yurt
ŋam$_3$z hut
mun$_2$z door
liamz curtain

čez wagon
dau$_4$z knife
fa$_2$z raft
tiauz rod, cane
yiu$_5$z cup
bian$_5$z whip
guo$_2$z berry, fruit
ǰaiz stockade
ǰu$_5$z pearl, bead

VII C 2. Free nouns with final ř.

niuř daughter
hai$_2$ř child
řhai$_2$ř boy
niuhai$_2$ř girl
mui$_3$ř sister

šamř gown
si$_3$ř shawl

yiu$_4$ř fish
gau$_2$ř lamb, kid
xiueř lark
ču$_6$ř young bird
luŋduo$_2$ř

geuř hook
yiŋ$_4$ř shadow

The following occur as the names of years :

geu$_2$ř dog
šu$_2$ř rat
tu$_2$ř hare

gi$_5$ř cock
nieuř ox
hu$_2$ř tiger

VII C. 3. Free nouns with final di.

dadi the great
siaudi the small
niansiaudi the young
laudi the old
ši$_4$huan$_2$di servant
čušau$_2$di scout
šau$_2$wuaŋdi sentry
suwuei$_5$di guardsman
huwuei$_5$di guardsman
wueiǰaŋdi captain
hiadeŋdi villain
faŋ$_2$teu$_2$keudi herdsman

faŋ$_2$ma$_3$di horseherd
faŋ$_2$yiaŋ$_4$di shepherd
faŋ$_2$gau$_2$řdi shepherd
mu$_4$yiaŋ$_4$di shepherd
guanma$_3$di master of horse
dai$_2$guŋziandi bowman
šeu$_2$mun$_2$di doorkeeper
bamun$_2$di doorkeeper
ǰaŋ$_5$guandi officer in charge
guanyiŋpandi camp commander

VII C. 4. Free verbs with initial s$_2$.

s$_2$ša fight, join battle
s$_2$še$_2$ shoot, fire against

s$_2$da$_2$ fight against
s$_2$bo wrestle with

VII C. 5. Free verbs with initial siaŋ$_3$.

siaŋ$_3$ho$_2$ meet, join up with
siaŋ$_3$huei$_2$ meet
siaŋ$_3$kaŋ oppose
siaŋ$_3$šeki$_6$ abandon
siaŋ$_3$xinheu$_3$ love

siaŋ$_3$zie$_2$ meet
siaŋ$_3$yiuohuei$_2$ meet, muster
siaŋ$_3$ǰeŋdeu contend
siaŋ$_3$xiŋai$_2$ love
siaŋ$_3$dai treat

Free verbs with s$_2$ and siaŋ$_3$ may be translated with "one another"; in French they would often translate as "reflexive" forms : se rencontrer, se séparer etc.

VII C. 6. Free adverbs with final ři.

gimři today	naři that day
x_2ři next day	muiři every day
yiři one day	miŋ$_3$ři tomorrow
daŋři the same day	di$_4$samři the third day
gieu$_3$ři in days past	nayiři that day
zuo$_5$ři yesterday	piŋři most days
di$_4$ř$_2$ři next day	

VII C. 7. Free adverbs with final ši$_2$.

xši$_2$ now	piŋši$_2$ normally
daŋši$_2$ that time	biši$_2$ then
naši$_2$ then	buduoši$_2$ soon

VII C. 8. Free adverbs with final heu.

gimheu from now on	zai$_2$heu later
suei$_4$heu then	miŋ$_3$heu from tomorrow
naheu then	gieu$_2$heu long after
luoheu behind	ki$_3$heu afterwards
zaiheu afterwards	zueiheu finally
yi$_2$heu afterwards	xianheu now and then

VII C. 9. Free adverbs with final gian$_2$.

řigian$_2$ by day	duŋgian$_2$ in winter
čungian$_2$ in spring	lugian$_2$ on the way
ǰe$_2$bangian$_2$ meanwhile	wuan$_3$gian$_2$ at evening
yie$_2$gian$_2$ by night	muiřigian$_2$ each day

VII C. 10. Free adverbs with final ban.

ǰe$_2$ban like this	wueinaban therefore
yinje$_2$ban therefore	ǰu$_3$ban in any case
wueiǰe$_2$ban therefore	zemšeŋban how ?
naban like that	yiban alike
yinnaban therefore	

VIII. PHONOLOGY AND TRANSCRIPTION

VIII. 1. Research in the field of Chinese historical phonology, by Karlgren, Maspero, Simon, Lo Ch'ang-p'ei and others, has yielded a great deal of information about the structure of the syllable at earlier stages of the language. The most complete account of the syllabic structure of an earlier form of Chinese is Karlgren's 'reconstruction' of Middle Chinese,[1] the language of Ch'ang-an, the capital, in the seventh century A.D. Karlgren gives first a complete inventory of initials and finals, followed by a lexicon of Chinese characters with their readings. The transcription which Karlgren has devised for the purpose is best regarded, perhaps, as an efficient notation for presenting the phonological system as induced from the data available, as in fact a summary of distinctive features which are to be ascribed—provided the external linguistic facts are correct—to one and the same form of Chinese at round about this time.

The sources for Chinese historical phonology include the work of the Chinese phonologists themselves, who very early arrived at the analysis of the syllable into initial and final—their work extends from the seventh century Ch'ieh-yün dictionary (which used the fan-ch'ieh (28) method of description; see above, V. 2.2) down to the detailed studies of the Ch'ing scholars[2] in the classification and analysis of the syllable; modern Chinese dialects and Chinese loanwords in Japanese, Korean and Vietnamese; comparative historical studies in Sino-Tibetan languages; and transcriptions, the writing of Chinese in foreign scripts (such as hPags-pa) and of foreign languages in the Chinese script.

The Sino-Mongolian script of the "Secret History", which dates from a time roughly half-way between the period of Middle Chinese as described by Karlgren and the present day, is one such source; it has been studied, together with the almost identical Sino-

[1] See Karlgren, 'Grammata Serica', which also includes a reconstruction of Old Chinese (*c.* eighth century B.C.). Karlgren uses the terms 'Ancient Chinese' and 'Archaic Chinese'.

[2] See Wang Li, *Chung-kuo yin-yün-hsüeh.*

Mongolian script of the Hua-i i-yü—the two can be regarded as a single script—, from the points of view of Chinese and Mongolian phonology, for example by Pelliot and Lewicki.[1] Complementary data are provided by such nearly contemporary sources as the hPags-pa documents studied by Dragunov. The language represented by these documents has been called (by Karlgren, Maspero and Dragunov) 'Ancient Mandarin'. I propose to substitute, following normal English practice, the term 'Old Mandarin', and to add the term 'Early New Chinese' whereby to place this form of the language in the general historical linguistic perspective which goes back to Old Chinese (Karlgren's 'Archaic Chinese') in the first half of the first millennium B.C. The scale is smaller than for most Indo-European languages, but as long as the name 'Chinese' is accepted for the whole period this cannot well be avoided.

VIII. 1.1. It is clear from the Sino-Mongolian script that the phonological system of that form of North Chinese represented by it can be more closely related to the system of some form of Modern Chinese than to that of the reconstructed Middle Chinese. The name Early New Chinese is more suitable than Late Middle Chinese, which can more appropriately be applied to (at least the earlier stages of) what Dragunov called Middle Chinese.[2] The criteria required for New Chinese will be (i) the absence of final plosives, and (ii) the absence of voiced initial plosives and affricates. These may be expressed descriptively as (i) the occurrence in final position of only the two terms vowel and nasal consonant, and (ii) the occurrence in initial position where C (initial consonant) = plosive or affricate of only the two terms aspirate and unaspirate. In each case historically a three term

[1] Lewicki, op. cit., p. 26: 'Nous avons pris pour notre point de départ la langue mongole et, en restituant la prononciation du chinois du XIV^{e} siècle, nous nous sommes laissés constamment guider par les données du mongol de l'époque'.

[2] 'The hPhags-pa script and Ancient Mandarin', p. 630: 'The Chinese language of the IX–XII centuries: the tables of Ssŭ-ma Kuang, Annamite borrowings'.

system has been replaced by one of two terms; and both these features are attested by the Sino-Mongolian script.[1]

The reference of the phonological system of the Chinese of the "Secret History" to some form of Modern Chinese rather than to the reconstructed Middle Chinese is preferable not only on account of the higher degree of relationship but also because by taking New Chinese as a point of reference one is starting from what is known and verifiable. Which dialect of Modern Chinese forms the most satisfactory point of reference depends on a number of factors which include the availability of phonological data for that dialect and the purpose of the description. There is no one modern dialect which shows all the phonological features attested by the Sino-Mongolian script for Early New Chinese. All such features are found to occur separately in some or other non-Mandarin dialect or non-Pekingese form of Mandarin; but there is no form of Modern Chinese which agrees with Early New Chinese both where the latter differs from Pekingese and in the features shared by these two. While Modern Pekingese would not, at any rate on the most obvious criteria, seem to be the modern dialect most closely resembling Early New Chinese (some form of Mandarin which preserves the two series dental and velar initial before high front vowel would be a first choice), yet the difference in degree of relationship would be slight enough for Pekingese, being the best known of the modern dialects, to be considered a suitable point of departure for a comparative description.

VIII. 1.2. In the present study, the primary datum for which is a written text, the main focus of attention is on the grammar and lexis of the Chinese "Secret History". The phonology of the spoken language represented by the text, or at least of forms of Chinese not far removed from it in time and place, has been

[1] As the term Old Mandarin implies, these features are not of course to be ascribed to dialects other than North Chinese. Nor can they be assumed to have been general even to all forms of the northern dialect; what is suggested is merely that any form of Chinese exhibiting these features should be called New Chinese. The classification is moreover entirely phonological; no grammatical or lexical criteria are implied, nor indeed can these be invoked until more has been described of the grammar and lexis of earlier stages of the language.

studied by Dragunov and Lewicki, whose work together with that of other scholars permits the filling in of further details to the general picture presented by Karlgren. I have made no attempt here to make further original contributions to Chinese historical phonology. My aim has been to arrive at a transcription for Early New Chinese by taking into account those features where the Sino-Mongolian script shows the language of the "Secret History" to have differed from Modern Pekingese. The transcription which I have used for the Chinese of the "Secret History" is related to the phonological system of that language by the use of data provided by the Sino-Mongolian script to modify the transcription of Modern Pekingese on which it is based (see below, VIII. 4). It is not a reconstruction of Early New Chinese. It should rather be thought of as a tool for the linguistic study of a written text, the Chinese version of the "Secret History", which enables statements to be made about the language of the text without their being invalidated by inconsistency with the known phonological data from within or outside the text.

VIII. 2. The Sino-Mongolian script does not of course contain a complete syllabary of contemporary Chinese. Even if the total number of distinct syllables required in the phonological systems of the two languages had been exactly identical—itself an improbable coincidence—only by a tour-de-force could a one-to-one correspondence have been achieved in carrying over the symbols of one to fit the system of the other: the sort of thing which is sometimes attempted in the creation of an alphabetic script using exactly the 26 letters of the Roman alphabet. In fact the creators of the Sino-Mongolian script made no such attempt. On the one hand, the script fails to reflect some of the distinctions in Mongolian [1]; on the other hand a large number of Chinese

[1] Known from other sources. Cf. Street, *The Language of the Secret History of the Mongols*, p. 4: 'The graph *q* represents either of the two post-velar consonants, which are written *γ* and *q* by Mostaert and Cleaves. The Chinese transcription (i.e. the Sino-Mongolian script—M.A.K.H.) never distinguishes the two, but some other transcriptions of Middle Mongolian do so'.

syllables, even from the starting point of the Modern Pekingese system, are not used: no character representing them occurs in the Sino-Mongolian script. The latter applies both to single syllables, whose omission leaves a gap in the Chinese system, and to systems as a whole: for example there is no initial f.[1] And the Sino-Mongolian script shows no trace of the tone system of the Early New Chinese syllable.[2]

There can therefore be no certainty that all the systemic differences between Early New Chinese and Modern Pekingese are revealed by the Sino-Mongolian script. This is still more true of non-systemic differences in articulation, representing changes which may be assumed to have taken place but which are by nature often inaccessible to investigation. It is impossible to say, for example, whether the articulation of syllables with Modern Pekingese retroflex initial which are assigned to the palatal class in Middle Chinese was such as would recommend their classification as y-prosodic in the system of Early New Chinese. This distinction, between systemic and non-systemic changes in historical linguistics, is one of degree only, since the one begins as the other, and the change is then seen as qualitative as between a particular two in a series of descriptive statements. To the extent that (i) the values of the symbols of the Sino-Mongolian script can be attested from Mongolian, and (ii) the syllables of Early New Chinese are represented in the Sino-Mongolian script, to that extent is the description of the Early New Chinese syllable yielded by the Sino-Mongolian script complete.

VIII. 3. There would be much to be said for making use, if possible, of a transcription already in current use and therefore

[1] I.e. no character occurs in the Sino-Mongolian script having as initial Modern Pekingese voiceless labial fricative, Middle Chinese labial plosive in syllable of palato-labial class.

[2] Lewicki, *La langue mongole des transcriptions chinoises*, considers the possibility that the tone of the Chinese syllable was significant in determining the choice between homophonous characters. His own conclusion however seems more probable: (p. 67) 'Il serait plus juste de conclure qu'un caractère chinois determiné employé pour la première fois dans un mot, au début de la page ou du chapitre, se répète par la suite constamment dans le même mot ou presque constamment à la même page ou dans le même chapitre'.

familiar to sinologists. Unfortunately there are difficulties. The Wade system, the transcription most familiar to Western scholars, is unsuited to linguistic purposes : it has too many inconsistencies (for example (i) chien but chuang, either chian/chuang or chien/chuong being preferable ; (ii) chi/chih, ch'i/ch'ih but hsi/shih) and exists in too many discrepant versions.

Another well known system, much better suited to Modern Pekingese for pedagogical purposes, is Gwoyeu Romatzyh (' GR '). This system, devised by Y. R. Chao, was introduced by W. Simon for the teaching of Chinese at the School of Oriental and African Studies (University of London) ; it is now widely used by English, and to a lesser extent American, scholars for work not only in Modern Pekingese but even, for example, by Simon in his studies of Old Chinese grammar. But there are difficulties in the way of its use (i) where any phonological statements are made or implied, and (ii) particularly where any form of Chinese other than Modern Pekingese is in consideration.[1] The most important of these difficulties are (i) the lack of consistency in the initials (the four retroflex initials being represented as sh, ch, j, r) and (ii) the use of orthographic variation to show syllabic tone (e.g. pian pyan pean piann), these changes affecting sometimes the initial consonant, sometimes the medial vowel and sometimes the final.

The Sino-Mongolian script does not yield a system of syllabic tone, and since this system does not have to be taken into account in the description (its role is in any case extremely complex) it has seemed to me most desirable to ignore it altogether. It would have been possible theoretically to use the ' basic form ' of GR ; this is the unmodified form (e.g. pian) and represents the first tone (yin-p'ing (52)), or, with certain initials, the second (yang-p'ing (44)). But this already involves a radical departure

[1] It was not intended to transcribe anything but Modern Pekingese ; indeed Chao created it primarily as an instrument for the teaching of Modern Pekingese. He has himself however since adapted it to transcribe Modern Cantonese. See Chao's summary of the purposes and merits of various transcriptions of Modern Pekingese in his *Mandarin Primer* (Introduction pp. 10–18). See also Karlgren, *The Romanization of Chinese.*

from the whole principle of GR, and I have thought it preferable to devise a new system which avoids these disadvantages and which can easily be modified for Early New Chinese.[1] This system is based independently on a phonological analysis of Modern Pekingese but has been made to resemble the basic form of GR and should cause no trouble to those familiar with that system. The main differences are those which will permit the modifications required for Early New Chinese, such as the replacement of the palatal series of initials by two series, one dental the other velar, which operate also in non-palatal syllables. With this transcription the text of the Chinese " Secret History " can still be read aloud in Modern Pekingese, as it would be by a Pekingese speaker today.[2]

VIII. 4. The transcription devised for Modern Pekingese is given in Appendix A, together with the syllabic analysis on which it is based. The modifications of this transcription which are suggested by the Sino-Mongolian script for Early New Chinese are as follows :

(1) The series Fn (nasal final) has three terms : velar, dental, labial (ŋ, n, m). This gives a six-term final system, where Modern Pekingese has only five (${}^{a}F_{(1)}{}^{y/w}F_{2}$).

(2) The series CP (palatal initial consonant) does not occur. In syllables where Modern Pekingese has C = P (ci), Early New Chinese has C = V (velar) and C = Da, f (dental affricate, fricative) (ki, xi).

(3) The series Vm (mid vowel) has two terms : front and back (e, o), where Modern Pekingese has only (ə). (In syllables with ${}^{y/w}$F, Vm is however one term, written (e)).

[1] I have since used the same system in my ' Grammatical categories in Modern Chinese '.

[2] Since this was written the Chinese Script Reform Committee in Peking have published their Draft Alphabet in a number of different versions, and one of these has been adopted by the Chinese government as an alphabetic script for Modern Chinese. It has begun to be used for various purposes (such as the teaching of Standard Chinese) and its use will no doubt be gradually extended ; whether or not it will eventually replace characters for Modern Chinese will probably not be decided for some time. It is extremely well suited to its purpose and could have been used for the present work if it had appeared in time.

(4) Syllables of Modern Pekingese type $\frac{a}{a_m\ y/w}$ where C = R (retroflex) and F = n (čən), assigned to the palatal class in Middle Chinese, are classified as type $\frac{a}{y\ y/w}$ (čin) (those with F = o remain as in Modern Pekingese); those of type $\frac{a}{a_h\ a}$: č ǰ š ř are classified as $\frac{a}{y\ y}$: či ǰi ši ři (but ľ remains $\frac{a}{a\ a}$: ř).

(5) Syllables of Modern Pekingese type $\frac{a}{a_m\ y/w}$ where C = L (labial) (except f) (bən, bəi), together with the syllable ləi, assigned to the labial class in Middle Chinese, are classified as type $\frac{a}{w\ y/w}$ (bun, bui).[1]

One final modification that has been made is a partial lexicalization of the transcription by the addition of subscript figures to distinguish among homophones (i.e. different lexical characters

[1] The use of characters representing Modern Pekingese syllables type $\frac{a}{a_m\ y/w}$ with C = R, L (e.g. čəŋ (čiŋ), bən (bun)) to represent Mongolian syllables with high (respectively spread, rounded) vowel suggests that these syllables should be assigned to the palatal and labial classes (as in Middle Chinese, where, however, the basic syllabic prosody cannot be described in terms of the initial consonant and a fourth prosodic position is required) or to open class with y/w prosody in the vowel, and not, as in Modern Pekingese, to the open class with open vowel. The "depalatalization" after retroflex ("supradental") initial and "delabialization" after labial initial (and, partially, after l) had not yet (fully) taken place; see Karlgren, 'Grammata Serica', esp. pp. 51–52. The question arises whether syllables type $\frac{a}{a_l\ y/w}$ with C = R, L (čan, ban) should not be similarly treated, those assigned in Middle Chinese to the palatal, labial classes (e.g. čan, ban) being transcribed as čian, buan (but e.g. jan, maŋ remaining). ban however represents the Mongolian low back vowel, and not the mid (unmarked front/back) vowel regularly represented by ENC -ua-. For Early New Chinese we therefore regard such syllables as having a- (open) prosody, as in Modern Pekingese; they thus belong to the same syllabic type as čiŋ, bun etc., which are a-prosodic and not y-, w- prosodic (see Appendix A). Since however in Sino-Mongolian the distinction front/back in open vowel (a/e) after "retroflex" initial (that is, where C = R in Modern Pekingese) is *only* carried by the use of MC palatal class syllables for the front vowel (e.g. Sečen is sie_3- čan) (whereas after all other initials the front vowel is represented by syllables with y-prosody), in a transcription of Sino-Mongolian we should maintain the distinction by modifying the ENC transcription to write čian for čan, etc.: see below, VIII. 5.1.

corresponding to one syllable). There is no significance in the ordering, beyond frequency of reference in the present work: the character most frequently met with is transcribed without figures, and corresponds to the first of the graphic characters listed with the syllable in the Chinese Syllabary (at end). The figures serve a dual purpose: (i) to establish a unique correspondence between the transcription and the symbols of the Chinese script, and (ii) to give values to the transcription which are not limited to the level of phonology, since it would be misleading to restrict it to this level, as is suggested by the fact that from the Chinese point of view there is not one character (for example) bu, but many. (The subscript figures are *not* used, however, in the transcription of the Sino-Mongolian script, where the situation is quite different.)

VIII. 5. For the reading of the Mongolian words in the Chinese version it is not difficult slightly further to modify the transcription set up for Early New Chinese. The resulting transcription (which would be one possible form of representation of the Mongolian version) is not a reconstruction of Middle Mongolian, nor a transcription of a reconstructed version of the Mongolian text in some other script, but a transcription of the Sino-Mongolian script; in this it is unlike the transcriptions of Pelliot, Haenisch, Shiratori and Mostaert and the second transcription of Kozin, but resembles rather Kozin's first transcription (his 'trans-transcription')—with the difference that Kozin made the modifications necessitated by the Mongolian language directly from the Modern Pekingese transcription values of the syllables, whereas what is done here is first to set up a transcription for Early New Chinese and then to modify this transcription for the purposes of the Mongolian. The resulting transcription favours the incorporation of Mongolian words in the Chinese text, just as the use of the Sino-Mongolian script favoured the incorporation of Mongolian words in the Chinese version in the original text. At the same time it can be kept as close as possible to current transcriptions of Middle and Classical Mongolian.

VIII. 5.1. For the purpose of such a transcription the Sino-Mongolian script is recognized to be a consistent and systematic script in its own right. There are, as has been shown (see above, IV. 3), inconsistencies in its use in the text: for example the negligence with regard to the auxiliary transcription symbols, whose omission is an error to be rectified; but these are not defects in the script itself.[1] The use of alternative characters for the same Mongolian syllable creates no inconsistency. For the Mongolian language which it represents, the Sino-Mongolian script recognizes a definite system marking the following features:

(1) Division of words into syllables with structure (C)V or (C)VC, with syllable-final C marked as such by the use of (a) symbols representing syllables with final nasal consonant and (b) phonetic auxiliary symbols.[2]

(2) A four-vowel system giving $CV_4(C)$ with V = ɑ ɪ o ʊ

(3) A two-term system in the open vowel, giving V_{α} = a/e; other vowels having one value only: o i u.

(4) Five diphthongs, including two pairs with open vowel (ɑ): ai ei au eu ui.

(5) Eighteen consonants, including:

(a) eight plosives (including affricates), with three pairs of voiceless/voiced: t d č ǰ k g, and two others: b q. Note (i) q excludes e in the syllable, k g exclude a; (ii) t č k q occur also as syllable-final.

(b) ten others: m w s n l r š y h ŋ. Note (i) ŋ occurs as syllable-final only; (ii) m l n s r š occur also as syllable-final.

To arrive at the transcription values given above, it is necessary to make the following modifications in the system set up for Early New Chinese:

(a) ie, uo, ou are replaced by e, o, eu.

[1] The use of the same character (e.g. mu) sometimes as standard, sometimes as phonetic auxiliary, for the same phonological form might be regarded as a defect in the script. The tendency is to use the standard character in the early part of the text (up to Chapter 3) and the auxiliary transcription symbol thereafter.

[2] The latter in all syllables where final C = non-nasal; and also in a few syllables where final C = nasal by the use of the phonetic auxiliaries mu and ni, but only after Chapter 3.

(b) ia, ua before nasal final are replaced by e, o.[1]

(c) a after k, g is replaced by e.

(d) am, an, aŋ after initials č, ǰ are replaced by em, en, eŋ in syllables of palatal class in Middle Chinese.

(e) Syllable ř is replaced by (syllable-final) r.

(f) Initial ŋ is omitted.

(g) Initial h with diacritic auxiliary ǰuŋ is written q.

(h) Initial l with diacritic auxiliary $še_3$ is written r.

(j) Of the phonetic auxiliaries the initial only is written.[2]

VIII. 6. The modifications of the Modern Pekingese transcription required in the transcription of Early New Chinese and Sino-Mongolian may be summarized as under (L = labial initial, N = nasal final):

	Mod. Pek.	ENC	S-M
(1)	—n	—m —n	—m —n
(2)	ci (—)	ki (—) xi (—)	ki (—)
	ji (—)	gi (—) zi (—)	gi (—)
	si (—)	hi (—) si (—)	hi (—) si (—)
(3)	—ə	—e —o	—e —o
	—iə	—ie —io	—e
	—uə	—ue —uo	—o
	—əi —ən	—ei —en —em	—ei
	—əu —əŋ [3]	—eu —eŋ	—eu [4]
(4)	čəN	čiN čeN	čiN
	ǰəN	ǰiN ǰeN	ǰiN
	šəN	šiN šeN	
	řəN	řiN	

[1] Except that ia is written a after y.

[2] The transcription values thus set up for the Mongolian are referred primarily to the system used by Haenisch in his works on the "Secret History of the Mongols". See also Street, op. cit., pp. 2–8 (which has appeared since the above was written).

[3] But for —ən, —əŋ after C = R, see below, (4); for these after C = L, see below, (5) and for —əi after C = L,l, see below, (6).

[4] But -ču, -ju in the Mongolian verb termination (regularly written with the characters čeu, jeu).

(5)	pəN	puN (peN) [1]	
	bəN	buN (beN)	buN
	məN	muN (meN)	muN
	fəN	fuN	
(6)	Lə̀i	Lui	Lui
	ləi	lui	lui
(7)	č	či	či
	ǰ	ǰi	ǰi
	š	ši	ši
	ř	ři	
	ǐ	ř	—r
(8)	—iaN	(as Mod. Pek.)	—eN yaN
	—uaN		—oN
(9)	ka—	(as Mod. Pek.)	ke—
	ga—		ge—
(10)	čaN	(as Mod. Pek.)	čaN čeN
	ǰaN		ǰaN ǰeN
(11)	ŋ—	(as Mod. Pek.)	—
(12)	h—	(as Mod. Pek.)	h— q—
(13)	l—	(as Mod. Pek.)	l— r—

VIII. 7. What has been arrived at in the foregoing paragraphs, together with Appendix A, is in effect one transcription, that of Modern Pekingese, and two modified versions of it, one for Early New Chinese and one for the Sino-Mongolian script. The two modified versions have been made for the purpose of the linguistic study of the Chinese version of the "Secret History", that of the Sino-Mongolian being primarily for the transcription of Mongolian words in the Chinese text. They are 'derived transcriptions', of a different type from the original Modern Pekingese

[1] peN etc. are retained in the transcription of those (few) syllables of this group which are not assigned to the labial class in Middle Chinese, e.g. beŋ.

transcription, since they are at a stage removed from the phonetic data which form the basis of the latter: they are not accounts of phenomena at the level at which they are directly observed by the linguist, but interpretations of phenomena observed and recorded for other purposes. It is probably fortunate that these purposes were at least at one stage linguistic: the study of Mongolian by Chinese officials of the early Ming government.[1] The transcribers of the Mongolian version into Sino-Mongolian script can justifiably be regarded as linguists merely in virtue of their doing this work; but they might have been less efficient as linguists if they had been doing it for other purposes.

For the study of the language of the Chinese version the efficiency of the Sino-Mongolian script is of secondary importance, since the information which it yields on the phonology of Early New Chinese can no doubt all be found elsewhere. There is however a particular interest in being able to use such information as being actually contained in the same text, since, whether or not the Sino-Mongolian transcription and the Chinese translation were made at roughly the same time (and it appears likely that they were), the fact of their inclusion in the same text from an early date meant that the two versions would be read by one and the same person—who would moreover, if he was a Chinese learning Mongolian, pronounce the Mongolian with the phonetics of his own form of Chinese. We cannot know the standards of Mongolian scholarship achieved by the Chinese students of the language; but in spite of its errors,[2] and the inconsistencies in its use, the Sino-Mongolian script was not badly suited to the purpose.

[1] Cf. Lewicki (p. 6), according to whom both the Secret History and the Hua-i i-yü were 'manuels pour faciliter l'étude du mongol'. Cf. above, III. 3.2.

[2] Poppe, (review of) 'Paul Pelliot, Histoire secrète des Mongols', considers it possible that the errors are due to transcription at two removes from the primary phonetic data: (p. 268) '... mistakes in the Chinese transcription prove that the original was written with Uighur letters, which can be easily confused .... The original was transcribed according to the phonetic system of the hP'ags-pa script and it is not impossible that the original text was first written with the hP'ags-pa letters and contained mistakes which were automatically reproduced in the Chinese transcription'. The extreme opposite view is that of Kozin, that the Sino-Mongolian may have been the original version (see I. 3.2).

IX. APPENDICES

A. PHONOLOGICAL (PROSODIC) ANALYSIS OF THE NEW CHINESE SYLLABLE (MODERN PEKINGESE)

IX. A. 1. Pekingese is distinguished, from other East Asian languages and (to a lesser extent) from other forms of New Chinese, by the extreme limitation of its syllabic structure. The number of distinct syllables (the syllable here being a phonological unit) employed by a typical Pekingese speaker is within a few of four hundred ; with their distribution among the four syllabic tones of the language the number is something over 1,250.[1]

IX. A. 1.1. In terms of traditional Chinese phonology the Pekingese syllable may be considered as consisting of an initial and a final, the final being further subdivided into three parts. If we designate the four parts in general phonetic terms as consonant ; semi-vowel, vowel, and nasal consonant or close vowel, the Pekingese syllable then consists of either (i) these four elements or (ii) certain combinations of three or two of these elements, both in the order given. Possibilities of manner and place of articulation for the four elements are then as follows :

(i) (Initial) consonant : Plosive, affricate, fricative, nasal (continuant) or liquid ; labial, labio-dental, dental, alveolar, palato-alveolar or velar ; or zero.

(ii) Semi-vowel : Front spread, back rounded or front rounded ; or zero.

(iii) Vowel : Open [2] ; half open : front spread, central, back rounded or back spread ; close : front spread, back rounded or front rounded ; or apical (sometimes regarded as zero).

(iv) (Final) nasal consonant or close vowel : Nasal consonant : alveolar or velar ; close vowel : front spread or back rounded ; or zero.

[1] Certain combinations (i) of tone with initial consonant and (ii) of tone with syllabic type do not occur. Thus for certain syllabic types we are able to set up a three-term tone system. For other combinations of tone and syllable which are absent it is impossible to account systematically.

[2] Five qualities may be recognized (phonemically, variants of the a-phoneme ; in phonetic transcription [ɛ] [æ] [a] [ɑ] [ɔ]).

IX. A. 1.2. Only a very limited number of the theoretically possible syllabic combinations do in fact occur : the totality of such forms constitutes a phonological system, with the syllable as the unit. Below is given a statement of this system in prosodic terms.[1] The statement is based on phonetic observations, primarily of the speech of Mr. Lien Shihmin [2] but also of that of various speakers, made by myself in Peking in 1947–49. Three points may perhaps be stressed : (i) The statement is made with the syllable as unit : it is not an analysis of speech (contextualized utterance) but of the syllable spoken in isolation. (ii) The aim of the statement is to set up a transcription suitable for the purposes of the present work (that is, for adaptation for use in a descriptive grammar of the " Secret History "). (iii) The statement is offered as one possible method, chosen for simplicity and comprehensiveness, of ordering the material.

IX. A. 2. We may recognize three points or positions in the syllable : these will be represented as C(onsonant) V(owel) F(inal).[3] To C corresponds the combination of articulatory features represented in linear phonetic transcription as (initial) consonant plus semi-vowel ; to V and F those represented as vowel and (final) nasal consonant or semi-vowel respectively. Each position admits of three prosodies as general features of articulation : the y-feature (tongue forward and raised), the w-feature (lips rounded) and the a-feature, with neither of these characteristics.

[1] Actually prosodic-phonemic ; the shorter term points the contrast but may be misleading. For a phonemic analysis of Modern Pekingese, see Lawton M. Hartman, ' The Segmental Phonemes of the Peiping Dialect ', Charles F. Hockett, ' Peiping Phonology ', and Helen Wong, ' Outline of the Mandarin phonetic system '.

[2] Mr. Lien was 33 years old, born and educated in Peking and a university graduate. I am most grateful to him for his interest and assistance in my study of Pekingese phonetics.

[3] An alternative designation would be I(nitial) M(edial) F(inal), by which the positions would be explicitly represented as terms in a successive system. C, V are however preferred as (i) usual in prosodic analysis (F being retained to avoid the ambiguity of C_2 as positional category by the side of C_2 = (C = two-term system)), and (ii) precisely avoiding the implication of succession, since, while certain features of articulation undoubtedly stand to one another in successive relation, others are to be recognized as overlapping and characteristic of the syllable as a whole.

The three positions form a hierarchy such that the direction of prosodic force or determination in the syllable is (i) inwards, rather than outwards (C→ and ←F, not ←V→) and (ii) forwards, rather than backwards (C→ overcomes ←F); the hierarchy in descending order is thus C F V. For this reason the prosody of position C may be regarded as the prosodic feature of the syllable as a whole.[1] In this way we arrive at the following statement of possibilities: $\frac{y/w/a}{CV_{y/w/a}F_{y/w/a}}$, or, where S = syllabic prosody, $\frac{S_3}{CV_3F_3}$.

IX. A. 3. In fact the systems of y- and w-feature syllables are more restricted than is that of neutral syllables. The latter form a seven-term system:

$$\frac{a}{a\,a}\ \frac{a}{a\,y}\ \frac{a}{a\,w}\ \frac{a}{y\,y}\ \frac{a}{y\,w}\ \frac{a}{w\,y}\ \frac{a}{w\,w}$$

which may be summarized as $\frac{a}{a\,a}$ plus $\frac{a}{a/y/w\ y/w}$. The former recognize only four terms each:

$$\frac{y}{a\,a}\ \frac{y}{a\,y}\ \frac{y}{a\,w}\ \frac{y}{w\,w};\quad \frac{w}{a\,a}\ \frac{w}{a\,y}\ \frac{w}{a\,w}\ \frac{w}{y\,y},$$

which may be summarized as $\frac{y}{w\,w}$ plus $\frac{y}{a\ a/y/a}$; $\frac{w}{y\,y}$ plus $\frac{w}{a\ a/y/w}$.

Thus (i) if F = a, then V = a; the type $CV^{y/w}F^{a}$ does not occur; (ii) in close syllables (C = y/w), V = *either* a *or* the other term in the close system; the types $C^{y}V^{y}F$, $C^{w}V^{w}F$ do not occur; (iii) in close syllables, a marked prosody in V excludes the other marked prosody in F; the types $C^{y/w}V^{y}F^{w}$ and $C^{y/w}V^{w}F^{y}$ do not exist. So that of a possible 27 syllabic types, 15 occur.[1] These are:

$$\frac{a}{a\,a}\ \frac{a}{a\,y}\ \frac{a}{a\,w}\ \frac{a}{y\,y}\ \frac{a}{y\,w}\ \frac{a}{w\,y}\ \frac{a}{w\,w}\ \frac{y}{a\,a}\ \frac{y}{a\,y}\ \frac{y}{a\,w}\ \frac{y}{w\,w}\ \frac{w}{a\,a}\ \frac{w}{a\,y}\ \frac{w}{a\,w}\ \frac{w}{y\,y}$$

[1] The backward direction of determination is well seen in the difference in the articulation of V in the syllables sun and suŋ, or in sin and siŋ, where F n, ŋ are y-, w- prosodic respectively. The dominance of C→ over ←F is seen in the articulation of open vowel in the following series, where five qualities can be distinguished (ranged from front to back):—

jian	jan	ja	jaŋ	juaŋ
	jia		jua	
	jiaŋ		juan	

IX. A. 3.1. In each syllable type there is a limited number of possibilities in each position. The total possibilities for each position in all syllabic types are as follows:

(i) C:

Place of articulation (5):
L(abial inc. labio-dental) D(ental-alveolar) V(elar R(etroflex) P(alatal).

Manner of articulation (5):
p(losive) a(ffricate) f(ricative) n(asal) l(iquid)

Condition of articulation (C = p a f only) (2):
h (= voiceless ((p a f), aspirate (p a))) o (= unaspirate ((p a f), voiced (f) voiceless (p a))).

(ii) V:

Level of articulation (3):
h(igh) m(id) l(ow).

(iii) F:

Condition of articulation (F^{y}, F^{w} only) (2):
o(ral) n(asal).

IX. A. 3.2. The terms in the system of each position for each prosodic type are as follows:

(i) C:

a-prosodic syllables (26)
y-prosodic syllables (11)
w-prosodic syllables (21).

[1] Thus the value of the terms a, y, w will be seen to vary. In a-syllables, for example, V^{y} forms a three-term system and has a different value from V^{y} in a w-syllable where it forms a two-term system. It is of course represented as V^{y} in both cases, since the marking of the syllable prosody gives the required information.

(ii) V :

a-prosodic (3)
y-prosodic (1)
w-prosodic (1)

(iii) F :

a-prosodic (1)
y-prosodic (2)
w-prosodic (2)

IX. A. 3.3. These terms, distributed in syllabic types, are as follows :

1. $\frac{a}{a\ a}$: $C_{20}V_3$. C = L(except Lfo)DVR
   But where C = R(except Rl)Daf there V = V_3
   in all other instances V = V_2 (Vml)
   except that where C = Rl, there V = V_1 (Vh)
   and where C = V, there V = V_1 (Vl).
2. $\frac{a}{a\ y/w}$: $C_{19}V_2$. C = L (except Lfo)DVR V = ml.[1]
3. $\frac{a}{y\ y/w}$: $C_{19}V_1$. C = L(except Lf)D(except Daf)P.
   But where C = Dp, there $^{y}F = F_1$ (Fo).
4. $\frac{a}{w\ y/w}$; $C_{25}V_1$. C = LDVRP
   But where C = L(except Lfo)Pnl, there F = F_1 (^{w}Fo).
5. $\frac{y}{a\ a}$: $C_{11}V_2$. C = L(except Lf)D(except Daf)F, V = ml.
   But where C = LDpPn, V = V_1 (Vm).
6. $\frac{y}{a\ y}$; $C_{11}V_1F_1$. C as no. 5, V = 1, F = n.

[1] The series C = D(except Dnl)VR, V = m, F = ^{y}Fo, is defective: of thirteen possibilities, seven do not occur, one occurs only as (historically) a fusion of two syllables and the remaining five occur each uniquely (i.e. having only one corresponding lexical unit). Compare CD Vm ^{y}Fn, of which of seven possibilities two do not occur and the remaining five are unique occurrences. The groups CLp Vm ^{w}Fo and CLfh Vl $^{y/w}$Fo are absent.

7. $\frac{y}{a\ w}$: $C_{11}V_2$. C, V as no. 5.
   But where C = LD, there V F = V_1F_1 (Vl, Fo),
   and where C = P and V = m, there F = F_1 (Fo).
8. $\frac{y}{w\ w}$: $C_7V_1F_1$. C = DP.[1]
9. $\frac{w}{a\ a}$: $C_{21}V_2$. C = LfoDVRP, V = ml.
   But where C = DP, V = V_1 (Vm).
10. $\frac{w}{a\ y}$: $C_{19}V_2$. C = LfoDVRP (except Pnl), V = ml.
    But where C = D, there V = V_1 (Vl)
    where C = LVR and V =m, there F = F_1 (Fo).
    and where C = P, there V F = V_1 F_1 (Vl, Fo).
11. $\frac{w}{a\ w}$: $C_7V_1F_1$. C = LfoVR(except Rfo), V = l, F = n.
12. $\frac{w}{y\ y}$: $C_{11}V_1F_1$. C = D(except Dnl)VR(except Rfo).[2]

IX. A. 4. For the purposes of alphabetic transcription it is simpler to distinguish all possibilities in each position regardless

[1] This group might be included under syllabic type $\frac{y}{a\ w}$ of which it is a systematic variant: $\frac{y}{a\ w}$ syllables CP Vm F have tones 3, 4, $\frac{y}{w\ w}$ syllables tones 1, 2. It is true that $\frac{y}{a\ w}$: CD Vm F does not occur, whereas $\frac{y}{w\ w}$: CD VF does—but this uniquely, in the character diəu (possibly an archaizing pronunciation; the regular form may have been (homophonous with) a swearword) (on the uniqueness of archaizing forms, see Demiéville, op. cit., p. 37). Cf. no. 12, $\frac{w}{y\ y}$ below.

[2] This group might be included under syllabic type $\frac{w}{a\ y}$ of which it is a systematic variant: $\frac{w}{a\ y}$ syllables C Vm F have tones 3, 4, $\frac{w}{y\ y}$ syllables tones 1, 2. $\frac{w}{a\ y}$: CRah Vm F does not occur, while $\frac{w}{y\ y}$: CRah V F does; on the other hand CRfo Vm F occurs as $\frac{w}{a\ y}$ and not as $\frac{w}{y\ y}$. These two non-occurrences must be regarded as gaps in the system of tone-syllable combinations. Cf. no. 8 above.

of their restricted distribution in given syllabic types. The symbols required may be broken down as follows :

(i) C : 27

L : 5 h/oLp/f (4), Ln (1)
D : 7 h/oDp/a (4), Df (1), Dn (1), Dl (1)
V : 4 h/oVp (2), Vf (1), Vn (1)
R : 5 h/oRa/f (4), Rl (1)
P : 6 h/oPa̋/f (4), Pn (1), Pl (1).

In addition, syllabic prosody, being abstracted from position C, requires distinct symbolization (which may however be synthetic with C) for the three terms a/y/w.

(ii) V : 5 (including V prosody)

a-prosody : 3 h/m/l
y-prosody : 1
w-prosody : 1

(iii) F : 5 (including F prosody)

a-prosody : 1
y-prosody : 2 o/n
w-prosody : 2 o/n.

IX. A. 5. In the transcription used here as a basis for a transcription of the language of the "Secret History" the following symbols have been employed :

(i) C :

L : h/oLp/f :	p	b	f	w	Ln :	m
D : h/oDp/a :	t	d	x	z	Df : s Dn :	n Dl : l
V : h/oVp :	k	g			Vf : h Vn :	ŋ
R : h/oRa/f :	č	ǰ	š	ř	Rl :	ĺ
P : h/oPa/f :	ci	ji	si	yi	Pn :	ni Pl : li.[1]

[1] It is desirable that the symbols of the palatal series should be distinct from those employed in the dental and velar series in Modern Pekingese, while some parallel with the retroflex series may well be maintained. This difficulty is variously overcome in the different transcriptions in current use, most successfully in GR, where however the irregularity of j/ch might well have been avoided. The use of a diacritic for the retroflex series seems justifiable here. It is unfortunate that the limitations of the Roman alphabet impose the use of s in both the dental and the retroflex/palatal series, but no alternative seems to present itself.

Syllabic prosodies :

a-prosody : unmarked.
y-prosody : addition of i after C [1]
w-prosody : addition of u after C.

(ii) V :

a-prosody : h/m/l :	(zero)	ə	a	
y-prosody :	i			
w-prosody :	u			

(iii) F :

a-prosody :	(zero)		
y-prosody : o/n :	i	n	
w-prosody : o/n :	u	ŋ	

Notes to the transcription :

(i) In syllables with C = P, i is written once only (that is, the second i, indicating y-prosody of either the syllable or V, is omitted) ; thus ci, cin, cian (not cii, ciin, ciian) etc.

(ii) Syllabic types $\frac{y}{w\ w}$ and $\frac{w}{y\ y}$ are not recognized in the transcription, such syllables being regarded and transcribed as $\frac{y}{a\ w}$ and $\frac{w}{a\ y}$ respectively. (Thus the formal ambiguity of $\frac{y}{w\ w}$ syllables with those of type $\frac{a}{w\ w}$ where C = P, caused by the omission of the second i, does not arise : ($\frac{y}{w\ w}$: ciu becomes) $\frac{y}{a\ w}$: ciəu, but $\frac{a}{w\ w}$: ciu etc.)

(iii) In the articulation of w-prosodic syllables and those with w-prosodic V, where C = P, there is initial lip-rounding ; the combination iu thus represents the complex articulation of y- and w-prosodic features.

[1] See notes to transcription below.

(iv) In the articulation of C = Vn (ŋ), Mr. Lien had glottal release.[1] C = Vn only occurs in a-prosodic syllables with a-prosodic V.

(v) In the articulation of C = Rl (˘), there is prothetic retroflex vowel. The only occurrence of this C is in the syllabic type $\frac{a}{a\ a}$. Rl has been included in the C system (as in one Chinese transcription, the New Latinized Script) in preference to that of F because of the more restricted character of the latter.

(vi) In the articulation of V = m, at least four distinct qualities may be noted, determined by the prosodic features of C and F: front spread (in y-syllable with ^{a}F, in w-syllable with ^{a}F where C = P and in a-syllable with ^{y}Fo), central (in a-syllable with $^{y/w}$Fn, that with ^{y}F being slightly front of that with ^{w}F), back spread (in a-syllable with ^{a}F except where C = L) and back rounded (in w-syllable with ^{a}F except where C = P, and in a-syllable with ^{w}Fo).

IX. A.6. The total syllabary is given in the following table, where syllables enclosed in parentheses are those of unique or irregular occurrence, while empty parentheses indicate gaps in the system.

[1] Other speakers velar nasal, others one or the other. The articulation as voiced velar fricative, noted by Karlgren, 'A Mandarin Phonetic Reader in the Pekingese dialect', who adds "this initial is dropped by many, perhaps most Pekingese", (p. 8) seems to have died out.

$\frac{a}{a\ a}$: V = l m h

pa	ba	fa	ma	ta	da	xa	za	sa	na	la	(ka)	(ga)	(ha)	ŋa	ča	ǰa	ša	( )						
pə	bə	(fə)	mə	tə	də	xə	zə	sə	( )	lə	kə	gə	hə	ŋə	čə	ǰə	šə	řə						
						x	z	s							č	ǰ	š	ř	l					

$\frac{a}{a\ y}$: V = l m

pai	bai		mai	tai	dai	xai	zai	sai	nai	lai	kai	gai	hai	ŋai	čai	ǰai	šai	( )						
pan	ban	fan	man	tan	dan	xan	zan	san	nan	lan	kan	gan	han	ŋan	čan	ǰan	šan	řan						
pei	bei	fei	mei	( )	(dei)	( )	(zei)	( )	nei	lei	( )	(gei)	(hei)	( )	( )	(ǰei)	(šei)	( )						
pən	bən	fən	mən	( )	(dən)	(xən)	(zən)	(sən)	(nən)	( )	kən	gən	hən	ŋən	čən	ǰən	šən	řən						

$\frac{a}{a\ w}$: V = l m

pau	bau		mau	tau	dau	xau	zau	sau	nau	lau	kau	gau	hau	ŋau	čau	ǰau	šau	řau						
paŋ	baŋ	faŋ	maŋ	taŋ	daŋ	xaŋ	zaŋ	saŋ	(naŋ)	laŋ	kaŋ	gaŋ	haŋ	(ŋaŋ)	čaŋ	ǰaŋ	šaŋ	řaŋ						
		(fəu)	(məu)	təu	dəu	xəu	zəu	səu	(nəu)	ləu	kəu	gəu	həu	ŋəu	čəu	ǰəu	šəu	řəu						
pəŋ	bəŋ	fəŋ	məŋ	təŋ	dəŋ	xəŋ	zəŋ	(səŋ)	nəŋ	ləŋ	kəŋ	gəŋ	həŋ	(ŋəŋ)	čəŋ	ǰəŋ	šəŋ	řəŋ						

$\frac{a}{y\ y}$:

pi	bi		mi	ti	di						ci				ji		si		yi		ni		li	
pin	bin		min								cin				jin		sin		yin		(nin)		lin	

$\frac{a}{y\,w}$:

piŋ biŋ miŋ tiŋ diŋ ciŋ jiŋ siŋ yiŋ niŋ liŋ

$\frac{a}{w\,y}$:

wun tun dun xun zun sun (nun) lun kun gun hun čun ǰun šun řun ciun jiun siun yiun

$\frac{a}{w\,w}$:

pu bu fu wu mu tu du xu zu su nu lu ku gu hu ču ǰu šu řu ciu jiu siu yiu niu liu
wuŋ tuŋ duŋ xuŋ zuŋ suŋ nuŋ luŋ kuŋ guŋ huŋ čuŋ ǰuŋ ( ) řuŋ ciuŋ jiuŋ siuŋ yiuŋ

$\frac{y}{a\,a}$: V = l m

cia jia sia yia ( ) (lia)
piə biə miə tiə diə ciə jiə siə yiə niə liə

$\frac{y}{a\,y}$:

pian bian mian tian dian cian jian sian yian nian lian

$\frac{y}{a\,w}$: V = l m

piau biau miau tiau diau ciau jiau siau yiau niau liau
ciaŋ jiaŋ siaŋ yiaŋ niaŋ liaŋ
(miəu) (diəu) ciəu jiəu siəu yiəu niəu liəu

$\frac{w}{a\,a}$: V = l m

wua kua gua hua ( ) ǰua šua (řua)
wuə tuə duə xuə zuə suə nuə luə kuə guə huə čuə ǰuə šuə řuə ciuə jiuə siuə yiuə niuə liuə

$\frac{w}{a\,y}$: V = l m

wuai kuai guai huai (čuai) (ǰuai) šuai ( )
wuan tuan duan xuan zuan suan nuan luan kuan guan huan čuan ǰuan šuan řuan ciuan jiuan siuan yian
wuəi tuəi duəi xuəi zuəi suəi kuəi guəi huəi čuəi ǰuəi šuəi řuəi

$\frac{w}{a\,w}$:

wuaŋ kuaŋ guaŋ huaŋ čuaŋ ǰuaŋ šuaŋ ( ).[1]

[1] Types $\frac{a}{y\,w}$, $\frac{a}{w\,y}$ might be eliminated, syllables of these types being regarded as $\frac{y}{a\,w}$, $\frac{w}{a\,y}$ respectively: the series piəŋ biəŋ etc. (Fn) would then be paralleled by čiəu jiəu etc. (Fo), and wuən tuən etc. by wuəi tuəi etc. I should regard this form of statement as more systematic and therefore preferable in an analysis of the Modern Pekingese syllable made for the purposes of Modern Pekingese alone.

The above (15 — 2 =) 13 syllabic types contain respectively 43, 65, 73, 20, 11, 19, 43, 16, 11, 25, 28, 39 and 7 syllables, making a total syllabary of 400.[1]

B. SPECIMEN ANALYSIS AND TRANSLATION[2]

(II. 32b–33a ; 91.1–18).

Sentence : Simple

Clause : Free verbal

				V	
Word :	A(cl)	N	A(ve)	F	Po
	Suei$_4$heu	řinmui	lu$_2$siu$_2$	gan$_2$	ziaŋlai. /

Behind them the people came one after the other in pursuit.

Compound : F(B)F

Free verbal imperfective (bound verbal genitival)

								N		N=A		
Nu	Au	V	(V)	N	p(cl)	F		F	Po	V	p(cl)	N
Yi	go	ki$_5$	bai$_2$	ma$_3$	di	řin	/	šeu	li	ǰi$_9$ǰo	tauma$_3$gan$_3$/	

One man riding a white horse, and with a lassoing pole grasped in his hand,

Free verbal						Simple Free verbal	
			A				
A(ve)	V	ᵛPo		N		N	V
ziaŋx$_2$	gan$_2$	dau	genxian.	/		Boworču	šuo./
almost caught up with them.						Boworču said :	

[1] I have omitted, never having observed them, some syllables sometimes recognized for Modern Pekingese, such as liun, and included others not generally recognized but observed by myself, such as řua, dən and ŋəŋ (the latter as adverb, probably a dialectal form (? from Szechwan) of the word which in Modern Pekingese is regularly (verb or adverb) yiŋ$_2$).

[2] For explanation of the symbols used in word classification, see VI. B. 2.2.

Simple Free verbal									Simple Free verbal			
				V							A	
(N)	N		F	Po		N			ᵛPr	N		V
Ni	guŋzian		ziaŋ	lai.	/	Wuo			yiu	ta	s$_2$še$_2$./	
" Give me your bow and arrow.						I will have a shot at him."						

Simple Free verbal							Simple Free verbal imperfective						
							A				V		
N	V		ᵛPr	(N)	p(no)	N			Au	F	p(cl)		N
Temuǰin	šuo	Wuei	wuo	di	šaŋteu$_2$	/	kuŋ	šaŋ$_4$ǰo	ni				
" I am afraid you will be wounded," said Temuǰin, " and for my sake.													

Simple Free verbal								Compound : FF Free verbal		Free verbal		
			A						V		A	
N		ᵛPr	N		V	ᵃCo		F	Po	ᵛPr	N	V
Wuo	yiu	ta	s$_2$še$_2$. /			Bian		huei	kiu	yiu	ta	s$_2$še$_2$./
I will have a shot at him."						So he went back and shot at him.						

Compound : F(B)F

Free verbal ergative imperfective (bound verbal genitival)										Free verbal	
A(no)	V	(V)	N	p(cl)	N	ᵛPr		N		V	p(cl) N	V
Na	ki$_5$	bai$_2$	ma$_3$	di	řin /	ziaŋ	tauma$_3$gan$_3$	ǰi$_8$ǰo	Temuǰin	šuo. /		
The man on the white horse pointed his lasso at Temuǰin and said :												

Simple Free verbal perfective									Simple Free verbal				
V												V	
F	Po	p(cl)	A(cl)	A(no)		N	p(no)	N	ᵃCo	A(ve)		F	Po
Li$_3$ǰu$_2$	liau./	Suei$_4$heu	na	zeimuidi		ban$_4$daŋ/	yie	du	gan$_2$	ziaŋlai./			
" Stop there ! "	All the robbers' comrades came up from behind them.												

Compound : F(F)F(B)F

Free verbal perfective (free verbal)

^{V}Pr N V (N) N V p(cl)

Gian ři luo huaŋ$_3$hun tianse hei liau /

But the sun had set and the twilight sky grew dark,

Free verbal imperfective (bound verbal genitival) — Free verbal perfective

V

A(no) A(ve) V p(cl) N A(ve) | F Po | p(cl) V p(cl)

na heu lai di řin du li$_3$ ǰu$_2$ǰo luoheu liau.

so all the men behind stopped and fell back.

C. STATISTICAL TABLES

IX.C 1. SUMMARY OF OCCURRENCES OF PRINCIPAL CATEGORIES

Chap.	Piece	Sentence	Clause	CLAUSE: Verbal	CLAUSE: Nominal	CLAUSE: Free	CLAUSE: Bound	Free Clause: Voice: Negative	Free Clause: Voice: Passive	Free Clause: Aspect: Perfective	Free Clause: Aspect: Imperfective	Free Clause: Mood: Interrogative	Free Clause: Mood: Imperative	Bound Clause: Conditional	Bound Clause: Genitival	VERB: Prepositive	VERB: (Number of clauses with prepositive verb, if smaller.)	VERB: Postpositive	VERB: (Number of clauses with postpositive verb, if smaller.)
I	585	291	582	457	125	480	102	29	3	117	24	2	4	66	36	122	(101)	142	(138)
II	593	270	708	660	48	571	137	46	–	162	23	6	–	77	60	176	(150)	194	
III	487	168	416	390	26	335	81	25	–	110	34	3	5	50	31	139	(123)	95	(94)
IV	410	180	414	385	29	343	71	44	–	83	16	1	4	51	20	149	(123)	89	
V	438	218	512	479	33	407	105	40	–	84	18	5	3	74	31	145	(130)	132	
VI	429	209	494	460	34	402	92	41	–	80	34	3	18	64	28	160	(135)	117	
VII	470	230	544	495	49	421	123	43	1	81	13	2	8	81	42	137	(120)	87	
VIII	375	160	397	365	32	295	102	26	–	57	9	1	15	68	24	131	(114)	83	(60)
IX	389	159	395	378	17	298	97	23	–	37	18	–	50	58	39	131	(122)	62	
X	386	172	412	398	14	333	79	30	–	85	16	1	20	52	27	109	(100)	81	
XI	411	211	417	401	16	348	69	26	1	61	6	1	3	45	24	139	(123)	63	
XII	413	208	428	397	31	250	78	25	–	52	12	–	13	52	26	157	(137)	68	
Total	5386	2476	5719	5265	454	4583	1136	398	5	1009	271	25	143	738	398	1695	(1478)	1214	(1206)

IX. C. 2

TABLE OF OCCURRENCES

OF COMBINATIONS OF MARKED CLAUSE CLASSES

	Nominal					
		Bound				
Bound	82					
Ergative	–	21				
Passive	–	–				
			Ergative	Passive		
Perfective	3	73	138	–		
Imperfective	–	9	17	–		
					Perfective	Imperfective
Interrogative	1	–	1	1	4	–
Imperative	–	–	7	–	3	–

IX. C. 3.

PRO-VERB

	Total	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
ši	108	16	7	11	7	7	10	17	6	5	7	6	9
wuei	4	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	1	2
yieu	119	17	13	7	7	13	8	13	15	7	5	6	8
wu	30	2	9	5	.	3	3	1	3	1	.	.	3
wuyieu	2	.	.	.	.	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.
zai	35	4	.	4	4	4	3	5	5	3	1	2	.
řu	30	1	13	.	2	1	4	3	2	1	2	1	.
s	5	1	1	.	.	1	.	2	.	.	.	.	.
miŋ	90	76	.	.	7	.	4	.	.	.	.	2	1
siŋ	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.
$suei_2$ + numeral noun	11	6	1	2	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
yiban	3	1	1	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.
je_2ban	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.
naban	4	.	.	.	.	.	2	2	.	.	.	.	.
hi	1	.	.	.	.		.	.	.	.	.	.	1

IX. C. 4

PREPOSITIVE VERB (i)

	Total	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
ziaŋ	390	28	45	24	42	40	41	43	26	22	30	25	24
ba	8	1	1	1	2	.	.	.	.	1	.	1	1
Total of above	398	29	46	25	44	40	41	43	26	23	30	26	25
yiu	180	9	19	13	17	27	10	13	20	17	6	19	10
yiu_2	100	7	8	5	14	9	10	5	6	13	11	1	11
řu	100	4	15	6	8	10	2	13	7	5	5	20	5
duei	92	3	9	9	5	5	13	6	13	15	4	3	7
bei	71	5	13	4	14	10	2	5	5	6	4	2	1
z_2	60	2	14	12	2	1	7	2	2	3	3	7	5
zai	51	6	11	6	3	6	4	3	5	2	2	.	3
ji	47	.	.	1	6	5	3	6	9	.	3	10	4
dau	37	10	8	7	2	3	3	.	1	.	1	.	2
zuo	26	4	1	1	2	1	1	1	8	1	1	2	3
yiuŋ	25	.	2	2	3	.	2	4	2	4	5	1	.
$liŋ_2$	25	.	2	1	2	.	9	1	1	2	3	4	.
yi_2	21	1	.	.	1	.	1	.	2	1	2	6	7
šun	18	4	2	2	4	1	2	1	2	.	.	.	.
$wuaŋ_2$	17	5	.	3	1	.	3	2	1	.	.	1	1
tuŋ	16	2	1	4	.	2	3	1	.	.	1	1	1
s	16	3	3	.	.	3	4	1	2	.	.	.	.
ni_3	15	1	3	2	2	1	1	1	.	.	.	4	.
yi_8	15	.	1	2	.	.	2	1	2	5	.	.	2
wuei	15	.	4	.	3	2	.	.	1	1	.	1	3
xuŋ	13	.	.	4	.	2	3	2	.	.	1	1	.
zieu	9	.	.	4	1	3	.	.	1	.	.	.	.
miŋ	9	6	.	.	.	.	.	2	.	.	1	.	.
yin_2	9	2	1	.	4	.	.	.	.	.	1	1	.
$suei_4$	6	2	1	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.
$ču_3$	6	.	3	.	.	.	.	1	1	1	.	.	.
hiaŋ	6	.	1	.	1	1	.	.	.	1	.	2	.
řau	5	1	.	1	.	.	.	1	.	2	.	.	.
$yiŋ_3$	4	.	.	.	2	.	1	.	.	.	.	1	.
yian	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	2
dai_2	3	.	.	2	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.
wun	3	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.
giŋ	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	.
ŋai	2	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
$wuei_3$	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	1	.	.
$ŋam_2$	2	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
bui_2	2	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.
xiu	2	.	1	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.
yin	2	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	1		.

One occurrence only:

I	na_2	paŋ		
II	li_2	kau		
III	giŋguo	ji_8	de	
IV	$jiyiu_2$			
VI	dai			
VII	kian	du_3	ge	$čiŋ_2$
VIII	daŋ			
IX	giu	jau_3yi_8	$suei_2$(+ NN)	
X	tie	bi_3		
XI	guo			
XII	lai_2	jau_3		

PREPOSITIVE VERB (ii)

	Total	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
giau	230	6	11	13	18	9	36	20	21	40	17	13	26
yieu	103	13	7	6	8	12	15	2	6	12	7	6	9
ši	56	6	9	3	1	3	3	8	6	4	1	5	7
$miŋ_2$	43	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	3	2	6	20	11
gian	42	7	13	.	3	5	4	5	.	.	2	2	1
$ši_4$	34	1	2	2	6	9	3	2	3	1	4	1	.
čai	30	.	.	1	4	5	7	2	.	.	2	5	4
šuo	21	.	2	1	1	2	2	6	.	2	.	3	2
liŋ	19	.	.	.	.	2	.	3	2	.	5	4	3
ji_7	17	1	3	.	2	2	2	2	1	.	3	1	.
hiu	16	.	.	.	.	2	.	2	.	4	3	3	2
wu	13	4	2	.	2	.	.	.	2	2	1	.	.
kuŋ	12	.	1	.	1	1	1	2	.	.	1	3	2
$siaŋ_2$	8	2	.	1	.	1	.	1	.	.	1	.	2
tiŋ	7	.	1	.	.	1	1	1	.	.	.	2	1
tiŋde	6	1	.	3	.	.	1	.	.	1	.	.	.
yiau	6	.	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	.	2
wun	5	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	4	.
de	5	.	.	1	1	1	.	.	1	.	.	1	.
wuaŋ	4	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	1	.
wuaŋgian	4	3	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.
jau	4	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	1	.
zuŋ	4	.	1	.	1	.	.	.	2	.	.	.	.
řim	4	1	1	.	.	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.
yi_2wuei	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	2
dau_3	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	2
$řin_2$de	3	.	.	1	.	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	.
ju_4	3	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	1	1	.	.	.
lieu	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	2
ji;de	2	.	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
pa	2	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.
kuŋpa	2	.	1	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.

PREPOSITIVE VERB (ii)—*contd.*

	Total	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
suo_2	2	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
giuo	2	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.
funfu	2	.	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
bau	2	.	.	.	1	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.
$yiaŋ_3$wuei	2	.	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
$huan_2$	2	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.
xiŋ	2	.	.	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
hiam	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	1	.	.
zuŋ	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	1
tišuo	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2
fun	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	.	.	.
suŋ	2	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.

One occurrence only:

I	yi_6huo_2	$yieu_2$				
II	huanyiu					
III	deŋ	$ši_8$				
IV	heu_2	$liau_2$	yi_5			
V	giu_2	$tuei_2čiŋ_3$	$ti_2šim_2$			
VI	$bauyiu_2$					
VII	s_4	tue_2ix_3	$yieu_6yin_2$			
VIII	$gian_4$					
IX	yiu_3yiau	$siuan_2$				
X	$mian_2$					
XI	$yieu_6$	$ši_8kan$				
XII	wun_2šuo	wuei;fu	jau_4	$huei_2$	$siuan_3bu_3$	

IX. C. 5

AUXILIARY VERB

lai	72	2	4	3	14	6	5	6	.	6	9	8	9
ko	69	1	1	5	.	8	7	11	11	3	2	9	11
kiu	52	4	3	.	2	11	4	5	3	.	6	9	5
yiau	49	1	3	1	2	9	9	6	5	4	2	4	3
neŋ	34	.	7	.	6	3	4	.	5	1	3	3	2
yiu_3	28	.	2	1	4	8	2	2	3	1	1	2	2
$koyi_2$	19	1	1	3	5	2	2	1	2	.	.	1	1
ken	18	.	2	.	.	4	4	1	3	1	2	1	.
gam	17	.	1	.	1	.	1	1	4	.	1	4	4
bei	14	2	1	.	4	2	.	2	1	.	2	1	.
de	14	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	.	1	3	.	.
bi_2	14	2	.	.	1	5	2	1	.	1	.	2	.
ziaŋ	10	1	.	2	2	1	.	1	.	.	2	.	1
hiu	7		.	.	.	1	.	.	3	1	.	1	1

AUXILIARY VERB—*contd.*

	Total	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
hau	5	2	.	.	.	.	1	1	1	.	.	.	.
yiu$_3$yiau	5	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	2	.	.
daŋ	4	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	2	.	1
jueŋ	4	.	.	.	.	.	2	.	1	.	.	.	1
guan	4	.	.	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.
siaŋ$_2$	3	.	2	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
yiuan$_3$	3	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	1	1	.
ho$_2$	3	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	1	1	.	.	.
nan	3	.	.	.	.	1	.	1	.	.	.	1	.
gai	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	.	.	.
siuyiau	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2
giau	2	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
duei	2	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.
xiŋ	2	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	1	.	.	.

One occurrence only:

II	yiu$_3$daiyiau		
III	siaŋ$_2$yiau		
IV	zieu	mian$_2$	pa
V	bui		
VI	junbui	řin$_2$	
VII	gamyiau	ši$_8$	
VIII	huei$_2$		
IX	yiuan$_3$yiau	gia$_2$yi$_2$	
XI	lim	yiuŋ	

IX. C. 6

POSTPOSITIVE VERB (i a)

	Total	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
de	103	12	22	17	2	11	10	11	4	6	3	1	4
ju$_2$	44	3	6	3	3	5	2	9	3	3	4	2	1
dau$_3$	30	7	11	6	.	2	2	.	.	.	1	.	1
gian	24	4	1	.	3	1	5	2	.	1	4	1	2
jau	22	4	5	1	.	4	3	3	1	.	.	.	1
ba$_2$	14	1	.	.	1	.	4	1	1	.	3	2	1
bu$_2$	12	1	.	.	2	3	.	1	2	.	3	.	.
po	11	1	.	.	5	.	1	.	1	2	.	.	1
je$_3$	10	6	1	.	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
ki	10	1	.	.	.	.	2	.	1	2	2	.	2
san	10	.	1	1	1	1	.	.	2	.	3	1	.
duŋ	9	1	2	.	1	1	1	.	1	.	.	1	1
duan	8	.	.	.	4	.	1	.	.	2	1	.	.
šuo	8	2	1	1	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	2
šaŋ	7	1	.	.	.	1	1	.	2	.	.	1	1

POSTPOSITIVE VERB (i a)—*contd.*

	Total	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
šeu$_2$	7	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	1	.	1	3	1
diŋ	7	.	.	.	.	4	.	.	.	.	1	1	1
zin	6	2	.	.	.	4	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
čiŋ	6	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	2	.	1	.	1
yiau	6	.	3	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.
ki$_2$	6	.	5	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
s$_3$	6	.	1	.	1	1	.	1	1	.	.	1	.
dau$_2$	6	.	1	1	1	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	1
hai	6	1	2	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	1	.	1
ji$_7$	6	.	.	1	1	.	1	.	.	.	1	1	1
kai	5	.	2	.	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
ziue	5	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	3	1	.
luo	4	.	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.
zuo$_2$	4	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4	.	.
suei$_5$	4	.	.	.	1	.	.	2	.	1	.	.	.
siŋ$_2$	4	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	1	.	.	.	2
hau	3	.	1	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	1	.
šiŋ	3	.	.	.	.	2	.	.	1	.	.	.	.
jueŋ	3	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	2	.	.	.	.
tuei	3	.	.	.	.	1	.	1	1	.	.	.	.
ša	2	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
da	2	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.
šu	2	.	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
mie	2	.	.	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
sin	2	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
man	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	.
teu	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	.
bai$_3$	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	1	.
šaŋ$_4$	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2
bi$_4$	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2
xiu	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	1

One occurrence only:

II	bian$_3$	gieu		ju$_4$
IV	yiue	tuo		
V	faŋ$_2$			
VI	wuai$_2$	huai		
VII	bau$_2$			
VIII	ji$_7$dau$_3$	wun$_3$	huan	
IX	ji$_5$	giande		
X	diau	liau$_2$		ji$_6$
XI	siŋ$_3$	yiuan$_4$		gi$_3$
XII	bian$_4$			

POSTPOSITIVE VERB (i b)

	Total	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
lai (other than in combination)	109	16	20	9	5	13	13	8	1	6	3	8	7
ziaŋlai	23	3	2	3	2	.	4	2	2	2	.	1	2
ziaŋhueilai	4	2	1	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
hueilai	7	.	.	.	2	2	2	.	1	.	.	.	.
čulai	6	.	2	.	.	.	1	1	2	.	.	.	.
hialai	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.
lai (total)	150	21	25	12	10	15	20	11	7	8	3	9	9
kiu (other than in combination)	125	9	30	12	12	12	8	8	6	5	11	5	7
ziaŋkiu	18	1	4	4	2	1	2	1	.	.	.	1	2
ziaŋhueikiu	2	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
hueikiu	5	1	.	.	.	3	.	.	.	.	.	1	.
ziaŋčukiu	1	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
čukiu	6	2	.	1	.	.	2	.	1	.	.	.	.
zin_2kiu	5	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5
$řu_2kiu$	3	.	.	1	.	1	.	1	.	.	.	.	.
guokiu	2	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
zeukiu	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
kiu (total)	168	15	37	19	14	17	12	10	7	5	11	7	14
ziaŋ (other than in combination)	6	1	.	.	1	.	.	1	1	.	1	.	1
huei „	9	1	.	.	1	2	2	.	.	.	.	3	.
ču „	14	.	2	.	1	2	3	1	.	4	.	1	.
zin_2 „	6	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	2
$řu_2$ „	25	1	4	1	.	6	5	1	5	.	1	.	1
hia	24	3	10	3	.	.	2	4	.	.	.	1	1
guo „	28	3	3	4	2	4	1	1	1	1	.	5	3
zeu „	4	.	1	.	.	.	2	.	1	.	.	.	.

POSTPOSITIVE VERB (i c)

	Total	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
yiu*	70	7	3	10	5	13	4	4	7	5	3	3	6
zuo	52	17	4	6	6	1	3	4	.	6	1	1	3
ji	33	.	.	.	2	9	4	6	2	3	4	2	1
dau	31	8	11	2	.	1	2	.	4	1	1	1	.
zai	26	5	6	1	1	2	3	.	2	3	3	.	.
wuei	21	5	.	2	4	2	1	.	2	1	.	.	4
yiu_2	19	1	.	.	1	4	3	.	3	.	4	1	2
miŋ	18	12	.	.	3	1	.	1	.	.	.	.	1
řu	4	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	2	1	.	.	.
yieu	4	.	.	.	.	.	1	1	1	.	.	.	1

One occurrence only:

I $suei_2$ (+ NN) wụ

II z_2

X hiaŋ

* including a small number of occurrences as type (i a).

POSTPOSITIVE VERB (ii a)

	Total	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
lai	27	3	7	5	2	3	1	4	.	1	.	.	1
kiu	57	6	14	4	2	5	5	3	10	1	5	1	1

POSTPOSITIVE VERB (ii b)

	Total	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
yie	8	.	1	2	1	.	1	3	.	.	.	.	.
yieu	15	2	3	4	.	1	2	3	.	.	.	.	.
yieulai	20	4	2	3	.	1	2	1	2	3	1	1	.
lai	24	3	8	1	1	1	5	.	1	2	1	.	1

IX. C. 7.

PRONOUN

	Total	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
wuo	412	29	54	40	31	30	43	24	49	39	23	19	31
wuomui	8	1	2	.	.	5	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
ŋam	39	4	3	3	3	5	5	.	.	3	1	10	2
ŋammui	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
za	42	.	1	3	.	8	6	11	6	.	.	2	5
zamui	18	.	3	8	.	4	3	.	.	.	.	.	.
ni	368	22	42	19	15	19	62	19	75	31	22	21	21
nimui	14	1	1	.	.	7	1	.	.	4	.	.	.
nim	53	7	6	3	3	3	6	5	.	10	5	3	2
nimmui	5	.	2	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.
ta	389	56	58	22	26	54	36	34	18	22	28	20	15
tamui	12	2	3	1	2	1	1	1	.	.	.	.	1
$řu_3$	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.
bi	1	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
ji_3	9	.	.	.	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	7
z_2	6	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	1	2	2	.	.
z_2gi_4	2	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.
x	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	2
je_2	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	1	.
na	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.

IX. C. 8.

NUMERAL NOUN

	Total	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
yi (with AN)	128	42	22	10	7	5	6	4	6	5	4	4	13
yi (with FN)	79	8	8	19	8	6	5	1	3	12	1	3	5
yi (otherwise)	61	46	1	2	2	.	.	2	1	.	.	.	7
yi (total)	268	96	31	31	17	13	13	7	10	17	5	7	25
liaŋ (with AN)	54	8	8	9	4	6	7	2	2	1	1	.	6
liaŋ (with FN)	23	4	5	.	5	2	4	.	.	1	1	1	.
liaŋ (otherwise)	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
liaŋ (total)	78	13	13	9	9	8	11	2	2	2	2	1	6
$ř_2$ (with AN)	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	1	.	.	1
$ř_2$ (with FN)	63	7	3	3	5	3	7	7	1	8	6	12	1
$ř_2$ (total)	66	7	3	3	5	3	7	7	2	9	6	12	2

NUMERAL NOUN—*contd.*

	Total	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
3 to 9 (with AN)	81	23	10	9	6	1	1	4	6	12	5	2	2
3 to 9 (with FN)	119	10	14	10	10	9	7	7	6	12	14	17	3
3 to 9 (otherwise)	14	6	1	1	.	2	.	2	1	1	.	.	.
3 to 9 (total)	214	39	25	20	16	12	8	13	13	25	19	19	5
$ši_3$ (with AN)	13	2	.	.	.	.	1	3	2	.	5	.	.
$ši_3$ (with FN)	11	.	.	.	3	1	.	2	.	5	.	.	.
$ši_3$ (otherwise)	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
$ši_3$ (total)	25	3	.	.	3	1	1	5	2	5	5	.	.
gi (with AN)	9	1	1	1	.	.	3	1	.	.	.	.	2

"with AN" = "followed by auxiliary noun"; "with FN" = "followed by free noun". Each numeral includes all compound numerals in which it is final: yi includes $ř_2ši_3yi$ "21", 3 to 9 includes $samši_3xi$ "37", ši includes $lieu_2ši_3$ "60" etc. No compound numeral occurs ending in either $lian_ŋ$ or $ř_2$.

IX. C. 9.

AUXILIARY NOUN (i)

go	(freq.)	223	68	36	29	11	9	15	12	9	9	13	3	9
$xian_2$	(20)	24	.	.	.	.	.	3	1	2	12	6	.	.
wuan	(15)	19	.	.	9	1	.	.	.	1	2	5	.	1
bai	(5)	18	.	.	2	.	1	5	1	2	2	3	1	1
$gian_3$	(9)	13	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	11
ji_2	(1)	9	7	1	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.
pi	(–)	9	.	4	.	.	1	1	.	1	.	.	1	1
$xuŋ_2$	(–)	7	7	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
ban_2	(4)	6	.	2	.	.	.	1	.	1	.	1	.	1
kuai	(–)	3	1	1	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
$xeŋ_2$	(2)	3	.	.	.	.	.	2	1	.	.	.	.	.
$wuŋ$	(1)	2	.	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
$ču_2$		2	.	.	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

Figures in parentheses denote occurrences in minor noun group (included in the general total, except with $ču_2$, the frequent occurrences of which in minor noun group have not been taken into account).

One occurrence only:

I	$giŋ_2$	$čiŋ_4$	V	ba	$čuŋ_3$
II	$jaŋ_2$	huo_4	VI	tiau	
III	šuaŋ		X	gen	
IV	$tuŋ_3$				

AUXILIARY NOUN (ii)

x_2	.	.	23	1	1	1	2	.	.	1	6	6	2	2	1
$bian_3$	.	.	7	2	2	.	.	.	.	1	.	1	.	.	1
zau_2	.	.	3	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.
hia	.	.	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	.	.	.

AUXILIARY NOUN—*contd.*

One occurrence only:

II	$xiaŋ$	guei
VII	du_2	
XII	zie	jan

IX. C. 10

POSTPOSITIVE NOUN

	Total	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
li	126	21	39	24	6	5	5	4	3	7	8	2	2
$ču_2$	99	5	2	11	4	12	14	7	2	3	24	5	10
nei	67	4	4	2	7	5	8	2	8	10	6	5	6
$šaŋ$	55	7	14	4	5	2	4	6	6	4	3	.	.
$hiŋ$	53	4	5	10	8	12	6	4	1	.	.	.	3
ban	50	5	19	7	2	1	3	5	.	.	3	4	1
$bian_2$	27	7	7	5	3	.	1	1	.	.	1	2	.
$ǰuŋ$	27	1	3	1	1	2	1	1	.	3	11	3	.
xian	22	1	4	4	2	.	3	3	.	1	2	1	1
heu	17	.	6	.	.	3	3	.	.	1	1	3	.
wuai	17	.	5	.	1	1	.	1	1	1	2	.	5
$gian_2$	16	6	1	1	2	3	.	2	1	.	.	.	1
hia	13	2	2	1	1	.	2	.	1	3	1	.	.
$ši_2$	2	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
genxian	25	5	5	2	3	.	1	.	.	2	3	2	2
yiban	9	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	5	1	1	1	.
$duŋ_2bian_2$	8	.	.	.	.	.	3	3	1	1	.	.	.
$lianǧian_2$	6	1	1	2	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	1	.
$sibian_2$	4	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	1	1	1	.	.
$liteu_2$	3	2	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
$ǰuŋgian_2$	3	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
$xianteu_2$	3	2	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
$šaŋteu_2$	3	.	1	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
heumian	2	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.
wuaimian	2	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	1	.	.	.
$šaŋmian$	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	.	.	.
xianmian	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	1	.	.
bui_2heu	2	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
mianxian	2	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	1	.	.	.	.
$jeuwuei_3$	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	1	.	.
zuo_4bian_2	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2		

One occurrence only:

III	$gendi_3$	zuo_4li	$yieu_4li$	IX	bei_2bian_2	xianheu	
VI	sian	si	yi_2lai	X	$yieu_4bian_2$	zuo_4yieu_4	
VIII	$genyiuan_2$						

PREVERBAL, FINAL AND CONJUNCTIVE ADVERB

(all totals are exclusive).

PREVERBAL	FINAL, (. . .)	CONJUNCTIVE	Total	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
yin			28	1	.	1	5	4	5	3	.	.	2	.	7
yin	šaŋteu$_2$		1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
yin	šaŋteu$_2$	suoyi$_2$	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.
yin	dišaŋteu$_2$		5	.	.	1	1	.	1	1	.	.	.	.	1
yin	dišaŋteu$_2$	zieu	2	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
yin	dišaŋteu$_2$	suoyi$_2$	1	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
yin	diši$_2$fun		1	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
yin		zieu	4	2	.	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
yin		suoyi$_2$	8	.	.	1	.	1	.	1	2	.	2	.	1
yin		guzieu	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
gai$_2$yin		yieu$_3$	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.
ču$_4$yin		suoyi$_2$	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
yinwuei			1	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
řuo			25	.	1	.	2	6	1	3	.	5	4	3	.
řuo	ŋa		23	2	1	4	1	3	5	2	.	2	.	1	2
řuo	ŋa	yie	3	.	.	1	.	.	.	1	1	.	.	.	.
řuo	ŋa	bian	2	.	.	.	1	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.
řuo	ŋa	bi$_2$	1	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
řuo	ŋa	zieu	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	1	.
řuo	ŋa	fan$_2$	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.
řuo	ši$_2$		10	.	1	.	.	2	1	3	.	.	.	3	.
řuo	ši$_2$	bian	3	.	.	.	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	1	.
řuo	ši$_2$	kiuo	1	.	.	.	.	.		.	1	.	.	.	.
řuo	ši$_2$	bi$_2$	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.
řuo	di		1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.
řuo	di	zieubian	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.
řuo	je		6	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	3	1	.	1
řuo	je	bian	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.
řuo		yie	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.
řuo		bi$_2$	2	.	.	.	.	1	.	1	.	.	.	.	.
řuo		ze	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.
řuobian		gi$_3$	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.
taŋřuo			1	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
řuoguo$_2$			1	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
řuo . . . taŋ			1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.
taŋ	ŋa		1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.
řu			5	1	.	.	.	.	.	1	1	.	.	1	1
řu	ŋa		1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
řu	ši$_2$		1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.
řu	ban		2	.	.	.	.	.	1	1	.	.	.	.	.
řu	yiban		4	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	3	.	.
řu		ze	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.
suei$_3$			7	.	.	.	2	.	.	2	2	.	.	.	1
suei$_3$	ŋa	yie	3	.	.	1	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	.
suei$_3$	di		1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.
suei$_3$		kiuo	2	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.
suei$_3$		du . . . kiuo	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
suei$_3$		ko	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.
suei$_3$		yie	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.
suei$_3$		řan	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.
suei$_3$daŋ	ši$_2$		1	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.
wuei			3	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2
wuei	šaŋteu$_2$		4	1	2	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.
wuei	dišaŋteu$_2$		3	1	.	.	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	.

PREVERBAL, FINAL AND CONJUNCTIVE ADVERB—*contd.*

		Total	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
wuei	yinx	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
jiŋwuei	suoyi$_2$šaŋ	1	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
gi$_2$		30	.	1	1	4	3	1	2	4	1	2	4	7
gi$_2$	ŋa	2	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
gi$_2$	ši$_2$	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.
gi$_2$	heu	2	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.
gi$_2$	ji$_3$heu	1	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
gi$_2$	di	1	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.
gi$_2$	bian	1	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
gi$_2$	zieu	1	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.
gi$_2$	kiuo	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.
gi$_3$		4	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	2	1
gi$_3$	ši$_2$	1	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.
bi$_3$gi$_3$		1	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.
bi$_3$gi$_3$	ŋa	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.
bi$_3$gi$_3$	ši$_2$	2	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
bi$_3$		3	.	.	.	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	1	.
gi$_3$ji		1	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
gi$_3$ji	ši$_2$	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.
ziaŋgi$_3$		1	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.
ji		3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	1	1	.
ji	ši$_2$	2	.	1	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.
ji	ši$_2$ kiuo	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.
ji	ču$_2$	2	.	.	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
ji	faŋ	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.
ji$_5$ji		1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.
ji$_{11}$		1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.
ziaŋ		1	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.

ču$_4$		3	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	1	.	1	.	.
ču$_4$	ši$_2$	16	.	2	3	.	2	.	1	3	.	1	3	1
ču$_4$	ji$_3$gu yin	1	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
ču$_4$	bian	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
daŋču$_4$	ši$_2$	1	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
dan		3	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	1	1
dan	ŋa	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
dan	ŋa bian	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
dan	ši$_2$	2	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
dan	ču$_2$ gie	1	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
dan	di	1	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
dan	di bian	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
dan	di du	2	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.
danxeŋ		1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
danxeŋ	di bian	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.
danfan	ŋa bian	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
danfan	ši$_2$	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
danfan	di	2	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.
fan		2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	.	.
fan	ši$_2$	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	1	.	.
fan	ču$_2$	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	.	.	.
fan	di	5	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	1	1	.	.	2
dafan		1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
dafan	ŋa	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
ki$_3$		1	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.
ki$_3$	ši$_2$	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.
ki$_3$	gian$_2$	1	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
ki$_3$	di	2	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
ki$_3$	ji$_3$gu	1	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
ki$_3$	diyiuan$_5$gu yin	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.
yinki$_3$	diyiuan$_5$gu suei	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.

PREVERBAL, FINAL AND CONJUNCTIVE ADVERB—*contd.*

	Total	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
wueiki$_3$	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.
z$_2$	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.
z$_2$ . . . . ši$_2$	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.
z$_2$ . . . . ji$_3$gian$_2$	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.
z$_2$ . . . . heu . . . suei	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.
z$_2$ . . . . ji$_3$heu	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
z$_2$ . . . . ču$_2$	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.
xuŋ	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.
dai . . . . ši$_2$	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
dai . . . . ši$_2$ . . . . kiuo	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.
xai	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	1	.
xai . . . . ǰuŋgian$_2$ . . bian	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.
xai . . . . ba$_2$	1	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.
ǰi$_4$ . . . . . bi	1	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
ǰi$_4$dau$_3$	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.
suo	7	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	.	1	4
suo . . . . di	4	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	2	.	1	.
suo . . . . ǰe	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	1
suo . . . . ǰi$_3$	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
yi$_2$	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	2	.
šaŋ$_3$	1	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
(wuei$_2$)	3	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	.
(wuei$_2$) . . . ši$_2$	5	.	1	.	.	.	1	.	2	.	1	.	.
(wuei$_2$) . . . ǰi$_3$sian	1	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
(wuei$_2$) . . . ǰuŋgian$_2$	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.
ču$_3$	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.
ču$_3$ . . . . ǰi$_3$wuai	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.
ǰiŋ . . . . gian$_2$	3	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	1	.	.
ǰiŋ . . . . diǰuŋgian$_2$	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.
ǰiŋ . . . . . yieu$_3$	1	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
daŋ . . . . ši$_2$	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.
daŋwuei . . . ši$_2$	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.
(na) . . . . ši$_2$	1	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
yiu$_2$ . . . . ši$_2$	1	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.
yiu$_2$ . . . . ču$_2$	3	.	.	.	.	1	1	1	.	.	.	.	.
zieu . . . . ši$_2$	1	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.
(šuei) . . . ŋa	1	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.
wuei$_3$ . . . . . ze	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
(xeŋ) . . . . . bian	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
. . . . . ši$_2$	140	14	17	13	6	14	14	10	14	23	6	5	4
. . . . . ši$_2$ . . . . zieu	2	.	.	1	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
. . . . . ši$_2$ . . . . ze	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.
. . . . . ši$_2$ . . . . yieu$_3$	1	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
. . . . . ši$_2$gian$_2$	1	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
. . . . . diši$_2$gian$_2$ . . yie	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
. . . . . diši$_2$fun	3	1	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
. . . . . gian$_2$	31	4	5	3	5	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	4
. . . . . gian$_2$ . . . suei	1	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
. . . . . ǰuŋgian$_2$	4	.	.	.	.	.	1	1	.	.	1	1	.
. . . . . diǰuŋgian$_2$	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
. . . . . ki$_3$gian$_2$	1	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
. . . . . diki$_3$gian$_2$	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
. . . . . heu	13	1	5	.	1	2	.	.	2	2	.	.	.
. . . . . diheuteu$_2$	2	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
. . . . . ǰi$_3$heu	3	1	.	.	.	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.
. . . . . ŋa	63	9	9	6	2	5	8	13	5	3	1	.	2
. . . . . ŋa . . . . bian	7	3	1	.	.	.	2	1	.	.	.	.	.
. . . . . ŋa . . . . zieu	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

PREVERBAL, FINAL AND CONJUNCTIVE ADVERB—*contd.*

	Total	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
ŋa . . . . fan$_2$	1	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
ŋa . . . . du	1	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
ŋa . . . . bi$_2$	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	1	.	.	.	.
ŋa . . . . yie	3	2	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
ŋa . . . . yieu$_5$	1	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
ŋa . . . . dau$_2$	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.
ŋa . . . . (naši$_2$)xai	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
šaŋteu$_2$	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.
disaŋteu$_2$	1	.	.	.	1	1	.	1	1	2	1	.	.
disaŋteu$_2$ . . suoyi$_2$	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
diyiuan$_5$gu	4	2	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	1
ču$_2$	11	.	.	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	.	1	.
hia	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
ban	2	.	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
diban	1	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
yiban	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
je	19	.	.	.	1	3	.	2	3	5	1	1	3
bi$_4$ . . . . faŋ	1	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
zieu	59	15	4	3	2	2	6	7	5	6	3	1	5
suei	54	.	1	.	8	11	5	9	1	.	6	7	6
yiu$_2$ši	40	.	3	1	8	6	5	4	2	1	4	4	2
kiuo	40	.	1	3	6	6	3	4	1	3	6	4	3
yieu$_3$	28	.	4	3	4	8	1	1	4	.	.	1	2
bian	22	4	6	2	.	2	4	2	1	.	1	.	.
suoyi$_2$	20	.	4	1	4	2	2	.	2	1	2	1	1
yie	16	3	.	4	.	5	1	1	.	.	.	1	1
ši$_2$	9	.	2	.	3	2	.	.	.	1	.	.	1
heu	8	.	1	1	.	.	.	.	1	.	2	2	1
yi$_4$	7	.	.	.	1	3	.	1	1	.	1	.	.
bi$_2$	7	.	.	.	.	1	1	3	.	.	.	.	2
biŋ$_2$	6	.	.	.	1	.	.	2	.	.	.	3	.
faŋ	5	.	.	.	3	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.
yie . . . yie	5	.	.	.	.	1	1	1	.	.	1	.	1
yin	4	.	.	.	.	1	.	2	1	.	.	.	.
řanheu	3	.	.	.	.	2	.	1	.	.	.	.	.
ze	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3
xai	2	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
du	2	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.
ř$_3$	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2
gu	2	.	.	.	.	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.
zi	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	1	.
jo	2	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.
yie . . . du	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
siuan . . . siuan	1	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
fan$_2$	1	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
xaifaŋ	1	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
faŋxai	1	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.
huo . . . huo	1	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.
ši$_2$ . . . faŋ	1	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.
ko	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.
yi$_2$heu	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.
ši$_7$	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.
šaŋ$_3$	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.
gi$_3$	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.
řu	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.
yiu$_2$ši . . . suei	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.

IX. C. 12.

PARTICLE		Total	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
(Clausal)														
Aspect liau	(non-final)	299	53	37	34	26	20	15	17	14	10	36	19	18
liau	(final)	23	4	1	1	1	2	.	1	2	.	2	5	4
liau	(unmarked)	688	60	124	75	56	62	65	64	41	27	47	37	30
liau	(total) *	1010	117	162	110	83	84	80	82	57	37	85	61	52
Mood jo		321	30	81	44	24	16	38	18	11	22	18	6	13
ma		9	.	3	.	.	3	1	1	.	.	1	.	.
madau$_3$		16	2	3	3	1	2	2	2	1	.	.	.	.
feu		1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.
je		112	2	.	3	4	1	9	7	10	48	19	1	8
jo		17	.	.	1	.	1	6	1	4	.	1	.	3
yieje		9	2	.	.	.	1	1	.	1	.	.	2	2
za		5	.	.	1	.	.	2	.	.	2	.	.	.
ba$_2$		1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.
Genitival di		396	39	62	31	19	32	26	43	33	40	26	28	17
ji$_3$		4	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3
(Verbal)														
sie		4	.	1	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
(Nominal)														
Plural mui	(kinship terms)	54	5	20	8	2	3	.	.	2	6	4	4	.
mui	(names)	21	1	3	10	.	.	.	5	.	.	1	1	.
mui	(others)	34	1	7	5	1	3	4	2	4	1	1	.	5
mui	(total) **	109	7	30	23	3	6	4	7	6	7	6	5	5
deŋ		51	1	1	2	5	5	3	2	5	3	7	8	9
Genitival di		440	75	54	66	26	34	46	31	23	23	23	18	21
ji$_3$		6	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	4

* excluding occasional occurrence as free verb.
** excluding mui as final syllable of personal pronouns.

D. LEXICAL TRANSLATION FORMS
COLLOCATION OF MONGOLIAN NAMES

IX.D. 1. Mongolian words in the Chinese text :

' anda '
' beki '
' čerbi '
' daruqa '
' ǰamči '
' ǰawuquri '
' tammači '

All except ǰamči have human reference ; anda is translated " sworn brother " and collocates with names and titles and with zuo " were, became ". The remainder are official titles and collocate as follows : with guan$_2$ " officer " (čerbi, beki, tammači), with čin " civil officer " (daruqa), with miŋfun " title " (čerbi, ǰawuquri) and with zuo (beki, tammači) and li$_3$ " set up ". ǰamči " post, station " (compare Chinese ǰam) likewise collocates with li$_3$.

IX.D. 2. Forms collocating with immediately preceding Mongolian proper names :

(a) Persons and social groupings

řz	hiuŋdi$_5$(mui)	fu$_3$(xin)
' son '	' brother(s) '	' father '
niuř	di$_5$	befu$_3$
' daughter '	' younger brother '	' uncle '
z	go$_4$go$_4$	fu$_3$z
' boy, son '	' elder brother '	' father and son '
niu	mu$_2$(xin)	zsun
' girl, daughter '	' mother '	' child(ren) and grandchild(ren) '
fu$_2$řin	fu$_2$xi$_2$	
' wife, lady '	' husband and wife '	
řin	lau fu$_4$řin	niaŋniaŋ
' man '	' old woman '	' mother '

lau řin	lau mu_2	siau niaŋ
' old man '	' old mother '	' young woman '
' anda '	$yiuŋ_2ši_{10}$	taiz
	' hero '	' prince '
$guan_2řin$	$li_5ši_{10}$	$huaŋdi_6$
' officer '	' brave '	' emperor '
$řinši_6$	$čiŋ_5siaŋ_3$	
' person '	' minister '	
gia	$ǰuŋ_2$	giun
' household '	' people '	' soldier(s) '
siŋ	$ǰuŋ_2siŋ$	$giunma_3$
' clan '	' people '	' troops '
$siŋ\ ši_6$	bu_4luo	
' clan '	' settlement '	
$ši_6$	baisiŋ	
' family '	' folk '	

(b) Topography

di_2mian	keuz	$ho_3ǰeu_3di\ di_2$
' place '	' opening '	' island in the river'
šan	$liŋ_3$	$šuei_2$
' mountain '	' range '	' watercourse '
siau šan	ho_3	hai_3z
' hill '	' river '	' lake '
šanyiai	siau ho_3	čuan di_2mian
' cliff '	' stream '	' river place '
yiai	$ho_3\ yiuan_2teu_2$	di_2
' cliff '	' source '	' place '

(together with all the above preceded by $miŋz_3di$ ' called ' ; di never occurs without $miŋz_3di$.)

E. SUGGESTED EMENDATIONS

IX.E. 1. 1. Text

(I. 30b ; 48.5)	Insert miŋ initially
(I. 34a ; 52.9)	Insert $ši_4$ after $xši_2$
(I. 46a ; 65.6)	For ǰo read kan
(II. 37b ; 94.4)	For lie read dau

IX.E. 2. 2. Punctuation [1]

(I. 5b ; 8.2–3)	Insert stop after yi gia
(I. 8b ; 13.4)	Delete stop after teu_2
(I. 10a ; 16.1)	Delete stop after $ǰi_2$
(I. 11b ; 18.9)	Delete stop after yia_2
(I. 30b ; 48.6–7)	Insert stop after xi z
(I. 32a ; 51.7–8)	Insert stop after $nubei_3$
(II. 3a ; 71.3–4)	Insert stop after bian $či_4$
(II. 13a ; 78.19–20)	Insert stop after $kimšeu_3$ ban
(II. 16b ; 80.7)	Delete stop after ŋanz
(II. 18a ; 81.2)	Delete stop after baisiŋ
(II. 49b ; 102.10–11)	Insert stop after Toqtoa
(III. 48a (148a) ; 124.9)	Delete stop after Daldurqan
(IV. 9b ; 131.3–4)	Insert stop after $ǰiŋ_3li_4\ ši_2$
(IV. 26b ; 139.3–4)	Insert stop after Balaqa
(V. 10b ; 150.4–5)	Insert stop after $ǰan_3$ tuei
(V. 44b ; 167.2–3)	Insert stop after duei ta fu_3 šuo
(V. 45a ; 167.28–29)	Delete stop after řz hiŋ and insert after ma
(VI. 15b ; 173.12–13)	Insert stop after giau $či_4$
(VI. 20b ; 176.2–3)	Insert stop after Wuŋgira
(VI. 32a ; 177.35)	Delete stop after ma
(IX. 44a ; 227.3)	Delete stop after yi ban_3
(X. 25a ; 242.7–8)	Insert stop after baisiŋ
(X. 26b ; 243.13–14)	Insert stop after J̌ake
(XI. 40b ; 257.6)	Delete stop after Subeetai
(XII. 28a ; 274.6–7)	Insert stop after $zin_2\ guŋ_4$

The total number of pieces is thus increased by six.

IX.E. 3. 3. Lists of free nouns

Where the exponent of N in one position in a clause structure is a list of free nouns (especially frequent with names), the stop is used to separate the nouns one from another. There are 113 instances of this use of the stop in the text, by chapters as follows :—

[1] Pieces are numbered as amended ; thus (I. 5b ; 8.2–3) represents the numbering *after* the stop has been inserted.

I.	8	VII.	6
II.	7	VIII.	1
III.	40	IX.	5
IV.	10	X.	5
V.	2	XI.	14
VI.	10	XII.	5

If such stops were deleted, as they might be on the grounds of their special grammatical function, the total number of pieces would be reduced to 5273. These stops have however been retained in the enumeration of the pieces.

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IX. F. 6. JAPANESE

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ERRATUM

LIST OF CHARACTERS for Cantonese words

Read :

mat 乜

me 咩

CHINESE SYLLABARY AND TABLE OF CHARACTERS

Below are listed, in alphabetical order, the syllables of Early New Chinese in the transcription used in this book. Where the Modern Pekingese transcription diverges, the forms of the latter are given in parentheses. Each syllable is followed by the graphic symbols (Chinese characters) representing all lexical characters referred to in the preceding sections (other than VII. B). Where two or more characters occur with one syllable, subscript figures refer to the subscript figures of the transcription (thus ba_3 = 吧).

ba 把 2罷 3吧 4巴 5八
bai 百 2白 3敗
ban 般 2半 3班 4伴
baŋ
bau 報 2飽 3抱
be (bə) 伯
bei (bəi) 被 2北 3婢
beŋ (bəŋ) 崩
bi 彼 2必 3比 4畢 5避
bian 便 2邊 3遍 4徧 5鞭
biau
bie (biə) 別
bin
biŋ 井 2並
bo (bə) 搏
bu 不 2捕 3布 4部 5卜 6步
bui (bəi) 備 2背
bun (bən) 奔 2本
buŋ (bəŋ)
ča 差
čai 差
čam (čan)
čan 禪
čaŋ 常
čau
če (čə) 車
čeu (čəu) 抽 2讎
či (č) 遲 2笞 3赤 4喫
čim (čən)
čin (čən) 臣 2趁 3嗔 4塵
čiŋ (čəŋ) 成 2乘 3稱 4程 5承 6城
ču 出 2處 3除 4初 5廚 6雛
čuai
čuan 川 2穿
čuaŋ 床
čuei (čuəi) 垂 2吹
čun 春
čuŋ 衝 2舂 3鍾 4虫 5充
čuo (čuə)
da 大 2打 3答
dai 待 2帶 3歹
dam (dan) 擔 2膽
dan 但 2丹
daŋ 當
dau 到 2倒 3道 4刀
fan 凡 2反 3叛
faŋ 方 2放 3房
feu (fəu) 否
fo (fə)
fu 付 2夫 3父 4婦 5伏 6袱 7府 8服 9復 10駙 11腹
fui (fəi) 肺 2廢 3肥 4吠
fun (fən) 分 2紛
fuŋ (fəŋ) 風 2奉
gai 該 2蓋
gam (gan) 敢
gan 幹 2趕 3竿 4簳 5肝
gaŋ 剛
gau 告 2羔
ge (gə) 隔
gei (gəi) 給
gen (gən) 根 2跟
geŋ (gəŋ)
geu (gəu) 鈎 2狗 3溝
gi (ji) 幾 2既 3及 4己 5鷄 6饑 7機 8記
gia (jia) 家 2加 3甲 4枷
giam (jian)
gian (jian) 見 2間 3件 4諫 5揀 6肩 7艱
giaŋ (jiaŋ)
giau (jiau) 敎 2叫
gie (jiə) 皆 2羯 3劫 4結
gieu (jiəu) 救 2久 3舊 4九 5舅
gim (jin) 今 2金
gin (jin) 筋
giŋ (jiŋ) 經 2莖
giu (jiu) 居 2懼 3舉
giuan (jiuan)
giue (jiuə) 腳
giun (jiun) 軍 2君
giuŋ (jiuŋ)
giuo (jiuə) 覺
go (gə) 箇 2個 3各 4哥 5割
gu 故 2谷 3古 4骨
gua
guai 怪
guan 管 2官
guaŋ 光
guei (guəi) 跪
hiau (siau)
hie (siə)
hieu (siəu) 休
him (sin)
hin (sin)
hiŋ (siŋ) 行
hiu (siu) 許 2虛
hiuan (siuan)
hiue (siuə) 血
hiun (siun)
hiuŋ (siuŋ) 兄
hiuo (siuə)
ho (hə) 何 2合 3河
hu 護 2虎 3謔 4戶 5忽
hua 話
huai 壞
huan 換 2喚 3還 4歡
huaŋ 皇 2荒 3黃
huei (huəi) 回 2會
hun 昏 2渾
huŋ
huo (huə) 或 2惑 3活 4火 5豁
ǰa 札
ǰai 寨
ǰam (ǰan) 站
ǰan 盞 2顫 3戰
ǰaŋ 長 2張 3丈 4仗 5掌 6帳
ǰau 着 2找 3照 4召
ǰe (ǰə) 者 2這 3折 4遮
ǰeŋ (ǰəŋ) 爭
ǰeu (ǰəu) 周 2州 3洲
ǰi (ǰ) 至 2隻 3之 4只 5直 6止 7知 8指 9執 10治 11致
ǰim (ǰən) 枕 2針
ǰin (ǰən) 陣 2眞 3賑
ǰiŋ (ǰəŋ) 正 2證 3整
ǰo (ǰ) 着
ǰu 主 2住 3諸 4助 5珠 6煮 7誅
ǰua
ǰuai
ǰuan
ǰuaŋ
ǰuei (ǰuəi)
ǰun 准
ǰuŋ 中 2種 3衆 4重
ǰuo (ǰuə)
kai 開
kam (kan) 砍
kan 看
kaŋ 抗
kau 靠
ke (kə) 克
ken (kən) 肯
keŋ (kəŋ)
keu (kəu) 口
ki (ci) 起 2訖 3其 4豈 5騎 6棄 7契 8乞 9氣
kia (cia) 恰
kuan
kuaŋ 況
kuei (kuəi) 潰
kun 困
kuŋ 恐
kuo (kuə)
la 剌
lai 來 2賴
lam (lan)
lan
laŋ 狼
lau 老
le (lə) 勒 2理 3汐
leŋ (ləŋ)
leu (ləu) 露
li 裏 2離 3立 4理 5力
liam (lian) 簾
lian 連
liaŋ 兩 2量
liau 了 2料
(lə) 了
lie (liə) 列
lieu (liəu) 留 2六 3流
lim (lin) 臨 2林
lin
liŋ 令 2領 3嶺 4另
liu
liue (liuə)
liuo (liuə)
lo (lə)
lu 路 2陸 3擄
luan 亂
lui (ləi) 淚
lun 輪
luŋ 龍
luo (luə) 落 2裸
ma 麼 2嗎 3馬
mai 埋
man 滿
maŋ 忙
mau 帽 2毛
me (mə)
meŋ (məŋ) 猛
meu (məu)
mi 密
mian 面 2免
miau
mie (miə) 滅
mieu (miəu) 繆 (謬)
min
miŋ 名 2命 3明
mo (mə) 莫
mu 木 2母 3目 4牧
mui (məi) 每 2沒 3妹
mun (mən) 們 2門
muŋ (məŋ)
na 那 2拿
nai 奈 2妳
nam (nan) 男
nan 難
naŋ

bei (bəi) 被 2北 3婢
beŋ (bəŋ) 崩
bi 彼 2必 3比 4畢 5避
bian 使 2邊 3遍 4偏 5鞭
biau
bie (biə) 別
bin
biŋ 井 2並
bo (bə) 搏
bu 不 2捕 3布 4部 5卜 6步
bui (bəi) 備 2背
bun (bən) 奔 2本
buŋ (bəŋ)
ča 差
čai 差
čam (čan)
čan 禪
čaŋ 常
čau
če (čə) 車
čeu (čəu) 抽 2讎
či (č) 遲 2笞 3赤 4喫
čim (čən)
čin (čən) 臣 2趁 3嗔 4塵
čiŋ (čəŋ) 成 2乘 3稱 4程 5承 6城
ču 出 2處 3除 4初 5廚 6雛
čuai
čuan 川 2穿
čuaŋ 床
čuei (čuəi) 垂 2吹
čun 春
čuŋ 衝 2舂 3鍾 4虫 5充
čuo (čuə)
da 大 2打 3答
dai 待 2帶 3歹
dam (dan) 擔 2膽
dan 但 2丹
daŋ 當
dau 到 2倒 3道 4刀
de (də) 得
(dəi) 得
deŋ (dəŋ) 等
deu (dəu) 鬪 2斗
di 的 2地 3底 4第 5弟 6帝 7敵
diam (dian) 點
dian
diau 調 2釣 3貂
die (diə)
dieu (diəu) 丟
diŋ 定 2丁
du 都 2度 3渡 4肚 5毒
duan 斷
duei (duəi) 對 2碓
dun
duŋ 動 2東 3冬
duo (duə) 多 2躲 3奪
fa 發 2筏 3罰 4髮
fui (fəi) 肺 2廢 3肥 4吠
fun (fən) 分 2紛
fuŋ (fəŋ) 風 2奉
gai 該 2蓋
gam (gan) 敢
gan 幹 2趕 3竿 4𣍐 5肝
gaŋ 剛
gau 告 2羔
ge (gə) 隔
gei (gəi) 給
gen (gən) 根 2跟
geŋ (gəŋ)
geu (gəu) 鈎 2狗 3溝
gi (ji) 幾 2既 3及 4己 5鷄 6饑 7機 8記
gia (jia) 家 2加 3甲 4枷
giam (jian)
gian (jian) 見 2間 3件 4諫 5揀 6肩 7艱
giaŋ (jiaŋ)
giau (jiau) 敎 2叫
gie (jiə) 皆 2羯 3劫 4結
gieu (jiəu) 救 2久 3舊 4九 5舅
gim (jin) 今 2金
gin (jin) 筋
giŋ (jiŋ) 經 2莖
giu (jiu) 居 2懼 3擧
giuan (jiuan)
giue (jiuə) 腳
giun (jiun) 軍 2君
giuŋ (jiuŋ)
giuo (jiuə) 覺
go (gə) 箇 2個 3各 4哥 5割
gu 故 2谷 3古 4骨
gua
guai 怪
guan 管 2官
guaŋ 光
guei (guəi) 跪
gun
guŋ 弓 2攻 3共 4貢
guo (guə) 過 2果 3裹 4鍋 5國
hai 害 2孩 3海
ham (han)
han 罕
haŋ
hau 好
he (hə)
hei (həi) 黑
hen (hən)
heŋ (həŋ)
heu (həu) 後 2候 3厚
hi (si) 係 2喜
hia (sia) 下 2狹
hiam (sian) 嫌 2陷 3險
hian (sian) 見 2掀 3獻
hiaŋ (siaŋ) 向 2項 3降
huo (huə) 或 2惑 3活 4火 5豁
ǰa 札
ǰai 寨
ǰam (ǰan) 站
ǰan 盞 2顫 3戰
ǰaŋ 長 2張 3丈 4仗 5掌 6帳
ǰau 着 2找 3照 4召
ǰe (ǰə) 者 2這 3折 4遮
ǰeŋ (ǰəŋ) 爭
ǰeu (ǰəu) 周 2州 3洲
ǰi (ǰ) 至 2隻 3之 4只 5直 6止 7知 8指 9執 10治 11致
ǰim (ǰən) 枕 2針
ǰin (ǰən) 陣 2眞 3賑
ǰiŋ (ǰəŋ) 正 2證 3整
ǰo (ǰ) 着
ǰu 主 2住 3諸 4助 5珠 6煮 7誅
ǰua
ǰuai
ǰuan
ǰuaŋ
ǰuei (ǰuəi)
ǰun 准
ǰuŋ 中 2種 3衆 4重
ǰuo (ǰuə)
kai 開
kam (kan) 砍
kan 看
kaŋ 抗
kau 靠
ke (kə) 克
ken (kən) 肯
keŋ (kəŋ)
keu (kəu) 口
ki (ci) 起 2訖 3其 4豈 5騎 6棄 7契 8乞 9氣
kia (cia) 恰
kiam (cian)
kian (cian) 牽
kiaŋ (ciaŋ)
kiau (ciau) 巧
kie (ciə)
kieu (ciəu)
kim (cin) 禽
kin (cin)
kiŋ (ciŋ) 輕
kiu (ciu) 去
kiuan (ciuan) 圈 2勸
kiue (ciuə)
kiun (ciun) 羣
kiuŋ (ciuŋ)
kiuo (ciuə) 却
ko (kə) 可
ku
kua
kuai 塊
lie (liə) 列
lieu (liəu) 留 2六 3流
lim (lin) 臨 2林
lin
liŋ 令 2領 3嶺 4另
liu
liue (liuə)
liuo (liuə)
lo (lə)
lu 路 2陸 3擄
luan 亂
lui (ləi) 淚
lun 輪
luŋ 龍
luo (luə) 落 2裸
ma 麼 2嗎 3馬
mai 埋
man 滿
maŋ 忙
mau 帽 2毛
me (mə)
meŋ (məŋ) 猛
meu (məu)
mi 密
mian 面 2免
miau
mie (miə) 滅
mieu (miəu) 繆 (謬)
min
miŋ 名 2命 3明
mo (mə) 莫
mu 木 2母 3目 4牧
mui (məi) 每 2沒 3妹
mun (mən) 們 2門
muŋ (məŋ)
na 那 2拿
nai 奈 2妳
nam (nan) 男
nan 難
naŋ
nau
nei (nəi) 內
neŋ (nəŋ) 能
neu (nəu)
ni 你 2呢 3逆 4泥
niam (nian)
nian 年
niaŋ 娘
niau 鳥
nie (niə)
nieu (niəu) 牛
nim (nin) 您
niŋ 濘
niu 女
niue (niuə)
niuo (niuə)
nu 奴 2怒
nuan
nun

nuŋ
nuo (nuə)
ŋa 呵
ŋai 挨 2愛
ŋam (ŋan) 俺 2暗 3庵
ŋan 鞍 2安 3岸
ŋaŋ
ŋau 襖
ŋe (ŋə) 額
ŋen (ŋən) 恩
ŋeu (ŋəu)
ŋo (ŋə) 餓
pa 怕
pai 排
pan 盤
paŋ 傍
pau
pe (pə)
pei (pəi)
peŋ (pəŋ) 碰
pi 匹 2皮
pian
piau
pie (piə) 撇
pin
piŋ 平
po (pə) 破
pu 髴
pui (pəi)
pun (pən)
puŋ (pəŋ)
ř (ǐ) 兒 2二 3而 4衄
řam (řan)
řan 然
řaŋ 讓
řau 繞 2擾
ře (řə) 熱
řeu (řəu)
ři (ř) 日
řim (řən) 任
řin (řən) 人 2忍 3認
řiŋ (řəŋ)
řu 如 2入 3汝 4乳
řuan
řuei (řuəi)
řun
řuŋ 容
řuo (řuə) 若 2弱
s 似 2斯 3死 4恃 5思
sa
sai 腮
sam (san) 三
san 散
saŋ
sau
se (sə) 色
seŋ (səŋ)
seu (səu) 搜
si 西 2襲 3徙 4篩 5細
siam (sian)
sian 先
ša 殺
šai
šam (šan) 衫
šan 山 2騸
šaŋ 上 2賞 3尙 4傷 5商
šau 少 2哨 3燒
še (šə) 捨 2射 3舌
šeŋ (šəŋ) 生
šeu (šəu) 手 2守 3獸 4收 5授
ši (š) 是 2時 3十 4使 5實 6氏 7適 8試 9獅 10士 11失 12室 13識 14事 15視 16食
šim (šən) 甚 2審 3深
šin (šən) 身
šiŋ (šəŋ) 勝 2聲
šu 熟 2鼠 3輸 4暑 5樹 6叔 7數
šua
šuai
šuan 拴
šuaŋ 雙
šuei (šuəi) 誰 2水
šun 順
šuo (šuə) 說 2搠
ta 他 2踏
tai 太 2擡
tam (tan) 貪
tan
taŋ 倘
tau 套 2逃
te (tə) 特
teŋ (təŋ) 疼
teu (təu) 透 2頭
ti 提 2體 3惕
tiam (tian) 添
tian 天 2田
tiau 條 2跳 3挑
tie (tiə) 貼 2鐵
tiŋ 聽
tu 土 2兎 3圖
tuan
tuei (tuəi) 退 2推
tun
tuŋ 同 2筒 3桶
tuo (tuə) 脫 2駝
wu 無 2物 3汚 4巫 5五 6惡
wua
wuai 外 2歪
wuan 萬 2完 3晚
wuaŋ 望 2往 3王 4忘 5網
wuei (wuəi) 爲 2未 3圍 4違 5衛 6位 7委 8惟 9尾
wun 問 2聞 3穩 4温
wuŋ 甕
wuo (wuə) 我
x 此 2次 3辭 4賜
xa
xai 纔 2才 3財
xam (xan) 慘
xiun (ciun)
xiuŋ (ciuŋ)
xu
xuan
xuei (xuəi)
xun
xuŋ 從 2叢
xuo (xuə) 磋
yi 一 2以 3已 4亦 5意 6疑 7倚 8依 9衣 10易 11議
yia 迓 2牙
yiai 崖
yiam (yian) 厭
yian 沿 2烟 3顏 4涎 5言 6眼 7筵
yiaŋ 樣 2養 3佯 4羊 5鴦
yiau 要 2搖 3藥
yie (yiə) 也 2夜
yieu (yiəu) 有 2由 3又 4右 5猶 6誘
yim (yin) 音
yin 因 2引 3銀
yiŋ 營 2硬 3迎 4影 5應 6鷹
yiu 與 2於 3欲 4魚 5孟 6遇 7語 8雨 9愚 10餘
yiuan 原 2源 3願 4遠 5緣 6鴛 7轅 8冤
yiue (yiuə) 越 2躍
yiun
yiuŋ 用 2勇 3永
yiuo (yiuə) 約
z 子 2自 3字 4仔
za 咱
zai 在 2再 3載
zam (zan)
zan
zaŋ
zau 早 2遭
ze (zə) 則
zei (zəi) 賊
zem (zən) 怎
zeŋ (zəŋ)
zeu (zəu) 走
zi (ji) 卽 2脊 3集 4擠 5濟 6跡
ziam (jian)
zian (jian) 箭 2踐 3剪
ziaŋ (jiaŋ) 將
ziau (jiau)
zie (jiə) 節 2接 3借
zieu (jiəu) 就
zim (jin)
zin (jin) 盡 2進
ziŋ (jiŋ)
ziu (jiu) 聚
ziuan (jiuan)
ziue (jiuə) 絕
ziun (jiun)
ziuŋ (jiuŋ)
zu 祖 2足 3阻
zuan
zuei (zuəi) 最
zun
zuŋ 縱 2蹤
zuo (zuə) 做 2作 3坐 4左 5昨

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30. 紐
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33. 實字
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44. 陽平
45. 他住在北平
46. 後事相
47. 近過去貌

pian
piau
pie (piə) 撇
pin
piŋ 平
po (pə) 破
pu 髆
pui (pəi)
pun (pən)
puŋ (pəŋ)
ř (Ǐ) 兒 2二 3而 4峏
řam (řan)
řan 然
řaŋ 讓
řau 繞 2擾
ře (řə) 熱
řeu (řəu)
ři (ř) 日
řim (řən) 任
řin (řən) 人 2忍 3認
řiŋ (řəŋ)
řu 如 2入 3汝 4乳
řuan
řuei (řuəi)
řun
řuŋ 容
řuo (řuə) 若 2弱
s 似 2厮 3死 4恃 5思
sa
sai 腮
sam (san) 三
san 散
saŋ
sau
se (sə) 色
seŋ (səŋ)
seu (səu) 搜
si 西 2襲 3徙 4簏 5細
siam (sian)
sian 先
siaŋ 像 2想 3相 4廂
siau 小 2笑 3消
sie (siə) 些 2寫 3薛
sieu (siəu)
sim (sin) 心 2尋
sin 信 2新
siŋ 姓 2省 3醒 4性
siu 須 2續 3壻
siuan 旋 2選 3宣
siue (siuə) 雪
siun
siuŋ
su 宿
suan
suei (suəi) 遂 2歲 3雖 4隨 5碎
sun 孫
suŋ 送
suo (suə) 所 2索
šuaŋ 雙
šuei (šuəi) 誰 2水
šun 順
šuo (šuə) 說 2搠
ta 他 2踏
tai 太 2撻
tam (tan) 貪
tan
taŋ 倘
tau 套 2逃
te (tə) 特
teŋ (təŋ) 疼
teu (təu) 透 2頭
ti 提 2體 3惕
tiam (tian) 添
tian 天 2田
tiau 條 2跳 3挑
tie (tiə) 貼 2鐵
tiŋ 聽
tu 土 2兎 3圖
tuan
tuei (tuəi) 退 2推
tun
tuŋ 同 2筒 3桶
tuo (tuə) 脫 2駝
wu 無 2物 3汚 4巫 5五 6惡
wua
wuai 外 2歪
wuan 萬 2完 3晚
wuaŋ 望 2往 3王 4忘 5網
wuei (wuəi) 爲 2未 3圍 4違 5衛 6位 7委 8惟 9尾
wun 問 2聞 3穩 4温
wuŋ 甕
wuo (wuə) 我
x 此 2次 3辭 4賜
xa
xai 幾 2才 3財
xam (xan) 慘
xan
xaŋ
xau
xe (xə)
xeŋ (xəŋ) 曾 2層
xeu (xəu)
xi (ci) 七 2妻
xiam (cian) 潛
xian (cian) 前 2千
xiaŋ (ciaŋ) 槍
xiau (ciau)
xie (ciə)
xieu (ciəu)
xim (cin)
xin (cin) 親
xiŋ (ciŋ) 請 2晴
xiu (ciu) 取
xiuan (ciuan)
xiue (ciuə) 雀
yim (yin) 音
yin 因 2引 3銀
yiŋ 營 2硬 3迎 4影 5應 6鷹
yiu 與 2於 3欲 4魚 5孟 6遇 7語 8雨 9愚 10餘
yiuan 原 2源 3願 4遠 5緣 6鴛 7轅 8寃
yiue (yiuə) 越 2躍
yiun
yiuŋ 用 2勇 3永
yiuo (yiuə) 約
z 子 2自 3字 4仔
ziu (jiu) 聚
ziuan (jiuan)
ziue (jiuə) 絕
ziun (jiun)
ziuŋ (jiuŋ)
zu 祖 2足 3阻
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21. 文廷式
22. 葉德輝
23. 蒙文元朝秘史
24. 古今小說
25. 卷, 續
26. 字
27. 劉三吾
28. 反切
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46. 後事相
47. 近過去貌
48. 葛令公生遺弄珠兒
49. 轉音
50. 對轉
51. 上聲
52. 陰平

LIST OF CHARACTERS for Cantonese words occurring in the text.

dak 得
dim 點(怎)
m 唔
ma 嗎
mat 咩
me 乜
mei 未
mou 冇
tuŋ 通
zou 做

LIST OF CHARACTERS for Mongolian words occurring in the text.

anda 安答
beki 別乞
čerbi 扯兒必
daruqa 答舌魯中合
ǰamči 站赤
ǰawuquri 札兀中忽舌里
tammači 探馬赤