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The Passive Constructions in the Language of the Secret History

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Although the "Secret History" has been studied linguistically[1], many problems are still awaiting solution. A complete grammar of the language of this important Middle Mongolian document cannot be written in the present stage. Instead, a number of special papers on individual problems should be written. One of such problems is the passive. The meanings and functions of the passive in the language of the "Secret History" are so different from what is called passivum in Latin that one is reluctant to use the term passive with regard to the forms in question in that literary work.

Haenisch was the first to pay attention to passive constructions in the text of the "Secret History", which differ, in many aspects, from the passive verbs in the more recent texts in Written Mongolian. A characteristic feature noticed by Haenisch is the occurrence of passive forms in *intransitive* verbs, which have often the meaning "durch einen Vorgang begünstigt oder geschädigt werden"[2].

The passive was also discussed by Street who established three distinct cases: 1. the actor of the verb is a goal of the verb alone; 2. the actor is a person indirectly affected; 3. the actor is a person whose possession is the goal of the verb alone[3].

Although both Haenisch and Street have given a number of interesting examples and established some rules, the subject has not been exhausted. Thus, neither of them has discussed the grammatical form of the actor whose action (passive verb) affects the syntactic subject, or the form of the direct complement of the passive verb which indirectly affects the syntactic subject of the whole clause.

The conclusion drawn from Haenisch's and Street's observations is that two distinct main cases can be established: 1. the passive verb has exactly the same meaning and function as the Latin passive, and 2. the action of the passive verb affects the syntactic subject indirectly. The situation is, however, more complicated, and other cases can be added, some of them being subclasses of the main divisions. The following discussion will deal with three main cases: 1. the pure passive, i. e., passive of the Latin type; 2. the necessitative, i. e., cases in which the passive verb expresses the idea of the necessity or possibility to act; and 3. the passive which indirectly affects the syntactic subject. As a general remark, let it be said that this article is based on all examples which were found in the text of the "Secret History". Not a single example has been

[1] G. Doerfer, Beiträge zur Syntax der Sprache der Geheimen Geschichte der Mongolen, CAJ 1 : 4 (1955), pp. 219 ff.; J. C. Street, The Language of the Secret History of the Mongols, American Oriental Series 42, New Haven, Conn. 1957.

[2] E. Haenisch, Grammatische Besonderheiten in der Sprache des Manghol un Niuca Tobca' an, Stud. Or. Fen., Vol. XIV: 3 (1950), p. 17.

[3] Street, op. cit. ,p. 43.

left out, unless by inadvertence, because the aim has been here to avoid conclusions drawn from insufficient material. The "Secret History" is too precious a document to be treated superficially. All evidence available is to be utilized.

I. The True Passive

The term true passive denotes here passive of the Latin type *liber legitur* or English *he was seen*. The syntactic subject of such a passive clause is also the object of the action, i. e., the subject is directly affected by the action and is, so to speak, the immediate victim of the action. It is what Haenisch calls passivus commodi. Only transitive verbs occur in this kind of passive.

1. True passive without actor

First, such constructions will be dealt with in which there is no actor, i. e., they lack mention of the person which performs the action of the passive verb. In other words, constructions of the type *he was seen* (without mention of the person which saw him) will be discussed here.

Examples[1]:

daruqalaqdaqsat kebte'üleče eriye (232) 'let us seek from the *kebte'ül* who were commanded (i. e., who stood under the command)'; *činggis qahan gereljü šiqaqdaju* (245) 'Činggis Qahan, being afraid and vexed (lit. and pressed)'; *ötogüs aqalaqdaba ele ke'en sača'un oroqsat minu kešikteni nadača eye ügei bü hončidutqun* (227) 'seniors, do not scold[2], without my permission, my bodyguards who entered as equals, saying (i. e., motivating your scolding) that they were under the command'; *tedüi erijü ese oldalai* (112) 'then, being sought, she was not found'; *belgütei teyin čabčiqdaju bö'et* (131) '*Belgütei*, having been chopped in that manner'; *olonta'u quyu'ulju ökbesü de'ejilekdegü, jö'ente'ü quyu'ulju ökbesü doromjilaqdaqu* (66) 'if one gives [her in marriage], making beg [for her] many times, she will be elevated; if one gives, making beg a few times, she will be treated as inferior'; *uyilaqdaqu činu usut olon ketülbe* (56) 'your bemoaned one has crossed many rivers (lit. waters)'; *onanu tün dotora kebte'esü üjekdegü* (81) 'if I lie in the Onan forest, I shall be seen'; *ečige minu naqu bayan ke'ekdeyü* (90) 'my father is called Naqu Bayan'; *maši ayüldaba bi* (103) 'I was greatly frightened (lit. made fear)'; *burqan qalduni qurbanta quči'ulju ayu'uldala'a bi* (199) 'they encircling Burqan Qaldun three times (i. e., surrounding with three concentric circles), I was afraid (lit. made fear)'; *qurban süni qurban üdüt bulqaqdarun büčijü bayibasu . . .oroba* (185) 'in consequence of having been attacked for three nights and three days, when they were surrounded . . . they surrendered'; *oro'a göre'esüntür utura'ulda'asu* (179) 'when I am made go for a hunt against wild animals which come in[3] (i. e., which get themselves rounded up)'; *kebte'ülün*

[1] The examples were taken from: Paul Pelliot, Histoire Secrète des Mongols, Paris 1949. The numbers in round brackets refer to sections. The transcription was corrected and partly changed. Thus, *e* was substituted for Pelliot's *ä*, and his *ï* was replaced with *i*.

[2] The verb *hončid-* is derived from *honči* = Mo. *onči*.

[3] Neither Haenisch nor Pelliot translate *oro'a*. The word *göre'esün* itself, without any attribute, means 'wild animal'. The form *oro'a* is a nomen imperfecti of *oro-* 'to enter', i. e., animals which entered the circle.

čerik ker ülü qarqaqdamui (233) 'the army of the *kebte'ül* is under no conditions led out (lit. is how not led out)', i. e., is under no conditions to be led out[1]; *alaqdaqu gü bi* (149) 'I shall be killed'.

2. Verba dicendi

The passive of the verb *ke'e-* or another verbum dicendi occurs frequently. Two subclasses can be established: 1. someone is the object talked of; 2. someone is told something.

A. The syntactic subject is the object of conversation.

In such cases the syntactic subject is the topic of conversation. It is discussed by somebody.

Examples:

ǰamuqa anda uyidangqa ke'ekden büle'e (118) 'J̌amuqa anda is said [to be] bored (here: fed up)'; *tayan qan ö'eriyen emečilekden ügülekdeǰü* (194) 'Tayan Qan was spoken of in the way old women are spoken of' (lit. was spoken being treated like a woman); *aša gambuda ker eyin ügülekden büle'ei* (256) 'how was [I] talked of by Aša Gambu?'

B. The syntactic subject is the recipient of information.

In such cases the syntactic subject is told something. He himself is not the topic of someone's speech, but he is talked to.

Examples:

dayin gürbe ke'ekdeǰü üǰe'esü (170) 'being told "the enemy has arrived", when he looked . . .'; *kö'üt minu qat bolǰu'u ke'ekdemüi bi* (112) 'I am told [that] my sons have become khans'; *nuntuq huni butara'ulčaǰu atuqai ke'ekdeǰü qabarača huni qangšitala qaqas kelelekdeǰü* (242) 'being told he should participate in dispersing the camp smoke, being urgently spoken to until smoke came whirling out of the nose'; *ǰiči mut ǰokilduya ke'ekdeǰü* (132) 'being also spoken to "let us make peace"'; *tende sa'u ke'ekdeǰü* (214) 'being told to sit there'; *ulus minu aburaǰu ök ke'ekdeǰü* (177) 'being told to save my people'; *ker ilaqda'a či ke'ekdeǰü* (244) 'being spoken to (here: asked) "how were you vanquished?"'; *bi edü'e oyi inu oroǰu amu setkil inu sengtereǰü amu ke'ekdemüi* (149) 'I am now told his intellect is entering, his thought is widening'; *aqaban temüǰini ile busudi tanu kerek ügei ke'en ungšiqdaǰu* (79) 'they being shouted at "send your elder brother, Temüjin. The other of yours are not needed'; *belgüteiyin eke tere ayiltur buyu ke'en ǰa'aqdaǰu* (112) 'Belgütei's mother is in that yurt, saying [this] was shown'; *teyin ügülekdeǰü činggis qahan . . . büširejü* (170) 'thus being spoken to, Činggis Qahan . . . believed'; *hö'elüne gürtele eyin ke'ekdeküi bolbi* (71) 'thus it started to be spoken unto Hö'elün'.

3. True passive with an actor

The actor, i. e., the logical subject, the one who really performs the action which affects the syntactic subject (e. g., *I was seen by him* : he is the one who saw me) is denoted by a dative form in *-a* (after a stem-final consonant) or *-da* (after a stem-final vowel)[1].

Examples:

kebte'üle bariqdala'a (278) 'was seized by night-guards'; *kene ber kilbara ququldaqun ta* (22) 'you will be easily crushed by anyone'; *namayi üǰebe ke'en gü'üne üǰekde'esü üǰekdebe ke'en bü kelele* (83) 'do not tell that you were seen, when you are seen by people, saying that I saw you!'; *tatar irgene oyisuluqda'a bi* (68) 'I was killed by the Tatar people'; *tenggiri qaǰara güčü nemeǰü ihe'ekde'esü ta* (125) 'if you are protected by heaven and earth, [your] strenght being increased . . .'; *nökör gü'üne iču'aqda'asu* (153) 'if [we] are beaten off by the adversary'[2]; *dayisuna da'uliqdarun* (156) 'in consequence of having been attacked by the enemy'; *bidanu qara'ula hüldekdeǰü* (158) 'being pursued by our patrol'; *kökse'ü sabraqa da'uliqdaǰu* (162) 'being attacked by Kökse'ü Sabraq'; *toqto'a tende šibayin sumuna tusdaǰu unaǰu'u* (198) 'Toqto'a, being hit[3] there by a stray[4] arrow, fell'; *sumuna tusdaǰu* (173) 'being hit by an arrow'; *bor darasuna ilaqdaqu minu* (281) 'my being vanquished by wine' (i. e., the fact that I am vanquished by wine); *qana ele nilbuqdaǰu* (152) 'he being spit at by the khan'; *basa qahan ečigede'en yeke oro ba sa'uldaǰu* (281) 'being seated by the qahan father on the throne'; *tenggeride ese ta'alaqdaba bida* (143) 'we were not liked (loved) by heaven'; *tenggeride ülü ta'alaqdaqun bida* (167) 'we shall not be loved by heaven'; *qorči tumatda bariqdaǰu'u* (241) 'Qorči was seized by the Tumat'; *andada hülekdebe ǰe* (201) 'was exceeded (excelled) by *anda*'; *aqa de'üde'en nayidaqdamu*[5] (219) 'he is begrudged by his brothers'; *tenggeride sedkiltür gürgekde'esü* (207) 'when [you] are made attain by the heaven the idea (i. e., what was thought or planned)'[6]; *ča'adai aqada ǰöbšiyekdeǰü* (119) 'being approved by the elder brother, Ča'adai'; *činggis qahan ǰamuqada tende gödölgekdeǰü* (129) 'Činggis Qahan, being made move there by J̌amuqa'.

[1] Here the meaning is very close to that of the necessitative, vide II.

[1] Cf. DOERFER, op. cit., p. 235. The situation is the same as in Written Mongolian with the exception that in Classical Mongolian the dative suffix is *-dur/-tur*, cf. N. POPPE, Grammar of Written Mongolian, Wiesbaden 1954, § 604–605. It is to be noted that the dative form with the suffix *-dur/-tur* never functions as dativus subjecti in the language of the "Secret History".

[2] HAENISCH's translation 'Wenn wir vom Gegner zurückgedrängt werden' seems to be correct, whereas PELLIOT's translation 'celui qui aura été ramené en arrière vers ses compagnons' is wrong, because *nökör gü'üne* is a *dativus subjecti*, vide note 1 on this page.

[3] The verb *tus-* 'to hit' is transitive, vide A. MOSTAERT, C. I. C. M., Dictionnaire ordos, Peking 1941, p. 164 (*Dus-*); J. E. KOWALEWSKI, Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français, t. III, Kasan 1849, pp. 1831–1832.

[4] The words *šibayin sumun* are translated by HAENISCH as 'verirrter Pfeil', cf. Wörterbuch zu Manghol un Niuca Tobca'an, Wiesbaden 1962, p. 139.

[5] PELLIOT's transcription gives *nayitaqdamu*. The verb in question is, however, *nayida-*. As for *nayita-* it is 'to sneeze'.

[6] It is to be noted that the dative form of the actor (*tenggeride*) is different from the form of the other complement (*setkiltür*). Vide supra.

4. The gerundial complement of a passive verb

The gerundial complement of a passive verb is an active verb. Thus *it was bought* is rendered by *it trading was taken* where *trading* is an active verb[1]. In other words, the passive of the main verb refers also to the gerund.

Examples:

tedüi erijü ese oldalai (112) 'then being sought, she was not found' (lit. then seeking she was not found); *tenggiri qajara güčü nemejü ihe'ekde'esü ta* (125) 'if you are protected by heaven and earth, [your] strength being increased' (lit. increasing the strength).

There are more examples of passive verbs indirectly affecting the subject, which have a gerund of an active verb.

Examples:

ulusiyan aburaju öktele'e (163) 'was given and saved my people' (lit. was given saving my people); *hö'elün ekeyi buliju abtalai* (111) 'was taken away kidnapping Hö'elün Eke' (i. e., became the victim of taking her away and kidnapping); *eme kö'üben da'uliju abdaba* (104) '[we] underwent the attack upon and the taking of our wives and children'; *ja'un elčiniyen jetgüjü alaqdaju* (254) 'undergoing the detention and killing of one hundred messengers of his', etc.

Such examples will be found in large numbers in all the following sections. Therefore, no further examples will be given here.

5. Passive of intransitive verbs

The true passive of intransitive verbs occurs two times. The verbs in question are *irekde-*, a passive of *ire-* 'to come', and *otta-*, a passive of *ot-* = Mo. *od-* 'to go away'. The verbs *irekde-* and *otta-* act here as auxiliary verbs, and their passive forms can be regarded as referring to the preceding gerunds.

Examples:

jamuqa nökötte'en bariju irekdejü (200) 'Jamuqa being brought by his companions' (lit. being seizing come); *qahan ečigede'en yeke oro ba sa'uldaju olon ulusiyan de'ere minu ačiju ottaju* (218) 'being seated by the qahan father on the great seat (i. e., throne) and made go being loaded upon me his numerous peoples' (lit. made go loading upon me his numerous peoples); *yesügei qan ečige minu čimada teyin ke'en irekdejü* (177) 'my father, Yesügei Qan, being approached by you in that manner' (lit. being come saying).

II. The passive of necessity and possibility

The passive of necessity and possibility expresses the idea of an action which is to be or can be performed. Both transitive and intransitive verbs form this kind of passive.

[1] This does not mean that no gerunds of passive verbs occur in the "Secret History". They do occur, but not in combination with passive verbs.

1. The passive of transitive verbs

The passive of transitive verbs is often a nomen futuri as in Written Mongolian[1]. It may have a direct object which is an accusative. The subject is usually missing, the clause being indefinite, i. e., with *someone* or *one* to be supplemented.

A. Nomen futuri.

tere tusayi sayi setkijü uruqun uruqa gürtele ker umartaqdaqu (204) 'thinking right now of that help (lit. usefulness), how could it be forgotten up to the descendants of the descendants?' (i. e., how can one forget?)[2]; *aqtas turuqat ke'en yekin šiltaqdaqu* (190) 'how is one to use as subterfuge that the geldings are gaunt?'[3]

B. Forms other than nomen futuri.

Passive verbs from transitive verbs have often the meaning 'to be destined to . . .', 'to be given the opportunity to . . .'.

Examples:

naran sarayi qaraju üjekden büle'e (63) '[I] had the opportunity of looking and seeing sun and moon'[4]; *erke qara ong qan aqada'an alaqdarun* (151) 'when Erke Qara was going to be killed by his elder brother, Ong Qan'; *alaqdarun tatarun qargil šira o'určaq bolun qarču* (214) 'when he was going to be killed, Qargil Šira of the Tatar saved himself by becoming an escapee'; *kelen gürgen otqu gü'üni yambar ele bolqaqdayu* (169) 'what will have to be made a man who goes and delivers information?' (i. e., what kind of treatment will there be for a man who . . .)

2. The passive of intransitive verbs

Such a passive verb does not have a direct object. Here two subclasses can be established: 1. clauses without subject (with *someone* to be supplemented), the predicate being a nomen futuri, such clauses being of the type discussed under A in II, 1; and 2. clauses with a subject, the verb being a form other than nomen futuri (cf. the discussion under B in II, 1).

A. Nomen futuri.

Clauses with a nomen futuri of a passive verb from an intransitive verb, which have no subject convey the meaning *one has to . . .*

Examples:

eyimü üges sonosču yekin sa'uqdaqu (190) 'how can one sit (or: how is one to sit), hearing such words?'; *kö'ün uqaju otdaqu* (168) 'son, one should act understandingly' (lit., son, it will be gone understanding).

[1] POPPE, op. cit., § 607.

[2] This clause can also be an example of the pure passive: 'thinking right now of that help, how will it be forgotten up to the descendants of the descendants?'

[3] This clause can also be translated as 'how will be used as subterfuge that the geldings are gaunt?'

[4] Constructions of this type in Buriat are discussed in the next section.

B. Forms other than nomen futuri.

Clauses with a subject and predicate which is a form of a passive verb from an intransitive verb, other than nomen futuri, have the meaning *to be forced to . . .* or *to have no choice but . . .*

Examples:

nadur büri güyük qoyar ma'uilaǰu qurim ülü qurimlan morilaqdaba (275) 'Büri and Güyük, being angry with me, had to depart without feast' (lit. not feasting a feast); *huyilun büküi usuntur hulalun büküi qaltur oroqda'ai büle'ei je* (204) 'I should have entered into whirling water [and] blazing fire' (lit. I was entered, etc.); *aman kelen ǰabqan alǰaqdarun* (272) 'when he was to suffer the loss of his speech' (lit. when he was to suffer losing the mouth and tongue); *orusut irgeni tere činu a'ur kilingtur ayuǰu oroqdaqsana bolqan aquyu či* (277) 'do you believe that the Russian people had to surrender to your anger and ire out of fear?' (lit. do you count the Russian people to those who were entered, etc.).

Constructions of this type seem not to occur in later literary works, but they still occur in Buriat, e. g., *üineišye arxi zugaada yabagdaagüi* 'there has for a long time been no opportunity to drink and have entertainment'; *noyonton uruu nileedgüi yabagdana beše gü* 'you have frequently an opportunity to go to the bosses, do not you?'; *baha yalada orogdobo* 'he got himself again into trouble', etc. The verb *yabagda-*, lit. 'to be gone', has here the meaning 'to succeed in going, to manage going', Russian удаваться, бывать. Likewise, the verb *orogdo-*, lit. 'to be entered', means 'to get oneself into' (into trouble, etc.), Russian попасть[1].

III. Indirect passive

In default of a better term, that passive which affects the syntactic subject indirectly (HAENISCH's passivus incommodi) is called here the indirect passive.

Such a passive conveys the idea of an action which directly affects a person or object which is not the syntactic subject, e. g., English *I was given* (*shown, offered, etc.*) *a book*: the object given (shown, offered, etc.) is the book. I am only the person *to whom* they gave a book.

Both transitive and intransitive verbs form this kind of passive.

1. Passive of transitive verbs

A passive of a transitive verb expresses the idea of suffering from, being subject to, or undergoing an action performed by someone with regard to another person or an object. The English equivalent is *I was given a book*. The syntactic subject is here the pronoun of the first person which undergoes the giving by someone (actor) of a book (object given, logically speaking, direct object). In such passive constructions the verb has a direct object which is an accusative. The accusative can be a simple one or have the reflexive-possessive

[1] Грамматика бурятского языка, Фонетика и морфология, Москва 1962, pp. 236–237.

suffix or be a suffixless form. It is to be noted that the reflexive-possessive suffix links the direct object of the passive verb to the syntactic subject of the clause, i. e., the sufferer from the action, but not to the actor. The actor is expressed by a dative. As for the suffixless direct object, it is not a nominative, cf. the following example: *tenggiri qaǰara güčü nemekdeǰü* (113) 'being subject to an increase of strength (suffixless form with loss of final *n*, the nominative always preserving it) by heaven and earth'.

This passive is not alien to later Written Mongolian[1]. It is still widely spread in Buriat, e. g., *axamnai malgaigaa deermešende bul'aagdaba* 'our elder brother's hat was taken away by a robber' (lit. our elder brother was taken away his hat by a robber)[2].

Examples:

qančud-iyan šimaliqaqdarun (245) 'when he became subject to the pulling at his sleeves'; *bidanu qara'ulača niken šingqula morin ma'uqan eme'eltüyi naimanu qara'ula abtaǰuqui* (193) '[we] suffered from the taking by the patrol of the Naiman of a greyish horse with a bad saddle from our patrol'; *enggesge qačariyan qaqdaǰu senggüm mün tende unaǰu'u* (171) 'being shot into his pink cheek (lit. suffering from the shooting his pink cheek), Senggüm fell also there'; *kökse'ü sabraqa irge orqaban da'uliqdaba bi* (177) 'I was subject to the attack upon my people and homestead by Kökse'ü Sabraq'; *hula'an qutda senggüm bayilduqu bolun morinu'an quya qaqdaǰu abdaqu bolǰu* (177, cf. also 163) 'Sengüm started fighting at Hula'an Qut and, suffering from the shooting at the thigh of his horse, was becoming one who would be taken'; *ma'ui setki'esü ene metü čisuban qarqaqdasu* (178) 'if I think evil I shall be subject to the letting out my blood like this!'; *keleben abdaqun* (169) '[we] shall lose our tongs' (lit., we shall be taken away our tongs); *erde sayin ečigede inu ene metü odun baraqsan ulusiyan aburaǰu öktele'e* (163) 'formerly I was subject to the saving and giving by his good father of my own people which had gone and had been finished like this '(lit. formerly I was given saving by his good father my own people which was gone and finished); *naimana irge orqoban eme kö'üben da'uliqdaba bi* (163) 'I was subject to the attack by the Naiman upon my people, homestead, wife, and sons'; *ǰoči darmala adu'uban de'ermetčü ottaǰu nöködiyen ǰirüge yadaqdaǰu* (128) 'J̌oči Darmala, undergoing the going away and plundering of his horses and subject to the low spirits of his companions'; *de'üben taičari alaqdaba ke'en* (129) 'saying that he was subject to the killing of his younger brother Taičar'; *toqto'a bekiyin de'ü yeke čiledüdeče yesügei ba'atura hö'elün ekeyi buliǰu abtalai* (111) 'they underwent the taking away by Yesügei Ba'atur of Hö'elün Eke from Yeke Čiledü, the younger brother of Toqto'a Beki'; *niken yege'en soqosun güqi ǰa'uqsani bekter belgütei aqa de'ü qoyara buliǰu abdaba ba* (76) 'we underwent the taking away by the two brothers, Bekter and Belgütei, of a bright *soqosun* (name of a fish) which had bitten the fishing-hook'; *qurban merkitte genen büküitur ireǰü eme kö'üben da'uliǰu abdaba* (104) 'we underwent the coming and attacking and taking away of our wives and children by the Three Merkit when we were unaware'; *ereyü'en alaqdarun* (146) 'undergoing the

[1] POPPE, op. cit., § 606.

[2] Грамматика бурятского языка, p. 235.

killing of [my] own husband'; *olon elčiniyen kitat irgenü aqutai altan qa'ana ǰetgükdeǰü* (251) 'undergoing the detention of his numerous messengers by Aqutai Altan Qa'an of the Chinese people'; *ǰa'un elčiniyen ǰetgüǰü alaqdaǰu činggis qahan ügülerün* (254) 'undergoing the detention and killing of one hundred messengers of his, Činggis Qahan spoke'; *irgen orqoban da'uliqdarun balaqad qotodiyan ebdekderün türgene adalamui* (272) '[the evil spirits] do great harm in consequence of undergoing the capture of their own people and homesteads, in consequence of destruction of their cities and towns'; *sarta'ul irgene altan arqamǰiyan tasuldaǰu olulčan morilaba bi* (256) 'I, undergoing the breaking of my kingly rope by the Sarta'ul people, went on a military campaign, settling [this with them]'; *ǰungduyi e'erekderün* (248) 'experiencing the siege of Chung-tu'; *čabčiyal daba'ani bekilekdeǰü tende ǰebe ügülerün* (247) 'being subject to the fortification of the Čabčiyal pass, J̌ebe spoke there' (the fact that that place had been fortified upset the plans); *büri güyük qoyara eyin ke'ekde'el eye ügei tarqaqdaba* (275) 'having been spoken [to] by Büri and Güyük in this manner, he underwent the dispersal (i. e., the dissolution of the assembly, the fact that everyone went into his direction) without settlement'; *naimat morit de'ermeteǰü* (205) 'undergoing the robbing of eight horses'; *edü'e basa . . . ulusi minu . . . aburaǰu öktebe* (163) 'now I have undergone the saving and giving [back to me] of my people'; *ökin kö'ün manu öngge üǰekdeyü* (65) 'our girls are subject to looking at their beauty'; *tenggiri qaǰara güčü nemekdeǰü* (113) 'undergoing the increase of strength by the heaven and earth'; *ede qurban merkit ertenü hö'elün ekeyi čiledüdeče buliǰu abdala'ai ke'en* (102) 'these Three Merkit, saying that they underwent the taking away of Hö'elün Eke of yore from Čiledü'; *menggei . . . ǰanggitana . . . debülküi toqo'ani delegei šinaqa bolǰu amurli'uldaǰu* (277) 'being subject to the pacification of the overboiling cauldron, by Menggei . . . Janggi, and others, they becoming a wide ladle'; *uriǰu ülü öktekü mörtei či* (71) 'you are not one whom it is customary to give, inviting [you]' (lit. you are with the rule [custom] not to be inviting given); *tatarun yeke čerenü yesüi neretei okin ökdeksen güregen gü'ün büle'e bi* (156) 'I am a son-in-law (lit. a son-in-law man) who was given the daughter by the name of Yesüi of Yeke Čeren of the Tatar'; *ǰürkine teyin kikdebe* (136) '[we] underwent the doing in that way by Jürkin'; *ker teyin kikden büle'ei bida* (131) 'how did we undergo such doings?' (i. e., what kind of things have we been subjected to?); *eyin kikdebe* (73) '[I] was subject to such an action'; *ker kikdelü'ei yambar bolqaqdalu'ai* (255) 'what kind of things have [we] suffered to be done, what kind of things have [we] suffered to be made?' (i.e., to what kind of things were we subject); *bariqu'ača tusqu'ača kikderün ayuǰu* (97) 'being afraid, when it was done [to him], to be seized and hit'.

2. Passive of intransitive verbs

The subject of a clause may be a person (or any other living being or object, etc.) which undergoes the action of an intransitive verb, e. g., the verb *to come*. The general meaning of such clauses or sentences is that someone comes, and another person is inconvenienced by this, in other words, it suffers from the coming, undergoes it involuntarily.

In the "Secret History" passive forms of intransitive verbs occur frequently.

Before discussing the grammatical form of the actor (the performer of the action of the passive verb), examples without actor will be given.

Examples:

otčigin soqor elčiyen ašigiǰu yabuqan irekdeǰü (245) 'Otčigin, inconvenienced by the beating of his messenger Soqor and [the latter's] coming on foot'; *genete ǰürteǰü* (93) 'he being suddenly reached'; *yesügen qatunu ügedür adali boldaǰu činggis qahan oyinduriyan oro'uǰu yesüi qatuni abču ǰergedür sa'ulba* (155) 'experiencing that it had become in accordance with the words of Yesügen Qatun, Činggis Qahan put [it] into his mind (i. e., took it into consideration) and took and seated Yesüi Qatun in [one] row [with himself]'; *tede haran baru'an boldaǰu bayiǰu qočarba* (91)'those people, undergoing the coming of dusk, stopped and remained behind'; *ong qanu bayidaldur üǰe'esü ügei boldaǰu* (161) 'when he looked at the military camp of Ong Qan, he underwent his disappearance . . .'; *qariqdaǰu kitadun čeri'üt nekeye ke'en* (247) 'undergoing the return (i. e., making the discovery that those others against expectations had gone back), the Chinese soldiers, saying "let us pursue"'; *ǰa'ura oroqdaquiača senggüm anda nama naidaǰu hüldebe ǰe či* (181) 'envying me that [I] might be interposed, you Senggüm Anda, pursued [me] '(lit. 'envying because of being entered, etc.'); *hö'elün üǰini ekes kö'üdi geǰü nü'ükderün* (72) 'when they underwent [their] transhumance (i. e., found that those had moved to another place), abandoning Hö'elün Eke, the mother and the children . . .'; *sayin ečigeyin činu quriyaqdaqsan ulusi manu bürinü ulus abču nü'ükderün itqaqu bolun eyin kikdebe* (73) 'when [I] underwent [their] transhumance, taking the people gathered by your good father, the people of all of us, [I] started to prevent [this] and underwent doing in this manner' (lit. was done in this manner); *tayiči'ut aqa de'ü hö'elün üǰini belbisüni kö'üt üčüget ekes kö'üdi nuntuqtur geǰü nü'ükdeǰu hö'elün üǰin* (74) 'Hö'elün Üjin, undergoing the transhumance of the brothers Taiči'ut and [their] leaving Höelun Üjin, the widow, and small sons, the mother and the sons, on the nomad grounds . . .'; *čimada teyin ke'ekdeǰü sarta'ul irgene eyedüriyen ese oroqdaǰu morilasu* (265) 'being spoken to by you in that manner, I shall set out for a campaign against[1] the Sarta'ul people, not obtaining an agreement' (lit. 'not being entered into my own treaty'); *ǰürkini ǰirqo'an üdüt güličeǰü esegü irekdebe* (136) 'waiting for Jürkin for six days [we] underwent [their] not coming' (i. e., our expectations to see them were in vain).

In general, two special cases can be established with regard to intransitive verbs in passive constructions: 1. the actor or the cause of the action of the intransitive verb is a dative, and the immediate sufferer (person affected) is an accusative; 2. the actor or the cause of the action of the intransitive verb is a nominative, such constructions having no member which could be identified as the person (or object) immediately affected by the verb.

1. Intransitive verb with a direct object.

The syntactic subject (the sufferer from the action) is, of course, a nominative. The immediate sufferer of the action of the passive verb, i. e., the person immediately affected by the action, is an accusative. It is a simple accusative when the

[1] The dative *irgene* is governed by *morilasu* 'I shall set out for a campaign'.

object (or person) in question is no one's property. It has a reflexive-possessive suffix, when the object is linked to the syntactic subject (the non-immediate sufferer). To make clearer this unusual terminology, let it be said that in the clause *I was broken my cart*, the cart (in Mongolian, an accusative) is the immediate sufferer (because it was the *cart* which was broken), and I am the non-immediate sufferer (because I was not broken, the breaking did not affect me directly, although it certainly caused inconvenience) of the breaking. When the real cause of the action is mentioned it is denoted by a dative. Consequently, in the clause *I was broken my cart by him*, the dative *by him* is the perpetrator of the breaking to whom I owe the breaking of my cart.

A. Simple accusative governed by an intransitive verb.

ani teyin butaraqdaǰu ong qan ergüne huru'u ǰamuqayi nekebe (144) 'undergoing (experiencing or suffering) their dispersal, Ong Qan pursued J̌amuqa down the river Argun'; *ekeyi kilinglaqdaǰu ayun ba ayuba . . bi* (244) 'the mother being angered, I am afraid'.

B. Accusative with the reflexive-possessive suffix.

The accusative with the reflexive-possessive suffix occurs more frequently.

Examples:

tenggeliben ququraqdaǰu (101) 'undergoing the breaking of his own axis' (i. e., being confronted with the fact that the axis was broken); *olangiyan tasuraqdaǰu tende bariqdalu'a* (158) 'undergoing the tearing of his own saddle-straps, he was caught there'; *ǰoči darmala adu'uban de'ermetčü ottaǰu nöködiyen ǰirüge yadaqdaǰu* (128) 'J̌oči Darmala, undergoing the stealing of his horses and the lack of courage on the part of his companions' (lit. J̌oči Darmala being gone away stealing his horses and being lacked courage of his companions).

C. Dative of the actor.

The real actor or cause of the action of a passive intransitive verb is a dative. The latter denotes the person responsible for what has happened.

Examples:

qalqa kene boldaquyu bi (111) 'by whom shall I be shielded?' (lit. 'by whom shall I undergo the becoming of a shield?'); *qoriya'an kene boldaquyu bi* (111) 'by whom shall I be enfenced?' (lit. 'by whom shall I undergo the becoming of a fence?').

2. Intransitive verb with a subject of its own.

The passive of intransitive verbs occurs sometimes with a nominative form of a noun which denotes the actor, e. g., *ebetčin gürteǰü* 'being afflicted (befallen) by an illness'. That this is a nominative but not a suffixless oblique case form is evident from the fact that the noun preserves its final *n*. In such constructions the syntactic subject undergoes actions performed by the actor (nominative) himself, the latter's action not being due to activities of anybody else. Here, in the example *ebetčin gürteǰü* 'being befallen by illness' the illnes has befallen by itself. No one has caused the illness to befall the sufferer. Indeed, the nominative occurs always when the action occurs by itself, or is performed by someone who acts independently.

Examples:

qara'ulun ene kele gürteǰü tayang qan . . . (194) 'Tayang Qan being reached by this information of the patrol' (lit. being reached information of the patrol); *ögödei qahan ebetčin gürteǰü* (272) 'Ögödei Qahan being befallen by illness'; *činggis qahan naran ǰilda boldaǰu . . . qonoba* (196) 'Činggis Qahan undergoing the sun becoming late . . . stayed the night'; *sumuna tusdaǰu čisun inu haqdarun* (173) 'being hit by an arrow, undergoing the coagulation of his blood'; *altan qan tatarun megüǰin se'ültüten eyedüriyen ülü oroqdarun* (132) 'Altan Qan, experiencing [that] the people of Megüjin Se'ültü of the Tatar would not enter the treaty' (lit. 'Altan Qan, the people of Megüjin Se'ültü of the Tatar not being entered into the treaty'); *beye činu gürčü irekdeǰü sülderece ayuba* (249) 'undergoing the arrival (lit. 'coming') of your person, I was afraid of the majesty'.

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From the above discussion the conclusion can be drawn that both transitive and intransitive verbs form the passive.

The passive of transitive verbs occurs 1. as true passive (*kebte'üle bariqdala'a* 'was seized by the night-guards'); 2. as passive of necessity and possibility (*ker umartaqdaqu* 'how is one to forget?'); and 3. as indirect passive (*irge orqaban da'uliqdaba* 'I was subject to the attack upon my people and homestead' or 'I was robbed my people, etc.').

The passive of intransitive verbs occurs in the following cases: 1. passive of an auxiliary verb, which (i. e., passive) refers to the preceding gerund of an active transitive verb (*bariǰu irekdeǰü* 'being brought', lit. being come seizing); 2. as passive of necessity (*ülü qurimlan morilaqdaba* 'had to depart without a feast'); and 3. as indirect passive (*ǰirqo'an üdüt güličeǰü ese irekdebe* 'waiting for six days, [we] underwent [their] not coming').

The passive of an intransitive verb can govern the accusative (*ani teyin butaraqdaǰu* 'experiencing their dispersal').

Consequently, there is little difference between a transitive and intransitive verb. Therefore, the term passive has to be used with reservations. It denotes actions which directly affect the syntactic subject (*he was caught*) and actions which indirectly affect the subject or which are performed against the will of the subject, actions which do not depend on the syntactic subject (*to be killed his brother*). This is partly due to the fact that the Mongolian intransitive verbs behave in a manner very different from the Indo-European intransitive verbs, cf. Mo. *qayan ǰarliy bolba* 'the king spoke' (lit. 'became an order'); SH *yesügei aqa . . . öreben ebedümü* (69) 'the elder brother Yesügei suffers in his heart' (lit. 'aches his heart'). On the other hand, transitive active verbs behave like intransitive, e. g., SH *tenggiride nereyitčü* (113) 'being named by heaven' (lit. 'naming by the heaven).