CHAPTER THREE

MIDDLE MONGOL

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

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

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

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

SCRIPTS AND DOCUMENTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

DATA AND SOURCES

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

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

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

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

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

TAXONOMIC POSITION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

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

TABLE 3.1 MIDDLE MONGOL VOWELS

u	*i*	*ü*
o		*ö*
a		*e*

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

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

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

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

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

TABLE 3.2 MIDDLE MONGOL CONSONANTS

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

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

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

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

WORD FORMATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NOMINAL NUMBER

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

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

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

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

NOMINAL CASE

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

TABLE 3.3 MIDDLE MONGOL CASE MARKERS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NUMERALS

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

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

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

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

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

PRONOUNS

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

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

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

TABLE 3.4 MIDDLE MONGOL PERSONAL PRONOUNS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

VERBAL FORMS

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

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

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

TABLE 3.5 MIDDLE MONGOL IMPERATIVE MARKERS

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

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

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

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

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

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

TABLE 3.6 MIDDLE MONGOL FINITE TENSE-ASPECT MARKERS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TABLE 3.7 MIDDLE MONGOL PARTICIPLE MARKERS

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

TABLE 3.8 MIDDLE MONGOL CONVERB MARKERS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SYNTAX

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

LEXICON

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

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

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

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

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

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