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# The Language of The Secret History of the Mongols

by

John Charles Street

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## PREFACE

The present work, originally a dissertation presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Yale University in June 1955, is a descriptive grammer of the language of the chief text in Middle Mongolian, the Secret History of the Mongols. Descriptive methods, which aim at a statement of the regularities within a given language without regard to its external relationships, have not hitherto been fully applied to any Mongolian language. Application of such methods to a set of languages is, however, a necessary basis for adequate historical and comparative linguistic studies of those languages.

Previous works on Mongolian grammar have usually started out with certain unstated assumptions based on the analysis of Latin or Greek, but of no necessary validity for other languages. For such assumptions I have substituted concepts based solely on an analysis of the language of the Secret History; e.g. phonemes (Chapter 1) and parts of speech (3.0) are set up, morphology and syntax rigorously separated (3.0, 4.0), and constructions analyzed (Chapter 3) on internal evidence alone.

Much modern descriptive work, however, is couched in terminology so complex as to render it virtually unusable to the non-linguist, or to the casual reader. I have tried to avoid this terminological complexity here by making use of traditional terms adapted to Mongolian in a rigorous manner. These adaptations, and certain other bases of the analysis presented here are stated in Appendix 2. I hope that, in this way, methods sufficiently rigorous to satisfy the linguist may have accomplished a result of use and interest to the Mongolist.

I wish to express gratitude to Professor Johannes Rahder for introducing me to the field of Mongolian in general, and to the Secret History in particular; many of his suggestions have been embodied in this dissertation. I am further indebted to Professor Isidore Dyen for his guidance in the linguistic aspects of this work, and for his ideas on the order of presentation of my analysis. I have learned much from conversations with Professor Francis W. Cleaves of Harvard University: he has been most generous in making available to me his Index Verborum of the Secret History, and some of the proofs of his, as yet unpublished, translation of the Secret History. I have also profited from discussions with Professors Rulon S. Wells and Samuel E. Martin. My thanks to the American Council of Learned Societies for two grants for study at the Linguistic Institutes at the University of Indiana in 1952, and at the University of Michigan in 1953, at the latter of which I was first introduced to the field of Altaic linguistics. Finally, I owe a debt of gratitude to Professor Bernard Bloch, who first drew my interest to linguistics, and who, throughout my graduate work, was a constant source of encouragement and inspiration.

J.C.S.

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## 0. INTRODUCTION

0.1 NATURE OF THE SOURCE. The text in Eastern Middle Mongolian[1] which has come down to us under the title *Màŋqol-un Niuca To⌊b⌋caan* 'A Secret History of the Mongols'[2] is for Mongolian historical and comparative linguistics the most valuable single text extant today. It is one of the oldest texts in Mongolian; dating from 1252 or 1264[3] it is predated only by the inscription on the so-called Stone of Cingis Qahan (1225), the seal on the letter of Güyüg to Pope Alexander IV (1246), and at least one of the Mongolian word lists compiled by Arab grammarians[4] (circa 1245). Since it is of considerably greater length[5] than any of the other texts of the period, it gives a correspondingly clearer picture of the grammar of the Mongolian of the time. Most important, the SECRET HISTORY (henceforth abbreviated SH), together with the HUA-I I-YÜ of 1389 (abbreviated HY), is written in a Chinese transcription which reflects more accurately the phonetics of Mongolian than do the more usual Uigur and Mongolian scripts employed from the 13th to the 20th century. This transcription makes possible a phonemicization of the text which is second in importance only to modern dialect material for reconstructing proto-Mongolian.[6]

The SH presents a genealogy (partly mythological) and a biography of Cingis Qahan; it does not end with the death of Cingis, but continues on to tell of Ögödey's succession to the throne, and his accomplishments as emperor.[7] It seems to have been the work of a single narrator at a single time; the language is colloquial (to judge from the frequent parentheses and the occasional anacoluthon), and probably represents fairly accurately the spoken language of the author. The style of the SH is narrative and almost rambling; the author relates episodes which interest him in approximate chronological order, but sometimes gets dates twisted.[8] Most of the narration is in prose, but occasionally, in more dramatic passages, the author breaks into poetry (distinguished by its alliteration[9]), at least some of which must have been traditional epic material.[10]

0.2 MANUSCRIPTS.[11] It is generally assumed that the original text of the SH was written in the Uigur script employed by the Mongols at the time.[12] We do know for a fact that this ur-text was transcribed in Chinese characters, translated into Chinese, and printed (under the title YÜAN-CH'AO PI-SHIH, abbreviated here YCPS) sometime in the period between 1368 and 1418 (Hung 1951.449-81). Forty-one leaves of this, the so-called HUNG-WU edition, were discovered in 1933, and are reproduced in the Commercial Press edition of 1936 (Hung 1951.449-50). In this and all other editions of the YCPS the following format is used: five columns of characters transcribing the Mongolian occur on each side of a leaf[13]; certain of these characters are separated by spaces larger than those elsewhere, and the group of characters occurring between such larger spaces are bracketed together at the right hand side. To the right of these characters there appear Chinese characters glossing almost every morpheme of the Mongolian in the colloquial Chinese of the period. Personal names and place names are bracketed in red in some editions, and bracketed with a double line in others. Following each section of the text (for which see below) there is a free translation of the foregoing section into colloquial Chinese. When the Hung-wu edition was made, the text was broken up into 12 chüan and 281 sections. These divisions were not in the original, as can be seen from the fact that several section breaks[14] and one chüan break[15] occur in the middle of Mongolian sentences. Also, as early as the compilation of the YUNG-LO TA-TIEN (1403-8, cf. Hung 1951.433, 439) there was an edition of the YCPS showing a division into 15 chüan.[16] In the editions with 12 chüan, there was a further division into the YÜAN-CH'AO PI-SHIH proper in 10 chüan, and a CONTINUATION in 2 chüan. This latter division may have arisen because some of the manuscript leaves got out of order (Hung 1951.483). At any rate, it seems certain that the SH was originally without divisions of any sort (Hung 1951.483).

The best editions of the YCPS which have come down to us, in their entirety stem from the HUNG-WU printed edition; they are the printed edition of YEH TÊ-HUI (1908),[17] and the photolithographic edition of the COMMERCIAL PRESS in Shanghai (1936).[18] Hung (1951.450) says of the KU

manuscript (of which the Commercial Press edition is a reproduction) '...the KU certified copy may be regarded as so reliable that all textual errors therein must be attributed also to the [Hung-wu] printed edition, most of which is now lost.' The only other well known manuscript is that which belonged to PALLADIUS,[19] and which is a descendant, at several removes, of the Yung-lo ta-tien edition of the YCPS; like the latter, the Palladius manuscript is divided into 15 rather than 12 chüan. Its readings are for the most part inferior to those of the other two editions mentioned above.

0.3 ROMANIZED EDITIONS OF THE SH. Four editions of the SH have appeared in the last twenty years which transcribe the Chinese transcription of the Mongolian in roman letters.[20] They are the editions of HAENISCH (1937), KOZIN (1941), SHIRATORI (1942), and PELLIOT (1949). The edition of Haenisch is the only one which can be made the basis for serious study; it of the four comes closest to being a straight transliteration of the Chinese transcription of the Mongolían, which allows one to make one's own interpretations, and change them when necessary. More important, Haenisch alone gives a list of textual variants in the four chief sources, the Hung-wu, Yeh Tê-hui, and Commercial Press editions, and the Palladius manuscript.[21] Finally, Haenisch's edition gives in the text the leaf numbers and recto/verso divisions found in the Yeh edition,[22] so that it is possible to refer to passages in his text more easily than in those of Pelliot or Kozin. For these reasons, the present work has been based chiefly on the edition of Haenisch.

## 1. PHONOLOGY

1.01 THE CHINESE TRANSCRIPTION.[23] The transcription of the Mongolian in the YCPS is a partly syllabic, partly alphabetic notation, in which there is a many-to-one, or rarely a many-to-many correspondence between the written text and the assumed spoken basis of this text. A sequence *CV*, *V*, or $CVC_1$ (where *C* is any consonant, *V* any vowel, and $C_1$ is /m, n, ŋ, y/) is written with a single character, while a sequence $CVC_2$ (where $C_2$ is a consonant other than $C_1$) is broken up in the notation into *CV* and $C_2$, each written with a separate character. If $C_2$ is /b, g, q, d, l/, its character is smaller than the others, and placed somewhat to the right of them; if $C_2$ is /r, s, ś/, its character is of the same size and position as those indicating *CV*, *V*, and $CVC_1$ sequences. Groups of successive characters are connected by a square bracket running down the right hand side: these groups are referred to in the literature as WORDS, and divisions between them are marked by space in all romanized editions of the text.[24] In the present work these groups are called PHONOLOGICAL WORDS.

If every occurrence of a given Mongolian syllable were transcribed by the same Chinese character, there would be a one-to-one correspondence between writing and speech.[25] However,

> '...there is in the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* an almost consistent attempt to choose or even to fabricate those characters which would suggest the category of meaning of the Mongolian word. If it is a mountain or a river, the transcription contains a character with the "mountain" or "water" sign. For instance, 阿 屻 剌 [*a'ula*] "mountain," 騰 汲 思 [*Tenggis*] "The Tenggis." Similar devices are applied to other categories of nouns, verbs, etc. If a device is needed to bring forth a rather complex meaning, the transcriber might even string characters together in the form of a phrase. For instance, [*šili'un*] 君 子 [*chün-tzŭ*, "a gentleman"] would be 諟 理 氼 [*shih-li-wên*, "reasonable and warm"]; [*ničüigin*] 赤 裸 [*ch'ih-lo*, "stark naked"] would be 你 出 衲 昆 [*ni ch'u k'un*, "you without pants"].' (Hung 1951.454-5)

It is as a result of this practice that we have the many-to-one correspondence between writing and speech mentioned above.

Some Chinese characters seem to represent different Mongolian syllables in different words: the evidence for this is of two sorts, historical and descriptive. First, there are transcriptions *maŋqol* 'Mongol' and *maŋlay* 'forehead'; all comparative evidence points to the conclusion that the

former was phonemically /moŋ ol/, the latter /maŋlay/.[26] Lewicki (1949.69-70) explains this by the fact that the rare sequence *oŋ* seems never to have occurred after /l, m, y/ in Ancient Mandarin.[27] Thus in writing *maŋ* for the first syllable of /moŋγol/, the Chinese transcribers were representing a Mongolian syllable for which they had no separate equivalent by the syllable in their own language most similar to it. Second, there are cases like the following: the morpheme /olon/ 'many' is always so transcribed except when it occurs before the morpheme /kin/; here the former is written *olon* in 174.16v[28] and 198.3r (the second syllable being transcribed with character #165 of Lewicki's list, 1949.36), and *oluŋ* in 194.27v (where the second syllable is Lewicki #321). From a purely descriptive standpoint these variants seem only graphic: the syllable must have been /oŋ/ (hence /oloŋkin/ 'majority,' with a regular morphophonemic alternation, cf. 2.2), for which both *on* and *uŋ* were makeshifts. The morpheme *kee-* 'say' affords a similar example: except before the particle *-(U)n* ('ing') it is always written *kee* or *ke* (interpreted as /ke:/, cf. 1.12); with this particle, however, it is written by two characters transcribed as *ke* and *yen*. There is no Chinese character read *en* used in transcribing the Mongolian of the SH, so we must conclude that the character transcribing the second syllable of /keen/ represents both /yen/ and /en/. For the way in which such cases of many-to-many correspondences are distinguished in the orthography used in the following, see 1.032.

1.02 ROMANIZED TRANSCRIPTIONS OF THE SH. Because of the attempt of the Chinese transcribers to put mnemonic devices into the transcription, and because Ancient Mandarin lacked certain combinations of sounds which occurred in Mongolian, a considerable amount of interpretation is necessary in turning the Chinese transcription into a phonemic orthography. Vowel harmony, for example, is often not shown in the Chinese transcription, though the writing of different allomorphs of certain morphemes which are not phonological words shows that it existed in the language of the SH, and allow us to determine that its domain was that of the phonological word.[29] In fact, so much interpretation is necessary in phonemicizing the text that any romanized edition of the text should consist of a double transcription, one a simple transliteration of the Chinese transcription, and the other a phonemicization of this rough text.[30] None of the published editions of the SH follows this principle. That of HAENISCH (1937) comes closest to being a simple transliteration of the Chinese transcription, but Haenisch has changed occurrences of the particle *-bA* ('non. future,' cf. 3.122) so that they exhibit vowel harmony, and has occasionally corrected 'obvious' errors without mentioning this fact in the notes. PELLIOT'S transcription is consistent in supplying vowel harmony, but, as is now generally admitted, goes too far in replacing *i* by *ï* in phonological words containing back vowels — a practice for which there is little or no basis in the Chinese transcription.[31] Pelliot also edits out certain text variants which are important to the structure of Middle Mongolian.[32] KOZIN'S transcription does not show vowel harmony, but makes numerous other interpretations which seem unjustified.[33] SHIRATORI, though calling his edition *A Romanized Representation of the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih (A Secret History of the Mongols) in its original Mongolian Sound,* really reconstructs a transliteration of the presumed original version of the SH in Uigur script. By far the most satisfactory transcription of the SH is that used by Antoine MOSTAERT and Francis W. CLEAVES in their articles in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (for which see the Bibliography). The transcription used in the present work differs from this in only a few points which are discussed below.

1.03 THE TRANSCRIPTION USED IN THIS WORK. The transcription used here differs from that of Mostaert and Cleaves in three ways: (1) the former and the latter write some same phonemes and phonemes sequences with different symbols, (2) the former contains some graphic features which are phonemicized in the latter, and (3) the former writes as different some sequences which the latter does not distinguish. These three differences will be described in order.

1.031 For the phoneme written here as /y/, Mostaert and Cleaves write *i* before consonant and space, and *y* elsewhere. Thus their sequence *ai* is phonemicized as /ay/, while their *a'i* is /ai/.

The phoneme written here as /w/ is omitted in transcription by Mostaert and Cleaves when it occurs between vowels (where indeed it is historically a Hiatustilger), but is written *u* or *ü* before consonant or space, and *w* before a vowel after consonant or space. Their sequences *au* and *eü* are phonemicized as /aw/ and /ew/, while *a'u* and *e'ü* are /au/ and /eü/ respectively. Also some of

their sequences *a'u* and *e'ü* are phonemically /awu/ and /ewü/, e.g. *ba'u-* 'come down, settle' is /bawu/ in 63., but /bau/ in 170.1v (corresponding to Haenisch's *bao'u* and *ba'u*. Cf. 1.033.

In addition, /ŋ, c, j/ correspond here to what Mostaert and Cleaves write as *ng*, *č*, and *ǰ* respectively. Similarly, the phoneme /:/ (vowel length) here corresponds to the macron written by Mostaert and Cleaves over a (preceding) vowel. Cf. 1.033 and 1.12.

In the transcriptions of Haenisch, Pelliot, Mostaert, and Cleaves, an apostrophe is written between two successive vowels transcribed by separate Chinese characters, or between a sequence *(C)Vŋ* and a vowel which are so separated in the Chinese transcription. By writing the phonemes /y, w, ŋ/ as above, this sign becomes predictable, and hence is no longer relevant.

1.032 It is my belief that in transcribing a work such as the SH one should not write more phonemic distinctions than are represented by the Chinese transcription; even if it is perfectly certain from historical evidence that the language represented by the Chinese transcription had two phonemes where only one was written, we should write only the one sign. If one writes two, the following difficulties arise: (1) every time a new word comes up containing one of the two phonemes, research will have to be done before it can be transcribed into the new system, (2) sometimes even this research does not come up with a definite answer (as when the word involved is attested nowhere else in Mongolian), and (3) one becomes involved in the danger of circularity when doing later comparative work with the text unless constantly reminded of just what interpretations of the above sort have been written into the text. The edition of Pelliot is a typical example: Pelliot wrote vowel harmony in every word, i.e. decided in the descriptively uncertain cases what the original must have been from historical evidence, but unfortunately died before his edition was published, and before he published any statement of the bases on which he made these or other interpretations in the transcription; if now one were to use Pelliot's edition for comparative work, circularity would certainly be involved. Therefore in the transcription used here two phonemes are distinguished only if there is some reason for doing so which comes out of the text itself in the Chinese transcription (cf. the examples in 1.01). The transcription used here is then graphic in certain respects, in that it writes with a single symbol what are known to be two phonemes. This is contrary to the practice of Mostaert and Cleaves.

The graph *q* represents either of the two postvelar consonants, which are written *γ* and *q* by Mostaert and Cleaves. The Chinese transcription never distinguishes the two,[34] but some other transcriptions of Middle Mongolian do so (e.g. the Uigur script of the Sino-Mongolian Inscriptions [abbreviated SMI], and the Arabic script of the Arab grammarians).

The graphs *ú* and *ó* represent respectively /u/ or /ʊ/, /o/ or /ʊ/. They are written in words where the Chinese transcription gives no basis for deciding which of these phonemes occurs; however, if a given morpheme is distinguished as back or front once anywhere in the SH, it is so written in all occurrences unless there is contrary evidence. The acute accent is placed over only the first indeterminate vowel of such a morpheme or phonological word, rather than over all such. E.g. the phonological word *do[b]tulju* 'attacking' occurs in 90.30v: nothing in the transcription tells whether we should read back or front vowels (i.e. there are no Chinese characters used uniquely to represent *dö, do, tü, tu, jü,* or *ju*); if this were the only occurrence of this sequence, we would write the first morpheme as *dó[b]tul-*, meaning that there was no way of deciding on a descriptive basis whether this was phonemically /dobtul/ or /dʊbtʊl/. However, this morpheme occurs before the causative particle *qa* in 170.4r (and the Chinese transcription does distinguish between /qa/ and /ge/), so that in the latter passage we have definitely /dobtul/; therefore it is assumed that in the former passage also we have /dobtul/ rather than */dʊbtʊl/. On the other hand, the morpheme *dúru-* 'place, set' occurs only once in the SH, in the form *dúru-ju* 214.11r, where there is no way of telling whether this represents /duruju/ or /dʊrʊjʊ/. Therefore *dúru-* would be so written in 214., and so listed in the lexicon. A third possibility which is very rarely exemplified is mentioned by Pelliot 1950.12: the man's name *Jóci* occurs twice before the allomorph *-de* of the dative particle (165. and 242.), and twice before the allomorph *-da* of the same particle (239. and 243.); since there is conflicting evidence of equal strength we write *Jóci* rather than *Jöci* or *Joci*.[35]

The graph *à* represents either /a/ or /o/; it occurs only in the sequences *màŋ* and *àm*. E.g.

*màŋqol* is known to be /moŋɣol/, while *màŋlay* is /maŋlay/ (cf. 1.01). For further examples see Lewicki 1949.70-1 (with reference to characters #110 and #243).

The graph *ù* represents either /u/ or /o/; it occurs in the sequences *lùŋ* and *yùŋ*. For an example in which it is possible to determine that *ù* represents /o/ from descriptive evidence, see 1.01. Further examples in Lewicki 1949.70 (characters #321, 331).

The graph *ì* represents /i/ or /u/; it occurs only in the sequence *ìm*. Examples in Lewicki 1949.73-4.

The graph *ǹ* represents either /n/ or /m/; it occurs only after /u/ and /ü/. Examples in Lewicki 1949.73-4.

The graph *ỳ* represents either /y/ or zero in the sequences *ỳen* and *keỳ* (Lewicki characters #147 and #390). In the case of the former it is often possible to determine whether *ỳ* represents /y/ or zero from descriptive evidence: cf. the example *kee-* in 1.01. Further examples in Lewicki 1949.69, and 90 note 2.

Since these graphs are based on comparative evidence, it is always possible that when more comparative data are available some of what are written here as phonemes or phoneme sequences will actually turn out to be graphs. E.g. the vowel /i/ may be shown to be a graph *í* representing /ɪ/ or */ɪ/ (cf. note 31).

1.033 It was mentioned in 1.031 that Mostaert and Cleaves' sequences *a'u* and *e'ü* correspond to either /au/ and /eü/ or /awu/ and /ewü/. Similarly their *yi* is either /yi/ or /yyi/; e.g. Mostaert writes *bayi'ulurun* 1952.318 (line 7) where Haenisch has *bayyi'ulurun* (1937.88, line 8), and the transcription used here has /bayyiulurun/, but writes *dayin* (1950.332) where the transcription used here agrees with Haenisch in having *dayin* also (109.14r). Further, while Mostaert and Cleaves' long vowels are phonemicized as a sequence of vowel plus length (1.03), some of their short vowels are written here as long. Cf. 1.12.

For one last difference between the transcription used here and that of Mostaert and Cleaves, namely that of writing the intonation graph ˆ, see 1.13.

Below will be found a sample of different transcriptions of a passage from 245.40r-v. Line 1 is Haenisch's transcription (1937.83), which is in effect a transliteration of the Chinese transcription. Line 2 is taken from Mostaert 1952.290. Line 3 exemplifies the phonemic-graphic transcription used here, while line 4 shows that same transcription with several additions: (a) hyphens indicate divisions between free lexemes (for which see 3.0), (b) periods before a space or quotation mark indicate the end of a sentence (cf. 3.1), (c) other periods indicate divisions between two lexemes, at least one of which is bound (3.0), (d) names of persons, places, and tribes are capitalized, (e) alliterating phonemes in poetry are underlined, and (f) quotation marks are introduced (cf. 3.1). duced (cf. 3.1).

1 ... *Munglik ecige uḥaju nilbusu alda'at ugulerun. dayir*
2 ... *Münglig ečige uqaǰu nilbusu akda'ad ügülerün: Dayir*
3 ... *müŋlig ecige uqaju nilbusu aldaad ügülerün dayir*
4 ... *Müŋlig ecige uqa-ju nilbu.su alda-ad ügü.le-rün 'dayir*

*etugen i danglasun o tedui bukui ece. dalai muren i ḥoroḥan o*
*etügen-i danglasun-u tedüi bükü̈i-eče, dalai müren-i ɣoroqan-u*
*etügeni daŋlasunu tedüy büküyece dalay müreni qoroqanu*
*etügen-i daŋlasun-u t.edüy bü-küy-ece dalay müren-i qoroqan-u*

*tedui bukui ece nokocebe bi ke'ekui lu'e jirḥo'an ḥongḥotan*
*tedüi bükü̈i-eče nökö̈čeba bi ke'ekü̈i-lü̈'e ǰirɣo'an Qongqotan*
*tedüy büküyece nökö̈cebe bi keeküylüe jirqoan qoŋqotan*
*t.edüy bü-küy-ece nökö.ce-be bi.' kee-küy-lüe jirqoan Qoŋqotan*

*ko'ut ino e'uten [v] bosoju ḥolumta to'orin baiyiju. ḥancud iyen*
*kö'üd inu e'üten bosoju (?bösöǰü) ɣolumta to'orin bayiǰu qančud-iyan*

*köüd inu eüten bósoju qolumta toorin bayyiju qancudiyan*
*köü.d in-u eüten bóso-ju qolumta toori-n bayyi-ju qancu.d-i-yan*

*śimaliḫahdarun. Cinggis ḫahan gerelju śiḫahdaju jayila ḫaruya*
*šimaliγaγdarun, Činggis qahan gereljü šiqaγdaǰu, ǰayila, γaruya*
*śimaliqaqdarun ciŋgis qahan gereljü śiqaqdaju jayila qaruya*
*śimaliqa-qda-run Ciŋgis qahan gerel-jü śiqa-qda-ju 'jayila. qar-uya.'*

*ke'e'et. ḫarḫu lu'a Cinggis ḫa'an i horcin ḫorcin turḫa'ut to'orin bayyiba.*
*ke'e'ed γarγu-lu'a Činggis qa'an-i horčin qorčin turγa'ud to'orin bayiba.*
*keeed qarqulua ciŋgis qaani horcin qorcin turqaud toorin bayyiba.*
*kee'ed qar-qu-lua Ciŋgis qaan-i horci-n qor.ci.n turqa.ud toori-n bayyi-ba.*

1.1 PHONEMES. The vowel and consonant phonemes of the language of the SH are shown in Tables 1 and 2. In addition to these, the graphs # and ˆ probably represent phonemes (cf. 1.13 and 1.14), while the graphs *q, ú, ó, à, ù, ì, ǹ,* and *ỳ* correspond to ambiguous writings in the Chinese transcription (cf. 1.032). It should be noted that the phonetic values assigned to these phonemes are far from certain; the tense/lax opposition may rather have been aspirated/unaspirated, etc..

| NEUTRAL[36] | FRONT | BACK |
|---|---|---|
| i | ü | u |
| | ö | o |
| | e | a |

TABLE 1. VOWEL PHONEMES

| | LABIAL | APICAL | PALATAL | VELAR | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | PRE-VELAR | POST-VELAR |
| TENSE STOP | | t | | k | q[37] |
| LAX STOP | b | d | | g | |
| TENSE AFFRICATE | | | c | | |
| LAX AFFRICATE | | | j | | |
| NASAL | m | n | | ŋ | |
| LATERAL | | l | | | |
| TRILL | | r | | | |
| SPIRANT | f[38] | s | ś | | γ |
| VOICED NON-SYLLABIC VOCOID | | | y | : | w |
| VOICELESS NON-SYLLABIC VOCOID | | | | h | |

TABLE 2. CONSONANT PHONEMES

A study of the Chinese transcription — especially of the variant spellings in the text — by an expert in Chinese dialects could probably add a considerable number of phonetic details, but I am convinced that as a list of phonemes, Tables 1 and 2 are valid and complete.[39]

1.11 /d/ and /g/. It is difficult to decide whether the apical and pre-velar phones occurring before consonants and # (for which see 1.13) were phonetically more similar to the pre-vocalic allophones of /t/ and /k/ respectively, or to those of /d/ and /g/. These two phones are written by the small characters 忄易 and 克. Mostaert, Cleaves, and Shiratori read these as *d* and *g* respectively, while Haenisch, Pelliot, Kozin, and Lewicki read *t* and *k*. While historically one would prefer the former reading, the evidence is conflicting, so that the problem deserves separate treatment elsewhere.[40] If one assigns these phones to the /t/ and /k/ phonemes, one would have to set up two morphophonemes /D/ and /G/, which would be /t/ and /k/ respectively before a consonant or # and /d/ and /g/ before a vowel; every morpheme ending in /t, k, d, g/ which occurred in both these positions would exhibit one of these morphophonemes. Therefore the transcription used here writes *d* and *g* before consonant or #, with the understanding that this writing may be either phonemic or morphophonemic.

1.12 /:/. Vowel length is never written as such in the Chinese transcription, but there are many pairs of morphemes which do not seem to differ in meaning, but which differ formally in that where one has a sequence of two same vowels, the other has only a single vowel; from the sound changes known to have taken place within Mongolian, it seems reasonable to assume that this single vowel was actually long.[41] Therefore in a morpheme pair such as *bolqa-* and *bolqaa-* 'investigate,' it is assumed that the former is *bolqa:-* (as distinguished from e.g. *bolqa-* 'cook'). That such a long vowel must be phonemicized as a sequence of two phonemes rather than as a unit phoneme is shown by the occurrence of morpheme boundaries in the middle of long vowels, e.g. *tende-:ce* 'from there, from that, thence, then' (e.g. 35.) contains the same morphemes as *tende-ece* (e.g. 195.39r). Mostaert and Cleaves are not consistent in writing long vowels; e.g. Mostaert writes *bolγā-* 1952.299, but *tendeče* 1951.381.

1.13 #. Presumably the Chinese editors of the SH had some reason for bracketing together certain contiguous characters, and glossing them together, even if the gloss consisted of more than one character. It is my assumption that either there was a difference in transition (i.e. juncture) between two phonemes when they occurred within a bracket group and across a bracket group boundary, or that the bracket group boundaries indicated intermittently present pauses,[42] or both. The bases for this assumption are first, that the domain of vowel harmony (1.22) is defined by bracket group boundaries (and otherwise only by complex syntactic criteria), and second, that nearly twice as many consonant clusters occur over bracket group boundaries as do within a bracket group. Whatever its definition, # will ordinarily be written by a space between the two phonemes contiguous to it. As stated in 1.01, a sequence of phonemes between successive occurrences of # is a PHONOLOGICAL WORD.

1.14 ˆ. This graph probably represents a phoneme of stress or pitch (most likely a secondary stress), or a combination of such phonemes. It is never written as such in the Chinese transcription, but is set up on the basis of phonemically different writings of what are taken to be sequences of the same morphemes.[43] Like #, the intonation graph ˆ never combines with (other) phonemes to form morphemes; hence it is not considered to occur before or after phonemes, but rather with them. It is written over the hyphen or dot representing morpheme boundaries. The graph ˆ distinguishes the phoneme sequences shown in Table 3. Examples will be found in the treatment of the particles referred to (i.e. definite and possessive 3.2221, genitive, dative, ablative, and instrumental 3.3211, *-+(U)BAsU* 3.3212).

## 1.2 DISTRIBUTION OF PHONEMES.

1.21 RESTRICTIONS ON THE OCCURRENCE OF CONTIGUOUS PHONEMES. The following types of sequences occur (where *V* is a vowel, *C* a consonant): *#V, #C, V#, C#, VC, CV, VV,*

| WITH ^ | WITHOUT ^ | IN E.G. THESE MORPHEME SEQUENCES |
|---|---|---|
| /n^nV/[44] | /n-V/ | Morpheme with final /n, N, Ɲ/[45] plus the genitive, dative, ablative, or definite particle. |
| /y^yV/ | /y-V/ | Morpheme with final /y, Y, Ɣ/ plus the dative or ablative particle. |
| /V^bV/<br>/C^bV/ | /V-V/<br>/C-V/ | Any morpheme plus the instrumental or possessive particle, or the converbial particle -+*(U)BAsU* (cf. 2.3). |
| /V^dA/ | /V-A/ | Morpheme with final vowel plus the ablative particle. |
| /C^tV/ | /C-V/ | Morpheme with final consonant plus the dative or ablative particle. |
| /ü^dA/ | /ü-yA/ | Morpheme with final /ü/ plus the dative particle. |
| /e^tA/<br>/a^tA/ | /e-dA/<br>/a-dA/ | Morpheme with final /e, a/ plus the dative particle. |

TABLE 3. SEQUENCES DISTINGUISHED BY THE INTONATION GRAPH

*VVV, CC,* and *CCC*. Not all the combinations occur which are allowed by these types, but the restrictions which emerge are not of any great importance to the structure of the language. The combinations which do occur are described in Appendix 1.

**1.22** RESTRICTIONS ON THE OCCURRENCE OF NON-CONTIGUOUS PHONEMES. Within a phonological word, a front vowel (/e, ü, ö/) never co-occurs with a back vowel (/a, u, o/). The neutral vowel /i/ co-occurs with neutral, front, and back vowels alike. The front velars /k/ and /g/ occur in phonological words containing front and/or neutral vowels, while the back velars represented by the graph *q* occur only in phonological words containing back and/or neutral vowels. E.g. the following sorts of sequences occur: *kökö* 'blue', *kilbar* 'easy', *gübcin* 'whole', *bici.g* 'book', *üje-gsen* 'having seen', *qucin* 'thirty', *dawuli-qda-qsan* 'having been robbed', *qoś.iliq* 'tent'. For further examples see 2.1-2.

## 2. MORPHOPHONEMICS

**2.0** A MORPH is a minimal sequence[46] of phonemes which has a meaning. E.g. in the sequence *gertüriyen* 'into his yurt' 65., *ger* 'yurt' is a morph, but /ge/ is not, since it does not have a meaning. *gertür* 'into yurt' has a meaning, but is not minimal, since it consists of two sequences with meaning, *ger* 'yurt' and *tür* 'into'. A MORPHEME is a class of semantically similar morphs which are in non-contrastive distribution; e.g. -+*lua*[47] 'with' and -+*lüe* 'with' do not contrast, since the former occurs only after morphemes containing at least one back vowel, while the latter occurs only after morphemes having front and/or neutral vowels; similarly *.ulca/.ülce* and *.ldu/.ldü* 'plural' do not contrast, since the former occurs only after consonants, the latter only after vowels. A MORPHOPHONEME is a class of one or more phonemes which alternate with each other or with zero in different morphs of the same morpheme. In practice it is not usually worthwhile to set up a morphophoneme to cover such an alternation unless the alternation occurs in at least two morphemes. Alternations which occur in only a single morpheme are SUPPLETIVE ALTERNATIONS. Since it is often convenient to write a morpheme partly with phonemes and partly with

morphophonemes, the latter as well as the former will sometimes be written between the slant lines denoting phonemic transcription. To distinguish between phonemes and morphophonemes, the latter will be written with capital letters.[48] E.g. there is a morpheme meaning 'with' which has the form *-+lua* after morphemes containing at least one back vowel, and *-+lüe* elsewhere: the morphophonemes *U* and *A* are set up to cover the alternations *u/ü* and *a/e* respectively, and this morpheme is written *-+lUA* when there is need to quote it alone. An ALLOMORPH is a class of morphs belonging to the same morpheme which have a single phonemic or morphophonemic shape; e.g. *-+lua* and *-+lüe* are allomorphs of *-+lUA* 'with', and *.UlcA* and *.ldU* of the verb plural morpheme. When the allomorphs of a morpheme exhibit suppletive alternation, one of the allomorphs written between morphemic brackets, {} , is used to signify the morpheme; e.g. the verb plural morpheme, which has the suppletive allomorphs *.UlcA* and *.ldU*, is written {.ldU}. Aside from numerals, pronouns, and the morphemes {bü-} 'be' (for which see 3.41), {ene} 'this' (for which see 3.211), and {hoduN} 'star' (with allomorph *ho* before the suffix {.S}, and *hodun* elsewhere), only particles (3.0, 3.6) and suffixes (4.0) show suppletive alternation; these latter are included in the Index at the end of this work.

One arbitrary practice is followed in assigning morphs to morphemes: given three or more semantically similar morphs (or groups of morphs which can be written by a single morphophonemic shape), A, B, C (and D, etc.), such that A and B contrast (i.e. occur in some same environment), while neither A nor B contrasts with C (or D, etc.), all are assigned to a single morpheme. E.g. there are seven groups of morphs which all mean roughly 'from', namely *-AcA*, *-:cA*, *-dAcA*, *-yAcA*, *-+nAcA*, *-+tAcA*, and *-+AcA;* of these *-AcA* and *-:cA* contrast (both occur after /e/ and /a/), but neither contrasts with any of the other five, nor do any of the five contrast with one another. According to the present provision, all seven are assigned to a single morpheme {-+AcA} 'from' (cf. 3.3211). Without such a provision, there would be no way of deciding whether it is A or B which should be assigned to the morpheme including the other morphs C, D, etc.. The alternation between A and B probably indicates that different dialects, showing separate historical changes, are represented in the text. In listing allomorphs, A and B are listed together as A ~ B (e.g. *-AcA ~ -:cA* after /e, a/).

2.1 VOWEL MORPHOPHONEMES.[49] The vowel morphophonemes are /U, (U), A/ and /E/.

/U/ is /u/ in phonological words containing back vowels, and after the morpheme *niśi-* 'beat, whip',[50] and /ü/ elsewhere. E.g. the morpheme *-+lUA* 'with' (3.3211) is *-+lua/-+lüe*, e.g. *Belgütey-lüe* 'with Belgütey' 95., *ecige-lüe min-u* 'with my father' 96.39v, *Jamuqa-lua* 'with Jamuqa' 196.43v, ... *ab-quy-lua*[51] ('take-[aor.adjN]-with'[52]) 'as soon as [they] took...' 101.47v. This and the other vowel morphophonemes are very frequent; all bound morphemes which do not consist wholly of consonants and/or /i/ vowels contain at least one of them.

/(U)/ is /U/ between consonants, and zero elsewhere. E.g. the converbial particle *-(U)n* (3.3212) is *-Un* after consonants, and *-n* after vowels: ... *ög-ün* 'giving...' 87., ... *qari-n* 'turning' 91..

/A/ is /a/ in phonological words containing back vowels, and after the morpheme *niśi-* 'beat, whip', and /e/ elsewhere. For examples see /U/ above.

/E/ is /A/ before #, and /U/ elsewhere. E.g. *güün-e* 'to a man' 85.2v, *köün-ü-en* ('son-for-own') 'to my son' 177.31r.

2.2 CONSONANT MORPHOPHONEMES. The consonant morphophonemes are /B, G, Ǵ, J, K, L, N, Ń, R, S, Y/ and /Ɣ/.

/B/ is /b/ after the intonation graph ^ (actually with rather than after this graph, cf. 1.14), and zero elsewhere. It occurs in some allomorphs of the particles {-BAr} 'by' (3.3211), {-BAn} 'own' (3.2221), and *-+(U)BAsU* 'if' (3.3212), e.g. ... *kee-esü* ('say-if') 'if one say' 219.26r, ... *kee^besü* (same) 242.23v.

/G/ is /g/ in phonological words containing front and/or neutral vowels, and *q* elsewhere. It occurs only in suffixes and particles. For examples see e.g. the suffix *.Gśi* (4.1114) and the particle *-(U)GsAN* (3.2212).

/Ǥ/ is /g/ before /i/ or the sequence /+i/, /G/ before a vowel other than /i/ after a consonant, before a consonant other than /r/ after a vowel, before /+/ after a vowel, or before #, and zero elsewhere. E.g. (1) the morpheme *keśiǤ* 'part; service; spell of duty[53]' occurs in these combinations: *keśig#* 'spell of duty' 227.40r, *keśig-ün* (i.e. *keśiǤ-+Un*[54]) 'of a section [of the guard]' 227.40r, *keśig.le-* 'do guard duty in rotation' 192.20v, *keśi.üd* 'divisions [of the guard]' 227.40v; (2) the morpheme *uruǤ* 'family, descendants' occurs in these combinations: *uruq#* 'family' 255.32v, *uruq-un* (i.e. *uruǤ-+Un*) 'of [my] descendants' 231., *min-u urug-i* (i.e. *uruǤ-+i*) 'my family' 255.33v, *uruq-tur min-u* (i.e. *uruǤ-+tUr*) 'in my family' 255.31v, *uru.ud* (i.e. *uruǤ.Ud*) 'families' 255.30v; (3) the suffix *.ǤA* (4.131) occurs in e.g. *bari.a* 'bonds', *deür.ge* 'burden', and *mede.e* 'knowledge'; (4) the passive particle *-ǤdA* (3.4212) occurs in e.g. . . . *kee-gde-* 'be told' and . . . *ab-da-* 'be taken'; and (5) the morpheme *omoǤ* 'brave, bravery' occurs in the verb *omo.rqa-* 'be brave'[55] (4.311). All nouns[56] which show a final /g/ or *q* in any of their allomorphs end in /Ǥ/.[57] Also one verb contains this morphophoneme: it is *asaǤ-* 'ask', e.g. *asa.ulca-* ('ask.[pl]') 'ask one another' 29. (i.e. *asaǤ.UlcA-*; note that *.UlcA* is the postconsonantal allomorph of the verb plural morpheme (4.332): if this morpheme were *asa-*, we would expect *asa.ldu-*), *asa-ura* (i.e. *asaǤ-* [*U*]*rA*) 'to ask' 146.45v, but *asaq-urun* (i.e. *asaǤ-+*[*U*]*rUn*) 'asking' 195.39r bis, and *asaq-un* (i.e. *asaǤ-+*[*U*]*n*) 'asking' 244.49v bis, 197.47v.

/J/ is /j/ after a vowel or /l/, and /c/ elsewhere. It occurs e.g. in the verbal final particle *-JUU* (3.122), and the converbial particle *-JU* (3.2212). E.g. . . . *sau-ul-ju* 'having sit . . . ' 19.11v, . . . *kee-jü* 'saying . . . ' 62.43r, . . . *ab-cu* 'taking . . . ' 13. .

/K/ is /k/ in phonological words containing front and/or neutral vowels, and *q* elsewhere. For examples see e.g. the suffixes $.KAN_1$ (4.1111) and $.KAN_2$ (4.212), and the particle $-KUY_2$ ('aor.adjN', 3.2212).

/L/ is zero before /d/, and /l/ elsewhere. All nouns which show a final /l/ in any of their allomorphs end in /L/. E.g. *kötöL* 'lead horse', *kötö.d* (i.e. *kötöL.d*) 'lead horses'.

/N/ is /n/ before # and /+/, /ŋ/ before /k, g/, and *q*, and zero elsewhere. All nouns and attributes which show a final /n/ in any of their allomorphs, and which are not listed under /Ɲ/ (below), end in /N/. For examples see Table 4, in which /N/ is contrasted with /Ɲ/.

/Ɲ/ is /n/ before /+/, /ŋ/ before /k, g/ and *q*, and zero elsewhere. Only nouns ending in *Ɲ* occur before the morpheme *n* of undetermined meaning (3.2213), but not all such nouns so occur. /Ɲ/ contrasts with /N/ only before #, as shown in Table 4. The following is a complete list of nouns ending in /Ɲ/; those marked with an asterisk never occur before the morpheme *-n*.

| | NOUNS OR ATTRIBUTES WITH /N/ | NOUNS WITH /Ɲ/ |
|---|---|---|
| BEFORE # | *noyan#* 'leader' 227.40v | *irge* 'people' 137.21v |
| BEFORE /+/ | *Burqan qa*[*l*]*dun-aca* (i.e. *Burqan qalduN-+AcA*) 'from Burqan hill' 97., *Burqan qaldun^naca* (same) 102. | . . . *irgen-ece* (i.e. *irgeƝ-+AcA*) 'from the . . . people' 54. |
| BEFORE /k, g/ | *qataŋ.giN* (i.e. *qataN.giN*) 'hard' 194.26v | *oloŋ.kiN* (i.e. *oloƝ.kiN*) 'majority' 174.16v |
| BEFORE /d/ | *noya.d* 'nobles' 146.47v | *köü.d* 'sons' 74.5v |
| BEFORE VOWEL | *eüde-en* 'your door' 97. | *ama-an* 'their mouth[s]' 82.19v |
| BEFORE *-n* | --- | . . . *irge-n* (i.e. *irgeƝ-n*) '. . . people' 63.44r |

TABLE 4. CONTRAST OF /N/ AND /Ɲ/

*aca.aN* 'load'
*aci.aN* 'load'
*adar.qaN* 'poisoning, slander'
*aduuN* 'herd of horses'
*amaN* 'mouth'
*aurasuN* 'silk'
*ayaN* 'hunt'
*baruaN* 'crowd'
*bayyi.ldu.aN* 'battle order'
*bidaN* 'we (inclusive)' *
*bolja.aN* 'agreement'
*cisuN* 'blood'
*ciüN* 'axle pin'
*daba.aN* 'mountain pass'
*daba.:N* 'mountain pass'
*darqaN* 'free'
*dawuN* 'voice'
*dobtul.qaN* 'battlefield'
*duraN* 'heart, affection'
*ejeN* 'master, lord'
*ekiN* 'head'
*elbesüN* 'prayer'
*elciN* 'messenger'
*ere.eN* 'hope'
*ertеN* 'early' *
*esergüN* 'opposite, toward' *
*eüN* allomorph of {ene} 'this' *
*geüN* 'mare'
*göre.eN* 'wildlife, wild animals'
*görü.eN* 'wildlife, wild animals'
*gücüN* 'strength'
*güjühüN* 'neck'
*güjüüN* 'neck'
*günesüN* 'grain'
*gürdüN* 'wheel'
*güüN* 'person, man'
*qadqa.ldu.aN* 'battle, fight'
*qaduN* 'wife, lady'
*qaN*$_1$ 'ruler'
*qaN*$_2$ 'government property'
*qancuN* 'sleeve'
*qariN* 'state'
*qatuN* 'wife, lady'
*qoduN* 'skin'
*qor.qaN* 'barricade'
*qubci.riN* 'taxes, duties'
*quriqaN* 'lamb'
*heligeN* 'liver'
*húsuN* 'hair'
*ide.eN* 'food'
*jaa.riN* 'omen'
*jabajiN* 'corner of the mouth'
*jauN* 'hundred'
*jayaaN* 'fate'
*jisúN* 'beauty'
*jirügeN* 'heart, courage'
*jürügeN* 'heart, courage'
*keleN* 'tongue; language'
*köüN* 'son, child'
*maraaN* 'skin'
*mariyaN* 'skin'
*miqaN* 'meat'
*minqaN* 'thousand'
*moriN* 'horse'
*neü.riN* 'track; measure of distance'
*nilbu.suN* 'tears'
*numuN* 'bow'
*oloN* 'many, great number'
*oroN* 'throne; place'
*ökiN* 'daughter, girl'
*öyiN* 'heart; love'
*saa.riN* '[a mare] which yields milk'
*sacauN* 'equality'
*sau.riN* 'seat'
*sayiN* 'good'
*södür.geN* 'incitement to discord'
*söniN* 'night'*
*sumuN* 'arrow'
*śibawuN* 'bird, falcon'
*śilta.aN* 'cause'
*taN* 'you'*
*tergeN* 'wagon'
*teriüN* 'head'
*ulaaN* 'riding horse'
*usuN* 'water'
*yasuN* 'bone, tribe'
*yauN* 'what?'
*yosuN* 'way, basis, reason'

/R/ is zero before /d, c/, and /r/ elsewhere. All nouns which show a final /r/ in any of their allomorphs end with this morphophoneme. E.g. *qoR* 'quiver', *qo.d* (i.e. *qoR.d*) 'quivers', *qor-tu* 'having a quiver', *qor.+ci* 'quiver-bearer'; *nököR* 'friend', *nökö.d* 'friends', *nökö.ce-* 'be, become friends'.

/S/ is /ś/ before /i/, and /s/ elsewhere. It occurs as one allomorph of the plural morpheme (4.112), and in the verb *ayiS-* 'approach'. E.g. *eme.s* 'women', *eme.s-i* (i.e. *eme.s-+i;* 'woman.s-[df]') 'the women' 102., *nodurqa.ś-iyen* 'as to their fists' 214.14r; ... *ayis-u* ('approach-[non.pst]') 'approaches', ... *ayiś-i* ('approach-[non.pst].*i*') 'approaches'.

/Y/ is zero before /n/, and /y/ elsewhere. All nouns and attributes, all noun-forming and attribute-forming suffixes (4.0), and all nominalizing and attributivizing particles (3.6) which show a

final /y/ in any of their allomorphs, except those listed under /Ɣ/ (below), and the noun *noqay* 'dog' (which has /y/ in all positions, e.g. *noqay.s* 'dogs') end with this morphophoneme. E.g. *màŋlaY* 'forehead, vanguard', *màŋla.n* ('vanguard.s') 'people of the vanguard', *màŋlay.la-* 'put at the head, make the vanguard'; *qoolaY* 'throat', *qoola.ncaR* 'glutton'; *ciraY* 'appearance', ... *ciray-t.an* 'those having a ... appearance'.

*/Ɣ/* is zero before consonants, and /y/ elsewhere. E.g. *auƔ* 'wide', *au.dki-* 'widen'; *jalauƔ* 'young', *jalau.s* 'young people', ... *jalau.tu* 'having a ... youth' 3.; *samawuƔ* 'discord, confusion', *samawu.ra-* 'get into confusion', *samawu-tur* 'in confusion' 197.47v, *samawu -tur* (i.e. *samawuƔ-+tUr*) 'in confusion' 193.24r. */Ɣ/* occurs in the following morphemes:

*auƔ* 'wide'
*jalauƔ* 'young'
*ölegeƔ* 'cradle'
*öljeƔ* 'happiness, luck'
*samawuƔ* 'discord, confusion'

2.3 MORPHOPHONEMIC JUNCTURE. When several morphemes have similar allomorphs in at least some environments which are statable only in terms of morphemes rather than in terms of phonemes, it is simpler to mark the environments somehow than to repeat the list of morpheme environments in stating the allomorphs of each of the former morphemes. Such a mark written into the environments is a MORPHOPHONEMIC JUNCTURE.[58] Theoretically such a morphophonemic juncture is purely graphic, though in the present case, since we are dealing with written rather than spoken material, a morphophonemic juncture may actually correspond to some phonetic feature of intonation or to phonemic juncture. The sign + (which for convenience will usually be written between the slant lines enclosing phonemic transcription) is a morphophonemic juncture before which morphemes have one of their phonemically longest allomorphs: particulars are stated in the constituency of the morphophonemes */Ɠ*, N, Ɲ, R, S, Ɣ/. The following morphemes contain /+/ in all their occurrences in environments where /+/ contrasts with zero:

{-+A} the dative particle (3.3211)
{-+AcA} the ablative particle (3.3211)
-+*(U)BAsU* ('if') a converbial particle (3.3212)
-+*dUr* a lative particle (3.3211)
{-+i} the definite particle (3.2221)
-+*lUA* the comitative particle (3.3211)
-+*(U)GsAN* an adjective-nominalizing particle (3.2213)
-+*(U)n* a converbial particle (3.3212)
-+*(U)rUn* a converbial particle (3.3212)
{-+yiN} the genitive particle (3.3211)

Some pairs of allomorphs differ formally in that one has /+/ and the other lacks it: these are assigned to same morphemes according to the provision of 3.0. They are the following:

-+*BAAn* ~ -*BAAn* allomorphs of the possessive particle (3.3221)
-+*BAr* ~ -*BAr* allomorphs of the instrumental particle (3.3211)
.+*d* ~ .*d* allomorphs of the plural particle (4.112)
-+*iyAr* ~ -*BAr* allomorphs of the instrumental particle (3.3211)
-+*iyAr* ~ -*yAr* allomorphs of the instrumental particle (3.3211)

These contrast with morphemes and allomorphs which never contain /+/, e.g. the .*Ud* allomorph of the plural suffix. Examples of the above will be found in the treatment of the morphemes listed.

## 3. SYNTAX

3.0 A LEXEME is a sequence of morphemes which, whenever it occurs, functions as a unit;[59] thus every morpheme is a lexeme, but not every lexeme is a morpheme. E.g. *eme.gen* 'old woman'

consists of two morphemes (and lexemes) *eme* 'woman' and *.gen,* a suffix (4.0); *eme.gen* as a whole is also a lexeme: when *eme* occurs before *.gen,* it is always in construction with[60] *.gen* alone. On the other hand, *ger-tür* 'into yurt' as a whole does not always function as a unit: in *ger-tür in-u* ('yurt-in he-of') 'into his yurt' 85., *ger* alone is in construction with *in-u* 'his,' while *-tür* 'into' is in construction with *ger in-u* 'his yurt'. Thus *ger-tür* is not a lexeme. A BOUND LEXEME is one which, like the *.gen* of *eme.gen* is always part of a larger lexeme. A FREE LEXEME, on the other hand, is at least sometimes not part of a larger lexeme (e.g. *-tür* 'into', *ger* 'yurt'). In the transcription used here, a hyphen indicates division between two free lexemes within a phonological word, while a period not followed by a space or a quotation mark indicates a division between two lexemes, at least one of which is bound. Cf. the above examples, and the text in 1.033.

There are five major lexeme classes, or parts of speech, in the language of the SH: NOUN, ATTRIBUTE, VERB, POSTPOSITION, and PARTICLE. Corresponding to the first three, there are polylexemic sequences which occur respectively in the same constructions as do the single lexemes. A VERBAL is a lexeme sequence which occurs in construction with a verbal final particle (listed in 3.12) or a converbial particle (listed in 3.3212). A single lexeme verbal is a VERB. A NOMINAL is a lexeme sequence which occurs as subject or object of a verbal (3.4221-2), or in construction with a case particle (listed in 3.3211). A single lexeme nominal is a NOUN. An ATTRIBUTIVE is a lexeme sequence which is not a nominal, and which occurs as premodifier (see below) of a nominal and/or a verbal. A single lexeme attributive is an ATTRIBUTE. A POSTPOSITION is a lexeme which occurs in construction with a nominal, such that the resultant construction occurs both in the typically nominal positions listed above, and as premodifier of nominals and/or verbals (i.e. is an attribute-nominal, cf. 3.211). A PARTICLE is a lexeme which is neither verbal, nominal, attributive, nor postposition.

Nominals, attributives, and verbals fall into subclasses according to their distribution. These subclasses are described in sections 3.21, 3.31, and 3.41. In addition there is a small amount of overlap between the classes nominal, attributive, verbal, and postposition. E.g. *dee.re* 'above, on' is both an attribute and a postposition, and *ûn̆dur* 'high, height, increase' is both a verb and a noun. Since this overlap is of no structural importance in the language, it is considered that the overlapping forms really consist of two homonomous morphemes, e.g. there are two lexemes *dee.re,* one an attribute ('above'), and the other a postposition ('on').

There are three types of constructions, in terms of which the syntax of the language of the SH will be described: EXOCENTRIC, SUBORDINATE, and COORDINATE constructions.[61] An EXOCENTRIC construction is one in which neither of the members of the construction[62] occurs in the same syntactic positions as does the whole construction; e.g. *ŭkŭ-gsen* ('die-[pf.adjN]') 'dead, dead person' is a nominal, and occurs e.g. as subject and object of verbals, and as premodifier (see below) of nominals; its members, however, are respectively verb and particle, and occur in none of these positions. A SUBORDINATE construction is one in which one (and only one) member of the construction occurs in the same syntactic positions as the whole; e.g. *ger ci* ('yurt as.for') 'as for the yurt' is a nominal, while *ger* 'yurt' is a noun, and *ci* 'as for' is a particle; *ger* and *ger ci* occur in the same constructions. The member of a subordinate construction which occurs in the same position as does the whole is the HEAD of the construction, and is MODIFIED by a MODIFIER (e.g. *ci* 'as for' above); a modifier which precedes its head is a PREMODIFIER, while one which follows its head is a POSTMODIFIER. A COORDINATE construction is one in which both (or all) members occur in the same syntactic positions as does the whole construction; e.g. *aqa deŭ* ('older. brother younger.brother') 'older brother and younger brother' is a nominal, and both members are nouns.

A description of the syntax of the language of the SH will consist of a statement of (1) the distribution of the classes nominal, attributive, verbal, postposition, and particle in the various sentence types (3.1), and (2) the constituency of these classes in terms of constructions (3.2-7).

3.1 SENTENCE TYPES. The Chinese transcription does not divide the text of the SH into sentences, but such a division is a necessary basis for the following analysis of the text. In practice, there is seldom any question as to where one sentence ends and the next begins, but a theoretical validation of any particular division into sentences is difficult.[63] The division of the text into

sentences used here is therefore a hypothesis from which the present analysis follows, rather than a fact of analysis which can be proved true or false. It is assumed that the corpus consists of a given number of sentences, each of which occurred by itself as an utterance with a given intonation. A period followed by a space or a quotation mark indicates the end of a sentence.

Many different sequences occur in construction with the verb *kee-* 'say'. Some of these are identical with, or very similar to, some sentences; these are QUOTED SENTENCES (see 3.4223). When such a quoted sentence is used as an example below, it will be put in quotation marks, e.g. *'qar-su.'*[64] The period shows that this is a sentence.

Because of the nature of the text (narrative style, generally in the third person), certain types of sentences occur only or chiefly as quoted sentences. There is no reason to think that this was the case also in the spoken language. E.g. *'ayyi.'* 'Alas!', and *'qar-su.'* ('go.out-I.will') 'I will go out.' occur in the text only as quoted sentences.

Other sequences occurring with *kee-* differ in one or more ways from non-quoted sentences: these are INDIRECT QUOTATIONS (3.4223). These sequences will be placed in quotation marks, but not followed by a period.

3.11 SIMPLE SENTENCES. A sentence which consists of a single nominal, attributive, or particle is a SIMPLE SENTENCE. A simple sentence consisting of a subject-predicate nominal construction (3.2233) is a PREDICATIVE NOMINAL SENTENCE, for which see 3.112. Other simple sentences are NON-PREDICATIVE SIMPLE SENTENCES.

3.111 NON-PREDICATIVE SIMPLE SENTENCES. In its shortest form, a non-predicative simple sentence consists of a single lexeme. E.g. the noun *anda* 'sworn friend', the attribute *ücügeN* 'small', and the particles *je* 'yes' and *ayyi* 'alas' occur as sentences in the following contexts: *erte üdür Yesügey qa-n ecige-lüe Kereyid irgen-ü Oŋ qa-n 'anda.' kee.ldü-gsen a-juu.* ('early day Yesügey qan-[*n*] father-with Kereyid people-of Ong qan-[*n*] "sworn.friend." say.[pl]-[pf.adj.N] live-[non.fut]') 'In a former day Ong qan of the Kereyid people had said "sworn friend" together with [his] father Yesügey qan.' (i.e. 'had agreed to become sworn friends with . . . ') 96.39r, *'ene köü-ben Jelme-yi ŏg-ülee gü bi. "ücügen." kee-n ab-cu od-ulaa.'*('this son-own Jelme-[df] give-[non.fut] really I. "small" say-ing take-ing go-[non.fut]') 'I also gave [you] this my son Jelme. [But I] went taking [him] saying "small".' (i.e. 'I took him with me when I went because he was still too small to leave.') 97., *'je.' kee.ldü-jü* ('"yes." say.[pl]-ing') 'agreeing "yes"' 83.20v, *. . .Kökseü sabraq ügü.le-run 'ayyi. yeke uge ugu.le-d ta. . . .' kee-jüü.y.* ('Kökseü sabraq speak-ing.in "alas. great word speak-[aor] you. . . ." say-[non.fut]') '. . . Kökseü sabraq spoke saying "Alas. You speak a great boast. . . ."' 190.13v. Examples of non-predicative simple sentences consisting of more than one lexeme are the following: *. . . Bodoncar be t.e.de irgen-i 'yau-n irge-n.' kee-n asa.ulca-qu ügey* ('Bodoncar [contr] those people-[df] "what-[*n*] people-[*n*]." say-ing ask.[pl]-[impf.adj.N] without') '. . . without Bodoncar for his part asking those people saying "What people [are you]?"' 29., *'erte üdür.' ke:-esü* ('"former day." say-if') 'if [they] say "in a former day"' 177.23v, *'eke-yin śidkül.' kee-n* ('"mother-of present." say-ing') 'saying "[It is your] mother's present."' 96.39r, *. . . 'qahan-nu-a.n gü.' kee-jü a-mu je bi.* ('"qahan-of-possession.s really." say-ing live-[non.pst] surely I') 'Surely I have always said "[They are] the qahan's."' 197.48r.

3.112 PREDICATIVE NOMINAL SENTENCES. In the subject-predicate coordinate construction (3.2233) the two members are SUBJECT and PREDICATE; the subject is a nominal, and the predicate a nominal or an attributive. The two members of this construction occur in three orders.

3.1121 ORDER: PREDICATE-SUBJECT. This order occurs only when the subject is a pronoun (3.2111); with such a subject this is the normal unemphatic order. E.g. *'yau-n güü-n ci.'* ('"what-[*n*] person-[*n*] you[sg]"') 'What sort of person [are] you?' (i.e. 'Of what tribe are you?') 100.44v.

3.1122 ORDER: SUBJECT-PREDICATE. When the subject is a pronoun this order is emphatic; e.g. *'t.e.de yau.d.'* ('"those what.s"') '"What [people are] those?"' 195.35r (where the speaker points out the people he means), *'bi qaqca köü-n in-u.'* ('"I only son-[*n*] he-of"') '"I [am] his only son."'

90.29v. When the subject is other than a pronoun, this is the only order which occurs, so that no emphasis is involved; e.g. *'aqta.s turu.qa.d.'* ('"gelding.s thin.s"') '"The geldings [are] thin."' 190.15v.

3.1123 ORDER: PREDICATE INCLUDED IN DISCONTINUOUS SUBJECT. This order occurs only when the subject is an appositive nominal (3.2232) consisting of a nominal plus a pronoun: the former precedes the predicate, while the latter follows; e.g. *'t.e.de dörben noqay.s ke.d t.e.de.'* ('"those four dog.s who.s those"') '"Those four dogs, who [are] those?"' 195.34r. This is the most emphatic order occurring in predicative nominal sentences.

3.12 THE EXOCENTRIC SENTENCE CONSTRUCTION: VERBAL SENTENCES. A verbal sentence is an axis-relation construction[65] whose members are a verbal and a verbal final particle (see below). E.g. *'qar-su.'* ('"go.out-I.will"') '"I will go out."' 80.15v, *qabur bolu-ba,* ('spring become-[non.fut]') '[It] became spring.' 27.. This construction also occurs as head of a subordinate sentence construction (3.13), and as one member of certain types of coordinate sentence constructions (3.141-2).

Verbal final particles fall into two subclasses: some (HORTATIVE PARTICLES) sometimes occur in construction with a verbal the last verb or verbal of which is qualified by the negative adverb *bú* 'not' (3.311), e.g. *'Belgütey-yi bú tebci-dkün.'* ('"Belgütey-[df] not abandon-![pl]') '"Do not abandon Belgütey."' 77.10r. The rest (INDICATIVE PARTICLES) co-occur rather with the negative adverbs *ese* and *úlu* in the same position. (The former is a definite negative which co-occurs with indicative particles having a non-future meaning [cf. note 75], while *úlu* is an indefinite negative, co-occurring with indicative particles of non-past meaning).

3.121 HORTATIVE PARTICLES. The hortative particles are *-sUGAy, -Ø, -tUGAy, -(U)ya,* and *-(U)dKUn* and *-(U)GtUd.*

*-sUGAy* ('may.I') is the first person hortative particle. It never occurs in construction with a verbal which has a subject other than *bi* 'I', and when (as often) there is no formal subject of the verbal, it is clear from the context that the speaker is at least one of the people carrying out the action of the verb. E.g. *'bi śirqa a[q]ta-t.an—t.e.de bü-y—hül-de-jü qar-suqay.'* ('I dappled gelding-having.s—those be-[aor]—pursue-ing go.out-may.I') '"I hope to come out pursuing those including the dappled gelding[s]—those are [they]."' 90.30v, *hontuca-ju cima-da qar.da-asu heregey-yen hoqtol-ju oor-suqay.'* ('shoot.far-ing you-to go.out-[pass]-if thumb-own cut-ing throw-may.I') 'If [I] were outdone by you at distance shooting, might I cut off my thumb and throw [it] away.' 254.23r, *'...ciul-qa-suqay.'* ('assemble-cause-may.I') '...I would like to assemble...' 213.9r, *'ba ayala-suqay.'* ('we[excl] fight-may.I') 'Let us fight!' 260.47v.

*-Ø*[66] ('!') is the second person singular hortative particle. E.g. *'nökö.r, ci ende bayyi.'* ('friend, you[sg] here stand-!') 'Friend, you stay here!' 90.30r, *'bidan-u cerig ci jasa.'* ('us[incl]-of army you [sg] command-!') 'You command our army!' 170.4v, *'amin-i-yen qoroq.'* ('life-[df]-own save-!') 'Save your life!' 55.35v.

*-tUGAy* ('may.he') is the third person hortative particle. E.g. *'quda üje-tügey.'* ('brother see-may.he') '"Let brother look at [her]."' 65., *'Arqay-yin baatu.d ordo-yin urid.a yabu-tuqay.'* ('Arqay-of elite.s palace.yurt-of in.front go-may.he') '"Let the elite of Arqay serve in front of the palace yurt."' 234.9r-v.

*-(U)yA* ('let.us') is the first person inclusive[67] plural[68] hortative particle. E.g. *'ökin-i cin-u bida qam.tu üje-ül-üye.'* ('daughter-[df] you[sg]-of we[incl] together see-cause-let.us') '"Let us show [him] your daughter together."' 197.46r, *'öer jaura neŋjile.ldü-ye.'* ('self between search.[pl]-let.us') '"Let us hold a search among ourselves."' 86..

*-(U)dKUn* ('![pl]') is the second person plural[68] hortative particle.[69] E.g. *'ta ber bú a[b]-cu yabu-dqun.'* ('you [indef] not take-ing go-![pl]') '"And you go away without taking [them]."' 72.,

*'Belgütey-yi bú tebci-dkün.'* ('Belgütey-[df] not abandon-![pl]') '"Do not abandon Belgütey."' 77.10r.

*-(U)GtUd* ('![pl]') is a second person plural hortative particle, which does not seem to differ in meaning from the particle *-(U)dKUn*. It occurs only twice in the SH: *'qoyar jalau.s bü-y ta. üje.ldü-gtüd. mona qoyi.na bú tebci.ldü-gtüd.'* ('two youth.s be-[aor]. see.[pl]-![pl]. now after not abandon. [pl]-![pl]') "'You are two youths. (I.e. 'you are both young.') Respect one another! In the future do not abandon one another!"' 93.35r

3.122 INDICATIVE PARTICLES. These particles consist of one or two morphemes. The first, a temporal marker, often occurs alone. Following this temporal morpheme, there sometimes occurs one of the morphemes $.y_2$ or $\{.i\}_3$ the meaning of which has not been determined. (From a historical point of view, it seems certain that $\{.i\}_3$ once marked some sort of feminine category, while $.y_2$ was a plural,[70] but these meanings cannot be set up for these morphemes in the SH.) Before these latter most temporal morphemes have special allomorphs. The combinations which occur[71] are presented in Table 5. I have not worked out the precise temporal meanings of these temporal morphemes, but it is clear that those co-occurring with *ese* are non-future, while those co-occurring with *úlu* are non-past[72] or aoristic. Examples are the following:

{-bA} ('non.fut'; with allomorphs *b* before $\{.i\}_3$ and *bA* elsewhere): *'edöe basa t.eyin gü buli-ba.'* ('now further thus real steal-[non.fut]') "'Now again [they] have stolen [something] just so."' 77.9r, *'t.ere qurban Merkid maqa.d geyid-tür-iyen ajira-ba.y-u büg-cü-ü a-mu.y.'* ('that three Merkid true homes-to-own return-[non.fut].*y*-? hide-ing-? live-[non.pst].*y*') "'Have those three Merkid really returned to their homes (?) or are they hiding?"' 103.49v; *Qoaqcin eme.gen ügü.le-rün 'uŋqasun tee-jü a-mu.' kee-b.i.* ('Qoaqcin old.woman speak-ing.in "wool carry-ing live-[non.pst]." say-[non.fut].*i*') 'The old woman Qoaqcin spoke saying "[I] am carrying wool [on the wagon]."' 101.46v.

| TEMPORAL MORPHEME | PLUS $\{.i\}_3$ | PLUS $.y_2$ | CO-OCCURS WITH NEGATIVE ADVERB |
|---|---|---|---|
| *-bA* | *-b.i* | *-bA.y* | *ese* |
| *-JUU*[73] | *-J.iAy*[74] | *-JUU.y* | |
| *-(U)1AA* | *-(U)1.iyi* ~ | *-(U)1AA.y* ~ | |
| | *-(U)1.igi* | *-(U)1.A:.y* | |
| *-(U)A*[75] | | *-(U)A.y* | |
| *-U* | *-i* | *-A.y* | *úlu* |
| *-UjA* | *-Uj.iyi* | *-UjA.y* | |
| *-(U)mU* | | *-(U)mU.y* | |
| *-(U)yU* | *-(U)y.i* | | |
| *-d* | | | |
| *-GU*$_1$ | | | |
| *-KUY*$_1$ | | | |
| *-sU* | | | |
| *-y*$_1$ | | | |

TABLE 5. VERBAL FINAL INDICATIVE PARTICLES

{-JUU} ('non.fut'; with allomorphs *J* before $\{.i\}_3$ and *JUU* elsewhere): *Temüjin-ece niken nasun yeke harban-t.ay a-juu.* ('Temüjin-from one year great-having.[fem] be-[non.fut]') '[She] was ten years old, one year older than Temüjin.' 66.46r; *gergey in-u qoa.y maral a-j.iay.* ('wife he-of fawn.colored.[fem] doe live-[non.fut].*i*') 'His wife was a fawn-colored doe.' 1.; *jöb t.ende Ciŋgis qahan töre-jüü.y.* ('right then Cingis qahan be.born-[non.fut].*y*') 'At just that time Cingis qahan was born.' 59..

{-(U)lAA} (with allomorphs *(U)l* before $\{.i\}_3$ and *(U)lAA* elsewhere): *'ene köü-ben Jelme-yi ög-ülee gü bi.'* ('this son-own Jelme-[df] give-[non.fut] real I') '"And I gave [you] this my son Jelme."' 97.; *gergey in-u Börte üjin-ü eke Cotan nere-t.ey bü-l.iyi.* ('wife he-of Börte wife-of mother Cotan name-having.[fem] be-[non.fut].*i*') 'His wife, the mother of [Cingis qahan's] wife Börte, was named Cotan.' 94.37r (cf. *bü-l.igi* 155.22v); *'t.edüy ese üje-esü gene.d bü-lee.y.'* ('thus not see-if unsuspecting.s be-[non.fut].*y*') '"If [the herdsmen] had not seen [them] so, [we] would have been unsuspecting."' 170.2v, *'... Cimbay Cilawun ... buqau min-u ab-cu sulara-ju qono.q-ul-ula:.y.'* ('Cimbay Cilawun ... cangue I-of take-ing loosen-ing sleep-cause-[non.fut].*y*') '"Cimbay and Cilawun ... taking and loosening my cangue, let me sleep.' 84..

*-(U)A* ('non.fut'): *'Tatar irgen-e bari-qda-a bi.'* ('Tatar people-for take-[pass-non.fut] I') '"I have been taken by the Tatar people."' 53.33v; *'Yesügey Kiyan ire-e.y.'* ('Yesügey Kiyan come-[non.fut]. ') '"Yesügey the Kiyan has come."' 67.48r (and after consonant *ab-ua.y* 177.28v).

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$\{-U\}_1$ ('non.pst'; this morpheme is zero before $\{.i\}_3$, and has the allomorphs *A* before $.y_2$ and *U* elsewhere): *'sayi-n nökö.r-i cima-yi mün tani-ju ayis-u' kee-n* ('"good-[*n*]friend-[df] you[sg]-[df]trouble know-ing advance-[non.pst]." say-ing') 'saying that you, a good friend approach in need' 92., *'ayu-ul-qu böesü mawu.n köü.d-i-yen mawu.n beri.ned-i-yen nuyir qaŋ-qa-n yeki-n ülu ayu-ul-u ci.'* ('fear-cause-[impf.adj.N] be-if evil.s son.s-own evil.s daughter.s.in.law-own sleep satisfy-cause-ing do.what-ing not fear-cause-[non.pst] you[sg]') '"If you are going to frighten [us], why do you not frighten in such a way as to let your evil sons and evil daughters-in-law sleep their fill?"' 177.21r; *'ger-tür-iyen qari-ju ayiś-i.' kee-b.i.* ('"yurt-in-own return-ing advance-[non.pst]." say-[non.fut].*i*') '[She] said "I am returning to my own yurt."' 100.45r; *'Nayman gür-cü ayis-a.y.'* ('"Nayman reach-ing advance-[non.pst].*y*."') '"The Nayman are drawing near."' 195.31v, *'minqa-n turqa.ud-un gejige bida yeke qol dobtul-a.y je.'* ('"thousand guard.s-of reinforcements we[incl] great center attack-[non.pst].*y* surely."') '"We, the center [of the battle line] will attack as reinforcements of the thousand guards."' 170.4r.

{-UjA} ('I.fear'; with allomorphs *Uj* before $\{.i\}_3$ and *UjA* elsewhere): this particle refers to a future action which the speaker hopes will not come about; e.g. *'yeki-üje.'* ('"do.what-I.fear"') '"What would [we] do [with them if we captured them]?"' 189.11v; *'t.e.den-i jiur-tu bol-ju nis-cü teŋgeri-tür qar-uasu ci Sübeetey śiŋqor bol-ju nis-cü ülu-u bari-uj.iyi.'* ('"those-[df] wing-having become-ing fly-ing heaven-in go.out-if you[sg] Sübeetey falcon become-ing fly-ing not-? take-I.fear.*y*"') '"Should I fear that, if [they] rise up into the sky, flying as though winged, that you, Sübeetey, will not fly up like a falcon and seize them?"' 199.6-7; *'min-u tula ci erüs-te-üje.y.'* ('"I-of because you[sg] take.prisoner-[pass]-I.fear.*y*"') '"I'm afraid that you might be taken prisoner because of me."' 91., *'ala-n bara-asu ükü-gsen ami-n ügey beye min-u ab-cu od-cu yeki-üje.y ta.'* ('"kill-ing end-if die-[pf.adj.N] life without body I-of take-ing go-ing do.what-I.fear.*y* you."') '"If [he] does actually kill [me], what will you do with my dead body without life, taking it away?"' 149.3v.

*-(U)mU* ('non.pst'): *'yambar ele sayi üje-ül-ümü.'* ('"what.sort indeed good see-cause-[non.pst]"') '"What good thing does [my dream] show?"' 63.43v; *'"ene cerig nama-yi jasa" kee-mü.y.'* ('"'this army me-[df] command-!' say-[non.pst].*y*"') '"[He] tells me to command this army."' 170.4v (cf. *'"ene cerig-i-yen nama-yi jasa" kee-mü.'* ['"'this army-(df)-own me-(df) command' say-(non.pst)"'] '"[He] tells me to command this army of ours."' 170.4v).

{-(U)yU} ('non.pst'; with allomorphs *(U)y* before $\{.i\}_3$ and *(U)yU* elsewhere): *'ecige min-u Naqu bayyan kee-gde-yü.'* ('"father I-of Naqu rich say-[pass-non.pst]"') '"My father is called Naqu the rich."' 90.29v, *'busu nere-t.e-yi Höelün taki nereyid-üyü je ci.'* ('"other name-having.[fem]-[df] Höelün also call-[non.pst] surely you[sg]"') '"You may surely call a woman of different name Höelün also."' 55.35v; *'eme¯güü-n*[76] *noqay¯niur-t.ay kee-gde-y.i je bi.'* ('"woman¯person-[*n*] dog¯face-having.[fem] say-[pass-non.pst] surely I"') '"I am indeed said [to be] a woman having the face of a

dog.”’ 188.6-7, *ami-n ele cin-u bö-esü oki˜qatu ol-uy.i je ci.’* (‘“life-[*n*] indeed you[sg]-of be-if daughter˜lady find-[non.pst].*i* surely you[sg]”’) ‘“If you live, you will surely find another young wife.”’ 55.35v.

-$d_1$ (‘aor’) is a plural aoristic particle, unmarked for time: e.g. *‘mono qoyi.na Bedüün-i uqa-d je bida.’* (‘“now after Bedüün-[df] know-[aor] surely we[incl]”’) ‘“In the future, we will find out about Bedüün.”’ 209.2v, *‘ba ulus irge-n úlu temece-d.’* (‘“we[excl] empire people-[*n*] not dispute-[aor]”’) ‘“We do not dispute empire or people.”’ 64.44v, *‘ükü-gse.d qa-n˜güün-ü teriü-n in-u ta gü hoqtol-ju abcira-d.’* (‘die-[pf.adj.N] ruler-[*n*]˜person-of head-[*n*] he-of real cut.off-ing bring-[aor]”’) ‘“It is you who actually cut off and bring the head of [our] dead ruler.”’ 189.9v.

-$GU_1$ (‘fut’) is a future particle with potential meaning. E.g. *‘caqa-yan köü˜ben k.er tebci-gü.’* (‘“child-own son-own how betray-[fut]”’) ‘“How could I betray a son of mine, a child of mine?”’ (cf. *‘köün-i k.er tebci-sü.’* [‘“son-(df) how betray-I.will”’] ‘“How shall I betray [my] son?”’ 167.44r), *‘tarbaqan bol-ju kimu.su-ar-iyan malta-ju qajar-tur oro-asu calir bo[l]-ju śóki-ju eri-jü úlu-u güyi.ce-gü ci.’* (‘“marmot become-ing claw-by-own dig-ing earth-in enter-if spade become-ing dig-ing seek-ing not-? overtake-[fut] you”’) ‘“If [they] became marmots and dug into the ground with their claws, would you not become a spade and overtake [them] by digging after [them]?”’ 199.7r.

-$KUY_1$ (‘aor’) is an aoristic particle, unmarked for time. E.g. ‘edöe köü.d-i-yen niur ker üje-küy bi.’ (‘“now son.s-of-own face how see-[aor] I”’) ‘“How can I now look at the face[s] of my sons?”’ 112.20-1, *...úndur sau.rin-tur öreele ete:d sau-:l-quy ba.* (‘high seat-in one side sit-cause-[aor] we[excl]’) ‘...we seat [our daughters] on a high seat to one side.’ 64.45r, *‘teŋgeri i[d]qa-n a-quy-u.’* (‘“heaven prevent-ing live-[aor]-?”’) ‘“Is heaven hindering [me]?”’ 80.15r-v. Unlike other verbal final particles, -$KUY_1$ occurs before the plural morpheme {.S} (4.112); e.g. *‘k.edüy je qoro-qu.n ta.’* (‘“how.much surely waste-[aor].s you”’) ‘how much do you waste?”’ 179.35r. Often the plural of -$KUY_1$ has a potential meaning (like -$GU_1$); e.g. *‘edöe yeki-kü.n bida.’* (‘“now do.what-[aor].s we[incl]”’) ‘“Now what should we do?”’ 190.15r.

-*sU* (‘I.will’) is a first person future particle: e.g. *‘bi ene köün˜been cima-da ög-sü.’* (‘“I this son-own you[sg]-for give-I.will”’) ‘“I will give you this my own son.”’ 15., *‘bi cima-tur nökö.ce-sü.’* (‘“I you[sg]-to become.friend-I.will”’) ‘“I will become your friend.”’ 90.29v, ‘...*ba*... *qadqu.ldu.su.*’ (‘“we...fight.[pl]-I.will”’) ‘“we...will fight.”’ 171.8r.

-$y_1$ (‘aor’) is an aoristic particle which occurs only after the verb {bü-} ‘be’; e.g. *‘ere-yin müŋ niken bü-y je.’* (‘“man-of trouble one be-[aor]”’) ‘“The trouble of man is one.”’ 90.29v.

**3.13** SUBORDINATE SENTENCE CONSTRUCTIONS. Some verbal sentences consist of a verbal sentence modified by some other element.

**3.131** VERBAL SENTENCE PLUS SENTENCE PARTICLE.

**3.1311** VERBAL SENTENCE PLUS INTERROGATIVE SENTENCE PARTICLE. The interrogative sentence particles are -$^{+}U$, -$^{+}UU$, and -$yU$,[77] between which there is no perceptible difference in meaning. It is the word which one of these particles follows to which the interrogative meaning particularly applies. E.g. *‘“ölje.”-ü kee-jü ab-qu bi.’* (‘“‘booty.’-? say-ing take-[fut] I”’) ‘“Should I take [some of your horses] saying ‘[They are] booty.’?”’ 92. (i.e. ‘Should I take them as booty?’), *‘“Yesügey baatur-i ükü-be”-ü kee-jü ... qojid.a-ul-umu.y ta.’* (‘“‘Yesügey baatur-[df] die-[non.fut]’-? say-ing...leave.behind-cause-[non.pst].*i* you”’) ‘“Is it because Yesügey baatur is dead that you...have me left behind...?”’ 70.1-2, ... *caq-uu gür-be.* (‘time-? reach-[non.fut]’) ‘Has the...time arrived?’ 248.4r, ... *min-u uruq-tur niken-üü sayi-n úlu töre-gü a-juu?* (‘I-of family-in one-? good-[*n*] not be.born-[impf.adj.N] live-[non.fut]’) ‘was it not [destined that] one good [man] should be born in my family?’ 255.33v, *‘ta qoyar nama tebci-jü “ile-üü ge-sü” kee-lee.y ta.’* (‘“you two me abandon-ing ‘openly-? leave-I.will’ say-[non.fut] you”’) ‘“Did you two abandon me saying that [you] would leave openly?”’ (where -*üü* is not part of the quoted sentence, but rather is in construction with the rest of the sequence quoted here) 179.35r, *‘min-u beye saki-ju qono-qu kilbar-u bü-y.’* (‘“I-of body protect-ing spend.night-[imp.adj.N] easy-? be-[aor]”’) ‘“Is it easy to spend the night protecting my person?”’ 233.7v, ... *ulus-i cin-u man-a-u mede-ül-gü.* (‘ulus-[df] you[sg]-of we[excl]-for-? rule-cause-[fut]’) ‘Will [he] let US rule your ulus ...?’ 167.43v,

*'egeci-ỳen ire-esü jayyila-ju ög-gü-yü ci.'* ('"older.sister-own come-if withdraw-ing give-[fut]-? you[sg]"') '"If your older sister comes, will you yield place [to her]?"' 155.23r, *'itege-jü-ü a-mu.y ta.'* ('"trust-ing? live-[non.pst].y you"') '"Can you keep trusting [him]?"' 166.40v, *'t.ere qurban Merkid maqa.d geyid-tür-iyen ajira-ba.y-u büg-cü-ü a-mu.y.'* ('"that three Merkid really home-in-own return-[non.fut].y hide-ing-? live-[non.pst].y"') '"Have those three Merkid really returned to their homes (?) or are [they] hiding?"' 103.49v.

3.1312 VERBAL SENTENCE PLUS THE DUBITATIVE SENTENCE PARTICLE. Like the interrogative particles, the dubitative particle *maqa* 'perhaps' occurs freely between any two phonological words of the verbal sentence which it modifies. However, unlike the former, it stands BEFORE the word or sequence to which its meaning particularly applies: it questions the applicability of the meaning of this word or sequence to the situation at hand. E.g. *'śiliu.n beri.ned öki.d-i an-u maqa abcira-ul-ju qar˜köl an-u ukiya-ul-ju ünie.d qonin.d-i-yen maqa saa-ul-qu.n ele.'* ('"noble.s daughter.s.in.law daughter.s-[df] they-of perhaps take-cause-ing hand˜foot they-of wash-cause-ing cow.s sheep.s-[df]-own perhaps milk-cause-[fut].s indeed"') '"[We] might possibly bring their noble daughters-in-law and daughters, and, having them wash their hands, let them, perhaps, milk our cows and sheep."' 189.11-2, *'Màŋqol-tur od-cu qor an-u maqa abcira-ya.'* ('"Mongol-in go-ing quiver they-of perhaps take-let's"') '"Why don't we go against the Mongols and take their quivers."' 189.12v (without *maqa* this would mean 'let's go and ...'), *'gür.ülce-n qam.tu.d-un bara-asu qaqa.ca-quy maqa berke bü-y je.'* ('"reach.[pl]-ing unite-ing end-if separate-[aor.adj.N] perhaps difficult be-[aor] surely"') '"When once [we] unite and join [battle], separation may well be difficult."' 194.28v (without *maqa* this would mean 'separation will surely be difficult'), *'gücü-tü omoq-tu Gücülüg gür.ülce-küy ala.ldu-quy üdür maqa ene omog-i-yan bú talbi-tuqay.'* ('"strength-having boldness-having Gücülüg reach.[pl]-[aor.adj.N] kill.[pl]-[aor.adj.N] day perhaps this boldness-[df]-own not lose-let.him"') '"Let not strong, bold Gücülüg lose this supposed boldness of his on the day of meeting together and slaying one another."' 194.28v.

3.132 VERBAL SENTENCE PLUS EMPHATIC PARTICLE. As opposed to sentence particles, which are free in their position with regard to the sentence which they modify, emphatic particles occur only immediately after a verbal final particle (and hence sometimes before a pronoun subject or object of the preceding verbal). The emphatic particles are listed in 3.6 (3). E.g. *'t.e.de an-i... acira-d je bida t.e.de.er-i.'* ('"those they-[df] ...bring surely we[incl] those-[df]"') '"Them, we will ...bring them back." 174.17r, *'mori.la-ya böed.'* ('"ride-let's even"') '"Let's ride instead."' 190.16v, *'cida-quy˜bar qatauci-suqay gü.'* ('"be.able-[aor.adj.N]-by try-may.I real"') '"I would certainly try according to [my] ability."' 255.31r (i.e. 'I would do the best I could.'), *'Temüjin anda min-u öyese-gsen śibawun metü eyin śilemelje-n ayis-u lú.'* ('"Temüjin sworn.friend I-of be.greedy-[pf.adj.N] falcon like so salivate-ing approach-[non.pst] indeed"') '"My sworn friend Temüjin approaches salivating just like a falcon which has gone hungry."' 195.36v.

3.133 NOMINAL PLUS VERBAL SENTENCE. In this construction the nominal is a term of address, and modifies the verbal sentence. Usually the nominal precedes the verbal sentence; e.g. *'Yesügey quda, ger-tür min-u od-uya.'* ('"Yesügey brother yurt-in I-of go-let's"') '"Brother Yesügey, let's go into my yurt."' 65., *'eke eke öter bos.'* ('"mother mother quick get.up-!"') '"Mother, mother, get up quick!"' 98., *'nökö.r ci ende bayyi.'* ('"friend you[sg] here stand-!"') '"Friend, you stay here."' 90.30r, *'qa-n ecige min-u yau-n cima.r-tur nama ayu-ul-ba ci.'* ('"qan-[n] father I-of what-[n] displeasure-in me be.afraid-cause-[non.fut] you[sg]"') '"My qan and father, for what displeasure have you frightened me?"' 177.21r, *'aqa aqa beye teriü-tü deel jaqa-tu sayi-n.'* ('"older.brother older.brother body head-having coat collar having good-[n]"') '"Brother, brother, [it is] good [if] a body have a head and a coat a collar."' 33.. Very rarely a nominal of address occurs in the middle of the sentence which it modifies: e.g. *'... nidoni Burqan ci ügü.le-rün ... kee-lüe.'* ('"some.time.ago Burqan you[sg] speak-ing.in ...say-[non.fut]"') '"...some time ago, Burqan, you spoke saying ...' 265.3r; similarly, such a nominal rarely follows the whole verbal sentence, e.g. *'köü min-u Temüjin-i ötör.ken od-cu ab-cu ire caqa min-u Müŋlig.'* ('"son I-of Temüjin-[df] quickly go-ing take-ing come-! child I-of Münglig"') '"Go quickly and bring back my son Temüjin, oh my child Münglig."' 68..

3.14 COORDINATE SENTENCE CONSTRUCTIONS.

3.141 VERBAL SENTENCE PLUS PARENTHETICAL SENTENCE. Sometimes a sentence (of any type) occurs in the middle of a discontinuous verbal sentence; such an intrusive sentence is a PARENTHETICAL SENTENCE, which is here marked off from the discontinuous sentence by dashes. E.g. ... *qar-quy-lua Tayyiciud — saki-ju a-juu. — bari-ju ab-cu od-ba.* ('go.out-[aor.adj.N]-with Tayyiciud — guard-ing live-[non.pst]. — capture-ing take-ing go-[non.fut]') 'as soon as [he] came out, the Tayyiciud — [they] were guarding [the exit], — captured [him] and took [him] away.' 80.16r, *Cegcer Ciqur gü qoyar-un jaura — Dey secen Uŋgirad t.ende a-juu. — Dey secen Temüjin-i üje-jü ... jökö-lee.y.* ('Cegcer Ciqur gü two-of between — Dey wise Ungirad there live-[non.fut] — Dey wise Temüjin-[df] see-ing ... rejoice-[non.fut]') 'Between Cegcer and Ciqur gü [Mountains] — Dey the wise, the Ungirad, lived there — Dey the wise saw Temüjin ... and rejoiced.' 94.36v, *eyin t.eyin bulji-asu — úmubu͡ śibar berke hoy in-u ... berke śikŭy. — qoyi.na-:ca in-u daqa-ju erüs-ün yada-juu.y.* ('so that way turn-if — mud͡mud difficult forest it-of ... difficult thick.forest — behind-from he-of follow catch lack-[non.fut].*y*') 'As [they] turned this way and that — its (i.e. Burqan hill's) quagmire and difficult woods [form] a thick forest [so] difficult [that] ... — though following right behind him, [they] were unable to catch [him].' 102.48r.

3.142 COORDINATE VERBAL SENTENCES. For sentences containing two coordinate verbal plus verbal final particle sequences (e.g. *'niken-te "Temüjin ulus bari-tuqay." kee-mü niken-te "Qasar-i" kee-mŭ.'* ['"one-time 'Temüjin ulus take-let.him.' say-(non.pst) one-time 'Qasar-(df)' say-(non.pst)"'] '"[He] says now 'Let Temüjin take the ulus.', now '[Let] Qasar'."' 224.28r) see 3.7.

3.143 SIMPLE NON-PREDICATIVE NOMINAL SENTENCE PLUS VERBAL SENTENCE. This is a predicative coordinate construction, in which the subject is the nominal sentence, and the predicate the verbal sentence. E.g. *Qorci-yin bari-qda-qu yosun ... kee-n jarliq bol-uqsan-tur ... od-qu bol-un urid.a else-gse.d irge-n jici bulqa bol-ju Qorci noyan-i bari-juu.y.'* ('Qorci-of take-[pass-impf.adj.N] way ... say-ing decree become-[impf.adj.N]-in ... go-[impf.adj.N] become-ing former submit-[pf.adj.N].s people-[*n*] rather rebellious become-ing Qorci noble-[df] take-[non.fut].*i*') 'The way of Qorci's capture [was this]: when, after there had been a decree saying ..., [he] started to go ..., the people who had formerly submitted became rebellious, and captured Qorci.' 241.20-1.

3.15 FRAGMENTARY SENTENCES. Very rarely there occurs as a sentence[78] a sequence which otherwise occurs only as a premodifier of a verbal (i.e. an adverbial construction whose members are verbal and converbial particle, or such a construction plus a quoted sentence). Such sentences were probably marked in spoken language by non-final intonation patterns. E.g. *basa Ciŋgis qahan ... ŭgŭ.le-rŭn '"deŭ." kee-gŭ yosu-n .... cima-yi "deŭ." kee-gŭ yosu-n ... eyimŭ.'* ('further Cingis qahan ... speak-ing.in '"younger.brother." say-[impf.adj.N] way-[*n*] .... you[sg]-[df] "younger.brother." say-[impf.adj.N] way-[ *n* ]. . . such') 'Further Cingis qahan speaking "the reason for [my] calling [you] 'younger brother' [is this:] .... Such [is] the reason for [my] calling you 'younger brother'."' 180.. Here we would expect a sequence *kee-be* 'he said' to end the main quotation. A rhetorical use of such a fragmentary verbal sentence is found in 197.47r-v: *Qulan qadu-n ŭgŭ.le-run 'Nayaa ugu.le-lee. ... kee-n idqa-lua. ... edŏe Nayaa͡daca asaq-tala qahan soyurqa-asu teŋgeri-yin jaya-ar ecige eke tŏre-ŭl-ŭgsen mariyan͡naca asaq-uasu' kee-n öci-ŭl-jŭŭ.y.* ('Qulan lady-[*n*] speak-ing.in "Nayaa speak-[non.fut]. ... say-ing prevent-[non.fut]. ... now Nayaa-from ask-till qahan please-if heaven-of decree-by father mother be.born-cause-[pf.adj.N] skin-from ask-if" say-ing report-cause-[non.fut]') 'Lady Qulan reported, speaking saying "Nayaa spoke. Saying ..., he prevented [us from coming]. ... Now before questioning Nayaa if it please the qahan, and if [he will] question the skin which [my] father and mother bore by the decree of heaven — '

3.2 NOMINALS.

3.21 SUBCLASSES OF NOMINALS. There are three classifications of nominals which cut across one another: the first two are based on the constructions which nominals enter into, while the third is based on the form of attributives which modify the nominals. The subclasses arrived at by each classification are exhaustive and mutually exclusive.

3.211 Some nominals occur as premodifiers of verbals, but not of nominals: these are ADVERB-NOMINALS (or, if single lexemes, ADVERB-NOUNS). E.g. *sŏni* 'night, at night' is an adverb-noun, and *ene sŏni* 'this night, last night' is an adverb-nominal. Some other nominals occur as premodifiers of nominals but not of verbals: these are ADJECTIVE-NOMINALS (or, if single lexemes, ADJECTIVE-NOUNS). E.g. *qara* 'black, something black' and {ene} 'this' are adjective nouns. Still other nominals occur as premodifiers of both nominals and verbals: these are ATTRIBUTE-NOMINALS. E.g. *mori-n dee.re* 'on the horse' is an attribute-nominal. Other nominals never occur as premodifiers of either verbals or nominals: these are SUBSTANTIVALS (or, if single lexemes, SUBSTANTIVES). E.g. *güüN* 'man, person', and *teŋgeri* 'heaven, sky' are substantives.

Further, there are two mutually exclusive (but not exhaustive) subclasses of substantives: PERSONAL NAMES and PRONOUNS. A PERSONAL NAME is a substantive which, when it is modified by an attribute, always precedes its modifier. E.g. *Duwa, Naqu,* and *Yesügey* are personal names (cf. *Duwa soqor* 'Duwa the blind' 3., *Naqu bayyan* 'Naqu the rich' 90-2., *Yesügey Kiyan* 'Yesügey the Kiyan' 67., and cf. 3.2222). A PRONOUN is a substantive which (1) often occurs after verbals of which it is subject or object (3.4221-2: other nominals are extremely rare in this position), and/or (2) often follows a predicate when it occurs as subject of a predicative nominal sentence (3.112). Pronouns are of two sorts, PERSONAL and DEMONSTRATIVE. Unlike the latter, PERSONAL PRONOUNS, when in construction with the genitive particle (3.3211) sometimes follow (rather than precede) a nominal which the whole pronoun plus genitive particle modifies (3.2222).

The personal pronouns are {bi}$_1$ 'I', {ci}$_1$ 'you (singular)', {i}$_1$ 'he, she, it', *bidaN* 'we (inclusive)', {ba}$_1$ 'we (exclusive)', *taN* (once *daN*) 'you'[79] and *an* 'they'. The allomorphs of these pronouns are shown in Table 6, which gives all combinations of pronoun plus case or definite particle which occur in the SH.[80] The pronoun {bi} 'I' has the special form *nama* 'me' which occurs only as object of verbals, while *bi* 'I' occurs only as subject. This distinction between subject and objects forms is unique in the language (though cf. the particle *-n,* 3.2213, whose absence marks a nominal as verbal object in certain positions.)[81]

| | {bi}$_1$ | {ci}$_1$ | {i}$_1$ | *bidaN* | {ba}$_1$ | *taN* | *an* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | *bi ~ nama* | *ci* | | *bida* | *ba* | *ta* | |
| 2. | *min-u* | *cin-u* | *in-u* | *bidan-u* | *man-u* | *tan-u* | *an-u* |
| 3. | *na-da* | *cima-da* | *ima-da* | *bidan-a* | *man-a* | *tan-a* | |
| 4. | *na-dur* | *cima-dur ~* | | *bidan-tur* | *man-tur* | *dan-tur* | *an-dur* |
| | *~na-tur* | *cima-tur* | | *~bida-tur* | | | |
| 5. | *na^daca* | *cima^daca* | | *bidan-aca* | | | |
| 6. | *nama-ar* | | *ima-ari* | | | | |
| 7. | *nama-lua* | *cima-lua* | | *bidan-lua* | | *tan-lua* | |
| 8. | *nama-yi* | *cima-yi* | *ima-yi* | *bidan-i* | *man-i* | *tan-i* | *an-i* |

TABLE 6. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

1. before #, 2. plus genitive particle, 3. plus dative particle, 4. plus lative particle, 5. plus ablative particle, 6. plus instrumental particle, 7. plus comitative particle, 8. plus definite particle

The demonstrative pronouns are {ene} 'this', and *t.ere* 'that'. The latter consists of the prefix *t.* (4.15) plus {ene} 'this', which, when occurring after *t.* and before # has the allomorph *ere*. The allomorphs of the morpheme {ene} are shown in Table 7, which lists all combinations of demonstrative pronoun plus case or definite particle which occur in the SH. The morpheme {ene} also occurs (in the allomorph *e.*) before the plural suffix {.S} in the allomorph *.deN* (4.112); e.g. the following forms occur: *e.de#* 'these', *e.den-i* ('these-[df]') 'these', *t.e.de#* 'those', *t.e.den-e* 'for those' 245.37v, *t.e.den-tür* 'against those' 170.3v, *t.e.den-i* ('those-[df]') 'those' 198.4v.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *ene* | *t.ere* |
| 2. | | *t.eün-ü, t.eün-nü* |
| 4. | | *t.eün-tür* |
| 5. | *eün-ece* | *t.eün-ece* |
| 6. | *eü-ber* | *t.eü-ber, t.ewü-ber* |

TABLE 7. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

Numbers as in Table 6.

3.212 Some nouns (namely some of those ending with the morphophoneme *N*), and subordinate nominals which have such a noun as their head, occur in construction with the particle *-n:* these are *n*-NOUNS and *n*-NOMINALS respectively. Other nouns and nominals do not so occur, and are NON-*n*-NOUNS and NOMINALS. *N*-nouns are listed in 2.2 under the morphophoneme *N*. For a discussion of the particle *-n*, see 3.2213.

3.213 GENDER. After the attributes *qara.ŋqu* 'dark' and *qoa* 'fawn-colored', and after nominals ending with the postposition *ügey.ü* 'without' or the particle *-t(U)* 'having', there sometimes occurs a suffix $\{.Y\}_2$ ('fem'). This morpheme has the allomorphs *.A* after *-t(U)* and before a case particle or the definite particle, *.AY* otherwise after *-t(U)*, and *.Y* elsewhere. Attributes and nominals ending in this suffix occur in the following positions: (1) as premodifier of a nominal (3.2222), e.g. *hodu-t.ay sŏni* ('star-having.[fem] night') 'starry night' 230.1v, *niur-tur-iyan gere-t.ey nidün-tür-iyen qal-t.ay ökin* ('face-in-own light-having.[fem] eye-in-own fire-having.[fem] daughter') 'a girl with light in her face, with fire in her eye' 66. (cf. *nidün-tür-iyen qal-tu niur-tur-iyan gere-tü köü-n* ['eye-in-own fire-having face-in-own light-having son-(*n*)'] 'a boy with fire in his eye, with light in his face' 62.); (2) as predicate in a predicative nominal sentence (3.112), e.g. *'ucira-asu ide-gü yosu-t.ay ci.'* ('"meet-if eat-[impf.adj.N] custom-having.[fem] you[sg]"') '"You have the custom that you will eat if you happen on [food]."' 71. (addressed to a woman; cf. *Duwa soqor màqlay duńda qaqca nidü-tü.* ['Duwa blind forehead middle sole eye-having'] 'Duwa the blind had a single eye in the middle of his forehead.' 4.); (3) as subject-complement in construction with a verbal (3.4224), e.g. *gergey in-u ... Cotan nere-t.ey bü-l.iyi.* ('wife he-of ... Cotan name-having.[fem] be-[non.fut].*i*') 'His wife ... was named Cotan.' 94. (cf. *Qaciu-yin köü-n Barulatay nere-tü bü-lee.* ['Qaciu-of son-(*n*) Barulatay name-having be-(non.fut)'] 'The son of Qaciu was named Barulatay.' 46.); (4) alone as a simple nominal sentence (3.111), e.g. *Börte nere-t.ey* ('Börte name-having.[fem]') '[She was] named Börte.' 66. (cf. *'ulus yeke-tü irge olo-tu.'* ['"ulus great-having people many-having"'] '"[They] have a great ulus, a numerous people."' 190.16r; (5) in construction with a case or definite particle, e.g. *'busu nere-t.e-yi Höelün taki nere.yid-üyü je ci.'* ('"other name-having.[fem]-[df] Höelün also name-[non.pst] surely you[sg]"') '"You may surely call a woman of another name Höelün also."' 55.35v (cf. *gücü-tü-yin güjüü-n* ['strength-having-of neck-(*n*)'] 'the neck of the strong man' 209.).

In position (1) the occurrence of *-t.AY* rather than of *-t(U)* (and of *qara.ŋqu.Y* and *ügey.ü.Y* rather than *qara.ŋqu* and *ügey.ü*) is correlated with the noun which occurs as head of the construction (or the noun which is head of the head nominal): forms ending with $\{.Y\}_2$ occur when the head is the name of a woman, a relationship term or other noun referring solely to female human beings (e.g. *eme* 'woman', *ökiN* 'daughter, girl'), or to one of a small class of nouns referring to inanimate objects or animals (e.g. *sŏni* 'night', *maral* 'doe'); forms without this suffix occur when the head is the name of a man, a relationship term or other noun referring solely to male human beings (e.g. *köüN* 'son, boy'), or one of a larger class of nouns referring to inanimate objects or animals (e.g. *qabcaL* 'ravine', *qulaN* 'wild horse'). Nouns which co-occur with modifiers ending with $\{.Y\}_2$ are FEMININE NOUNS; those co-occurring with modifiers ending with *-t(U), qara.ŋqu,* or *ügey.ü* are MASCULINE NOUNS. There are a few nouns which according to these definitions are both masculine and feminine: such nouns are AMBIVALENT (cf. English *ship,* which may be referred to either as *it* or *she*).[82] In positions (2) and (3) above sequences without $\{.Y\}_2$ occur when the subject of the

predicative nominal sentence or of the verbal containing (3) is a noun referring to a male human being; sequences with $\{.Y\}_2$ occur when the subject is a noun referring to a female human being. In (4) and (5), and in (2) when there is no subject (or when there is a pronoun subject), sequences without $\{.Y\}_2$ occur only when it is clear from the context that a human male is being talked about, those with $\{.Y\}_2$ when a human female.[83]

The following are representative masculine, feminine, and ambivalent nouns occurring in the SH:[84]

MASCULINE NOUNS

Personal names of men

*balaqasuɲ* 'town' (e.g. 203.31v)
*beye* 'body' (e.g. 249.8v, 33.)
*buqu* 'deer' (e.g. 196.6v)
*deel* 'coat' (e.g. 33.)
*gŭŭɲ* 'person, man' (e.g. 21., 83.; 146.45v of a woman)
*qabcaL* 'ravine' (e.g. 111. three times)
*qośiuN* 'hill' (e.g. 248.7r)
*qulaN* 'wild horse' (e.g. 199.6v)
*kŏŭɲ* 'son, child' (e.g. 62.)
*nuntuɢ* 'camp' (e.g. 255.30r)
*śiŋqula* 'white horse' (e.g. 24.)
*teŋgiri* 'Teŋgiri' (e.g. 113.; this is the name of a god: cf. *teŋgeri* 'heaven, sky' which is feminine[85])
*tuɢ* 'banner' (e.g. 202.24v)
*ulus* 'ulus, empire' (e.g. 202.24v)

FEMININE NOUNS

Personal names of woman

*aurasuɲ* 'silk' (e.g. 252.15r)
*eme* 'woman' (e.g. 40.)
*etŭgeN* 'earth' (e.g. 254.24r)
*dŭyyi* 'younger sister' (e.g. 85.23v)
*ger* 'yurt' (e.g. 230.1 three times)
*qatuɲ* 'wife, lady' (e.g. 54.)
*har* 'pattern' (e.g. 252.15r)
*maral* 'doe' (e.g. 1.)
*mŭsŭd* 'arrow-shaft' (e.g. 19., 22.)
*ŏkiɲ* 'daughter, girl' (e.g. 8.)
*sŏni* 'night' (e.g. 230.1r, v, 83.)
*teŋgeri* 'heaven, sky' (e.g. 254.15r)

AMBIVALENT

*tergen* 'wagon' (masculine e.g. 85., 86.; feminine 244.28v, 100., 64., 101.)
*qajaR* 'land' (masculine e.g. 9.; feminine 9.)

3.22 NOMINAL CONSTRUCTIONS. The constructions listed below are (polylexemic) nominals.

3.221 EXOCENTRIC NOMINAL CONSTRUCTIONS.

3.2211 VERBAL PLUS SUBSTANTIVALIZING PARTICLE. Some substantivals consist of a verbal plus a substantivalizing particle. These particles are $-l_1$, $-Ul_1$, *-(U)AY*, and *-(U)Gci*.

$-l_1$ ('act.S'[86]) occurs in action substantivals. All of the verbs which occur immediately before this particle end with a vowel, so that it is impossible to determine whether the spoken language of the author had a postconsonantal allomorph *-Ul* of this morpheme, as does Written Mongolian (e.g.

*angqar-ul* 'attention' Poppe 1954b.47). There is only one passage which shows that this morpheme is a particle rather than a suffix (i.e. a bound lexeme, cf. 4.0): *'qacar-iyen qadqu-qda-asu qara cisu-n qar-uasu qaltari-l ügey qataŋ.gin Màŋqol-tur qam.tu.d-uasu bol-qu-yu.'* ("'cheek-own pierce-[pass]-if black blood-[*n*] go.out-if turn-[act.S] without hard Mongol-in unite-if become-[fut]-?"') '"Will [it] be good if [we] join battle against the Mongols [who are so] hard [that there is] no turning aside [even] if [they] are pierced in their cheek, and black blood flows?"' 194.26-7. Other example of nominals in which this particle occurs are the following:

| | |
|---|---|
| *qura-* 'assemble, come together' | *qura-l* 'assembly, assemblage' (e.g. 108.12r) |
| *itege-* 'rely, lean on' | *itege-l* 'reliability' (e.g. 201.19v) |
| *jasa-* 'put in order, arrange, draw up' | *jasa-l* 'order, discipline' (e.g. 194.29v) |
| *öci-* 'announce, report, pray' | *öci-l* 'report' (e.g. 197.48v) |
| *sedki-* 'think' | *sedki-l* 'thought' (e.g. 189.10v) |

*-Ul*$_2$ ('ag.S') occurs in agent substantivals, after verbs ending in vowels. Such substantivals refer to a group of people who perform together the action of the preceding verbal. E.g. *neŋji-ül-i od-uqsan-u qoyi.na* ('search-ag.S-[df] go-[pf.adj.S] after') 'after the searching party had gone' 87.. There is only one passage which necessitated setting up *-Ul*$_2$ as a particle rather than a suffix: *Alciday-yin aqta.s aduu.la-ul.sun cigiday Yadir* ('Alciday-of gelding.s herd-[ag.S.*sUN*$_1$] cigiday Yadir') 'Cigiday Yadir [or (?) "Yadir of the Cigid"], herdsman of the horses of Alciday' 170.lv.[87] Here *-ul.sun* is in construction with *Alciday-yin aqta.s aduu.la-* 'herd the horses of Alciday'. Other nominals containing *-Ul*$_2$ are listed in 4.54.

*-(U)AY* ('impf.act.S') occurs in action substantivals having an imperfective meaning.[88] Such nominals are of very restricted occurrence; they occur only (1) in construction with the postposition *üdüüy* 'before', and (2) in construction with the verb {bü-} 'be' (as subject complement, cf. 3.4224). Examples of type (1) are the following: ... *Ciŋgis qaan-i doŋqod-uay üdüüy-e* ('Cingis qahan-[df] speak-[impf.act.S] before-for') 'before Cingis qahan could speak ...' 245.36r, '... *cerig-ün ulaa turu-ay üdüüy-e qayirala-[d]qun. günesü^ben bara-ay üdüüy-e qucia-dqun.*' ('"army-of horse hunger-[impf.act.S] before-for pity-![pl]. provisions-own end-[impf.act.S] before-for spare-![pl]"') '"...care for the troops' horses before [they] hunger. Spare your provisions before [they] give out."' 199.7v. An example of (2) is *'qun^nu göreesü quya in-u nike-tele śiqa-ju ög-üey bü-lee je bi.'* ('"slope-of beast thigh he-of unite-till drive-ing give-[impf.act.S] be-[non.fut] surely I"') '"I would have driven the wild beast[s] of the slope to [you] so thick that they rubbed thighs."' 179.36v.

*-(U)Gci* ('er') occurs in agent substantivals which have an aoristic meaning, i.e. 'one who habitually does so-and-so'. E.g. *'deu.ner-i-yen ala-qci bol-ba.'* ('"younger.brother.s-[df]-own kill-er become-[non.fut]"') '"[He] has become [a person] who kills his younger brothers."' 177.24r, *'t.e.de jida-tu ere-yi jiü-jü cisu-tu tono.q*$^{*}$*tono-qci.n uldu-tu ere-yi hülde-jü una.qa-ju úb*$^{\sim}$*tono.q ab-uqci.n Uruud Màŋqud kee-gde-d t.e.de.'* ('"those spear-having man-[df] chase-ing blood-having plunder plunder-er.s sword-having man-[df] pursue-ing make.fall.down-ing kill-ing booty$^{\sim}$plunder take-er.s Uruud Màŋqud say-[pass-aor] those"') '"Those, who overtake the man with a spear and rob bloody plunder, who, pursuing the man with a sword, fell and slay [him] and take booty, those are called the Uruud and the Màŋqud."' 195.35r-v.

**3.2212 VERBAL PLUS ADJECTIVE-NOMINALIZING PARTICLE.** Some adjective-nominals consist of a verbal plus an adjective-nominalizing particle. These particles are *-GU*$_2$, *-KUY*$_2$, and *-(U)GsAN*.

*-GU*$_2$ ('impf.adj.N') occurs in imperfective adjective-nominals of both action and agent. Examples of action adjective-nominals containing *-GU*$_2$ are the following: *Qoŋqota-day Caraqa ebügen od-cu idqa-qu-tur* ('Qonqotan-member Caraqa old.man go-ing prevent-[impf.adj.N]-in') 'while old Caraqa of the Qonqotad was trying to stop [them]' 72., *'deü' kee-gü yosu-n* ('"younger.brother" say-[impf.adj.N] way-[*n*]') 'the reason for [my] calling [you] "younger brother"' 180.38r, *naran urqu-qu-yin urid.a* ('sun rise-[impf.adj.N]-of before') 'before the sun rose' 90.29r. Examples of agent adjective-nominals with *-GU*$_2$ are the following: *Tayaŋ qan^nu doro mede-gü yeke noyan Qorisu beci* ('Tayang qan-of rule-[impf.adj.N] great noble Qorisu beci') 'Qorisu beci, a great noble who was ruling under Tayang qan' 194.28-9, *ükü-gü ami-n jobo-qu beye* ('die-[impf.adj.N] life-[*n*] suffer-[impf.adj.N] body') 'a life which will die, a body which will suffer' (i.e. 'a life which is destined to

die, a body which is destined to suffer') 195.31r, *'sur-da-qu gŭŭ-n bŭ-lee.'* ('"learn-[pass-impf.adj.N] person-[*n*] be-[non.fut]"') '"[He] is a man to be learned from."' 201.21r, *ŭlu umarta-qu ŭge.s* ('not forget-[impf.adj.N] word.s') 'words which one could not forget' (i.e. unforgettable words) 201.17r. (It will be noted that the last two examples are parallel to types (1) and (2) of the semantics of *-(U)GsAN* described below.)

*-KUY*$_2$ ('aor.adj.N') occurs in adjective-nominals of both action and agent, which are indifferent to the imperfective/perfective dichotomy established in *-GU*$_2$ and *-(U)GsAN*. The plural of *-KUY*$_2$ *(-KU.N)* sometimes parallels *-GU*$_2$ in meaning, since this latter does not occur before the plural morpheme.[89] E.g. *'qubiya-ju ab-da-qu Ŏrŭŋgeci balaqa.su-n qubiya.ldu-ju ab-qu.n kŏŭ.d bŭgŭde Ciŋgis qahan-u-ay bŭ-y.'* ('"divide-ing take-[pass-impf.adj.N] Ŏrŭngeci city-[*n*] divide.[pl]-ing take-[aor.adj.N].s son.s all Cingis qahan-of possession be-[aor]"') '"The city [of] Ŏrŭngeci which is to be divided, and the sons who are to take each a share, all are Cingis qahan's."' 260.45r. This particle sometimes has an iterative or gnomic meaning, e.g. *noqo.d ire-kŭy caq-tur* ('duck.s come-[aor.adj.N] time-in') 'at the time [of year] when the ducks come' 27. (cf. *'edŏe ire-gŭ caq bol-ba.'* ['"now come-(impf.adj.N) time become-(non.fut)"'] '"Now it's getting to be the time when [he] will come."' 31.), *urqu-quy naran-aca śiŋge-kŭy naran-tur* ('rise-[aor.adj.N] sun-from set-[aor.adj.N] sun-in') 'from the rising sun to the setting sun' 201.19r. At other times *-KUY*$_2$ has no time reference whatsoever, e.g. *'sere-kŭy ber tan-u jŏb.'* ('"suspect-[aor.adj.N] [indef] you-of right"') '"Your suspicion at least [is] proper."' 20., *sumun-u gŭr-kŭy ŭjŭŭr-e* ('arrow-of reach-[aor.adj.N] limit-for') 'at the furthest point which an arrow could reach' (lit. 'at an-arrow's-reaching-limit') 184.49r. An example of an agent adjective-nominal containing *-KUY*$_2$ is *qarki-tur kebte-jŭ bŭ-kŭy-yi* ('stream-in lie.down-ing be-[aor.adj.N]-[df]') 'him who was lying in the stream' 82.18v.

*-(U)GsAN* ('pf.adj.N') occurs in adjective-nominals which have a perfective meaning. Rarely such nominals refer to an action, e.g. *'a-qsan yau-n tusa bŭ-y.'* ('"live-[pf.adj.N] what-[*n*] good be-[aor]"') '"What good is having lived?"' 190.15-6 (so ... *bol-uqsan* 'having been ...' 92.34r, *ŏle-gsen* 'hunger' 177.28r). More common are agent adjective-nominals, e.g. ... *tarqa-qsa.d Tayyiciud... bedere-be.* ('... disperse-[pf.adj.N].s Tayyiciud ... search-[non.fut]') 'the Tayyiciud who had dispersed ... searched ...' 82.18v.

Frequently an adjective-nominal containing *-(U)GsAN* occurs as premodifier of a nominal. The semantic relations between the modifier and the head nominal are sufficiently various to necessitate comment. Three types are to be distinguished: (1) the sequence VERBAL PLUS *-(U)GsAN* PLUS NOMINAL is equivalent in situational meaning[90] to a sequence NOMINAL (SUBJECT) PLUS VERBAL PLUS VERBAL FINAL PARTICLE. E.g. *t.ere alda-qsan gŭŭ-n* ('that let.go-[pf.adj.N] person-[*n*]') 'that man who had let [Temŭjin] escape' 82. is equivalent to **t.ere gŭŭ-n alda-ba.* ('that person-[*n*] let.go-[non.fut]') 'That man let [Temŭjin] escape.'. So *sayi-n ecige-yin cin-u quriya-qda-qsan ulus-i man-u* ('good-[*n*] father-of you[sg]-of found-[pass-pf.adj.N] ulus-[df] we[excl]-of') 'our ulus [which was] founded by your good father' 73.4v is equivalent to **ulus man-u sayi-n ecige-de cin-u quriya-qda-ba.* ('ulus we[excl]-of good-[*n*] father-for you[sg]-of found-[pass-non.fut]') 'Our ulus was founded by your good father.' (2) The sequence VERBAL PLUS *-(U)GsAN* PLUS NOMINAL is equivalent to the sequence NOMINAL (OBJECT) PLUS VERBAL PLUS VERBAL FINAL PARTICLE; e.g. *keer-e buqu-qsan nambuqa sauluqa-ban* ('steppe-for hide-[pf.adj.N] leather.bucket leather.milkpail-own') 'his leather bucket and milkpail [which he had] hidden on the steppe' 93.35r is equivalent to ... *nambuqa sauluqa-ban keer-e buqu-ju talbi-ba.* ('leather.bucket leather.milkpail-own steppe-for hide-ing leave-[non.fut]') 'hiding his leather bucket and milkpail [he] left [them] on the steppe.' 90.29v. So *Ala quś digid quri-yin ile-gsen Yŭ qunan elci* ('Ala quś digid quri-of send-[pf.adj.N] Yŭ qunan messenger') 'the messenger Yŭ qunan sent by Ala quś digid quri' (lit 'Ala quś digid quri's-having-sent messenger') 190.15 is equivalent to **Ala quś digid quri Yŭ qunan elcin-i ile-be.* ('Ala quś digid quri Yŭ qunan messenger-[df] send-[non.fut]') 'Ala quś digid quri sent the messenger Yŭ qunan.' (3) The sequence VERBAL PLUS *-(U)GsAN* PLUS NOMINAL is equivalent to a sequence NOMINAL PLUS CASE PARTICLE PLUS VERBAL PLUS VERBAL FINAL PARTICLE; e.g. *bidan-u qaqa.ca-qu qar-uqsan mŏr* ('we[incl]-of separate-[impf.adj.N] go.out-[pf.adj.N] path') 'the path we went by when we started to separate' 172.12v is equivalent to **mŏr-iyer qaqa.ca-ju qar-ba bida.* ('path-by separate-ing go.out-[non.fut] we[incl]') 'We separated and went along the path.' So ... *tŏre-gsen eŭten* ('be-born-[pf.adj.N] door') 'the door at which [she] was born' (i.e. 'the family into which she was born'; for the translation cf.

Mostaert 1950.297) 66.46v is equivalent to *... *eüten=ne töre-b.i.* ('door-for be.born-[non.fut].*i*') 'She was born at a ... door' (i.e. 'into a ... family').

3.2213 NOMINAL PLUS ADJECTIVE-NOMINALIZING PARTICLE. Some adjective-nominals consist of a nominal (usually as substantival) plus one of the particles *-n* or *-t(U)*.

*-n ('n')* occurs after *n*-nominals (3.212). I have been unable to determine the meaning of this particle, but its distribution is as follows.[91]

An *n*-nominal always occurs in construction with *-n* when the whole sequence is (1) MODIFIER OF A NOMINAL, e.g. *yau-n üge* ('what-[*n*] word') 'what word?' 34., *jewüdün sayi-n* ('dream good-[*n*]') 'a good dream' 63.44r; (2) SUBJECT OF A VERBAL,[92] e.g. *'güü-n niu-ba je.'* ('"person-[*n*] hide-[non.fut] surely"') '"Someone must have hidden [him]."' 86.; (3) SUBJECT OF A PREDICATIVE NOMINAL, e.g. *Sali qacau-yin köü-n Yeke nidün.* ('Sali qacau-of son-[*n*] Yeke nidün') 'The son of Sali qacau [was] Yeke nidün.' 2.; (4) PREDICATE OF A PREDICATIVE NOMINAL, e.g. *'bi qaqca köü-n in-u.'* ('"I only son-[*n*] he-of"') '"I [am] his only son."' 90.29r; (5) SUBJECT-COMPLEMENT in construction with a verbal (3.4224), e.g. ... *ulus-un eje-n bolu-ju* ('ulus-of lord become-ing') 'becoming lord of the ulus' 55.33v; (6) FIRST MEMBER OF AN APPOSITIVE CONSTRUCTION WHICH IS SUBJECT OF A VERBAL OR OF A PREDICATIVE NOMINAL, OR IN CONSTRUCTION WITH A CASE PARTICLE, e.g. *Uriaŋqa-day güü-n Jarciuday ebügen ... ire-jü* ('Urianqan-member person-[*n*] Jarciuday old.man ... come-ing') 'old Jarciuday, a man of the Urianqad came and ...' 97., ... *Kelüren müren-ü teriü-n Búrgi ergi-de* ('Kelüren river-of head-[*n*] Búrgi cliff-for') 'at Búrgi cliff, the head of the Kelüren River' 98.; or (7) IN CONSTRUCTION WITH A POSTPOSITION, e.g. *mori-n dee.re* ('horse-[*n*] on') 'on the horse' 55.36r,[92a] *ger-tür ecige-dür-iyen ber kele-n ügey.ü* ('yurt-in father-to-own indf word-[*n*] without') 'without a word even to his father in the yurt' 205.36r.

An *n*-nominal never occurs in construction with *-n* when it is MODIFIER OF A VERBAL; e.g. *sõni nama-yi üje-jü* ('night me-[df] see-ing') 'seeing me at night' 84., where the nominal is *sõniN*; *'cerig-iyen jasa-ldu-n yau cida-qu-n'* ('"army-own rule-[pl]-ing what be.able-[aor.adj.N]-[pl]"') '"How can we command our army together?"' 170.6v, where the nominal *yauN* 'what' modifies the verb *cida-* 'be able'; *'qan ecige bidan-u bida qoyar-i sacau asara-qu bü-lee.'* ('"qan father we[excl]-of we[excl] two-[df] equality treat-[impf.adj.N] be-[non.fut]"') '"Our qan and father always took care of us two equally."' 181.39-40, where the nominal is *sacauN* 'equality'.

*N*-nominals occur both alone and in construction with *-n* in other constructions: (1) as OBJECT OF A VERBAL, e.g. *Qasar nilbu.su alda-ad* ('Qasar tears let.go-after') 'after Qasar let tears fall' 244.27v, but *Börte üjin nilbu.su-n alda-ba.* ('Börte wife tears let.go-[non.fut]') 'wife Börte let tears fall' 245.37v; (2) as FIRST MEMBER OF AN APPOSITIVE CONSTRUCTION WHICH IS ITSELF IN CONSTRUCTION WITH THE DEFINITE PARTICLE, e.g. ... *Jóci-yin öki Holuyqan-i ög-be.* ('... Jóci-of daughter Holuyqan-[df] give-[non.fut]') '... gave Holuyqan, daughter of Jóci...' 239.16r, but ...*Qorilartay mergen=nü öki-n Aril usun=na töre-gsen Alan qoa-yi* ('Qorilartay clever-of daughter-[*n*] Aril usun-for be.born-[pf.adj.N] Alan fair-[df]') 'Alan the fair, born at Aril usun, daughter of Qorilartay the clever...' 9..

*-t(U)* ('having') occurs in adjective-nominals with the meaning 'having *X*, characterized by *X*, including *X*' where *X* is the meaning of the nominal member of the construction. E.g. *caqaan mori-tu güü-n* ('white horse-having person-[*n*]') 'a man with a white horse' 91., *Ciduqul bökö eme.s olo-tu bü-lee.* ('Ciduqul wrestler wive.s many-having be-[non.fut]') 'Ciduqul the wrestler had many wives.' 41.. This particle is sometimes followed by the feminine suffix $\{.Y\}_2$ (cf. 3.213) in the allomorphs *.A* before case particles and the definite particle, and *.AY* elsewhere. E.g. *busu nere-t.e-yi* ('other name-having.[fem]-[df]') 'a woman having a different name' 55.35v, *ala-tur śie.g-t.e-ece* ('crotch-in urine.pot-having.[fem]-from') 'since the time when [I] had a urine pot at [my] crotch' 203.28v (which is paralleled by *ölegey-t.ey bü-küy-ece* ['cradle-having.(fem) be-(aor.adj.N)-from'] 'since [I] was in the cradle'), *hodu-t.ay sõni* 'star-having.[fem] night') 'starry night' 230.1r. The plural form of this suffix which occurs in the text *(-tan/-ten)* probably represents both the plural of *-t(U)*, i.e. *-t.AN* (morphophonemically *-t[U].AN*) and that of *-t.AY*, i.e. *-t.A.N* (*-t[U].AY.N*). Since in any particular case there is no way of telling whether we are dealing with *-t.AN* or *-t.A.N*, all cases of the particle *-t(U)* plus the plural morpheme will be written *-t.AN* (i.e. *-t.an/-t.en*).

E.g. *Temüjin-t.en köü.d* ('Temüjin-having.s son.s') 'the children including Temüjin' 99.. For further examples see 3.213.

3.2214 ATTRIBUTIVE PLUS ADJECTIVE-NOMINALIZING PARTICLE *-AY*. The particle *-AY* ('possession') occurs in construction with attributives consisting of nominal plus genitive particle (3.3211). Although such nominals are adjective-nominals, the occurrence of them in typically nominal positions (e.g. as subject or object of a verbal) is fairly rare, e.g. *bidan-u-ay ... qari-ju* ('we[incl]-of-possession ... return-ing') 'our [army] returned and ...' 171.9v. Such adjective-nominals are more common as premodifiers of nominals, e.g. *'edöe tan-u-a.n sayi üje-sü.'* ('"now you-of-possession.s good look-I.will"') '"Now I will see your good[s]."' 254.27r, *'elci ile-gü min-u-ay buruu.'* ('"messenger send-[impf.adj.N] I-of-possession wrong"') '"My sending a messenger [is] wrong."' 245.34v. Cf. also the following: *'e.de qurban köü.d t.eün-ü-ey bü-y je.'* ('"these three son.s that-of-possession be[aor] surely"') '"These three sons must be his."' 18., *'bi Temüjin-ü-ey bü-y.'* ('"I Temüjin-of-possession be-[aor]"') '"I am Temüjin's [servant]."' 100.45r, *'qahan-nu-a.n gü.'* ('"qahan-of-possession.s real"') '"[They are] really the qahan's."' 197.48r.[92b]

3.2215 NOMINAL PLUS POSTPOSITION. Some attribute-nominals consist of a nominal plus a postposition (listed in 3.5). Such attribute-nominals never occur as subject or object of a verbal, but do occur in construction with case particles, e.g. *Burqan qaldun dee.re-:ce* ('Burqan hill on-from') 'from [up] on Burqan Hill' 5., *seüder-ece busu nökö.r ügey-tür* ('shadow-from other friend without-in') 'when [we] lack any friend but [our] shadow' 78.12r, *turu-ay üdüüy-e* ('hunger-[impf.act.S] before-for') 'before [they] are hungry' 199.7v.

More commonly a nominal-postposition construction occurs as a modifier of a verbal or nominal, e.g. *Onan-nu ergi dee.re qurim.la.ldu-ju* ('Onan-of bank on feast.[pl]-ing') 'feasting together on the bank of the Onan [River]' 81.17r, *Onan-nu tün doto.ra kebte-esü* ('Onan-of forest inside lie.down-if') 'if [I] lie down in the forest of the Onan' 81.17v, *niken üdür Temüjin Qasar Begter Belgütey dörben qam.tu sau-ju gewgi tata-quy doto.ra niken gegeen soqosun oro-juu.y.* ('one day Temüjin Qasar Begter Belgütey four together sit-ing fish.hook pull-[aor.adj.N] inside one bright soqosun enter-[non.fut].*y*') 'One day, while Temüjin, Qasar, Begter, and Belgütey were sitting together pulling a fish-hook, a bright soqosun-fish came on the line.' 76.7v, *màŋlay duŋda qaqca nidü-tü* ('forehead in.the.middle only eye-having') 'having a single eye in the middle of [his] forehead' 4., *'öer jaura neŋji.le.ldü-ye.'* ('"self among search.[pl]-let's"') '"Let's hold a search among ourselves."' 86., ... *Burqan jüg qar-ba.* ('... Burqan toward go.out-[non.fut]') '... went out toward Burqan [Hill].' 100.44, *üdür metü sara.ur* ('day like moonlight') 'moonlight as [bright as] day' 82.18v, *'nere ügey k.er ükü-[g]de-küy.'* ('"fame without why die-[pass-aor]"') '"Why suffer death without fame?"' 80.15v.

3.2216 ATTRIBUTIVE PLUS POSTPOSITION. Some attribute-nominals consist of an attribute (itself consisting of a nominal plus a case particle) plus a postposition. If the attributive member of this construction contains a case particle other than the genitive, the attributive always precedes the postposition, e.g. *anda-aca alus-i sedki-gü* ('sworn.friend-from beyond-[df] think-[impf.adj.N]') 'thinking beyond [my] sworn friend' (Mostaert 1952.304 'M'étant mis à aspirer à dépasser [mon] anda') 201.18-9, *na-daca dee.re* ('I-from above') 'superior to me' 155.22v.

More commonly the case particle of the attributive is the genitive particle; if the nominal in construction with his particle is other than a pronoun, the attributive always precedes its head, e.g. *Temüjin-ü qoyi.na-:ca* ('Temüjin-of behind-from') 'behind Temüjin' 101.47r, *od-quy-tur Cegcer Ciqur gü qoyar-un jaura Uŋgira-day Dey secen-i jolqa-ba.* ('go-[aor.adj.N]-in Cegcer Ciqur gü two-of between Ungiran-member Dey wise-[df] meet-[non.fut]') 'As [they] went along [they] met Dey the wise of the Ungirad between Cegcer and Ciqur gü [Mountains].' 61., *'jö[b]ele eyimü arqa-tu-yin tula ... t.eyin ele nayta-qda-n a-juu ci.'* ('"right indeed such cleverness-having-of because ... thus indeed be-envious-[pass]-ing live-[non.fut] you[sg]"') '"It is because [you are] just so clever that you are being so envied ..."' 82.18v. However, if the first member of the attributive whose second member is the genitive particle is a pronoun, this attributive often follows the postposition, e.g. *qoyi.na-:ca in-u daqa-ju* ('behind-from he-of follow-ing') 'following right behind him' 102.48r. The order attributive-postposition is more emphatic, e.g. *'min-u tula ci erüs-te-üjey.'* ('"I-of

because you[sg] take.prisoner-[pass]-I.fear"') '"I'm afraid you might be taken prisoner because of me."' 91., *cin-u metŭ úlu sedki-n* ('you[sg]-of like not think-ing') 'not thinking like you' 177.30v, *min-u metŭ órocu deü* ('I-of like late-born younger.brother') 'a late-born younger brother, like me' 203.31v.

3.222 SUBORDINATE NOMINAL CONSTRUCTIONS. These constructions consist of a nominal head modified by some other element.

3.2221 NOMINAL PLUS PARTICLE. Emphatic particles, the possessive particle, and the definite particle occur in this construction.

The EMPHATIC PARTICLES are listed in 3.6 (3). Examples of nominals consisting of nominal modified by an emphatic particle are the following: *t.e.de irge-n Bodoncar-i ... kee-n asaq-qu ügey Bodoncar be t.e.de irgen-i ... kee-n asa.ulca-qu ügey yabu.ldu-ba.* ('those people-[*n*] Bodancar-[df] ... say-ing ask-[impf.adj.N] without Bodancar [contr] those people-[df] ... say-ing ask.[pl]-[impf.adj.N] without go.[pl]-[non.fut]') '[They] got along together without those people asking Bodancar ..., or Bodancar for his part asking those people ....' 29., *'ken ber cin-u üge buśi bú bol-qa-tuqay.'* ('"who [indef] you[sg]-of word other not be-cause-may.he"') '"Let no one disobey (lit. 'make other') your word."' 203.30r-v, *'ger ci oyira büy-yŭ.'* ('"yurt as.for near be-[non.pst]"') '"As for the yurt, it is near."' 100.45r, *an-dur bŏed kelbe-s jori-ju ile-esŭ* ('they-in even turn-doing.fast direct-ing send-if') 'if [we] send [an army], directing [it] out of its way against them instead' 256.35-6, *'nŏkŏ.r ci bŭrŭn maśi múŋ tani-ju ayis-u*[*n*][93] *a-juu.'* ('"friend you as.for much trouble know-ing advance-ing live-[non.fut]"') '"As for you, friend, [you] have come in great trouble."' 90.29v, *'... ene jewŭdün min-u cima-yi ele ... üje-gsen a-juu.'* ('"this dream I-of you[sg]-[df] indeed ... see-[pf.adj.N] live-[non.fut]"') '"... it was you whom this dream of mine has seen."' 63.43-4, *'ecige gü metŭ büy-yŭ je.'* ('"father real like be-[non.pst] surely"') '"[He] will surely be like a real father."' 96.39v, *'kebte-ŭl lú min-u altan ami-n saki-mü.y.'* ('"lie.down-[ag.S] indeed I-of gold life-[*n*] protect-[non.pst]"') '"It is the night watch who protect my golden life."' 233.7r. In sequences containing a case particle or definite particle (e.g. *cima-yi ele*) the emphatic particle modifies the nominal which precedes this particle (i.e. *cima*); the case or definite particle is then in construction with the sequence nominal plus emphatic particle (i.e. *-yi* is in construction with *cima ele* 'you indeed'). The particle {-BAn} (below) works like these emphatic particles in this respect; e.g. *ger-dŭr-iyen* 'into his yurt' 28. consists of *ger-iyen* 'his yurt' and *-dŭr* 'into'.

The POSSESSIVE PARTICLE {BAn} shows several allomorphs, some of which contrast, but are grouped into the same morpheme according to the provision of 2.0. These allomorphs are shown in Table 8. Examples are (1)[94] *teŋgeli^ben* 'their axle' 101.46r, *kebdeśi-yen* 'its

| | WITH ^ | WITHOUT ^ |
|---|---|---|
| 1. AFTER /i/ | *-BAn* | *-BAn ~ -yAn* |
| 2. AFTER OTHER VOWELS | *-BAn ~ -+BAAn*[95] | *-BAn* |
| 3. AFTER /y/ | *-BAn ~ -+BAAn* | *-BAn* |
| 4. AFTER /i/ PLUS /N, Ŋ, Ǥ/ | *-BAn* | *-BAn ~ -yAn* |
| 5. AFTER /e, a/ PLUS /N, Ŋ, Ǥ/ | --- | *-BAn* |
| 6. AFTER /ŭ, u/ PLUS /N, Ŋ, Ǥ/ | *-BAn ~ -BAAn ~ -+BAAn* | *(-+BAn*[96]*)* |
| 7. AFTER OTHER CONSONANTS | --- | *-iyAn ~ -BAn* |

TABLE 8. ALLOMORPHS OF THE POSSESSIVE PARTICLE

lair' 78.12r, *öer-un ger-i-en* 'his own yurt' 242.24r;[97] (2) *beye^ben* 'his person' (i.e. 'himself') 203.32r, *camca^ban* 'her shirt' 55.35v, *deü^ben* 'his younger brother' 54., *dawu^ban* 'my voice' 183.46r, *deü-lüe-been* 'with his younger brother' 5.,[98] *bŭdun beye-en* 'my own body' 103.50r, *doto.ra-an* '[think] to himself' 156.25r, *deü-yü-en* ('younger.brother-[df]-own') 'his younger

brother' 6., *aqa-yu-an* ('older.brother-[df]-own') 'his older brother' 54., *buruu.an* 'their mistake' 260.45v; (3) *maqalay^ban* 'his cap' 103.51r, ... *hüde-küy^ben* ('conduct-[aor.adj.N]-own') 'your conducting ...' 53.33r, *qarci-qay^baan* 'his falcon' 23., 26., 28., *heregey-en* 'my thumb' 254.23r; (4) *öki^ben* (i.e. *öki*N*^BAn*) 'his daughter' 53.33v, *öki-ỳen* (i.e. *öki*N*-BAn* or *öki*N*-yAn*) 'her daughter' 94.37r, *mori-yan* (i.e. *mori*N*-yAn*) 'his horse' 80.15r, *ami-yan* (i.e. *ami*N*-yAn*) 'his life' 177.24r, *ami-an* ('i.e. *ami*N*-BAn*) 'your life' 177.26r;[99] (5) *eüde-en* (i.e. *eüdeN-BAn*) 'your door' 97., *ama-an* (i.e. *ama*N*-BAn*) 'their mouth[s]' 82.19v; (6) *köü^ben* (i.e. *köü*N*^BAn*) 'his son' 93., *cisu^ban* (i.e. *cisu*N*^BAn*) 'my blood' 178.34r, *koun^been* (i.e. *kou*N*^+BAAn*) 'my son' 14., 15., *öesün^been gedün* (i.e. *öesüN^+BAAn*) 'himself' 167.43r, *köü^been* (i.e. *köü*N*^BAAn*) 'his son' 63.44r, *nidün-en* (i.e. *nidüN-+BAn;* written *nidün-ỳen*) 'his eye[s]' 272.21v; (7) *ger-tür-iyen* 'into his yurt' 65., *emeel-iyen* 'your saddle' 97., *nodurqa.ś-iyen* '[as to] their fists' 214.14v (contrast *eme.s-i-ỳen* [i.e. *eme.S-+i-yAn* or *eme.S-+i-BAn*] 'your wives' 266.8r), *mún mún mör-ier-en* 'by their very same way[s]' 82.19r (i.e. *mör-+i-yAr-BAn*), *ebür-en* (i.e. *ebür-BAn*) 'his chest' 56.37r, ... *ulus-iyar-an* 'with his ... ulus' 208.45r.

The particle {BAn} means 'possessed by *X*' where *X* is equal to or includes the actor (whether or not stated as a subject) of the verb, or verb plus verbal medial particle, which is final in the shortest verbal which contains the occurrence of {-BAn}. E.g. *'eke^ben dëü.ner-iyen eri-n od.'* ('"mother-own younger.brother.s-own seek-ing go-!"') '"Go seek your mother and your younger brothers."' 83.21r, *'edöe Jelme-yi emeel-iyen toqu-ul eüde-en negü-ül.'* ('"now Jelme-[df] saddle-own put.on-cause-! door-own open-cause-!"') '"Now have Jelme put on your saddle, and open your door [for you]."' 97., *Ciledü qośiun qucili-s qari-ju tergen-dür-iyen ire-küy-lüe* ('Ciledü rock round-doing.fast return-ing wagon-to-own come-[aor.adj.N]-with') 'as soon as Ciledü returned, rounding the outcrop of rock at a gallop, and came to his own wagon' 55.35r. As a result of its meaning, {-BAn} does not occur in a nominal which is subject of a verbal; possession of a subject is expressed rather by *in-u* 'its', e.g. *'qoyar kilügü-t.ey terge-n nökö.e kilügü^ben qugura-asu hüker in-u jigdü-n yada-yu.'* ('"two shaft-having.[fem] wagon-[*n*] one.of.two shaft-own break-if ox it-of pull-ing lack-[non.pst]"') '"If a wagon with two shafts breaks one of its shafts,[100] its ox cannot pull [it]."' 177.23r. Two occurrences of {-BAn} in the same sentence sometimes refer to different possessors, e.g. *'edöe basa köün-ü-en od-un bara-qsan ulus-i min-u dörben külü.üd-i-yen ile-jü*[101] *abura-jü ög-te-be.'* ('"now again son-for-own go-ing end-[pf.adj.N] ulus-[df] I-of four hero-s-[df]-own come-ing save-ing give-[pass-non.fut]"') '"Now again [I] have been given my completely scattered ulus by[102] my son who sent his four heroes."' 163.34v: here the *-en* of *köün-ü-en* refers to the implied actor of the verbal *edöe ... ög-te-* (necessarily 'I'), while that of *külü.üd-i-ỳen* (or *külü.üd-iyen* ?) refers to the person who carries out the action of the verbal *külü.üd-i-ỳen ile-*. The referent of {-BAn} is sometimes more inclusive than the actor of the verbal: e.g. *'"ene cerig-iyen nama-yi jasa" kee-mü.'* ('"'this army-own me-[df] command-!' say-[non.pst]"') '"[He] tells me to command our army."' 170.4v (where the direct statement was *'bidan-u cerig ci jasa.'* ['"we(incl)-of army you(sg) command-!"'] '"You command our army."' 170.4v). An example of the type in which the referent of {-BAn} is equal to the actor of a verbal containing a verb plus verbal medial particle is *Tayaŋ qa-n öer-i-yen eme.ci.le-gde-n ügü.le-gde-jü ...* ('Tayang qan-[*n*] self-[df]-own treat.like.woman-[pass]-ing speak-[pass]-ing') 'Tayang qan, being spoken to in such a way as to be insulted by [their] treating [him] like a woman' (or perhaps 'by [their] comparing [him] to a woman') 194.28r-v. Here the *-yen* of *öer-i-yen* refers to the actor of *eme.ci.le-gde-* 'be adversely affected by [someone's] treating [someone] like a woman' (rather than to the actor of *eme.ci.le-* 'treat like a woman'). So in *'edöe Jelme-yi emeel-iyen toqu-ul'*('"now Jelme-[df] saddle-own put.on-cause-!"') '"Now let Jelme put on your saddle [for you]"' 97. the *-iyen* refers to the implied actor of the whole sentence (namely the person who is addressed) rather than to Jelme, who is the one who will do the 'putting on'.

The DEFINITE PARTICLE is {-+yi} which has the allomorphs shown in Table 9. Examples are (1) *Jelme-yi* ('Jelme-[df]') 'Jelme' 97., *Belgütey-yi* ('Belgütey-[df]') 'Belgütey' 95.; (2) *deü-yü-en* ('younger.brother-[df]-own') 'my younger brother' 5., *aqa-yu-an* ('older.brother-[df]-own') 'his older brother' 54., *Jóci-yu-u* ('Jóci-[df]-?') 'Jóci?' 254.22r, *Ibaqa-yi-ỳen* ('Ibaqa-[df]-own') 'my Ibaqa' 208.47v; (3) *ökin-i* (i.e. *öki*N*-+i*; 'daughter-[df]') 'a daughter' 66.46r, *ökin^ni* (*öki*N*^ni*, same meaning) 8.; (4) *qamuq Mañgol-i* ('all Mongols-[df]') 'all the Mongols' 52., *eme.s-i an-u* ('wive.s-[df] they-of') 'their wives' 102.49r (*eme.S-+i*).

| | WITH ^ | WITHOUT ^ |
|---|---|---|
| 1. AFTER VOWELS AND /y/ BEFORE # | -- | *-yi* |
| 2. OTHERWISE AFTER VOWELS AND /y/ | -- | *-yU ~ -yi* |
| 3. AFTER /N, Ɲ/ | *-+ni* | *-+i* |
| 4. AFTER OTHER CONSONANTS | -- | *-+i* |

TABLE 9. ALLOMORPHS OF THE DEFINITE PARTICLE

In the traditional treatment of Mongolian, this particle is called the ACCUSATIVE ending, but since nominals both with and without this particle occur both as subject and object of verbals, this name, and the implied meaning, are not applicable to it. I call it rather THE DIFINITE PARTICLE, since nominals modified by it have a more specific meaning than those not so modified. This greater specificity is of several sorts: e.g. (1) the first occurrence of a nominal in a narration occurs without {-+yi} while in further references that nominal is modified by {-+yi} e.g. ... *qara buluqan daqu abcira-ju bū-lee.* ('black sable coat bring-ing be-[non.fut]') '... had brought a black sable coat' 96.39r, but *t.ere daqu-yi Temüjin Qasar Belgütey qurban ab-cu od-cu* ('that coat-[df] Temüjin Qasar Belgütey three take-ing go-ing') 'Temüjin, Qasar, and Belgütey took that coat and went ...' 96.39r; (2) nominals consisting of attributive plus nominal head are modified by {-+yi} when that attributive is particular rather than general, e.g. *Yesügey baatur-un üge-yi busi ülu bol-qa-n* ('Yesügey baatur-of word-[df] other not become-cause-ing') 'not making other (i.e. 'disobeying') the word (i.e. 'command') of Yesügey baatur' 69., but (with a more general modifier) *qaucin üge.s qadal-un* ('old word.s quote-ing') 'quoting old words' 78.12v; (3) a nominal modified by {-+yi} refers to a unique object, while a nominal alone refers indiscriminately to one of several, e.g. *kötöl morin-i-yan belge ög-cü* ('lead.horse horse-[df]-own pledge give-ing') 'giving his lead-horse (i.e. 'the horse he was leading') as a pledge' 66.47r, but *Höelün eke niken mori unu-ba.* ('Höelün mother one horse mount-[non.fut]') 'Mother Höelün mounted a horse.' 99..

While it seems true that a nominal modified by {-+yi} is more specific than one not so modified, there are many facts of the distribution of {-+yi} which remain unclear; e.g. nominals modified by {-+yi} occur as subjects and objects of verbals, but whereas about 50%[103] of nominals which are objects of verbals are modified by {-+yi} less than 10% of nominals which are subjects are so modified. Further, of the nominals modified by {-+yi} occurring as subjects of verbals, better than 50% occur in quoted sentences (3.4223); of the rest, better than 90% occur with verbals which are in construction with the particles *-KUY* ('aor.adj.N'), *-(U)GsAN* ('pf.adj.N'), *-+(U)BAsU* ('if'), and {-ƓdA} ('pass'), as opposed to other particles. A more extensive study than the present one will have to be made on the distribution of this particle. For more examples of the occurrence of {-+yi} see 3.4221 (nominal plus {-+yi} as subject of a verbal), 3.4222 (nominal plus {-+yi} as object of a verbal), and 3.4223 (nominal plus {-+yi} as subject of a verbal in quoted sentences).

3.2222 NOMINAL MODIFIED BY ATTRIBUTIVE OR ADJECTIVE-NOMINAL. The order of the two members of this construction is distinctive in at least some cases, but the meaning difference between the two orders, premodification and postmodification, is different when different sorts of attributives and adjective-nominals are involved. Four subtypes of this construction must be distinguished, of which the first three concern only attributives.

(1) A PERSONAL NAME (3.211) MODIFIED BY AN ATTRIBUTE. Here the attribute always follows its head. E.g. *Duwa soqor* 'Duwa the blind' 3., *Naqu bayyan* 'Naqu the rich' 90., *Yesügey Kiyan* 'Yesügey the Kiyan' 67..

(2) ANY NOMINAL MODIFIED BY A NUMERAL. A numeral postmodifies its head when that head consists of a coordinate construction which lists exhaustively the objects counted by the numeral, e.g. *naran sara qoyar-i adqu-n* ('sun moon two-[df] hold-ing') 'holding both sun and moon' 63., *Ambaqay qahan-nu qatu.d Örbey Soqotay jirin* ('Ambaqay qahan-of wive.s Örbey Soqotay two') 'Örbey and Soqotay, wives of Ambaqay qahan' 70.,[104] *'sibawu.la-qu aba.la-qu qoyar-aca busi sedki.l*

*erdem ũgey bũ-y.*' ('"falcon-[impf.adj.N] hunt-[impf.adj.N] two-from other thought ability without be-[aor]"') '"[He] is without thought or ability [for] other than falconing and hunting."' 189.10v, *Menen túdun-nu kõũ-n Qaci kũlũg Qacin Qaciu Qacula Qaciun Qaralday Nacin baatur doloan bũ-lee.* ('Menen túdun-of son-[*n*]... seven be-[non.fut]') 'The son[s] of Menen túdun were Qaci kũlũg, Qacin, Qaciu, Qacula, Qaciun, Qaralday, and Nacin baatur.' 45..

A numeral also postmodifies its head if that head is a pronoun, e.g. *Bartan baatur-un kõũ.d ... e.de dõrben bũ-lee.* ('Bartan baatur-of son.s ... these four be-[non.fut]') 'The sons of Bartan baatur were these four, ....' 50., *'ta qoyar nama tebci-jũ "ile-ũũ ge-sũ" kee-lee.y ta.'* ('"you two me abandon-ing 'openly-? leave-I.will" say-[non.fut].*y* you"') '"Did you two abandon me saying that [you] would leave openly?"' 179.35r.

On the other hand, a numeral premodifies its head when that head is not a coordinate nominal or a pronoun, e.g. *Duwa soqor aqa in-u dõrben kõũ-tũ bũ-lee.* ('Duwa blind older.brother he-of four son-having be-[non.fut]') 'His older brother, Duwa the blind, had four sons.' 11., *Õrbey Soqotay jirin qatu.d* ('Õrbey Soqotay two wive.s') 'the two wives, Õrbey and Soqotay' 71..

(3) ANY NOMINAL MODIFIED BY AN ATTRIBUTIVE CONSISTING OF NOMINAL PLUS CASE PARTICLE (3.3211). If the attributive consists of a nominal plus a case particle other than pronoun plus the genitive particle, it always premodifies its head, e.g. ... *Cegcer-ũn śira keer-e Tatar irge-n ... joluqa-ju* ('Cegcer-of yellow steppe-for Tater people-[*n*] ... meet-ing') 'meeting a Tatar people on the yellow steppe of Cegcer...' 67. (where *Cegcer ... keer-e* is the attributive, and *Tatar irgen* the nominal head), *Seŋgũr qoroqan-a ger-tũr-iyen* ('Sengũr stream-for yurt-in-own') 'to his yurt on Sengũr Stream' 93.35v (where *Seŋgũr qoroqan-a* is the attributive, and *ger-iyen* the head), *cima-daca aŋgi-da* ('you[sg]-from separate-for') 'except for you' (lit. 'in separation from you') 92.33r, *nidũn-tũr-iyen qal-tu* ('eye-in-own fire-having') 'with fire in his eye' 62., *Sali qacau-yin kõũ-n Yeke nidũn.* ('Sali qacau-of son-[*n*] Yeke nidũn') 'The son of Sali qacau [was] Yeke nidũn.' 2..

When the attributive in this construction consists of a pronoun plus the genitive particle, post-modification is the normal unemphatic order, e.g. *gergey in-u qoa.y maral a-j.iay.* ('wife he-of light.colored.[fem] doe live-[non.fut].*i*') 'His wife was a light-colored doe.' 1., *eke an-u Alan qoa* ('mother they-of Alan fair') 'their mother, Alan the fair' 18., *ene eke bidan-u* ('this mother we[incl]-of') 'this mother of ours' 18.. In a case such as *'... ger-tũr min-u od-uya.'* ('"... yurt-in I-of go-let's"') '"Let's go into my yurt."' 65., *ger min-u* 'my yurt' is an example of the present construction; *ger* 'yurt' is modified by the attributive *min-u* 'my', and the case particle *-tũr* is in construction with *ger min-u*'my yurt'. (Cf. 3.2221 paragraph 2 for similar order in e.g. *ger-dũr-iyen* 'into his yurt'.)

Less commonly an attributive consisting of pronoun plus genitive particle premodifies its head: this order is emphatic. E.g. *an-u qor ab-uasu* ('they-of quiver take-if') 'if [we] take their quiver[s] [instead of they ours]' 190.16r, *t.edũy Nayman-u qara-ul-i bidan-u qara-ul hũlde-ed* ('thus Nayman-of see-[ag.S-df] we[incl]-of see-[ag.S] pursue-after') 'after our advanced guard pursued that of the Nayman' 195.32v, *min-u ũge-tũr* ('I-of word-in') 'at my word' 170.5r-v.

Sometimes there occurs a modifier which is an appositive attributive consisting of the members (1) nominal plus genitive particle, and (2) pronoun plus genitive particle. When such a modifier occurs, the first element precedes the head nominal, while the second follows it. E.g. *jõe buqu-yin õreele quya in-u* ('three.year.old deer-of one.of.two leg it-of') 'one leg of the three-year-old deer' (lit. 'one leg of it, of the three-year-old deer') 16., *'munda anda-yin qara sõnin-ũ jewũ-dũn-tũr cin-u oro-qu bi.'* ('"rather sworn.friend-of black night-of dream-in you[sg]-of enter-[fut] I"') '"Rather I would enter into the dark night's dream of you, my friend."' 201.18v.

(4) OTHER CASES. In all other cases (i.e. when a personal name is not modified by an attribute, and when the attributive is not a numeral, and does not consist of a nominal plus case particle) both orders occur, but postmodification is much less frequent than premodification, and is emphatic. Examples of postmodification are the following: *barua yeke-yi ũje-jũ* ('crowd great-[df] see-ing') 'seeing the great crowd' 184.48v, *õŋge¯jisú busi-t.ay õki¯qatu ũje-jũ* ('beauty¯beauty other-having.[fem] daughter¯lady see-ing') 'seeing a young lady of unusual beauty' 54., *'jewũdũn sayi-n jewũdũ.le-be.'* ('"dream good-[*n*] dream-[non.fut]"') '"[I] dreamt a good dream."' 63.44r, *mún*

*tabun nökö.d-tü oorcaq bol-ju* ... ('same five comrade.s-having bandit become-ing') 'the same one, having [only] five companions, became a bandit and ...' 200.12v, *niken śiŋqula˜mori-n mawu-qan emeel-tü-yi* ('one white.horse˜horse-[*n*] bad saddle-having-[df]') 'a white horse which had a bad saddle' (subject) 193.22v,[105b] *biljiür qodolidu-qsan-i* ('lark shoot-[pf.adj.N-df]') 'the lark which [we] had shot' 77.9r. Examples of the normal order, premodification are the following: '... *gü[b]cin güü alda-ba.*' ('"whole man let.go-[non.fut]"') '"[You] let a whole man escape."' 83.20r, *Temüjin niken mori unu-ba.* ('Temüjin one horse mount-[non.fut]') 'Temüjin mounted a horse.' 99., *Tatar irgen-tür mori.la-ba* ('Tatar people ride-[non.fut]') '[They] rode against the Tatar people.' 58., *Qoŋqota-day Caraqa ebügen* ('Qonqotan-member Caraqa old.man') 'old Caraqa of the Qonqotad' 68., *boroqan-tur śiqa-qu cino metü* ('snowstorm-in take.refuge-[impf.adj.N] wolf like') 'like the wolf which takes refuge in the snowstorm' 78.11v, *böere alaq hüker* ('hip speckled ox') 'an ox with speckled hips' 101.46r, *qacar qoa öki.d-i* ('cheek beautiful daughter.s-[df]') 'daughters with beautiful cheeks' 64.44v.[106]

3.223 COORDINATE NOMINAL CONSTRUCTIONS.

3.2231 SERIAL COORDINATE NOMINALS. In this construction two or more nominals, e.g. *A* and *B*, stand in juxtaposition; the meaning of the construction is '*A* plus *B*', or '*A* or *B*'. E.g. *Tayyiciud aqa deü-yin* ('Tayyiciud older.brother younger.brother-of') 'of the Tayyiciud older and younger brothers' 77.9r (where the two nouns *aqa* and *deü* form a nominal which is modified by *Tayyiciud*), ... *a-quy sau-quy-a gür-be.* ('live-[aor.adj.N] sit-[aor.adj.N]-for reach-[non.fut]') '... acquired livelihood and dwelling...' 39., *Menen tudun˜nu köü-n Qaci külüg Qacin Qaciu Qacula Qaciun Qaralday Nacin baatur doloan bü-lee.* ('Menen tudun-of son-[*n*] Qaci külüg Qacin Qaciu Qacula Qaciun Qaralday Nacin baatur seven be-[non.fut]') 'The sons of Menen tudun were Qaci külüg, Qacin, Qaciu, Qacula, Qaciun, Qaralday, and Nacin baatur.' 45. (where the seven names form a serial nominal which is modified by *doloan* 'seven').

3.2232 APPOSITIVE COORDINATE NOMINALS. In this construction, as in the above, two nominals simply stand in juxtaposition; however here the two nominals refer to the same person or object, whereas in a serial construction they refer to different entities. E.g. *Yesügey qa-n ecige-lüe* ('Yesügey qan-[*n*] father-with') 'with [his] father, Yesügey qan' 96.39r, *Jelme nere-tü* ('Jelme name-having') 'named Jelme' 97. (where *Jelme* is in apposition with *nere* 'name'), *Úduyid Merkid-ün Toqtoa Uwas Merkid-ün Dayir usun Qaad Merkid-ün Qaatay darmala ede qurban Merkid ... ire-[g]se[d] a-juu.* ('Úduyid merkid-of Toqtoa Uwas Merkid-of Dayir usun Qaad Merkid-of Qaatay darmala these three Merkid... come-[pf.adj.N].s live-[non.fut]') 'These three Merkid, Toqtoa of the Úduyid Merkid, Dayir usun of the Uwas Merkid, and Qaatay darmala of the Qaad Merkid had come ....' 102.48r.

Both of the nominals in this construction sometimes consist of nominal plus definite particle; e.g. *'e.den-i eke.s köü.d-i nuntuq-tur ge-jü newü-dkün.*' ('"these-[df] mother.s son.s-[df] camp-in leave-ing migrate-![pl]"') '"Go leaving these, mothers and children, in the camp."' 72., *Quyildar-i una-qsan yara-tu-yi ab-uad* ('Quyildar-[df] fall-[pf.adj.N] wound-having-[df] take-after') 'after taking Quyildar, him who, wounded, had fallen [in battle]' (where *Quyildar-i* is in apposition with *una-qsan yara-tu-yi* 'the wounded man who had fallen') 171.9-10, *eke-yü-en Alan qoa-yi ügey bol-uqsan˜nu qoyi.na* ('mother-[df]-own Alan fair-[df] without become-[pf.adj.N]-of after') 'after their mother, Alan the fair, had passed on' (lit. 'become without') 23..

When one of the nominals in this construction is a pronoun, the above restriction, that the nominals are juxtaposed, does not hold. There sometimes occurs an appositive nominal subject or object of a verbal, which consists of a nominal and a pronoun. Such an appositive nominal is sometimes discontinuous, the nominal occurring before the verbal, the pronoun following; e.g. *'aqa.nar deü.ner yeki-n t.eyin ki.ldü-mü.y ta.*' ('"older.brother younger.brother do.what-ing thus do.[pl]-[non.pst].y you"') '"Why do you, older brothers and younger brothers, treat one another so?"' 76.8r. For further examples, see 3.4221-2.

3.2233 SUBJECT-PREDICATE COORDINATE NOMINALS. In this construction the two members are a nominal and a nominal or attributive, the former being the subject, the latter the predicate.

This construction occurs alone as a predicative nominal sentence, examples of which are given in 3.112. Examples of this construction in construction with other elements are the following: '... *beye teriü-tü deel jaqa-tu sayi-n.*' ('"body head-having coat collar-having good-[*n*]"') '"... that a body have a head and a coat a collar [is] good."' 33. (i.e. '"It is good if a body have a head and a coat a collar."'; *beye teriü-tü* and *deel jaqa-tu* are both subject-predicate nominals which, forming together a serial nominal, occur as subject of another subject-predicate coordinate nominal which constitutes a sentence), *Qacula-yin kõü-n ide.en-e baruq tula* ('Qacula-of son-[*n*] food-for ravenous because') 'because the son of Qacula [was] ravenous for food' 46.27v.

## 3.3 ATTRIBUTIVES

3.31 SUBCLASSES OF ATTRIBUTIVES. An ADVERBIAL is an attributive which occurs as premodifier of verbals but not of nominals. An ADVERB is a single lexeme adverbial. An ADJECTIVAL is an attributive which occurs as premodifier of nominals but not of verbals. An ADJECTIVE is a single lexeme adjectival. Other attributives (distinguished as FREE ATTRIBUTIVES when necessary) occur as premodifiers of both verbals and nominals.

3.311 ADVERBS are few in number. They are the following:

*aran* 'scarcely'
*balamud* 'blindly'
*bú* 'not'
*daru.a* 'constantly'
*daruca* 'just then'
*edõe* 'now'
*ese* 'not'
*qalad* 'violently'
*qojid* 'late'
*jici* 'now'
*joyi.mtawu* 'too little'
*k.ejie* 'how far away?'
*k.er* 'how?'
*munda* 'rather, instead'
*õede* 'upwards'
*olo.mtawu* 'too much'
*õter* 'quickly'
*õtõr* 'quickly'
*tegüs* 'fully'
*úlu* 'not'
*úbursubur* 'one after the other'
*ürgülji* 'continuously'

3.312 ADJECTIVES are too numerous to list here. Typical adjectives are *bugude* 'all', *dee.re* 'above', and *gübciN* 'all, whole'.

3.313 Typical FREE ATTRIBUTES are *masi* 'much, very', *qoyi.tu* 'behind', and {qurbaN} 'three'. NUMERALS are free attributes which occur in construction with the particles *-+tA* (occurring in adverbials of number, cf. 3.3213), and *-tUAr, -dUAr,* and *-tAAr* (occurring in cardinal adjectivals, cf. 3.3215).[107] The following numerals occur in the SH:

*nikeN* 'one, a, an'
{qoyar} 'two' (with allomorphs *qor* before {.iN} [see below], *qoyar* before #, and *qoya* elsewhere)
*jiriN* 'two'
*nõkõ.e* 'one of two, the other of two; another'
{qurbaN} 'three' (with allomorphs *qu* before *-tUAr* and {.iN},[108] and *qurbaN* elsewhere)
{dõrbeN} 'four' (with allomorphs *dõ* before {.iN}, and *dõrbeN* elsewhere)
{tabuN} 'five' (with allomorphs *tab* ~ *dab* before *-tUAr, tab* before {.iN} and *tabuN* elsewhere)
{jirqoaN} 'six' (with allomorphs *jirqo* before *-dUAr,* and *jirqoaN* elsewhere[109])
*jirwaaN* 'six'
{doloaN} 'seven' (with allomorphs *dal* before {.iN}, *dolo* before *-dUAr,* and *doloaN* elsewhere)
{naymaN} 'eight' (with allomorphs *nay* before {.iN}, and *naymaN* elsewhere)
{yesüN} 'nine' (with allomorphs *ye* before {.iN}, and *yesüN* elsewhere)[110]

The suffixes {.iN} and *.AL* occur only after numerals. The former (with the allomorphs {.iN} after {qoyar} 'two' and {tabuN} 'five', *.ciN* after {qurbaN} 'three' and {dõrbeN} 'four', *.aN* after {jirqoaN} 'six' and {doloaN} 'seven', *.aN*~*.yaN* after {naymaN} 'eight', and *.reN* after {yesüN} 'nine') occurs in the following lexemes in the SH:

*qor.iN* 'twenty'
*qu.ciN* 'thirty'
*dŏ.ciN* 'forty'
*tab.iN* 'fifty'[111]
*dal.aN* 'seventy'
*nay.aN ~ nay.yan* 'eighty'
*ye.reN* 'ninety'

The suffix *.AL* (occurring in distributive adjectives) occurs in the lexemes *niji.eL* 'each single, one by one', and *qor.i.a.d* 'twenty each' (where *.A.d* is the plural of *.AL*; cf 4.2211).

3.32 ATTRIBUTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS. The constructions listed below are (polylexemic) attributives.

3.321 EXOCENTRIC ATTRIBUTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS.

3.3211 NOMINAL PLUS CASE PARTICLE. Some free attributives consist of nominal plus a case particle. These case particles are {-+A} ('for'), {-+AcA} ('from'), {-+BAr} ('by'), -+*dUr*, -+*tUr*, and -*tUr* ('in, to'), -+*lUA* ('with'), and {-+yiN} ('of').

{-+A} ('for') is the DATIVE particle. Its allomorphs are shown in Table 10. E.g. (1) ... *deü^de-en* ('younger.brother-for-own') 'by your ... younger brother' 82.19r, ... *deü-ye-en* 'against

| | WITH ^ | WITHOUT ^ |
|---|---|---|
| 1. AFTER /ü/ | -*dA* | -*yA* |
| 2. AFTER OTHER VOWELS | -*tA* | -*dA* |
| 3. AFTER /y/ | -*yA* | -*A* |
| 4. AFTER /N, Ɲ/ | -+*nE* | -+*E* |
| 5. AFTER OTHER CONSONANTS | -+*tA* | -+*E* |

TABLE 10. ALLOMORPHS OF THE DATIVE PARTICLE

our ... younger brother[s]' 76.8r, ... *ire-gü-ye* ('come-[impf.adj.N]-for') 'as [you were coming ...' 63.44r; (2) *qabirqa^ta* ('rib-for') 'up to [their] rib[s]' 57., *cima-da* ('you[sg]-for') 'to you' 96.39r; (3) *Jürcedey^ye* 'to Jürcedey' 208.46r bis, *Jürcedey-e* 'to Jürcedey' 208.43r; (4) *güün^ne* (i.e. *güüƝ^+nE*, 'person-for') 'to a man' 6., *güün-e* (i.e. *güüƝ-+E*) 'to a man' 85.23v, *köün-ü-en* (i.e. *köüƝ-+E-BAn*, 'son-for-own') 'by my son' 177.31r;[112] (5) *ebüdüg^te* (i.e. *ebüdüG^+tA*, 'knee-for') 'up to [their] knee[s]' 57., *köü.d^te-en* ('son.s-for-own') 'to her sons' 22., *kou.d-u-en* (same) 214.11v, *uruq-a* (i.e. *uruG-+E*, 'family-for') 'in the family' 11..[113]

The dative particle occurs in the following meanings;[114] (1) AGENT, e.g. ... *güün-e üje-gde-esü* ('person-for see-[pass]-if') 'if [you] are seen by anyone' 83.21r; (2) INDIRECT OBJECT, e.g. *'bi ene köün^been cima-da ŏg-sü.'* ('"I this son-own you[sg]-for give-I.will"') '"I will give you this my son."' 15.; (3) ADVANTAGE or DISADVANTAGE, e.g. *'qacar qoa ŏki.d-i qahan bol-uqsan-a tan-u ... qatun~sau.rin-tur qam.tu sau-:l-umu ba.'* ('"cheek beautiful daughter.s-[df] qahan become-[pf.adj.N]-for you-of ... wife~throne-in together sit-cause-[non.pst] we[excl]"') '"For him of you who has become qahan, we ... have [our] fair-cheeked daughters sit on the wife's throne."' 64.; (4) PURPOSE, e.g. *'śülen-e ... niken śilegü qonin hón~hón-tur ŏg-tügey.'* ('"soup-for ... one two.year.old sheep year~year-in give-let.him"') '"Let one give every year a two-year-old sheep ... for soup."' 279.47r; (5) ATTENDANT CIRCUMSTANCE, e.g. *'ene basa eyimü qalaun-a nuŋqasun doto.ra k.er daus-qu.'* ('"this further such heat-for wool inside how hold.out-[fut]"') '"Anyway, how could [he] survive inside the wool in such heat?"' 86.22v; (6) ADVERBIAL, e.g. *yeke-de deli-jü qarbu-asu* ('great-for draw-ing shoot-if') 'when [he] shoots [an arrow] drawing [the bow] strongly' 195.38v; (7) LOCAL, e.g. *Onan^nu Deliün boldaq-a bü-küy-tür* ('Onan-of Deliün hill-for be-[aor.adj.N]-in') 'while being at Deliün Hill of the Onan [River]' 97.; (8) ALLATIVE, e.g. *qolo qajar-a ile-ye* ('far land-for send-let's') 'let's send [him] into a distant land' 224.34v; (9) DISTANCE or

EXTENT, e.g. *qabirqa-ˆta qauluqa ebüdug-ˆte ölkeg* ('rib-for path knee-for dust') 'a path up to [their] rib[s], dust up to [their] knee[s]' 57.; (10) TEMPORAL, e.g. *Merkid-ün ulus Seleŋge húruu söni-de dürbe-jü* ('Merkid-of ulus Selenge down night-for flee-ing') 'the Merkid ulus fled down the Selenge during the night' 110.15r.

{-$^{+}$AcA} ('from) is the ABLATIVE particle. Its allomorphs are shown in Table 11. E.g. (1) *Qorci-ˆdaca* 'from Qorci' 207.42r, *qaqca keeli-ece* ('single belly-from') 'from a single belly (i.e. womb)' 22.; (2) *eke-ˆdece* ('mother-from') 'because of [his] mother' 244.29r, *anda-aca* 'from [my] sworn friend' 201.18v, *dee.re-ece* 'from above' (? i.e. 'from an older generation') 179.35v, ... *dee.re-:ce* 'from on ...' 5.; (3) *noqay-ˆyaca* ('dog-from') 'because of dogs' 66.47r, *ciray¯ciray-aca* ('appearance¯appearance-from') 'from the usual appearance [of people]' 55.35v; (4) *Burqan qaldun-ˆnaca* ('Burqan hill-from') 'from Burqan Hill' 102.49r, *Burqan qa[l]dun-aca* (same) 97.; (5) ...*ger-ˆtece* 'from the yurt ...' 168.47r, *köser-ece* 'from the ground' 214.11r.

| | WITH ˆ | WITHOUT ˆ |
|---|---|---|
| 1. AFTER /ü, u, i/ | *-dAcA* | *-AcA* |
| 2. AFTER /e, a/ | *-dAcA* | *-AcA* ~ *-:cA* |
| 3. AFTER /y/ | *-yAcA* | *-AcA* |
| 4. AFTER /N, Ŋ/ | *-$^{+}$nAcA* | *-$^{+}$AcA* |
| 5. AFTER OTHER CONSONANTS | *-$^{+}$tAcA* | *-$^{+}$AcA* |

TABLE 11. ALLOMORPHS OF THE ABLATIVE PARTICLE

The ablative particle occurs in the following meanings: (1) SOURCE or ORIGIN, e.g. *Seŋgür qoroqan-aca newü-jü* ('Sengür stream-from migrate-ing') 'migrating from Sengür Stream' 96.38v; (2) SEPARATION, e.g. *jügeli-ˆdece qar-qa-ju* ('jügeli-from go.out-cause-ing') 'excluding [him] from the jügeli-sacrifice' 44.; (3) CAUSE, e.g. '*...kö̈ü.d-i min-u yeke ülu bolu-quy-ˆyaca ... yeki-n qojid.a-ul-umu.y ta.*' ('"son.s-[df] I-of great not become-[aor.adj.N]-from ... do.what-ing leave.-behind-cause-[non.pst].*y*"') '"... why do you have [me] left behind ... because my children are not [yet] grown?"' 70.; (4) COMPARISON, e.g. *cima-ˆdaca sayi-n* ('you[sg]-from good-[*n*]') 'better than you' 155.23r.

{-$^{+}$BAr} ('by') is the INSTRUMENTAL particle. The allomorphs of this particle are shown in Table 12. E.g. (1) *deü.ner-ün qubi-yiyar* ('younger.brother.s-of share-by') 'according to the share of a younger brother' 203.29v, *ölmi-yiyer* ('sole-by') 'with the soles of the feet' 275.30r; (2) ... *üge-ˆber* ('word-by') 'in accordance with the word ...' 52., *jida-ˆbar* 'with a spear' 72., *jeü-ˆber* ('needle-by') 'with a needle' 75.7r, *yeke dawu-ˆbar* ('great voice-by') 'with a loud voice' 56.37v; *jerge-er* ('order-by') 'in order' 159., *nama-ar* ('I-by') 'by me' (i.e. 'by my example') 53.33v;

| | WITH ˆ | WITHOUT ˆ |
|---|---|---|
| 1. AFTER /i/ | -- | *-yiyAr* |
| 2. AFTER OTHER VOWELS | *-BAr* | *-BAr* |
| 3. AFTER /y/ | *-$^{+}$BAr* | *-$^{+}$iyAr* |
| 4. AFTER /i/ PLUS /N, Ŋ, Ɣ/ | -- | *-$^{+}$iyAr* ~ *-yAr* |
| 5. AFTER /e, a/ PLUS /N, Ŋ, Ɣ/ | *-BAr* | *-$^{+}$BAr* ~ *-BAr* |
| 6. AFTER /ü, u/ PLUS /N, Ŋ, Ɣ/[115] | *-$^{+}$BAr* ~ *-BAr* | *-$^{+}$iyAr* ~ *-BAr* |
| 7. AFTER OTHER CONSONANTS | -- | *-$^{+}$iyAr* ~ *-$^{+}$iAr* |

TABLE 12. ALLOMORPHS OF THE INSTRUMENTAL PARTICLE

(3) *qarciqay^bar* (i.e. *qarciqaY^+BAr*) 'by means of a falcon' 31.; *ösögey-iyer* (i.e. *ösögeY-+iyAr*) 'with the feet' 275.29v; (4) *mún jarlig-iyar* (i.e. *jarliG-+iyAr*, 'same decree-by') 'in accordance with the same decree' 269.14r, *aman-u jabajin-iyar* (i.e. *jabajiN-+iyAr*, 'mouth-of corner-by') 'from, by way of the corner of [his] mouth' 173.13v; *aman-u jabaji-yar* (i.e. *jabajiN-yAr*, same) 214.16v; (5) *baraun eüten^ber* (i.e. *eüteN^+BAr*, 'right door-by') 'by the right-hand door' 112.20v, *uuraq^bar-iyan* (i.e. *uuraG^+BAr*, 'pole.with.noose-by-own') 'with his pole with a noose' 91.; *ucumaq-ar* (i.e. *ucumaG-+BAr*, 'ucumaq-by') 'by an ucumaq-arrow' 208.43v; *ucuma-ar* (i.e. *ucumaG-BAr*, same) 174.16r, *ama-ar kele-er* (i.e. *amaN-BAr keleN-BAr*, 'mouth-by tongue-by') 'with mouth and tongue' 164.37v; (6) ... *kilqasun^bar* (i.e. *kilqasuN^+BAr*, 'tail.hair-by') 'with the tail hairs ...' 25.; *nisün~nilbu.su^bar* (i.e. *nisün~nilbu.suN^BAr*, 'tears~tears-by') 'in tears' 95.34v, *tewü^ber* (i.e. *t.ewüN^BAr*, 'that-by') 'by that' 201.19v; *maygirsun-iyar* (i.e. *maygirsuN-+iyAr*, 'wild.onion-by') 'with wild onions' 74.6r; *maygirsu-ar* (i.e. *maygirsuN-BAr*, same) 75., ... *gücü-er* (i.e. *gücüN-BAr*, 'strength-by') 'with ... strength' 270.18r, *mún yosu-ar* (i.e. *yosuN-BAr*, 'same way-by') 'in the same way' 269.14v; (7) *sem-iyer* 'silence-by') 'in silence' 78.11v, *mún~mún mör-iyer* ('same~same route-by') 'by the very same route[s]' 83.20r; *mún~mún mör-ier-en* ('same~same route-by-own') 'by their very same route[s]' 82.19r.

The instrumental particle occurs in the following meanings: (1) MEANS or INSTRUMENT, e.g. *jida-bar jo qudus qadqu-* ('spear-by back along strike') 'strike along the back with a spear' 72.; (2) LOCAL MEANS, e.g. ... *Qalqa-yin göre.ne.ji ete:d-iyer newü-be.* ('Qalqa-of western side-by migrate-[non.fut]') '... migrated by the west side of the Qalqa [River]' 175.; (3) CAUSE, e.g. *Qabul qahan^nu üge^ber* ('Qabul qahan-of word-by') 'in accordance with the word of Qabul qahan' 52. (i.e. 'because of the command of Qabul qahan'); (4) ATTENDANT CIRCUMSTANCE, e.g. *sem-iyer jalgi-qu curaqa metü* ('silence-by swallow-[impf.adj.N] curaqa like') 'like the curaqa-fish which swallows [its prey] in silence' 78.11v; (5) ADVERBIAL, e.g. *beye^ber mori.la-ju* ('body-by ride-ing') 'riding by herself' 73.4r.

*-+dUr*, *-+tUr*, and *-tUr* are the LATIVE particles. Each of them occurs in all possible environments,[116] but there is no perceptible difference in meaning between them. Each of the lative particles occurs in the following meanings: (1) LOCAL, e.g. *'Temüjin ger-tür büy-yü-ü.'* ('"Temüjin yurt-in be-[non.pst]-?"') '"Is Temüjin in the yurt?' 100.45r, *'eme~köü-n min-u qa-n ecige-tür bü-y.'* ('"wife~child I-of qan-[*n*] father-in be-[non.pst]"') "'My wife is with [our] qan and father."' (i.e. 'chez nôtre père') 183.46r; (2) ILLATIVE, e.g. *Temüjin Qasar qoyar ger-tür ire-jü* ('Temüjin Qasar two yurt-in come-ing') 'Temüjin and Qasar coming into the yurt' 76.7r; (3) LATIVE, e.g. ... *Sengür qoroqan-a ger-tür-iyen gür-be.* ('Sengür stream-for yurt-to-own reach-[non.fut]') '... reached his yurt on Sengür Stream.' 93.35v, ... *tergen-dür-iyen ire-küy-lüe* ('wagon-to-own come-[aor.adj.N]-with') 'as soon as [he] came to his wagon ...' 55.35r; (4) LATIVE WITH HOSTILE INTENT, e.g. ... *Tatar irgen-tür mori.la-ba.* ('Tatar people-to ride-[non.fut]') 'rode against the Tatar people.' 58.; (5) ADVANTAGE, e.g. ... *Toluy-yin amin-tur tusa bol-ba.* ('Toluy-of life-to service become-[non.fut]') '... was [of] service to the life of Toluy.' 214.16r; (6) INDIRECT OBJECT, e.g. *Cinggis qahan Itürgen-tür ülu kele.le.ldü-n* ('Cingis qahan Itürgen-to not speak.[pl]-ing') 'Cingis qahan not speaking to Itürgen' 184.49; (7) TEMPORAL, e.g. *Qonqota-day Caraqa ebügen od-cu idqa-qu-tur Tödöyen girte ügü.le-rün ... kee-ed* ('Qonqotan-member Caraqa old.man go-ing prevent-[impf.adj.N]-in Tödöyen girte speak-ing.in ... say-after') 'after Tödöyen girte spoke saying ... when old Caraqa of the Qonqotad went and was trying to stop [them]' 72., *'üdür-tür ündur-un a-qu.n-u.'* ('"day-in increase-ing live-[aor]-?"') '"Are [they] increasing daily?"' 195.25r; (8) ATTENDANT CIRCUMSTANCE, e.g. *t.ere üge-tür Örbey Soqotay jirin qatu.d ügü.le-rün ... ke:-ed* ('that word-in Örbey Soqotay two wive.s speak-ing.in ... say-after') 'after Örbey and Soqotay, the two wives, at that word spoke saying ...' 71-2.; (9) COMPARISON, e.g. *'güü-n ber mori-n ber sura-qu-tur adali büy-yü.'* ('"person-[*n*] [indef] horse-[*n*] [indef] ask-[impf.adj.N]-to similar be-[non.pst]"') '"[There] is a man and a horse similar to the ones [you] are inquiring about."' 31.; (10) WITH CERTAIN VERBS, e.g. ... *ecige-dür-iyen neyile-n Seleyge hüruu gödöl-jüü.y.* ('father-to-own meet-ing Selenge down move-[non.fut].*y*') '... moved down the Selenge to meet their father' 162.33r.[117]

*-+lUA* ('with') is the COMITATIVE particle. It occurs in the following meanings: (1) COMITATIVE, e.g. *Boorcu ... Belgütey-lüe ire-be.* ('Boorcu ... Belgütey-with come-[non.fut]') 'Boorcu came with Belgütey ....' 95.; (2) TEMPORAL (punctual aspect), e.g. *Ciledü qosiun quci.li-s qari-ju*

*tergen-dür-iyen ire-küy-lüe t.ende Höelün üjin ügü.le-rün ... kee-n camca^ban mültül-jü mori-n dee.re-;ce naruyid-cu ab-quy-lua qurba.ula qośiun quci.li-ju gür-cü aysu-qu-lua Ciledü qurdun qubi-yin quya in-u deled-cü juqu-s dutaa-ju Onan müren öede dutaa-ba.* ('Ciledü rock.spur round-doing.fast return-ing wagon-to-own come-[aor.adj.N]-with then Höelün wife speak-ing.in ... say-ing shirt-own take.off-ing horse-[*n*] on-from reach-ing take-[aor.adj.N]-with the.three rock.spur round.-[pl]-ing reach-ing approach-[impf.adj.N]-with Ciledü swift horse-of thigh it-of strike-ing *juqu-* doing.-fast flee-ing Onan river upstream flee-[non.fut]') 'As soon as Ciledü doubled a spur of rock and came back to his wagon, then wife Höelün spoke saying ...; as [he saw that] the three [men] were about to reach [him], rounding the spur of rock together just as, [Höelün] taking off her shirt, [Ciledü] was reaching down from the horse and taking [it], Ciledü struck the thigh of his swift qubi-horse, and fleeing swiftly (*juqu-* ?) fled up the Onan River.' (It is difficult to bring out the construction here and still make a reasonable English translation: *Ciledü ... ire-küy-lüe* modifies *t.ende ... ab-*, and *Ciledü ... ab-* modifies *qurba.ula ... aysu-; Ciledü ... aysu-* modifies *Ciledü qurdun ... öede dutaa-.*) 55.35r-36.

{-+yiN} ('of') is the GENITIVE particle. Its allomorphs are shown in Table 13. E.g. (1a) *eke-yin* ('mother-of') 'of [your] mother' 96.39r, *buqu-yin* 'of deer' 103.50r, *qandaqay-yin* 'of elk' 103.50v; (1b) *eke-yü-en Alan qoa-yin* ('mother-of-own Alan fair-of') 'of their mother, Alan the fair' 18., *Buqu qatagi aqa-yu-an* ('Buqu qatagi older.brother-of-own') 'of his older brother, Buqu qatagi' 33., *qubi-yu-an* ('qubi-of-own') 'of his qubi-horse' 55.35r; (2a) *Onan müren^nü teriün-e* ('Onan river-of head-for') 'at the head of the Onan River' 1., *Kelüren müren-ü teriü-n* ('Kelüren river-of head-[*n*]') 'the head of the Kelüren River' 96.38v; (2b) *teün-ü-ey* ('that-of-possession') 'that one's' 18., *botoqan-i-yan borbi* ('foal-of-own heel') 'the heel of its foal' 78.11v; (3a) *qamuq-un* (i.e. *qamuG-+Un,* 'all-of') 'of all' 21., *t.e.de ceri.üd-ün* ('those soldier.s-of') 'of those soldiers' 101.46b; (3b) *qoyar köü.ke.d-ü-en ciray* ('two child.s-of-own appearance') 'the appearance of her two children' 78.11r, *tabun quruu.d-i-yan kimül* ('five finger.s-of-own nail') 'the nails of your five fingers' 53.33v.[118]

| | WITH ^ | WITHOUT ^ |
|---|---|---|
| 1. AFTER VOWEL OR /y/ | | |
| 1a. BEFORE # | -- | *-yin* |
| 1b. ELSEWHERE | -- | *-yU* |
| 2. AFTER /N, N/ | | |
| 2a. BEFORE # | *-+nU* | *-+U* |
| 2b. ELSEWHERE | -- | *-+U* ~ *-+i* |
| 3. AFTER OTHER CONSONANTS | | |
| 3a. BEFORE # | -- | *-+Un* |
| 3b. ELSEWHERE | -- | *-+U* ~ *-+i* |

TABLE 13. ALLOMORPHS OF THE GENITIVE PARTICLE

The genitive particle occurs in the following meanings: (1) POSSESSIVE GENITIVE, e.g. *Naqu bayyan^nu ger* ('Naqu rich-of yurt') 'the yurt of Naqu the rich' 93.; (2) SUBJECTIVE GENITIVE, e.g. *sayi-n ecige-yin cin-u quriya-qda-qsan ulus* ('good-[*n*] father-of you[sg]-of assemble-[pass-pf.adj.N] ulus') 'the ulus assembled by your good father' (lit. 'your father's having-been-assembled ulus') 73.; (3) OBJECTIVE GENITIVE, e.g. *ulus-un eje-n* ('ulus-of lord-[*n*]') 'lord of the ulus' 53.33v; (4) PARTITIVE GENITIVE, e.g. *t.e.de ceri.üd-ün aqa.nar in-u* ('those soldier.s older.brother.s he-of') 'the older brothers of those soldiers' 101.46v; (5) LOCAL GENITIVE, e.g. *ebesün-ü alurqay^bar* ('grass-of track-by') 'by the track[s] in the grass' 101.49r; (6) COMPARATIVE GENITIVE, e.g. *böesün-ü t.edüy amin-i-yen* ('louse-of such life-[df]-own') 'my life, [worth] as much as a louse' 103.50v, *qoś.iliq-un t.edüy caha:n gürü* ('tent-of such white rock') 'a white rock as big as a tent' 80.16r; (7) GENITIVE WITH POSTPOSITIONS, e.g. *teün-ü qoyi.na* ('that-of after') 'after that' 12. (and cf. 3.2216).

3.3212 VERBAL PLUS CONVERBIAL[119] PARTICLE. Some adverbials consist of a verbal plus a converbial particle. The converbial particles are *-JU*, *-rU*$_1$, *-s*$_1$, *-tAlA*, *-(U)Ad*, *-(U)msAr*, *-(U)rA*, *-+(U)BAsU*, *-+(U)n*, and *-+(U)rUn*.[120]

*-JU* ('ing') occurs in adverbials which are non-future with respect to the time of the verbals which they modify.[121] E.g. *Bodoncar alginci haul-ju dunda keeli-t.ey eme-yi bari-ju 'yau-jin güü-n ci.' kee-n hasa-ba.* ('Bodoncar scout ride.swiftly-ing middle belly-having.[fem] woman-[df] capture-ing "what-member[fem] person-[n] you[sg]" say-ing ask-[non.fut]') 'Bodoncar, riding swiftly [ahead] as a scout, captured a certain woman who was half-way pregnant, and asked her saying "Of what tribe [are] you a member?"' 38., *hoy doto.ra Uriaŋqa-day güü-n jöe buqu ala-ju qabirqa.s*[122] *in-u abi.d in-u śira-ju bü-gü-yi joluqa-ju Dobun mergen . . . ke:-jüü.* ('forest inside Urianqan-member person-[n] three.year.old deer kill-ing rib.s it-of intestine.s it-of roast-ing be-[impf.adj.N-df] meet-ing Dobun clever . . . say-[non.fut]') 'Meeting in the forest a man of the Urianqad who had killed a three-year-old deer and was roasting its ribs and intestines, Dobun the clever asked . . . .' 12..

*-rU*$_1$ ('so.that') occurs in adverbials meaning 'in such a way as to *X*, so that [something] *Xs*' where *X* is the meaning of the verbal with which *-rU*$_1$ is in construction. This particle is very rare, occurring only about fourteen times in the SH. Examples are the following: *'soyurqa-qda-asu qaan-u emüne ceel usun-i hoqto-ru cewgen cilawun cew-rü do[b]tul-ju ög-sü. "gür." kɔe-gsen qajar-a kökö gürü keü-rü "qal." kee-gsen qara gürü qam.qa-ru dobtul-ju ög-sü.'* ("'favor-[pass]-if qahan-of front deep water-[df] go.through-so.that bright stone make.crumble-so.that attack-ing give-I.will. 'reach-!' say-[pf.adj.N] land-for blue rock split-so.that 'fight-!' say-[pf.adj.N] black stone crush-so.that attack-ing give-I.will"') '"If [I] am favored [by the qahan], I will attack before the qahan so as to cross deep water, and make crumble the bright stone. I will attack for [the qahan] so as to split the blue rock in the place which [I am] told to reach (lit. 'the qahan's "reach"-having-said-place'), and so as to crush the black rock which [he] has said to storm."' 147.49v, *niruu in-u ququ-ru tata-ad* ('neck he-of break-so.that pull-after') 'after pulling his neck so that [it] broke' 140.28r.

*-s*$_1$ ('doing.fast') occurs in adverbials having a present time reference with respect to the time of the verbal which they modify. Such adverbials are used of rapid and unexpected action. (cf. Murayama 1951). E.g. *Qoaqcin eme.gen böere alaq hüker-i-ýen deled-üed öter.le-n neü-gü bol-un tergen-ü teŋgeli ququ-s od-ba.* ('Qoaqcin old.woman hip speckled ox-[df]-own whip-after hurry-ing migrate-[impf.adj.N] become-ing wagon-of axle break-doing.fast go-[non.fut]') 'As old Qoaqcin was starting to hurry away after whipping her ox with speckled hip[s], the axle of the wagon snapped.' 101.46r, *Onan^nu tün-tür quri.m.la-quy-tur Belgütey-yin múru qaq.qa-s ca[b]ci-qsan t.ere bü-lee.* ('Onan-of forest-in feast-[aor.adj.N]-in Belgütey shoulder satisfy-cause-doing.fast cut.through-[pf.adj.N] that be-[non.fut]') 'That was he who, while [they] were feasting in the forest of the Onan, cut clean through (?) the shoulder of Belgütey.' 50..

*-tAlA* ('till') occurs in adverbials with present time reference meaning 'so that *X*, until *X*, while *X*' where *X* is the meaning of the verbal with which *-tAlA* is in construction. E.g. *Onan müren^ni tolkis-tala hoy júbur dawuris-tala yeke dawu^bar uyyila-ju* ('Onan river-[df] set.in.motion-till woods valley shake-till great voice-by lament-ing') 'lamenting with a loud voice till [she] brought waves to the Onan River, till the woods and valley shook' 56.37v, *ger-ün belge sün tüsür-üed esüg-i-ýen söni-de üdür cayi-tala büle-ku[y]*[123] *bü-lee.* ('yurt-of sign milk pour.out-after kumiss-[df]-own night-for day dawn-till churn-[aor.adj.N] be-[non.fut]') 'The sign of the yurt [was that] after pouring out the [raw] milk there would be churning [of] the kumiss at night till day dawned.' 85., . . . *üje-tele deerme.d-cü yorci-ba.* ('see-till rob-ing depart-[non.fut]') '. . . stole [horses] while [the owners] looked on, and departed.' 90.27v. After {bü-} 'be' (in the allomorph *böe-*) *-tAlA* has sometimes the meaning 'although', e.g. *Qabul qahan^nu qoyi.na Qabul qahan^nu üge^ber doload köü.d-iyen böe-tele Seŋgün bilge-yin Ambaqay qahan qamuq Màŋqol-i mede-n a-ba.* ('Qabul qahan-of after Qabul qahan-of word-by seven son.s-own be-till Sengüm bilge-of Ambaqay qahan all Mongol-[df] rule-ing live-[non.fut]') 'After Qabul qahan, according to his command, although [he himself] had seven sons, Ambaqay qahan, [son] of Sengüm bilge ruled all the Mongol[s].' 52.. The sequence *gür-tele* ('reach-till') 'until reaching' has sometimes the more specialized meaning 'even to' in situations where no motion is involved, e.g. *'"Ambaqay qahan^ni ükü-be"-ü ci kee-jü Höelün^ne*

*gŭr-tele eyin kee-gde-küy bol-b.i.'* ('"'Ambaqay qahan-[df] die-[non.fut]"-? you[sg] say-ing Höelün-for reach-till so say-[pass-aor.adj.N] become-[non.fut].*i*"') '"Is it because you say [to yourself] that Ambaqay qahan is dead that [we] have come to be so addressed even by Höelün?"' (lit. '... that [there] has become such being-spoken-[to] reaching to Höelün?') 71..

*-(U)Ad* ('after') occurs in adverbials with a past time reference. E.g. *qam.tu do[b]tul-ju oro-a[d] śirqa qata-t.an-i hülde-jü qar-ba.* ('together attack-ing enter-after dappled gelding-having.s-[df] pursue-ing go.out-[non.fut]') 'after attacking together, [they] came out driving those [horses] including the dappled gelding[s].' 90.30v, *Yesügey baatur ... Temŭjin-i ab-uad yorci-ba.* ('Yesügey baatur ... Temüjin-[df] take-after depart-[non.fut]') 'Yesügey baatur took Temüjin ... and departed.' 61., *'edüy bedere-ed qari-ju manaqar eri-ye.'* ('"thus search-after return-ing morning seek-let's"') '"After searching thus, let's return and seek [him] in the morning."' 83.20v.

*-(U)msAr* ('not.yet') occurs only four times in the SH: i.e. *'aqa min-u Ciledü keỳ öede kegüli-ỳen keỳ.is-ümser keer˜qajar-a keeli^ben ölös-ümser bü-l.iyi.'* ('"older.brother I-of Ciledü wind up hair-own blow-not.yet steppe˜land-for stomach-own hunger-not.yet be-[non.fut].*i*"') '"My older brother Ciledü has never till now had his hair blow in the wind, has never till now had his stomach hunger in the steppe-land."' 56., *üde˜jilda uqa-msar berke hoy-tur horum-iyar yabu-qu.n bol-un* ('evening˜late.evening recognize-not.yet difficult forest-in path-by march-[aor.adj.N].s become-ing') 'as [they] started along a path in the thick forest, unmindful of evening' 240.18r. From these few examples, it seems that this particle has a future meaning; i.e. 'Up till the present *(-l.iyi)* the time has always been to come when Ciledü should blow as to his hair in the wind' and 'they started to go along the path before they noticed the impending darkness'.

*-(U)rA* ('to') occurs in adverbials of purpose. E.g. *'Temŭjin-i ab-ura ire-be.'* ('"Temüjin-[df] take-to come-[non.fut]"') '"[I] have come to get Temüjin."' 69., *t.eün-ü qoyi.na niken üdür Dobun mergen Toqocaq ủndur dee.re göre.e.le-re qar-ba.* ('that-of after one day Dobun clever Toqocaq height-on go.out') 'One day after that, Dobun the clever went up on Toqocaq height to hunt.' 12..

*-+(U)BAsU* ('if') occurs in adverbials with a non-future time reference, and often with a conditional meaning. Its allomorphs are shown in Table 14. E.g. (1) ... *kee^besü* ('say-if') 'when [he] said' 242.23v, ... *kee-esü* (same) 213.8v, ... *ke:-esü* 'if [they] say ...' 176.20r; (2) *asaq^basu* ('ask-if') 'when [he] ... asked' 146.46r, ... *asaq-uasu* (same) 142.34r, ... *gŭr^besü* ('reach-if') 'when [they] reached ...' 108.11v, ... *gŭr-üesü* (same) 149.5r; (3) ... *ög-üesü* ('give-if') 'when [he] gave ...' 188.7v, ... *od-uasu* ('go-if') 'if [they] go ...' 137.22v.

| | WITH ^ | WITHOUT ^ |
|---|---|---|
| 1. AFTER VOWEL | *-BAsU* | *-BAsU* |
| 2. AFTER /q, r/ | *-+BAsU* | *-+UBAsU* |
| 3. AFTER OTHER CONSONANTS | -- | *-UBAsU* |

TABLE 14. ALLOMORPHS OF -+(U)BAsU

Examples of such adverbials in context are the following: *'qayila-asu qalayi-ju úlu üje-gü cima-yi. qayi^basu qauluqa in-u úlu olu-qu ci.'* ('"cry.out-if look.back-ing not see-[fut] you[sg]-[df]. trail-if path he-of not find-[fut] you[sg]"') '"If [you] cry out, [he] will not see you though he look back (lit. 'looking back [he] will not see you'). If [you] trail [him] you will not find his path."' 56.38r, ... *Tayyiciud Onan^nu ergi dee.re quri.m.la.ldu-ju naran śiŋge-esü tarqa-ba.* ('Tayyiciud Onan-of bank on feast.[pl]-ing sun sink-if disperse-[non.fut]') '... the Tayyiciud feasted together on the bank of the Onan [River], and, when the sun set, dispersed.' 81.17r.

*-+(U)n* ('ing') occurs in adverbials with a non-past time reference. E.g. *t.ere amasar bögle-n una-qsan qoś.iliq-un t.edüy caha:n gŭrü* ('that passage block-ing fall-[pf.adj.N] tent-of thus white rock') 'that white rock as big as a tent, which had fallen so as to block the opening' 80.16r, *'yau-n*

*güü-n ci.' kee-n hasaq-ba.* ('"what-[*n*] person-[*n*] you[sg]." say-ing ask-[non.fut]') '[They] asked saying "What person [are] you?"' 100.44v. For further examples see 3.4228.

*-+(U)rUn* ('ing.in') occurs in adverbials with a present time reference which often refer to the same event as that referred to by the head verbal which such an adverbial modifies. E.g. *'qalaun-aca min-u qalad qar-urun qar-dur-iyan qara nodun hadqu-n tŏre-l.igi ene.'* ('"hot-from I-of violently go.out-ing.in hand-in-own black blood.clot hold-ing be.born-[non.fut].*i* this"') '"In coming violently from my hot [womb], this one was born holding a black blood clot in his hand."' 78.11r, *sülsü-t.ey tŏre-gsen üjin eke su-t.an kŏü.d-i-yen tejie-rün cigŏr.sü-n śiro bari-ju südün cicigina uqu-ju tejie-be.* ('gall-having.[fem] be.born-[pf.adj.N] üjin mother luck-having.s son.s-[df]-own rear-ing.in juniper-[*n*] stick take-ing südün cicigina dig-ing rear-[non.fut]') 'Mother Üjin, born with courage, in rearing her fortunate children, reared [them] by taking a juniper stick and digging südün and cicigina [roots].' 74., *Qoaqcin eme.gen ügü.le-rün 'uŋqasun tee-jü a-mu.' kee-b.i.* ('Qoaqcin old.woman speak-ing.in "wool carry-ing live-[non.pst]." say-[non.fut].*i*') 'Old Qoaqoin spoke saying "[I] am carrying wool [in the wagon]."' 101.46v. Less often two different actions are referred to by the adverbial and the head verbal, e.g. *Hŏelün üjin ge-jü newü-gde-rün tuq.la-ju beye^ber mori.la-ju jarim.ud irgen-i icu.qa-ba.* ('Hŏelün wife leave-ing migrate-[pass]-ing.in take.banner-ing body-by ride-ing half.s people-[df] stop-cause-[non.fut]') 'Wife Hŏelün, left behind by [their] leaving in migration, taking the banner, rode by herself and stopped half the people.' 73.4v.

3.3213 ADJECTIVAL PLUS THE ADVERBIALIZING PARTICLE *-+tA*. Some adverbials consist of an adjectival, made up of a single numeral, or a coordinate construction whose members are numerals, plus the particle *-+tA* ('times'). E.g. *heki in-u niken-te deled-üed* ('head he-of one-time strike-after') 'after striking his head once' 81.17v, ... *Burqan qaldun^ni qurban-ta quci-ul-ju* ('Burqan hill-[df] three-times go.round-cause-ing') 'chasing [him] round Bruqan Hill three times' 102.48r, ... *harban qurban-ta qadqu.ldu-ju* ('ten three-times fight.[pl]-ing') 'fighting ... thirteen times' 58., ... *qu-taar-ta keśig hoara-asu* ('three-[th]-times duty omit-if') 'if ... omit [his] guard duty for a third time' 278.44r.

3.3214 ADJECTIVE-NOMINAL PLUS ADJECTIVALIZING PARTICLE. Some adjectivals consist of an adjective-nominal plus one of the particles *-dAY* or *-tAY* ('member'), or *-jiN* ('member[fem]').

*-dAY* and *-tAY* ('member') occur in adjectivals one member of which is the name of a tribe. E.g. *Qoŋqota-day Caraqa ebügen* ('Qonqotan-member Caraqa old.man') 'old Caraqa of the Qonqotad' (or 'of the Qonqotan tribe') 73., *Maaliq Bayyau-day güü-n* ('Maaliq Bayyaun-member person-[*n*]') 'a man of the Maaliq Bayyaud' 19., *Besü-tey güü-n* ('Besün-member person-[*n*]') 'a man of the Besüd' 53.33r.

*-jiN*$_1$ ('member[fem]') is equivalent to the above, but is used only of women. E.g. *'Jarciud*[124] *Adaŋqan Uriaŋqa-jin bi.'* ('"Jarciud Adanqan Urianqan-member[fem] I"') '"I [am] a member of the Jarciud Adanqan Urianqan [tribe]."') 38. (where a woman is speaking). This particle also occurs after the adjective-noun *yau.N* 'what?', e.g. *'yau-jin güü-n ci.'* ('"what-member[fem] person-[*n*] you[sg]"') '"Of what tribe [are] you a member?"' 38. (addressed to a woman; cf. *'yau-n güü-n ci.'* ['"what-(*n*) person-(*n*) you(sg)"'] '"What person [are] you?"', i.e. '"Of what tribe are you?"', addressed to a man in 15., and to a woman in 100.44v).

3.3215 NUMERAL PLUS ADJECTIVALIZING PARTICLE. Some adjectivals consist of a numeral plus one of the particles *-dUwAr, -tUwAr,* or *-tAAr* (which, where they contrast, do not seem to differ in meaning). Such (cardinal) adjectivals are rare in the SH; only the following occur:

| | |
|---|---|
| {qurbaN} 'three' | *qu-tuar* 'third'[125] |
| | *qu-taar* 'third' |
| {tabuN} 'five' | *dab-tuar* 'fifth' |
| {jirqoaN} 'six' | *jirqo-duar* 'sixth' |
| {doloaN} 'seven' | *dolo-duar* 'seventh' |

In none of their occurrences in the SH are *-dUwAr, -tUwAr,* or *-tAAr* free lexemes; they are treated as such here because in the HY, where coordinate numerals are more frequent than in the SH, there occurs the form *qorin niken-dŭer* ('twenty one-[th]') 'twenty-first' (A.18v[126]); here *qorin niken* 'twenty-one' is in construction with *-dŭer*. It is clearly more realistic to treat these morphemes as free lexemes here, although strictly speaking they are not such in the SH.

3.322 THE SUBORDINATE ATTRIBUTIVE CONSTRUCTION: ATTRIBUTIVE PLUS PARTICLE. In this construction an attributive is modified by an emphatic particle, or by the possessive particle.

The EMPHATIC PARTICLES are listed in 3.6 (3). The following are examples of their occurrence after attributives: ... *Hŏelŭn eke ôter gŭ bos-b.i.* ('"Hŏelŭn mother quickly real arise-[non.-fut].*i*') 'Mother Hŏelŭn got up very quickly.' 99., *'yambar ele sayi ŭje-ŭl-ŭmŭ.'* ('"what.sort indeed good see-cause-[non.pst]"') '"Just what sort of good thing does [it] show?"' 63.43v, *'kebte-ŭl qor.-ci.n-lŭe qoyar gŭ minqa.d bol-ba.'* ('"lie.down-[ag.] quiver.bearer.s-with two real thousand.s become-[non.fut]"') '"The night watch, together with the quiver bearers were just two thousands."' (or ? 'were two more thousands') 226.39v, *'ŭkŭ-esŭ inu ŭkŭ-sŭgey. a-asu inu a-suqay.'* ('"die-if really die-may.I. live-if really live-may.I"') '"If [the horse] dies, I will die. If [it] lives, I will live."' 24..

Attributives occurring in adverbial position (premodifying a verbal) sometimes are modified by the POSSESSIVE PARTICLE {-BAn} (for which see 3.2221). E.g. *doto.ra^ban sedki-jŭ* ('inside-own think-ing') 'thinking to himself' 84., ... *dee.re˜dee.re-en qutaqla.ldu-ju yasu˜hŭsŭ^ben kem.-ke-rŭ una.ldu-ju* ('above˜above-own press.[pl]-ing bone˜hair-own crush-so.that fall.[pl]-ing') 'falling so as to crush their bone[s], pressing on top of one another' 196.43r, ... *aru dee.re-en oor-cu* ('back on-own throw-ing') 'tossing [his braids] down his back' 56.37v.

3.323 COORDINATE ATTRIBUTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS.

3.3231 SERIAL COORDINATE ATTRIBUTIVES. (Cf. 3.2231.) E.g. *qorin qucin gŭŭn-i* ('twenty thirty person-[df]') 'twenty or thirty men' 177.25r, *emŭne-:ce ŭme.re-:ce ŏtermele-jŭ* ('in.front-from in.back-from shoot.at.close.range-ing') 'shooting at close range from in front and in back' 77.10r, ... *köü.d-i-ỳen qaucin ŭge.s qadal-un ŏtŏ.gŭ.s ŭge.s órkid-un maśi mawu.la-b.i.* ('son.s-[df]-own ancient word.s quote-ing old word.s cite-ing much be.angry-[non.fut].*i*') '... [she] was very angry with her sons, quoting ancient words, citing old words.' 78.12v. Cf. also 3.7.

3.3232 APPOSITIVE COORDINATE ATTRIBUTIVES. (Cf. 3.2232.) Some adverbials consist of an adverb-nominal and an adverbial in apposition. E.g. *'edŏe qara.ŋqu.y sŏni k.er ol-qu.n bida.'* ('"now black.[fem] night how find-[aor].s we[incl]"') '"Now, in the black night, how are we to find [him]?"' 83.20r, *ŭde.śi naran śiŋge-gsen-ŭ qoyi.na Belgŭtey ... ire-be.* ('evening sun set-[pf.adj.-N]-of after Belgŭtey ... come-[non.fut]') 'In the evening, after the sun had set, Belgŭtey came ....' 90.28r.

3.4 VERBALS

3.41 SUBCLASSES OF VERBALS. A TRANSITIVE VERBAL is a verbal which at least sometimes occurs in the goal-action construction (i.e. has an object, 3.4222-3); a single lexeme transitive verbal is a TRANSITIVE VERB. E.g. the verb *ile-* 'send' occurs in the goal-action construction in *Dobun mergen deŭ-yŭ-en˜ŭje-re ile-be.* ('Dobun clever younger.brother-[df]-own see-to send-[non.fut]') '[He] sent Dobun the clever, his younger brother, to see.' 6., but occurs not in the goal-action construction in ... *Ambaqay qahan ... kee-jŭ ile-jŭŭ.* ('Ambaqay qahan... say-ing send-[non.fut]') 'Ambaqay qahan sent saying ...' 53 (i.e. 'he sent a message that ...'). Unless specially noted in the following, all verbals are transitive.

The verb *ŏg-* 'give' is a DOUBLY TRANSITIVE VERB: it sometimes occurs as the verb of a goal-action verbal which is itself in construction with a goal (i.e. in traditional terms, *ŏg-* takes two objects); e.g. *'basa ŏki-n˜urug-i-ỳen soyurqa.l ŏg-üye.'* ('"further daughter-[*n*]˜family-own reward give-let's"') '"Let us give my female descendent[s] a reward also."' 215..

An INTRANSITIVE VERBAL is one which never occurs in the goal-action construction; a single lexeme intransitive verbal is an INTRANSITIVE VERB. E.g. *a-* 'live', *bol-* 'become', {bŭ} 'be' (with allomorphs *bŏ-* before *-+(U)BAsU*, *bŏ-* ~*bŭ-* before *-(U)Ad*, *bŏe-* before *-tAlA*, *bŭy-* before *-(U)yU*, and *bŭ-* elsewhere) and *ire-* 'come' are intransitive verbs.

3.42 VERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS. The constructions listed below are (polylexemic) verbals.

3.421 THE EXOCENTRIC VERBAL CONSTRUCTION: VERBAL PLUS VERBAL MEDIAL PARTICLE. In this construction the verbal medial particles, {-Ul}$_1$ ('cause') and {-ɣdA} ('pass') postmodify a verbal.

3.4211 {-Ul}$_1$ ('cause') is the CAUSATIVE particle. Its allomorphs are shown in Table 15. E.g. (1) *ŭlid-* 'end, cease', *ŭlid-ke-* ~ *ŭlid-ge-* 'destroy'; (2) *sonos-* 'hear', ... *sonos-qa-* 'cause ... to hear ...'; (3) *śirqu-* 'penetrate', ... *śirqu-ul-* ~ *śir-qu-:l-* 'force ... to penetrate ...'; (4) *ala-* 'kill', ... *ala-ul-* 'have ... kill ...'

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. AFTER /d/ | *-GA* ~ *-KA* |
| 2. AFTER OTHER CONSONANTS | *-GA* |
| 3. AFTER /u/ | *-Ul* ~ *-:l* |
| 4. AFTER OTHER VOWELS | *-Ul* |

TABLE 15. ALLOMORPHS OF THE CAUSATIVE PARTICLE[127]

The particle {-Ul}$_1$ occurs with a somewhat restricted subclass of verbals, namely those verbals which do not contain a subject nominal or the verbal medial particle {-ɣdA} (3.4212). In the normal unemphatic order, a sequence which is in construction with a verbal including a verbal plus {-Ul}$_1$ sequence precedes one in construction with the verbal alone; e.g. *'edöe Je[l]me-yi emeel-iyen toqu-ul ...'* ('"now Jelme-[df] saddle-own put.on-cause-!"') '"Now have Jelme put on your saddle [for you.]"' 97. (where *Jelme-yi* is in construction with *emeel-iyen toqu-ul-*, and *emeel-iyen* with *toqu-*[128]). Sometimes, however, the sequence in construction with the verbal containing a verbal plus {-Ul}$_1$ sequence occurs between a sequence in construction with verb alone, and that verb; e.g. *mori-yan Kököcü aqta.ci-da-an bari-ul-juu.y.* ('horse-own Kököcü groom-for-own take-cause-[non.fut].*y*') 'His horse [he] let his groom Kököcü take.' 188.6r (where *mori-yan* is the object of *bari-*, *-ul* is in construction with *mori-yan bari-*, and *Kököcü aqta.ci.da-an* modifies *mori-yan bari-ul-* 'let take his horse').

The causative particle has three chief meanings: (1) 'cause [someone to do something]', where the human goal either does not want to perform the action of the verbal which is in construction with the {-Ul}$_1$ or is neutral, (2) 'let [someone do something]', where the human goal wants to perform the action, and (3) 'wait till [someone does something]', where the human goal is acting of his own volition. In sentences where {-Ul}$_1$ occurs in meanings (1) or (3) the human goal is sometimes stated as an object (consisting of nominal plus the definite particle) of the verbal containing the occurrence of {-Ul}$_1$ e.g. *mún Bodoncar-i alginci haul-qa-ba.* ('same Bodoncar-[df] scout ride.-swiftly-cause-[non.fut]') '[They] had Bodoncar himself ride ahead as a scout.' 37., *an-i tarqa-ul-un bara-ju* ('they-[df] disperse-cause-ing end-ing') 'waiting till they had completely dispersed' 84.21v (cf. 3.4228). In sentences where {-Ul}$_1$ occurs in meaning (2), the human goal is sometimes stated as an attributive (consisting of nominal plus dative particle) modifying the verbal containing the occurrence of {-Ul}$_1$ e.g. *ene jarliq keśig-t.en-e ese sonos-qa-asu* ('this decree duty-having.s-for not hear-cause-if') 'if [they] do not let the guards hear this decree' 278.45r (cf. *'ene jarliq keśig-t.en-i sonos-qa-tuqay.'* ['"this decree duty-having.s-(df) hear-cause-let.him"'] '"Let [them] have the guards hear this decree."' 278.45r with meaning [1]), *'Inanca bilge qa-n ecige cin-u saca nökö.r-e ere-yin aru aqta-yin qarqan ese üje-ül-ülee.'* ('"Inanca bilge qan-[*n*] father you[sg]-of equal companion-for man-of back horse-of thigh not see-cause-[non.fut]"') '"Your qan and father, Inanca bilge, never let an equal (i.e. worthy) opponent see the back of a man or the thigh of a horse."' (i.e. he never fled in battle) 194.29r.

Rarely the particle {-Ul}$_1$ postmodifies a verbal which ends in a verbal plus {-Ul}$_1$ sequence; in some cases the meaning of the whole is what would be expected, e.g. *cerig-ün too-tu gŭŭ-n jirŭge yada-asu niśi-quy-a ere-tür harban músud ŭ:r-ge-ŭl-jŭ* ('army-of count-having person-[*n*] courage lack-if punish-[aor.adj.N]-for man-to ten rods carry-cause-cause-ing') 'ordering that (lit. 'causing

that') if a regular man of the army should lack courage, [one] should make [him] bear ten rods as punishment' 240.19r-v (where *niśi-quy-a ... músud* is object of *ü:r-, -ge* is in construction with *niśi-quy-a ... ü:r-,* and *-ül* with *cerig-ün ... ü:r-ge-*). In some cases, however, the sequence verb plus causative plus causative does not seem to differ in meaning from a sequence verb plus causative, e.g. *Boorcu Be[l]gütey-yi gür-ge-ül-üed* ('Boorcu Belgütey-[df] reach-cause-cause-after') 'Boorcu, after receiving Belgüty' (i.e. 'after letting Belgütey reach [him]') 95.. Examples of this sort are so rare that it is difficult to know what interpretation to put on them.

3.4212 {-ǤdA} ('pass') is the passive particle. Its allomorphs are shown in Table 16. E.g. (1) *kee-* 'say', ... *kee-gde-* 'be told, be said of one'; (2) *ab-* 'take', ... *ab-da-* be taken, be harmed by ... taking ...'; (3) *ög-* 'give', ... *ög-de-* ~ *ög-te-* 'be given, be given to'.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | AFTER VOWEL | *-GdA* |
| 2. | AFTER /b, l/ | *-dA* |
| 3. | AFTER OTHER CONSONANTS | *-dA* ~ *-tA* |

TABLE 16. ALLOMORPHS OF THE PASSIVE PARTICLE

The meanings of the passive particle can best be classified according to the semantic relations between the actor of the whole verbal plus passive particle (whether or not it is stated as a subject) and the verbal with which the passive particle is in construction.

(1) The actor of the verbal plus {-ǤdA} is a goal of the verbal alone, e.g. *'Tatar irgen-e bari-qda-a bi.'* ('"Tatar people-for capture-[pass-non.fut] I"') '"I have been captured by the Tatar people."' 53.33v (where the actor, stated as the subject *bi* 'I', is the goal of the verbal *bari-* 'capture': the same situational meaning [cf. note 90] could be expressed by **Tatar irge-n bari-ba nama-yi.* ['Tatar people-(*n*) take-(non.fut) me-[df]'] 'The Tatar people have captured me.'). So also *Öködey sujiyasu-ban sumun-a tus-da-ju* ('Ögödey jugular.vein-own arrow-for strike-[pass]-ing') 'Ögödey being struck in the jugular vein by an arrow' 173.13v, *güün-ne ese ög-te-gsen bö-esü* ('person-for not give-[pass-pf.adj.N] be-if') 'if [she] has not been given to a man' 5. (where the actor, a girl, is not stated as subject), *'"Mäŋqol-un aqta.s turuqa.d." kee-gde-mü.y bida.'* ('"'Mongol-of gelding.s thin.s." say-[pass-non.pst].*y* we[incl]"') '"We are told 'the geldings of the Mongols [are] thin".' 194.27r, *'... Yesüy nere-t.ey öki-n ög-de-gsen güregen-güü-n bü-lee bi.'* ('"Yesüy name-having.-[fem] daughter-[*n*] give-[pass-pf.adj.N] son.in.law-person-[*n*] be-[non.fut] I"') '"I am the son-in-law who was given the daughter ... named Yesüy."' 156.25v (where *... öki-n* is object of *ög-*, cf. 3.41).

(2) The actor of the verbal plus {-ǤdA} is a person indirectly affected by the action of the verbal alons, e.g. *nökö.d-iyen jürüge yada-qda-ju mün Jóci darmala neke-jü od-cu* ... ('companion.s-own heart lack-[pass]-ing same Jóci darmala pursue-ing go-ing') 'being left in the lurch by the fact that his companions lacked heart, Jóci darmala himself went in pursuit and ...' 128.2-3. This meaning of the passive particle is what Haenisch (1950.17) calls the PASSIVUM COMMODI or INCOMMODI; in translation one must often resort to a rather lengthy periphrasis. Further examples are the following: *qoyi.tu t.e.de haran baruan bol-da-ju bayyi-ju qocor-ba.* ('behind those people dark become-[pass]-ing stand-ing stay.behind-[non.fut]') 'Behind, those people, hindered by the fact that it was getting dark, stopped and stayed behind.' 91., *Yesügey qa-n ima-yi öer-dür-iyen ire-gde-jü öesün cerig mori.la-ju* ... ('Yesügey qan-[*n*] him-[df] self-to-own come-[pass]-ing oneself army ride-ing') 'Yesügey qan, being importuned by that one's coming to him, himself led an army into the field (lit. 'rode as an army'), and ...' 150.10r.

(3) The actor of the verbal plus {-ǤdA} is a person whose possession is the goal of the verbal alone, e.g. *'Nayman-u Kökseü sabraq-a irge-orqa-ban dawli-qda-ba bi.'* ('"Nayman-of Kökseü sabraq-for people-families-own plunder-[pass-non.fut] I"') '"I have been robbed of my people by Kökseü sabraq of the Nayman."' 177.30r, *nökö.r-e qor-i-yan ab-da-asu* ('companion-for quiver-[df]-own take-[pass]-if') 'if [one] be deprived of his quiver by an opponent' 190.15v, *'niken gegeen soqosun gewgi jau-qsan-i Begter Belgütey aqa deü qoyar-a buli-ju ab-da-ba ba.'* ('"one bright soqosun hook bite-[pf.adj.N-df] Begter Belgütey older.brother younger.brother two-for rob-ing

take-[pass-non.fut] we[excl]"') '"We have been robbed of a bright soqosun-fish which had bitten the hook, by Begter and Belgütey, older and younger brothers."' 76.8r (where *-da* is in construction with *niken gegeen soqosun jau-qsan-i buli-ju ab-* 'steal a bright soqosun-fish which had bitten the hook', *Begter Belgütey aqa deü qoyar-a* modifies *niken gegeen soqosun gewgi jau-qsan-i buli-ju ab-da-*'be robbed of a bright soqosun-fish which had bitten the hook', and *ba* 'we' is subject of the verbal *niken ... ab-da-* 'be robbed of ... a soqosun-fish ... by Begter and Belgütey ...').

## 3.422 SUBORDINATE VERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS.

**3.4221 NOMINAL SUBJECT PLUS VERBAL.** The meaning of this, the ACTOR-ACTION construction is 'actor performs action'. The order of the two members is free in at least some cases.

When the subject nominal is not a pronoun or an appositive nominal one of the members of which is a pronoun, the subject precedes the verbal in almost all cases, e.g. *'qajar derbel-ümü.y.'* ('"land shake-[non.pst]*.y*"') '"The earth is shaking."' 98., ... *Temüjin niken mori unu-ba.* ('Temüjin one horse mount-[non.fut]') '... Temüjin mounted a horse.' 99., *naran quburi taśi-n bü-küy-tür* ('sun hills touch-ing be-[aor.adj.N]-in') 'when the sun was touching the hills' 90.30r. Very rarely the subject follows the verbal when that verbal is followed by a verbal final particle, e.g. *'qaa od-qu t.ere buqau-tu güü-n.'* ('"where go-[fut] that cangue-having man-[*n*]"') '"Where could [he] go, that man with a cangue?"' 83.20v; this order is emphatic.

When the subject of a verbal is a pronoun, that pronoun precedes the verbal (like other nominals) if this latter is not followed by a verbal final particle, e.g. *'Ambaqay qahan-ni ükü-be'-ü ci kee-jü* ('"Ambaqay qahan-[df] die-[non.fut]"-? you[sg] say-ing') 'is it because you say that Ambaqay qahan is dead' 71.. If, however, the verbal is followed by a verbal final particle, two orders occur; (1) the pronoun follows the verbal: this is the normal unemphatic order, e.g. *'t.e.de qurban haran-i uqa-ba-u ci.'* ('"those three people-[df] recognize-[non.fut]-? you[sg]"') '"Did you recognize those three people?"' 55.35r, *'Tatar irgen-e bari-qda-a bi.'* ('"Tatar people-for capture-[pass-non.fut] I"') '"I have been captured by the Tatar people."' 53.33v, *'qalaun-aca min-u qalad qar-urun qar-dur-iyen qara nodun hadqu-n tõre-l.igi ene.'* ('"hot-from I-of violently go.out-ing.in hand-in-own black blood. clot hold-ing be.born-[non.fut].*i* this"') '"When [he] came violently from my hot [womb], this one was born holding a black blood clot in his hand."' 78.11r; (2) the pronoun precedes the verbal: this order is emphatic, e.g. *'ci úlu cida-qu. bi neke-sü.'* ('"you[sg] not be.able-[fut]. I pursue-I.-will"') '"You wouldn't be able. I'll pursue [them]."' 90.28v.

When the subject of a verbal is a coordinate nominal one of whose members is a pronoun, this subject precedes the verbal unless that verbal is followed by a verbal final particle; in this latter case two orders occur: (1) the whole subject precedes the verbal: this is the normal unemphatic order, e.g. *'ba Uŋgira.d irge-n ... úlu temece-d.'* ('"we[excl] Ungirad people-[*n*] ... not dispute-[aor]"') '"We Ungirad people do not dispute ...' 64.; (2) the pronoun member of the subject follows the verbal, while the other member precedes: this order is emphatic, e.g. *'erten-ece Uŋgira.d irge-n qatu-n qalqa-t.an öki.d öcil-t.an ... bü-lee be.'* ('"former-from Ungirad people-[*n*] wife shield-having.s daughter.s request-having.s ... be-[non.fut] we[excl]"') '"From of old, we, the Ungirad people, have had wive[s] as shield[s] and daughters as request[s] ....' 64.45r, *'Yesügey quda, bi ene sõni jewüdün jewüdü.le-be bi.'* ('"Yesügey brother, I this night dream dream-[non.fut] I"') '"Brother Yesügey, last night I had a dream."' 63., *'edõe ci manaqar erte bõed yeki-n jirüge yada-mu ci.'* ('"now you[sg] morning early even do.what-ing courage lack-[non.pst] you[sg]"') '"How can you lack courage now [when it is[ still morning?"' 194.29r, *'aqa.nar deü.ner yeki-n t.eyin ki.ldü-mü.y ta.'* ('"older.brother.s younger.brother.s do.what-ing so make.[pl]-[non.pst].*y* you"') '"How can you, older and younger brothers, treat one another so?"' 76.8r.

Sometimes a nominal consisting of nominal plus the definite particle (3.2221) occurs as subject. This occurs (1) in indirect quotation, and (2) when the verbal in which the subject occurs is in construction with other than a verbal final particle, and when the subject nominal containing the definite particle does not refer to the actor (stated as a subject or implied by the context) of the head verbal in a modifier of which the former verbal occurs. Examples of type (1) are given in 3.4223. Type (2) is particularly frequent when the verbal containing the subject consisting of nominal plus definite particle is in construction with the particles *-KUY*$_2$ ('aor.adj.N'), *-+(U)GsAN* ('pf.adj.N'), *-GU*$_2$

('impf.adj.N'), *-+(U)BAsU* ('if'), or {*-ǤdA*} ('pass'). E.g. *Temüjin-ˆni yesün nasu-tu bü-küy-tür Jóci qasar doloan nasu-tu bü-lee.* ('Temüjin-[df] nine year-having be-[aor.adj.N]-in Jóci qasar seven year-having be-[non.fut]') 'When Temüjin was nine years old, Jóci qasar was seven.' 60. (cf. *t.ere alda-qsan güü-n ... qayila-quy-tur ... Tayyiciud ... bedere-be.* ['that let.go-(pf.adj.N) person-(*n*) ... cry.out-(aor.adj.N)-in ... Tayyiciud ... search-(non.fut)'] 'When that man who had let [him] escape cried out ..., the Tayyiciud ... searched ....' 82.18, without the definite particle), *mún noqay jil Ciŋgis qahan-ˆni [Tatar] irgen-tür mori.la-qsan-tur ... Oŋ qa-n ... Ciŋgis qahan-a yau ber ese ög-be.* ('same dog year Cingis qahan-[df] Tatar people-to ride-[pf.adj.N]-in ... Ong qan-[*n*] ... Cingis qahan-for what [indef] not give-[non.fut]') 'When, in that same dog year, Cingis qahan rode against the Tatar people, Ong qan ... gave nothing to Cingis qahan.' 157., *'tan-i tŏre-gü-yin urid.a hodu-t.ay teŋgeri hórci-ju bü-lee.'* ('"you-[df] be.born-[impf.adj.N]-of before star-having.[fem] sky circle-ing be-[non.fut]"') '"[Even] before you were born, the starry sky was revolving."' 254.23-4, *qor.ci.n turqa.ud manaqar.i inu bidan-i śülen ide-esü kebte-ül-tür kele.le-jü* ('quiver.bearer.s day.guard.s in.the.morning really we[incl]-[df] soup eat-if lie.down-[ag.S]-to telling') 'the quiver bearers and day guards informing the night watch the very next morning, while we are eating soup' 192.20-1, *Yesügey qa-n ima-yi öer-dür-iyen ire-gde-jü öesün cerig mori.la-jü* ('Yesügey qan-[*n*] he-[df] self-to-own come-[pass]-ing oneself army ride-ing') 'Yesügey qan, being importuned by that one's coming to him, rode himself with (lit. 'as') an army' 150.10r. Such subjects occur with particles other than these five also (e.g. with *-tAlA* 229.46v, *-JU* 171.9v), but less frequently so. Subjects consisting of nominal plus definite particle always precede the verbal with which they are in construction.

3.4222 NOMINAL OBJECT PLUS VERBAL. The meaning of this GOAL-ACTION construction is 'action performed on goal'. The order of members and the meaning of such order is very similar to that of the actor-action construction above.

When the object does not consist of a pronoun plus the definite particle, or a coordinate construction of which one member is a pronoun, it always precedes the verbal. Examples of such objects consisting of nominal plus the definite particle are *'Temüjin-i ab-ura ire-be.'* ('"Temüjin-[df] take-to come-[non.fut]"') '"[I] have come to get Temüjin."' 69., *'śibawu.qan-i turìmtay buta-tur qor-qo-ˆbasu buta abura-juu.y.'* ('"little.bird-[df] turumtay bush-in hide-cause-if bush save-[non.-fut]"') '"When the turumtay-bird made the little bird hide in the bush, the bush saved [him]."' 85.23r, *'k.edüy-yi ab-qu kee-mü.'* ('"how.many-[df] take-[impf.adj.N] say-[non.pst]"') '"How many do [you] say [you] will take?"' 92., *'ücüge.d qocor-uqsa.d deü.ner-i-ỳen belbisün bergen-i-ỳen asara-qu-yi ci mede.'* ('"small.s leave-behind-[pf.adj.N].s younger.brother.s-[df]-own widow sister.in.law-[df]-own care.for-[impf.adj.N-df] you[sg] rule-!"') '"Do you take over the care of your younger brothers, the little ones [I] left behind, and of your sister-in-law [who will soon be] a widow."' 68., *'köün-i k.er tebci-sü.'* ('"son-[df] how betray-I.will"') '"How shall I betray [my] son?"' 167.44v (cf. *'caqa-yan köü-ˆben k.er tebci-gü.'* ('"child-own son-own how betray-[fut]"') '"How could I betray a child of mine, a son of mine?"' 167.44r. Examples of object nominals without the definite particle are the following: *sumu-ˆban samba-ju* ('arrow-own draw-ing') 'drawing their arrows' 77.9v, *kisa-l kisa-n* ('revenge-[act.S] revenge-ing') 'taking revenge' 58., *qoro qoli-ju* ('poison mix-ing') 'mixing in poison' 67., *numu ög-cü* ('bow give-ing') 'giving [him] a bow' 87., *'min-u ulus Altan Qucar qoyar ken-e ber úlu mede-ül-kü.n büy-yü je.'* ('"I-of ulus Altan Qucar two who-for [indef] not rule-cause-[aor.adj.N].s be-[non.pst] surely"') '"Altan and Qucar are certainly not going to let anyone [else] rule my ulus."' 180.38-9, *'... öki-ˆben öesün hüde-küy-ˆben nama-ar kese-dkün.'* ('"daughter-own oneself conduct-[aor.adj.N]-own I-by beware-![pl]"' '"Beware because of [what happened to] me [of] yourself conducting a daughter of yours ...' 53.33v.

No pronoun other than *bi* 'I' (in the allomorph *nama,* for which cf. 3.211, and note 81) occurs alone as object of a verbal; however sequences of pronoun plus definite particle frequently so occur. If the whole object plus verbal occurs in construction with other than a verbal final particle, the object always precedes the verbal; e.g. *ima-yi tergen-ece cir-cü bawu-:l-ju* ('he-[df] wagon-from pull-ing descend-cause-ing') 'making her come down by pulling [her] from the wagon' 101.47r, *nama-yi üje-jü* ('me-[df] see-ing') 'seeing me' 84., *nama tebci-jü* ('me betray-ing') 'betraying me' 179.35r. When the object plus verbal occurs in construction with a verbal final particle, two orders occur: (1) the object follows the verbal: this is the normal unemphatic order, e.g. *'basa úndur*

*daba.a daba-n örgen müren ketül-ün ile-be cima-yi.'* ('"further high pass cross-ing wide river ford-ing send-[non.fut] you[sg]-[df]"') '"Further [I] sent you to cross high pass[es] and to ford wide river[s]."' 199.7v, *'köl-dür-iyen kebte-ül-jü köü.ci.le-n ös-ge-be je nama-yi.'* ('"foot-in-own lie.-down-cause-ing treat.like.son-ing grow.up-cause-[non.fut] surely me-[df]"') '"[You] reared me treating me like a son, letting [me] sleep at your feet."' 203.29r; (2) the object precedes the verbal: this order is emphatic, e.g. *'... ene jewüdün min-u cima-yi ele köü-been udurid-cu ire-gü-ye üje-gsen a-juu.'* ('"this dream I-of you[sg]-[df] indeed son-own lead-ing come-[impf.adj.N]-for see-[pf.adj.N] live-[non.fut]"') '"It was you my dream saw while [you] were coming along bringing your son."' 63.44r, *'... yau-n cima.r-tur nama ayu-ul-ba ci.'* ('"what-[*n*] displeasure-in me be afraid-cause-[non.fut] you[sg]"') '"... in what displeasure have you frightened me so?"' 177.21r.

Rarely two nominals, respectively nominal plus definite particle and pronoun plus definite particle, occur in an appositive construction as object of a verbal; the first member of such a coordinate nominal object precedes the verbal, while the second follows it, e.g. *'t.e.de an-i ese ire-esü od-cu morin-u jundaul metü qormay.la-ju acira-d je bida tede.er-i.'* ('"those they-[df] not come-if go-ing horse-of dried.dung like wrap.up-ing bring-[aor] surely we[incl] those-[df]"') '"Them, if they do not come, we will go and wrap up like dried horses' dung and bring them back."' 174.17r.

3.4223 QUOTATION OBJECT PLUS *kee-* 'SAY'. The meaning of this GOAL-ACTION construction is 'action performed on goal'. It is assumed that every quotation is a restatement of a sequence which occurred earlier as a sentence.[129] Some quotations are identical with the original sentence; these are QUOTED SENTENCES. Examples of such sentences have been included in the treatment of sentence types in 3.1. Other quotations differ in some way from the original sentence; these are INDIRECT QUOTATIONS.

An indirect quotation differs from the original sentence in one or more of three ways: (1) the pronouns are different, having been changed to fit the new speaker/hearer context, and the possessive particle occurs in either the quotation or the original, but not in both; (2) the subject (in either a verbal or a predicative nominal sentence) occurs in construction with the definite particle which was not in the original sentence; and/or (3) a sentence particle which modifies the whole sentence of which *kee-* 'say' is a part occurs within the quoted sequence. However, the same verbal final particle occurs in the indirect quotation which occurred in the original sentence, even though the particle may have a definite reference to the pronouns of the original sentence which do not occur in the quotation. E.g. (exemplifying only [1]) *'Tayyiciud aqa deü cin-u nayta-mu' kee-n mede-jü* ('"Tayyiciud older.brother younger.brother you[sg]-of envy-[non.pst]" say-ing know-ing') 'knowing that your Tayyiciud older and younger brothers were envious [of you]' (original **Tayyiciud aqa deü in-u nayta-mu.* ['Tayyiciud older.brother younger.brother he-of envy-(non.pst)'] 'His Tayyiciud older and younger brothers are envious [of him].') 94.36-7; (exemplifying only [2]) *'... *Màŋqol-i jöe.ken' ese-gü kee-n bü-lee.y.'* ('"Mongol-[df] mere.few' not-? say-ing be-[non.fut].*y*"') '"... didn't [they] keep saying that the Mongols [were] very few?"' (original **Màŋqol jöe.ken.* ['Mongol mere.few'] 'The Mongols [are] very few.') 193.24v; (exemplifying only [3]) *'ta qoyar nama tebci-jü "ile-üü ge-sü" kee-lee.y ta.'* ('"you two me abandon-ing "visible-? leave-I.will" say-[non.fut].*y* you'") "'When you two abandoned me, did you [do so] saying that you would leave openly?"' (original **ile ge-sü.* ['visible leave-I.will'] '[We] will leave openly.'; the interrogative particle *-üü* modifies the whole sentence, cf. 3.1311) 179.35r; (exemplifying both [1] and [2]) *'"ene cerig nama-yi jasa" kee-mü.y.'* ('"'this army me-[df] command-!' say-[non.pst].*y*"') '"[He] tells me to command this army."' 170.4v, and *'"ene cerig-iyen nama-yi jasa" kee-mü.'* ('"'this army-own me-[df] command-!' say-[non.pst]"') '"[He] tells me to command this our army."' 170.4v (original *'bidan-u cerig ci jasa.'* ['"we(incl)-of army you(sg) command-!"'] '"You command this army of ours."' 170.4v; cf. the quoted sentence in *'Oŋ qa-n ügü.le-rün "Jamuqa deü ene cerig ci jasa." kee-n nama-yi tüśi-n ügü.le-mü.y.'* ['"Ong qan-(*n*) speak-ing.in 'Jamuqa younger.brother this army you(sg) command-!' say-ing me-(df) commission-ing speak-(non.pst).*y*"'] ''Ong qan speaks, commissioning me saying 'Jamuqa, younger brother, you command this army.'"' 170.6r).

3.4224 NOMINAL SUBJECT-COMPLEMENT PLUS VERBAL. In this construction a nominal modifies a verbal, and gives more information about the actor of that verbal, whether or not this is stated as a subject. When an *n*-nominal (3.212) occurs in this construction, it always is in

construction with *-n*, e.g. *'jad irgen-ü köü-n bü-lee.'* ('"foreign[130] people-of son-[*n*] be-[non.fut]"') '"[He] is the son of a foreign people."' 40., *qamuq-un qahan ulus-un eje-n bolu-ju* ('all-of qahan ulus-of lord-[*n*] become-ing') 'when [you] become qahan of all and lord of the ulus' 53.33v.

The subject complement always precedes the verbal; if there is a subject nominal in construction with the whole verbal consisting of subject-complement plus verbal, this subject precedes the latter unless the subject is a pronoun. E.g. *'ere-yin mú*ŋ *niken bü-y je.'* ('"man-of trouble one be-[aor] surely"') '"The trouble of man is one."' 90.29v, *'ecige min-u Naqu bayyan kee-gde-yü.'* ('"father I-of Naqu rich say-[pass-non.pst]"') '"My father is called Naqu the rich."' 90.29v, *bidan-tur keśig oro-ul-da-qu.n haran buldari-ju ûlu bol-qu.n haran bidan-u derge-de yabu-quy^ban berke.śiye-esü* ('we[incl]-in duty enter-cause-[pass-aor.adj.N].s people give.up-ing not become-[aor.adj.N].s people we[incl]-of near-for serve-[aor.adj.N]-own consider.difficult-if') 'if the men who are recruited for service with us (lit. 'those being caused to enter service among us') find their service about us difficult, as men who give us [easily] and are not fit'[131] 224.34r-v. A pronoun subject sometimes occurs between the subject complement and the verbal, e.g. *'Naqu bayyan^nu qaqca köü-n in-u bi büy-yü.'* ('"Naqu rich-of only son-[*n*] he-of I be-[non.pst]"') '"I am the only son of Naqu the rich."' 92.33v, *dörben oboq-t.an bol-ju Dörben irge-n t.e.de bol-ba.* ('four clan-having.s become-ing Dörben people-[*n*] those become-[non.fut]') 'Becoming four clans, those became the Dörben (Four) peoples.' 11..

**3.4225** NOMINAL OBJECT-COMPLEMENT PLUS VERBAL. The nominal in this construction precedes the verbal, and gives more information about the goal of the verbal, whether or not this is stated as an object. When an *n*-nominal occurs in this construction, it is never in construction with the particle *-n*, e.g. *Qutula-yi qa ergü-ed* ('Qutula-[df] qan raise-after') 'after raising Qutula to [the position of] qan' (*qaN* 'ruler'[132]) 57., *tel quriqan ala-ju günesü ög-üed* ('doubly.suckled lamb kill-ing provision give-after') 'after killing a doubly-suckled lamb and giving [it to Temüjin] for provisions' (*günesüN* 'provisions') 93.35r. Further examples are *kötöl morin-i-yan belge ög-cü* ('lead.horse horse-[df]-own pledge give-ing') 'giving his lead horse as a pledge' 66.47r, *mún Bodoncar-i alginci haul-qa-ba.* ('same Bodoncar-[df] scout ride.swiftly-cause-[non.fut]') '[They] had Bodoncar himself ride ahead as a scout.' 37. (cf. *Bodoncar alginci haul-ju* ... ['Bodoncar scout ride.swiftly-ing'] 'Bodoncar, riding swiftly ahead as a scout ...' 38. where *alginci* is a subject-complement), *'Boroqul na-dur nökö.ce.ldü-jü qurdun ayan-tur qura söni qoosun ese qono-ul-ba je ci.'* ('"Boroqul I-to befriend.[pl]-ing swift battle-in rain empty not spend.night-cause-[non.fut] surely you[sg]"') '"Boroqul, you surely became my friend, and did not let me sleep hungry (lit. 'empty') in the rain at night during the swift battle."' 214.11-2.

When there is an object nominal in construction with the whole object-complement plus verbal sequence, the former usually precedes the latter, as in the examples above; rarely the object occurs between the object-complement and the verbal: this order emphasizes the object. E.g. *'itege.mji Itürgen-i ile-ye.'* ('"surety Itürgen-[df] send-let's"') '"As a surety, let us send Itürgen."' 184.48, *'buluqan daqu-yin qariu butara-qsan ulus-i cin-u bügüd-ke.[l]dü-jü ög-sü.'* ('"sable coat-of return scatter-[pf.adj.N] ulus-[df] you[sg]-of unite-cause.[pl]-ing give-I.will"') '"In return for (lit. 'as a repayment for') the sable coat, I will help [you] unite your scattered ulus."' 96.40r, *'Jirgin-u gejige tümen Tübegen-ü Aciqśirun dobtul-qa-ya.'* ('"Jirgin-of reinforcements ten.thousand Tübegen-of Aciqśirun attack-cause-let's"') '"Let's have Aciqśirun of the ten thousand Tübegen attack as reinforcements of the Jirgin."' 170.4r.

**3.4226** ABSOLUTE NOMINAL PLUS VERBAL. The nominal precedes the verbal in this construction, and adds further particulars as to how the action of the verbal affects the actor or the goal of that verbal (whether or not these are stated as subject or object respectively). When an *n*-nominal occurs as such an absolute, it always occurs without the particle *-n*. E.g. *t.ere üge-tür Ciŋgis qahan doto.ra-an Oŋ qa-n Nilqa seŋgüm qoyar-tur dura qocor-cuu.* ('that word-in Cingis qahan inside-own Ong qan-[*n*] Nilqa seŋgüm two-to affection leave.behind-[non.fut]') 'At that word, Cingis qahan's friendship for Ong qan and Nilqa seŋgüm cooled.' (lit. 'Cingis qahan was left behind inwardly as to his friendship for Ong qan and Nilqa seŋgüm'; 'friendship, heart' is *duraN*[133]) 165.39v, *'... anda jürüge^ben amu-mu je ci.'* ('"sworn.friend heart-own be.peaceful-[non.pst] surely you [sg]"') '"... friend, you will surely be peaceful at heart."' 201.20r, *Öködey sujiyasu^ben sumun-a*

*tus-da-ju* ('Ögödey jugular.vein-own arrow-for strike-[pass]-ing') 'Ögödey being struck in the jugular vein by an arrow' (where *sujiyasu^ban* is in construction with *sumun-a tus-da-*) 173.13v and cf. 214.16r.

3.4227 ADVERB-NOMINAL PLUS VERBAL. In this construction an adverb-nominal premodifies a verbal, and is not a subject, object, complement, or absolute. E.g. *'bi ene sŏni jewŭdün jewŭdŭ.-le-be bi.'* ('"this night dream dream-[non.fut] I"') '"Last night I had a dream."' 63 (*ene sŏni* is an adverb-nominal), *qamuq Màŋqo[l] Tayyiciud Onan^nu Qorqonaq jûbur qura-ju* ... ('all Mongol Tayyiciud Onan-of Qorqonaq valley assemble-ing') 'All the Mongols and Tayyiciud, assembling in the Qorqonaq valley of the Onan [River] ...' 57. (where *Onan^nu Qorqonaq jûbur* is an adverb-nominal), *'ger darua*[134] *Adaŋqa Uriaŋqa-day güü-n a-lua.'* ('"yurt continually Adanqa Urianqan-member person-[*n*] live-[non.fut]"') '"The man of the Adanqa Urianqad was continually in the yurt."' (where *ger* 'yurt, in a yurt' is an adverb-noun modifying *darua ... a-*, and *darua* is an adverb modifying *Adaŋqa ... a-*) 44., *qurban sŏni qurban ŭdŭr yorci-ju* ('three night three day procede-ing') 'going along for three nights and three days' 93..

3.4228 ATTRIBUTIVE PLUS VERBAL. In this construction the attributive premodifies the verbal. E.g. *balamud dobtul-ju* ('blindly attack-ing') 'attacking blindly' 78.12r, ... *ese ŏg-be.* ('not give-[non.fut]') '... [he] did not give [it to them].' 29., *maśi yeke bayas-cu* ('very great rejoice-ing') 'rejoicing very greatly' 94.36, *'Màŋqol-un oloŋ.kin Jamuqa-lua Altan Qucar-lua bidan-tur bŭ-y.'* ('"Mongol-of majority Jamuqa-with Altan Qucar-with we[incl]-in be-[non.pst]"') '"The majority of the Mongols are on our side, with Jamuqa and with Altan and Qucar."' 174.16v (where *Jamuqa-lua* modifies *Altan ... bŭ-*, *Altan Qucar-lua* modifies *bidan-tur bŭ-*, and *bidan-tur* modifies *bŭ-;* similar examples in 3.3211), *'edüy bedere-ed qari-ju manaqar eri-ye.'* ('"thus search-after return-ing morning seek-let's"') '"after searching so, let us return and seek [him] in the morning."' 83. (where *edüy bedere-ed* modifies *qari-ju ... eri-*, *qari-ju* modifies *manaqar eri-*, and *manaqar* modifies *eri-;* similar examples in 3.3212).

Some sequences attributive plus verb, where the attributive consists of a verbal plus a converbial particle, have a meaning which is more specific than would be expected from the meaning of the morphemes and the construction involved. The verbal member of the attributive is any verbal, but the converbial particle is either *-JU* or *-+(U)n*, and the head verb is one of a small subclass of verbs which are listed in Table 17. Examples are the following: *Tayyiciud saki-ju a-juu.* ('Tayyiciud guard-ing live-[non.fut]') 'The Tayyiciud were keeping guard.' 80.16r, *qamuq Màŋqol-i Qabul qahan mede-n a-ba.* ('all Mongol-[df] Qabul qahan rule-ing live-[non.fut]') 'Qabul qahan was ruling (i.e. 'was ruler of') all the Mongols.' 52., *'nama-yi hünesŭ-er keỳ.is-ge-n alda-ba.'* ('"me[df] ashes-by blow-cause-ing let.go-[non.fut]"') '"[You] have almost caused me to blow away with (?) the ashes [of my hearth]."' 87., *an-i tarqa-ul-un bara-ju* ('they-[df] disperse-cause-ing end-ing')

| VERB | MEANING ELSEWHERE | SEQUENCE | MEANING OF SEQUENCE |
|---|---|---|---|
| *a-* | 'live' | *V-JU a-*[135] | 'be V-ing, keep V-ing' |
| | | *V-+(U)n a-* | 'be V-ing, keep V-ing' |
| *alda-* | 'let go, lose' | *V-+(U)n alda-* | 'almost V' |
| *bara-* | 'put an end to, kill' | *V-+(U)n bara-* | 'manage to V, finally V, V completely' |
| *ŏg-* | 'give' | *V-JU ŏg-* | 'V for someone else' |
| *yabu-* | 'go, march, etc.' | *V-JU yabu-* | 'keep on V-ing, always V' |
| | | *V-+(U)n yabu-* | 'keep on V-ing, always V' |
| *yada-* | 'be in need, lack' | *V-+(U)n yada-* | 'be unable to V' |

TABLE 17

'waiting till they had completely dispersed' 84., *Erdiś ketŭl-ŭn bara-ju* ('Erdiś cross-ing end-ing') 'finally succeeding in crossing the Erdiś [River]' 198.3v, *'mŏr in-u bi jaa-ju ŏg-sŭ.'* ('"path he-of I show-ing give-I.will"') '"I will show [you] their path."' 90.29r, '... *sonin ŭrie daaqan sur-qa-qu metŭ sur-qa-n sŭyi-n yabu-laa.'* ('"new three.year.old.horse two.year.old.horse learn-cause-

[impf.adj.N] like learn-cause-ing instruct-ing go-[non.fut]"') '"[I] kept on teaching and instructing [him] as though teaching a new two or three year old colt."' 149.4r, *'bi mawu.y.la-ju yabu-ju minqan ese ŏg-be.'* ('"I be.angry-ing go-ing thousand not give-[non.fut]"') '"I have not given [him] a thousand because I have been angry [at him]."' (lit. 'going on being angry I have not given [him] a thousand.') 209.2v, ... *qoyi.na-:ca in-u daqa-ju erŭs-ŭn yada-juu.y.* ('behind-from he-of follow-ing take.prisoner-ing lack-[non.fut].*y*') '[although] following right behind him [they] were unable to take [him] prisoner.' 102.48r.

3.5 POSTPOSITIONS. As stated in 3.0, any lexeme which occurs as second member of an attribute-nominal construction whose first member is a nominal, is a POSTPOSITION;[136] e.g. in *Burqan dee.re qar-* ('Burqan on go.out') 'climb up on Burqan [Hill]' 103., *Burqan dee.re* is an attribute-nominal modifying the verb *qar-*, *Burqan* is a noun, and *dee.re* a postposition. The following lexemes are postpositions:

*alus* 'beyond'
*dee.re* 'on'
*doto.ra* 'inside; among, during'
*dunda* 'in the middle'
*esergü* 'opposite'
*qoyi.na* 'after, behind'
*qudus* 'along'
*húruu* 'down, downstream'
*irada* 'downstream'
*jaura* 'on the way; between'
*jŭg* 'direction; toward'
*metŭ* 'like, similar' (occurs before the plural suffix in *metŭ.s*)
*ŏede* 'up, upstream'
*ŏede~irada* 'up and downstream'
*tula* 'because, because of'
*ŭgey* 'without'
*ŭgey.ŭ* 'without' (occurs before the plural suffix in *ŭgey.ŭ.n*, and before the feminine suffix {.Y}$_2$ (cf. 3.213) in *ŭgey.ŭ.Y*)

3.6 PARTICLES. As stated in 3.0, a lexeme which is not a noun, attribute, verb, or postposition, is a PARTICLE. There are fifteen types of particles: these are listed below, with references to the section or sections where each is treated.[137]

(1) VERBAL FINAL PARTICLES. These particles (e.g. {-bA} ['non.fut']) are listed and exemplified in 3.12.

(2) VERBAL MEDIAL PARTICLES. These particles ({-Ul}$_1$ ['cause'], and {-∅dA} ['pass']) are exemplified in 3.421.

(3) EMPHATIC PARTICLES. Since these particles occur in several different constructions[138] they may best be listed here:

*ba*$_2$ ('contr') 'on the one hand; for its part; however'
*be* ('contr') 'on the one hand; for its part; however'[139]
*ber* ('indef') 'some, any, at least, even'
*bŏed* ('even') 'even, still, instead'[140]
*bŭrŭn* ('as.for') 'as for'
*ci*$_2$ ('as.for') 'as for'
*ele* ('indeed') 'indeed'
*gŭ* ('real') 'real, very, just'
*inu* ('really') 'really; on the one hand'[141]
*je* ('surely') 'surely, certainly'
*kŭ* ('real') 'real, very, just'
*lú* ('indeed') 'indeed'

(4) SENTENCE PARTICLES. These particles (e.g. *maqa* 'perhaps') are listed and exemplified in 3.131.

(5) DEVERBAL SUBSTANTIVALIZING PARTICLES. These particles (e.g. -[*U*]*Gci* ['er'] are listed and exemplified in 3.2211.

(6) DEVERBAL ADJECTIVE-NOMINALIZING PARTICLES. These particles (e.g. - [*U*]*GsAN* ['pf.adj.N'] are listed and exemplified in 3.2212.

(7) DENOMINAL ADJECTIVE-NOMINALIZING PARTICLES. These particles (-*t*[*U*] 'having', and -*n* [of undetermined meaning]) are treated in 3.2213.

(8) DEATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVE-NOMINALIZING PARTICLE. The particle -*AY* 'possession' is treated in 3.2214.

(9) CONVERBIAL PARTICLES. These particles (e.g. {-JU} ['ing']) occur in construction with verbals, such that the whole sequence is an attributive. They are listed and exemplified in 3.3212.

(10) CASE PARTICLES. These particles (e.g. -+*lUA* 'with') occur in construction with nominals, such that the whole sequence is an attributive. They are listed and exemplified in 3.3211.

(11) THE DEFINITE PARTICLE. The definite particle {-+yi} is treated in 3.2221.

(12) THE POSSESSIVE PARTICLE. The particle {-BAn} 'own' is treated in 3.2221.

(13) THE (DEATTRIBUTIVE) ADVERBIALIZING PARTICLE. The particle -+*tA* ('times') is treated in 3.3213.

(14) DEADJECTIVE-NOMINAL ADJECTIVALIZING PARTICLES. These particles (e.g. -*dAY*, -*tAY*$_1$ 'member') are treated in 3.3214.

(15) DEATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVALIZING PARTICLES. These particles (-*tUAr*, -*dUAr*, and -*tAAr* ['th']) are treated in 3.3215.

3.7 DOUBLY COORDINATE SEQUENCES. Some sequences occur which have the following characteristics: (1) they consist of two members, *A* and *B*, each of which occurs in the same syntactic positions as the whole: such a sequences is therefore a coordinate construction (cf. 3.0); (2) each of the two members *A* and *B* in turn consists of two sequences $A_1$ and $A_2$, $B_1$ and $B_2$ respectively, such that (a) $A_1$ and $B_1$ on the one hand, and $A_2$ and $B_2$ on the other, are members of the same class (nominal, attributive, verbal, postposition, or particle), (b) $A_1$ is not in construction with $A_2$, nor $B_1$ with $B_2$, but rather (c) $A_1$ is in serial coordinate construction with $B_1$, and $A_2$ with $B_2$. Such sequences are doubly coordinate sequences. E.g. *'qor.ci.n qor bawur.ci.n ayaqa saba kebte-ŭl-e taul-ju od-tuqay.'* ('"quiver.bearer.s quiver cook.s bowl cup lie.down-[ag.S]-for distribute-ing go-let.him"') '"Let the quiver bearers go distributing quiver[s], the cooks bowl[s] and cup[s], to the night watch."' 229.46r. Here *qor.ci.n ... saba* is a doubly coordinate sequence: *qor.ci.n qor* 'quiver bearers quiver[s]' is *A*, and *bawur.ci.n ayaqa saba* 'cooks bowl[s] and cup[s]' is *B; qor.ci.n* ($A_1$) is not in construction with *qor* ($A_2$), not *bawur.ci.n* ($B_1$) with *ayaqa saba* ($B_2$), but rather *qor.ci.n* and *bawur.ci.n* on the one hand, and *qor* and *ayaqa saba* on the other are in serial coordinate construction; i.e. a similar sentence might run ***qor.ci.n bawur.ci.n qor ayaqa saba kebte-ŭl-e taul-ju od-tuqay.** 'Let the quiver bearers and cooks go and distribute quiver[s], bowl[s], and cup[s] to the night watch.' It is not always possible to paraphrase in Mongolian such a doubly coordinate sequence; e.g. in *baraun etee*[*d*]*bayyi-qsan sau-qsan-a* ('right side stand-[pf.adj.N] sit-[pf.adj.N]-for') 'for one standing or sitting on the right side' 213.9v, *bayyi-* and *sau-* on the one hand, and *-qsan* and *-qsan* on the other are coordinate; however these sequences never occur in juxtaposition. The following are further examples of doubly coordinate sequences: *genete* (sic!) *gŭr-te-jŭ kŏŭ-ben ŭje-jŭ niken-te uyyila-mu, niken-te doŋqodu-mu.* ('suddenly reach-[pass]-ing son-own see-ing one-time cry.out-[non.pst], one-time groan-[non.pst]') 'Being suddenly reached [by them], and seeing his son, at one moment he cries out, at the next he groans.' 93., *'... min-u jarliq busu ŭlu bol-qa-n ese hutaru-asu ŭlu ende-kŭ.n, ŭlu alda-qu.n ta.'* ('"I-of decree other not become-cause-ing not destroy-if not make.mistake-[aor].s, not let.go-[aor].s you"') '"if you do not destroy my decree by disobeying it (lit. 'by making [it] other') you will not make mistake, you will not fail.' 255.33r,

*qara sŏni gendü cino gegeen ŭdŭr qara kerie bol-ju* ('black night male wolf bright day black raven become-ing') 'becoming a male wolf in black night, a black raven in bright day' 210., *'Usun Qunan Kököcüs Degey e.de dörben üje-gsen-i-yen sonoş-uqsan-i-yen úlu niu-n qabci-n jia-n a-qu.n bü-lee.'* ('"Usun Qunan Kököcüs Degey these four see-[pf.adj.N-df]-own hear-[pf.adj.N-df]-own not concealing hide-ing tell-ing live-[aor.adj.N].s be-[non.fut]"') '"Usun, Qunan, Kököcüs, and Degey, these four have always told [the facts], not concealing or hiding what they have seen or heard."' 216.19r (where *niu-n qabci-n* is a doubly coordinate sequence, *niu- qabci-* being modified by *úlu* 'not'), *'Jaqa gembü ecige cin-u cima-da qoyar jau.d inje.s cima-da Aśiq temür bawur.ci Alciq bawur.ci qoyar ög-cü bü-lee.'* ('"Jaqa gembü father you[sg]-of you[sg]-for two hundred.s attendant.s, you[sg]-for Aśiq temür cook Alciq cook two give-ing be-[non.fut]"') '"Your father Jaqa gembü gave you two hundred attendants, and gave you the cooks Aśiq temür and Alciq."' 208.47r-v, *'egem-ece tan-u tata-ju "ere-lüe saca.un ken-e bol-qa-qu." güjüün-ece tan-u tata-ju "güün-lue saca.un ken-e bol-qa-qu." kee-jü ...'* ('"shoulder-from you-of draw-ing "man-with equal who-for become-cause-[fut]." neck-from you-of draw-ing "person-with equal who-for become-cause-[fut]." say-ing ...') '"holding you by (?) the shoulder [saying] 'how (?) shall [I] make [you] equal to men?', holding you by the neck saying 'by whom shall [I] make [you] equal to a person (? adult)?"' 254.26v.

Sometimes the members *A* and *B* consist of the same morphemes: the meaning of such a construction is 'repeatedly, continuously'. E.g. *'qoa.qcin ŭniyen ire-jü Jamuqa-yi horci-ju yabu-ju ger tergen in-u mürgü.le-ed Jamuqa-yi mürgü-jü öreele eber-i-yen ququ.ra-ju sojir eber-tü bol-ju "eber min-u aca." kee-n kee-n Jamuqa-yin jü*[*g*] *mööre-n möqre-n śiroay sacu-n sacu-n bayyi-mu.'* ('"fawn.colored cow come-ing Jamuqa-[df] circle-ing go-ing yurt wagon he-of strike-after Jamuqa-[df] strike-ing one horn-[df]-own break-ing crooked horn-having become-ing 'horn I-of give-!' saying say-ing Jamuqa-of toward bellow-ing bellow-ing earth throw.up-ing throw.up-ing stand-[non.-pst]"') '"A fawn-colored cow comes and keeps circling Jamuqa; after striking his yurt-wagon, she strikes Jamuqa and breaks one horn; having one crooked (?) horn, she stands repeatedly throwing up the earth, bellowing continually toward Jamuqa, saying again and again 'give [me] my horn!'"' 121.38r, *bögle-gsen cisu-n śimi-n śimi-n* ('stop-[pf.adj.N] blood-[*n*] suck-ing suck-ing') 'constantly sucking the stopped blood' 214.16v.

3.8 SUMMARY OF SYNTAX. Some groups of the constructions described in the preceding sections (3.1-7) have a similar construction meaning, or ALLOEPISEME (cf. Appendix 2, A8), and differ as to the form class of the construction members. Such constructions are variants of a single super-construction, or TAGMEME (cf. Appendix 2, A13). In the following is given a complete list of tagmemes, together with the meaning of the tagmeme (i.e. EPISEMEME, cf. Appendix 2, A11), and the constructions which are variants of them.

3.81 TAGMEME CONSISTING OF EXOCENTRIC CONSTRUCTIONS: THE AXIS-RELATION TAGMEME. The meaning of this tagmeme is 'relator applies to axis'.[142] The following constructions are variants of this tagmeme:

| FIRST MEMBER | SECOND MEMBER | FORM CLASS OF WHOLE | REFERENCE |
|---|---|---|---|
| verbal | verbal final particle | (sentence) | 3.12 |
| verbal | verbal medial particle | verbal | 3.421 |
| verbal | substantivalizing particle | substantival | 3.2211 |
| verbal | adjective-nominalizing particle | adjective-nominal | 3.2212 |
| nominal | adjective-nominalizing particle | adjective-nominal | 3.2213 |
| attributive | adjective-nominalizing particle | adjective-nominal | 3.2214 |
| nominal | postposition | attributive-nominal | 3.2215 |
| attributive | postposition | attributive-nominal | 3.2216 |
| nominal | case particle | attributive | 3.3211 |
| verbal | converbial particle | attributive | 3.3212 |

| FIRST MEMBER | SECOND MEMBER | FORM CLASS OF WHOLE | REFERENCE |
|---|---|---|---|
| attributive | adverbializing particle | adverbial | 3.3213 |
| adjective-nominal | adjectivalizing particle | adjectival | 3.3214 |
| attributive | adjectivalizing particle | adjectival | 3.3215 |

3.82 TAGMEMES CONSISTING OF SUBORDINATE CONSTRUCTIONS.

3.821 THE MODIFIER-HEAD TAGMEME. Meaning 'modifier modifies head'.[143]

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| verbal sentence[144] | sentence particle | (sentence) | 3.131 |
| verbal sentence ← | emphatic particle | (sentence) | 3.132 |
| nominal → | verbal sentence | (sentence) | 3.133 |
| nominal ← | emphatic particle | nominal | 3.2221 |
| nominal ← | possessive particle | nominal | 3.2221 |
| nominal ← | definite particle | nominal | 3.2221 |
| attributive | nominal | nominal | 3.2222 |
| adjective-nominal | nominal | nominal | 3.2222 |
| attributive ← | emphatic particle | attributive | 3.322 |
| attributive ← | possessive particle | attributive | 3.322 |
| adverb-nominal → | verbal | verbal | 3.4227 |
| attributive → | verbal | verbal | 3.4228 |

3.822 THE ACTOR-ACTION TAGMEME. Meaning 'actor performs action'.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| nominal | verbal | verbal | 3.4221 |

3.823 THE GOAL-ACTION TAGMEME. Meaning 'action performed on goal'.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| nominal | verbal | verbal | 3.4222 |
| sentence → | *kee-* 'say' | verbal | 3.4223 |

3.824 THE ACTOR-CHARACTERISTIC-ACTION TAGMEME. Meaning 'action performed by what sort of actor'.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| nominal → | verbal | verbal | 3.4224 |

3.825 THE GOAL-CHARACTERISTIC-ACTION TAGMEME. Meaning 'action performed on what sort of goal'.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| nominal → | verbal | verbal | 3.4225 |

3.826 THE ABSOLUTE-ACTION TAGMEME. Meaning 'action performed with respect to what'.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| nominal → | verbal | verbal | 3.4226 |

3.83 TAGMEMES CONSISTING OF COORDINATE CONSTRUCTIONS.

3.831 THE SERIAL COORDINATE TAGMEME. Meaning 'and, or'.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| verbal sentence | verbal sentence | (sentence) | 3.141-2 |
| nominal | nominal | nominal | 3.2231 |
| attributive | attributive | attributive | 3.3231 |
| (sequence) | (sequence) | doubly coordinate sequence | 3.7 |

3.832 THE APPOSITIVE COORDINATE TAGMEME. Meaning 'apposition'.

| FIRST MEMBER | SECOND MEMBER | FORM CLASS OF WHOLE | REFERENCE |
|---|---|---|---|
| nominal | nominal | nominal | 3.2232 |
| adverb-nominal | adverbial | adverbial | 3.3232 |

3.833 THE SUBJECT-PREDICATE TAGMEME. Meaning 'is'.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| nominal | nominal | nominal (or nominal sentence) | 3.122, 3.2213 |
| nominal | attributive | nominal (or nominal sentence) | 3.122, 3.2213 |
| nominal sentence | verbal sentence | (sentence) | 3.143 |

## 4. MORPHOLOGY

4.0 Chapter 3. dealt with the combinations of free lexemes which occur in the language of the SH. This chapter on morphology describes the constituency of lexemes which consist of more than one morpheme, i.e. the combinations of free lexeme plus bound lexeme, or of bound lexeme plus bound lexeme.

One morpheme of some lexemes consisting of two or more morphemes is itself a free lexeme: such a morpheme is a (FREE) BASE. All bound lexemes in a lexeme which contains a base are AFFIXES. An affix which, when it occurs with a base, always follows that base, is a SUFFIX. An affix which rather precedes a base with which it occurs, is a PREFIX. A two morpheme base-suffix, or prefix-base sequence which occurs with another affix, is a STEM. A stem which is a free lexeme is a FREE STEM. A single morpheme, or a sequence of two or more morphemes, which occurs only with affixes, is a BOUND BASE, or BOUND STEM, respectively. An affix which occurs with noun bases and/or stems is a DENOMINAL AFFIX; one which occurs with attribute bases and/or stems is a DEATTRIBUTE AFFIX; one which occurs with verb bases and/or stems is a DEVERBAL AFFIX. Bound bases or stems which occur only with denominal, deattribute, or deverbal affixes, are respectively BOUND NOUN, ATTRIBUTE, and VERB BASES or STEMS. E.g. *eme.geN* 'old woman' is a noun consisting of the free lexeme *eme* 'woman' (a substantive), and the denominal suffix *.GAN*. The noun *qadqu.ldu.an* 'fight' consists of the verb stem *qadqu.ldu-* 'fight one another' and a deverbal suffix *.ȻAɲ*. The adverb-noun *ŭme.gśi* 'north, to the north' consists of a bound base *ŭme.*[145] and the denominal suffix *.Gśi;* by virtue of the occurrence of *ŭme.* with *.Gśi,* the former is classified as a bound noun base.

Some lexemes contain two bases or stems, each of which is a phonological word. Such lexemes are COMPOUNDS; the bases or stems constituting compounds are here connected by the sign ˜ (as are also the parenthetical translations of the two). E.g. *qar˜köl* ('hand˜foot') 'hand' is a compound noun.

A suffix which occurs last in a lexeme which is a noun is a NOUN-FORMING SUFFIX; one which occurs so in an attribute, a verb, a postposition, or a particle, is an ATTRIBUTE-FORMING, a VERB-FORMING, a POSTPOSITION-FORMING, or a PARTICLE-FORMING SUFFIX respectively. E.g. in the examples above, *.GAN* and *.ȻAɲ* are noun-forming suffixes, and the {.ldU} of *qadqu.ldu-* 'fight one another' is a verb-forming suffix. Each type of suffix falls into two subclasses, DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES and PLURAL SUFFIXES: a plural suffix of a given type (e.g. the verb-forming plural suffix {.ldU}) sometimes occurs after a derivational suffix of the same type, but not vice versa. E.g. there are sequences BASE PLUS VERB-FORMING DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX PLUS VERB-FORMING PLURAL SUFFIX, but not BASE PLUS VERB-FORMING PLURAL SUFFIX PLUS VERB-FORMING DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX. (However, a derivational suffix of a given type sometimes occurs after a plural suffix of a different type: e.g. in *qadqu.ldu.an* 'fight' the noun-forming derivational suffix *.ȻAɲ* occurs after the verb-forming plural suffix {.ldU}.)

At the present time it is impossible to state the meanings of most of the suffixes listed below (chiefly because of the rarity of most of them). For this reason some homonymous suffixes of different types are distinguished as different morphemes, although they are actually in complementary

distribution, and may be semantically similar to one another. E.g. $.R_1$ is a denominal noun-forming suffix, $.R_2$ is a deverbal noun-forming suffix, and $.R_3$ is a deverbal attribute-forming suffix (cf. the Index): in another system such suffixes might be assigned to a single morpheme simply on the basis of their non-contrastive distribution, but in the present work this is done only when the meaning of the suffixes concerned is clearly similar (as in the case of the plural suffix {.S} which is a denominal noun-forming, deattribute attribute-forming, postposition-forming, and particle-forming suffix).

## 4.1 NOUNS CONSISTING OF MORE THAN ONE MORPHEME.

### 4.11 NOUNS CONSISTING OF NOUN PLUS NOUN-FORMING SUFFIX.

#### 4.111 DENOMINAL NOUN-FORMING DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES.

4.1111 Some denominal noun-forming derivational suffixes occur after substantives, such that the whole sequence is a substantive. These suffixes are the following:

{.ci}$_3$ (with allomorphs *.Uci* after /m, Ɣ/ and *.ci* elsewhere; [13][146] pl. *.ci.n/.uci.n/.üci.n*) occurs in substantives meaning 'one who deals often with *X*' where *X* is the meaning of the base or stem.

| | |
|---|---|
| *aduuɲ* 'horse herd' | *aduu.ci* 'a horseherd' |
| *qoniɲ* 'sheep' | *qoni.ci* 'shepherd' |
| *hükeR* 'ox' | *hüke.ci* 'oxherd' |
| *jam* 'postal relay station' | *jam.uci.n* 'postal relay station officials' |
| *köüɲ* 'son, child' | *köü.ci.* 'one who deals with a son' (only in *köü.ci.le-* 'treat like a son', cf. $.lA_1$ 4.311) |
| *nuntuƔ* 'camp' | *nuntu.uci* 'man in charge of a camp' |
| $.GAN_1$ (3; pl. *.GA.d*) | |
| *beri* 'daughter-in-law' | *beri.geN* 'sister-in-law' |
| *eme* 'woman' | *eme.geN* 'old woman' |
| $.GciN_1$ (1) | |
| *qula* (certain type of horse; cf. Mostaert 1950.350-1) | *qula.qciN* 'mare' (of same type) |
| *.GjA* (1) | |
| *qatuɲ* 'lady, wife' | *qatu.qje* 'lady' (?) |
| *.iliƔ* (1) | |
| *qoś* 'tent' | *qoś.iliƔ* 'tent' |
| $.jiN_2$ (1) | |
| *tariyaN* 'grain' | *tariya.jiN* 'peasant, farmer' |
| $.KAN_1$ (5) | |
| *aqa* 'older brother' | *aqa.qaN* 'one somewhat older' |
| *köüɲ* 'son, child' | *köü.keN* 'child' |
| *Śigi qutuqu* (man's name) | *Śigi.ken quduqu* 'little Śigi qutuqu' (once 135.37v) |
| *.mAd* (2) | |
| *döyi* 'younger sister' | *döyi.med* 'younger daughter' |
| *egeci* 'older sister' | *egeci.med* 'older daughter' |
| *.mi* (1) | |
| *öeR* 'self' | *öer.mi.* 'solitude' (only in *öer.mi.ci.le-* 'hold oneself apart', lit. 'be one who has to do with solitude') |
| *.ncAR* (1) | |
| *qoolaY* 'throat' | *qoola.ncaR* 'glutton' |
| $.N_1$ (1) | |
| *ebüge* 'ancestor' (pl. *ebüge.s*) | *ebüge.N* 'old man' |

*.R*$_1$ (5)

| | |
|---|---|
| *huni* 'smoke, smell' | *huni.R* 'smell' |
| *nökö.* 'one of two' | *nökö.R* 'comrade' |

*.sUN*$_1$ (6) Cf. 4.54

| | |
|---|---|
| *aduuɲ* 'horse herd' | *aduu.suN* 'horse herd' |
| *qubcaN* 'clothes' | *qubca.suN* 'clothing' |

*.UR*$_1$ (2)

| | |
|---|---|
| *sara* 'moon' | *sara.uR* 'moonlight' |
| *tergeɲ* 'wagon' | *terge.üR* 'wagon track; road' |

*.+ci* (10; pl. *.+ci.n* [once *.+ci.d*, cf. 4.112]) occurs in substantives meaning 'one who deals often with *X*' where *X* is the meaning of the base or stem.

| | |
|---|---|
| *qoniN* 'sheep' | *qonin.+ci* 'shepherd' |
| | *qonin.+ci.d* 'shepherds' |
| *qoR* 'quiver' | *qor.+ci* 'quiver bearer' (pl. *qor.+ci.n*) |
| *nuntuɢ* 'camp' | *nuntuq.+ci* 'man in charge of a camp' |

4.1112 Some denominal noun-forming derivational suffixes occur after adjective-nouns, such that the whole sequence is a substantive. These suffixes are the following:

*.ci*$_4$ (1)

| | |
|---|---|
| *qoyi.* 'behind, after' | *qoyi.ci* 'future' |

*.kiN* (1)

| | |
|---|---|
| *oloɲ* 'many, large number' | *oloŋ.kiN* 'majority' (cf. 1.01) |

*.liɢ* (1; pl. *.li.Ud*)

| | |
|---|---|
| *minqaɲ* 'thousand' | *minqa.li.ud* 'leaders of thousands, chiliarchs' |

*.mji*$_1$ (1; pl. *.mji.n*)

| | |
|---|---|
| *doro* 'under' | *doro.mji* 'common people' |

*.rU*$_2$ (1)

| | |
|---|---|
| *cina.* (cf. *cina.na* 'opposite') | *cina.ru* 'one opposite' |

*.tAY*$_2$ (4)

| | |
|---|---|
| *gücüɲ* 'strong, strength' | *gücü.teY* 'strength' |
| *altaN* 'gold, of gold' | *alta.taY* 'something gold' |

4.1113 Some denominal noun-forming derivational suffixes occur after substantives such that the whole sequence is an adjective-noun. These suffixes are the following:

*.dU*$_1$ (1)

| | |
|---|---|
| *amiɲ* 'life' | *ami.du* 'living, living being' |

*.sUN*$_2$ (3)

| | |
|---|---|
| *cigõR* 'juniper tree' | *cigõr.sün* 'juniper, of juniper wood' |
| *dayyiN* 'enemy' | *dayyi.suN* 'enemy, hostile' |

4.1114 Some denominal noun-forming derivational suffixes occur after adjective-nouns, such that the whole sequence is an adjective-noun. These suffixes are the following:

*.Gśi* (9) 'to, toward'

| | |
|---|---|
| *doro* 'under' | *doro.qśi* 'downwards' |
| *qaa* 'where?' | *qaa.qśi* 'where to?' |
| *ũme.* 'north' | *ũme.gśi* 'to the north' |

*.l*$_2$ (1)

| | |
|---|---|
| *śira* 'yellow' | *śira.l* 'yellow' |

*.nA*$_1$ (7)

| | |
|---|---|
| *cina.* (cf. *cina.qśi* 'in the opposite direction') | *cina.na* 'opposite' |
| *doro* 'under' | *doro.na* 'east' |
| *qada* 'outside' | *qada.na* 'outside' |

$.rA_1$ (2)

| | |
|---|---|
| *ümе.* (cf. *üme.gśi* above) | *üme.re* 'north, to the north' |

4.1115 One denominal noun-forming derivational suffix occurs after adverb-nouns, such that the whole sequence is an adverb-noun; it is

$.śi_2$ (2)

| | |
|---|---|
| *manaqaR* 'morning, in the morning' | *manaqar.śi* 'morning, in the morning' |
| *ŭde* 'evening, in the evening' | *üde.śi* 'evening, in the evening' |

4.112 THE NOUN-FORMING PLURAL SUFFIX. The suffix {.S} occurs after nouns, attributes, postpositions, and particles, such that the sequence base or stem plus {.S} is of the same class as the base or stem. In the preceding and following this suffix is called simply THE PLURAL SUFFIX (as distinguished from {.ldU}, THE VERB PLURAL SUFFIX). The allomorphs of {.S} are the following:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (1) | After the morphemes *deŭ* 'younger brother', *aqa* 'older brother', and *naqacu* 'maternal uncle' | *.nAr* |
| (2) | After the morpheme *beri* 'daughter-in-law' | *.nAd* |
| (3) | After the morpheme {ene} (in allomorph *e.*) | *.dAɲ* |
| (4) | After the lexemes *qonin.+ci* 'shepherd', and *quriqa.ci* 'lamb-herd', and the morphemes {hoduN} 'star' (in allomorph *ho*), *busu* 'other', and *hŭleŭ* 'more, stronger' | *.d* |
| (5) | After the morphophonemes /N, Ɲ, R, L/ | *.d ~ .+d* |
| (6) | After the morpheme *buśi* 'other', the morphophoneme /Ɣ/, and the phonemes /m, ŋ, d, s/ | *.Ud* |
| (7) | After the morpheme *-t(U)* | *.AN* |
| (8) | After the morphemes *eyimŭ* 'so', *mawu* 'bad', and *ügey.ŭ* 'without', and after /Y/ and /i/ except as above. | *.N* |
| (9) | Elsewhere (i.e. after vowels other than /i/ except as above, and after /Ɣ/ and /y/ | *.S* |

E.g. (1) *deŭ.ner* 'younger brothers', (2) *beri.ned* 'daughters-in-law', (3) *e.deɲ* 'these', *t.e.deɲ* 'those', (4) *qonin.+ci.d* 'shepherds', *ho.d* 'stars', (5) *ücüge.d* 'little ones' *(ücügeN.d)*, *köŭ.d* 'sons' *(köŭɲ.d)*, *qa.d ~ qan.d* 'rulers' *(qaɲ.d ~ qaɲ.+d)*, *baatu.d* 'heroes, elite' *(baatuR.d)*, *kötõ.d* 'lead horses' *(kõtõL.d)*, (6) *buśi.d* 'other', *jam.ud* 'postal relay stations', *caŋ.ud* 'supplies', *nacid.ud* 'gold brocades', *ulus.ud* 'empires', *ayima.ud* 'tribes' *(ayimaƔ.Ud)*, (7) ... *nere-t.en* 'those named ...', (8) *eyimŭ.n* 'such', *ügey.ŭ.n* 'without', *śiliu.n* 'nobles, good' *(śiliuY.n)*, *qor.+ci.n* 'quiver bearers', (9) *eme.S* 'women', *jalau.S* 'young people' *(jalauƔ.S)*, *noqay.S* 'dogs'.

As to meaning, the plural suffix is marked (cf. note 68) for plurality; i.e. when {.S} occurs, more than one item is referred to, but when it does not occur, either one or more than one item may be involved. E.g. *Qoŋqota.day Mŭŋlig ecige-yin köŭ.d doloan bŭ-lee.y* ('Qonqotan-member Mŭnglig father-of son.s seven be-[non.fut].*y*') 'The sons of father Mŭnglig of the Qonqotad were seven.' 244.26v, but *Menen túdun^nu köŭ-n ... doloan bŭ-lee.* ('Menen túdun-of son-[*n*] ... seven be-[non.fut]') 'The son[s] of Menen túdun were ... the seven.' 45.. Thus a nominal including {.S} is sometimes modified by a nominal or an attributive without {.S} and vice versa; e.g. *t.ede ber icu-qa-qda-qsan* irgen ('those [indef] stop-cause-[pass-pf.adj.N] people') 'those people who had been stopped' 73., *śirqa aqta-t.an nayman mori* ('dappled gelding-having.s eight horse') 'eight horse[s] including dappled geldings' 90., *úŋ̀dur etüge.d* 'high places' 190.16v, *su-t.an köŭ.d* ('luck-having.s son.s') 'fortunate sons' 74.5v. For more examples and a classification of the above types, see Doerfer 1954.E.A.

Like {.S} the verb plural suffix {.ldU} is marked for plurality. However, there are cases in which the singular/plural dichotomy is signaled differently: a pair of morphemes will have a given meaning in common, but will differ in that one is 'singular' while the other is 'plural'. E.g. *-sUGAy* is a first person singular hortative verbal final particle, while *-yA* is a first person plural hortative verbal final particle. These have in common the hortative meaning, but differ in number reference. In all such cases the singular rather than the plural is specific, since the plural is often used in an

honorific sense of a single person. E.g. the first person inclusive plural pronoun in the meaning 'I': *'bidan-u beye cerig ese qar-uasu kebte-ül bidan-aca aŋgi-da cerig bú qar-tuqay.'* ("'we[incl]-of body army not go.out-if lie.down-[ag.S] we[incl]-from outside-for army not go.out-let.him"') '"If our (i.e. 'my') person does not go out on an expedition (lit. 'as an army') let not the night watch go out on an expedition without us (i.e. 'me')."' 233.6v. Thus, in cases where there are two formally marked number categories, the meaning distinction between them is 'singular' versus 'unmarked', while when there is only one formally marked member, the distinction is rather 'unmarked' versus 'plural'.

## 4.12 NOUNS CONSISTING OF ATTRIBUTE BASE OR STEM PLUS NOUN-FORMING SUFFIX.

4.121 Some noun-forming suffixes occur after attributes such that the whole sequence is a substantive. These suffixes are the following:

*.$d_2$* (1)

| | |
|---|---|
| *edöe* 'now' | *edöe.d* (only in *edöe.d-tür* 'immediately' 248.5v) |

*.UlA* (5)

| | |
|---|---|
| {dörbeN} 'four' | *dörbe.üle* 'the four' |
| {qoyar} 'two' | *qoya.ula* 'both, the two' |
| *qoyi.tu* 'behind' | *qoyi.tu.ula* 'those behind' |

4.122 Some noun-forming suffixes occur after attributes such that the whole sequence is an adjective-noun. These suffixes are the following:

*.$dU_2$* (3)

| | |
|---|---|
| *dunda* 'middle' | *dunda.du* 'midmost' |

*.ℵ* (3)

| | |
|---|---|
| *bürі* 'all' | *bürі.ℵ* 'all' |
| *urid.a* 'before' | *urid.a.ℵ* 'former' |
| *yau* 'how, why?' | *yau.ℵ* 'what?' |

## 4.13 NOUNS CONSISTING OF VERB BASE OR STEM PLUS NOUN-FORMING SUFFIX.

4.131 Some noun-forming suffixes occur after verbs such that the whole sequence is a substantive. These suffixes are the following:

*.AR* (2)

| | |
|---|---|
| *süye-* 'teach, warn' | *süye.eR* 'instruction, warning' |

*.dAL* (2)

| | |
|---|---|
| *bayyi-* 'stand' | *bayyi.daL* 'position, post' |
| *yabu-* 'go, march; be (of character); serve' | *yabu.daL* 'course; customs; service' |

*.GAL* (1)

| | |
|---|---|
| *emüs-* 'put on (clothes)' | *emüs.geL* 'clothes given as gift to groom's family on day of marriage' (Mostaert 1950.316 note 29) |

*.$GAN_2$* (2; pl. *.GA.d*)

| | |
|---|---|
| *unu-* 'mount (a horse)' | *unu.qaN* 'foal' |
| *yabu-* 'go march' | *yabu.qaN* 'on foot; one on foot' |

*.Ɠ* (7)

| | |
|---|---|
| *ama:ra-* 'love' | *ama:ra.Ɠ* 'love, friendship, affection' |

*.ƓA* (11; pl. *.ƓA.S*)

| | |
|---|---|
| *bari-* 'take, capture' | *bari.a* 'bonds' |
| *deür-* 'load a horse' | *deür.ge* '(horse's) burden' |
| *kirü.* (cf. *kirü.gede-* 'saw') | *kirü.e* 'saw' |

*.ƓAℵ* (14; pl. *.ƓA.d*)

| | |
|---|---|
| *daba-* 'cross, transgress' | *daba.aℵ* 'mountain pass' |
| *qadqu.ldu-* 'fight one another' | *qadqu.ldu.aℵ* 'battle, fight' |
| *ide-* 'eat' | *ide.eℵ* 'food' |

*.qA*$_1$ (1)[147]

| | |
|---|---|
| *daru-* 'press, overpower' | *daru.qa* 'governor' |

*.qAY* (4; pl. *.qA.n*)

| | |
|---|---|
| *qavci-* 'conceal; stuff' | *qabci.qaY* 'narrow pass, hiding place' |

*.qUlAŋ* (1)

| | |
|---|---|
| *amu-* 'be peaceful, calm' | *amu.qulaŋ* 'pacification' |

*.lAŋ* (4)

| | |
|---|---|
| *ju.sa-* 'spend the summer' | *ju.sa.laŋ* 'summer abode' |
| *ükü-* 'die' | *ükü.leŋ* 'death' |

*.liGA* (1)

| | |
|---|---|
| *ög-* 'give' | *ög.lige* 'gifts' |

*.lki* (2)

| | |
|---|---|
| *töre-* 'be born' | *töre.lki* 'life' |
| *törü-* 'be born' | *törü.lki* 'life' |

*.m* (1)

| | |
|---|---|
| *quri-* 'come together' | *quri.m* 'feast' |

*.mUN* (1)

| | |
|---|---|
| *śire-* 'smelt, cast' | *śire.müN* 'copper' |

*.N*$_2$ (1; pl. *.d*)

| | |
|---|---|
| *kökö-* 'suck, nurse' | *kökö.N* 'breast'[148] |

*.R*$_2$ (3)

| | |
|---|---|
| *anda.qa-* 'swear an oath of friendship' | *anda.qa.R* 'oath of friendship' |

*.riN* (5; pl. *.ri.d*)

| | |
|---|---|
| *sau-* 'sit' | *sau.riN* 'seat' |

*.sGUlAŋ* (1)

| | |
|---|---|
| *üje-* 'see' | *üje.sgüleŋ* 'appearance' |

*.sUN* (1)

| | |
|---|---|
| *nilbu-* 'spit' | *nilbu.suN* 'tears' |

*.śi*$_1$ (4)

| | |
|---|---|
| *kebde-* 'lie down' | *kebde.śi* 'lair' |

*.U*$_2$ (2)

| | |
|---|---|
| *qari-* 'return' | *qari.u* 'return, repayment' |

{.UL}$_3$ (with allomorphs *L* after /U/, and *UL* elsewhere; 3)

| | |
|---|---|
| *kere-* 'fight' | *kere.üL* 'fighting' |
| *öci-* 'announce, report, pray' | *öci.üL* 'prayer' |
| *sacu-* 'scatter' | *sacu.L* 'libation' |

{.Uli} (with allomorphs *UlU* before suffix, *Uli* elsewhere; 1)

| | |
|---|---|
| *görü-* 'wander idly' | *görü.üli* 'huntable animal' |
| | *görü.ülü.ci* 'hunter' |

*.UR*$_2$ (3) occurs in nouns of instrument.

| | |
|---|---|
| *büle-* 'churn (butter)' | *büle.üR* 'churn staff' |

*.yA*$_1$ (2)

| | |
|---|---|
| *bari-* 'take' | *bari.ya* 'prisoner' |
| *uri-* 'call' | *uri.ya* 'call' |

**4.132** Some noun-forming suffixes occur after verbs such that the whole sequence is an adjective-noun. These suffixes are the following:

*.GU*$_3$ (1; pl. *.GU.S*)

| | |
|---|---|
| *ötö-* (cf. *ötö.l-* 'grow old') | *ötö.gü* 'old, chief' |

*.mji*$_2$ (1)

| | |
|---|---|
| *itege-* 'rely on; support oneself on' | *itege.mji* 'reliable; back-rest; surety' |

*.U*$_3$ (4)

| | |
|---|---|
| *duta-* 'lack, be missing' | *duta.u* 'lack, lacking, less' |

4.14 NOUNS CONSISTING OF OTHER BOUND BASES AND STEMS PLUS NOUN-FORMING SUFFIX. According to the definitions of 4.0, some suffixes are neither denominal, deattribute, or deverbal (though in the spoken language each such suffix must have been one of these).

4.141 Some of these suffixes occur in substantives. They are the following:

| | |
|---|---|
| *.A*$_1$ (1) | |
| *jeb.* (cf. *jeb.seɢ* below) | *jeb.e* 'weapon' |
| *.N*$_3$ (1) | |
| *unda.* (cf. *unda.as-* 'be thirsty') | *unda.N* 'drink' |
| *.sAɢ* (1) | |
| *jeb.* (cf. *jeb.e* above) | *jeb.seɢ* 'weapon' |
| *.yitAN* (2) | |
| *kŏ.* (cf. *kŏ.bśi-* 'suffer cold') | *kŏ.yiteN* 'cold (weather)' |
| *no.* (cf. *no.bśi-* 'suffer from dampness') | *no.yitaN* 'dampness, damp weather' |

4.142 Others of these suffixes occur in adjective-nouns. They are the following:

| | |
|---|---|
| *.U*$_4$ (1; pl. *.U.S*) | |
| *urid.* (cf. *urid.a* 'before') | *urid.u* 'earlier; ancestor' |
| *.UL*$_4$ (1) | |
| *sartaɢ* (cf. *sartaq.ciN* 'belonging to a Moslem' [?]) | *sarta.uL* 'Moslem, a Moslem' |

4.15 NOUNS CONSISTING OF PREFIX PLUS NOUN. The prefixes *k.* and *t.* occur with a small subset of nouns (and attributes, cf. 4.25). Lexemes containing the former all have interrogative meaning, while those with the latter refer to objects more remote than those referred to by the base. In Table 18 the lexeme in the left-hand column occurs as the base of the lexemes in the other two columns; the second column contains the prefix *t.* 'yonder', while the third contains *k.* '?'.

| | *t.* | *k.* |
|---|---|---|
| {ene} 'this' (pl. *e.deɴ*) | *t.ere* (pl. *t.e.deɴ*) | |
| *ende* 'here' | *t.ende* 'there' | |
| *edüY* 'so, so much (pl. *edü.n*) | *t.edüY* 'so much' | *k.edüY* 'how much?' (pl. *k.edü.n*) |

TABLE 18. PREFIX PLUS NOUN

4.16 COMPOUND SUBSTANTIVES. If the first member of a substantive compound is an *n*-noun (3.213), it is followed by the particle *-n* except when the whole compound (or the sequence of which the compound is the head) is in a position where *-n* would sometimes be lacking after an *n*-nominal (cf. 3.2213). E.g. *ŏki-n˜kŏü-n* ('daughter˜son') 'girl-child, daughter' 65. (subject of a verbal), but *irge˜orqa* ('people˜families') 'people' 150. (object of a verbal). There are four types of substantive compounds: EQUIPOLLENT, POLAR, CO-MODIFYING, and REDUPLICATED compounds.

4.161 EQUIPOLLENT SUBSTANTIVE COMPOUNDS. The two members of an equipollent compound have substantially the same meaning, and the meaning of the compound does not differ greatly from the meanings of its parts. E.g. *eki˜teriü* (*ekiɴ* plus *teriüɴ*, 'head˜head') 'head, leader' 46.28r, *gücü˜awqa* (*gücüN* plus *awqa*, 'strength˜strength') 'strength' 224.31v, 199.9v, *yosu˜dŏre* (*yosuɴ* plus *dŏre*, 'custom˜usage') 'customs' 263.50v, *aldar˜nere* ('fame˜name') 'fame' 238.13v, *mör˜horum* ('path˜path') 'path' 240.19r.

4.162 POLAR SUBSTANTIVE COMPOUNDS. The two members of a polar compound have

meanings which are in a sense opposites, or at least very different from one another. The meaning of the compound is virtually equivalent to that of the first. E.g. *qar˜köl* ('hand˜foot') 'hand' 246.43r, *yasu˜hüsü.* (*yasuɴ* plus *hüsüɴ*, 'bone˜hair') 'bones' 196.43r, *eme˜köü* (*eme* plus *köüɴ*, 'woman˜child') 'wife' 104. (cf. Mostaert 1950.326-7).

4.163 CO-MODIFYING SUBSTANTIVE COMPOUNDS. The two members of a co-modifying compound have different meanings, and the meaning of the compound is a combination of the meanings of the parts. E.g. *öki-n˜köü-n* (*ökiɴ* plus *köüɴ*, 'daughter-[*n*]˜son-[*n*]') 'daughter' (contrasted with *núun˜köü-n* ['boy˜son-(*n*)'] 'son'; i.e. female child versus male child) 65., *öki˜qatu* (*ökiɴ* plus *qatuɴ* 'daughter˜lady') 'young lady' 55.35v, *höre.ne˜üme.re* ('west˜north') 'northwest' 31., *ulaa˜gücü* (*ulaaɴ* plus *gücüɴ*, 'horse˜strength') 'horse supply' 224.33r.

4.164 REDUPLICATED SUBSTANTIVE COMPOUNDS. Some substantives consist of two occurrences of a single substantive. Such compounds must be variously translated into English, but in general all the following may be said to have some sort of distributive meaning: *balaqa.d˜balaqa.d-tur* ('city.s˜city.s-in') 'in the various cities' 263.50r, 248.5r, *keśig˜keśi.üd-ün noya.d* ('division˜division.s-of noble.s') 'the nobles of the various divisions' 229.45v; ... *ayimaq˜ayimaq bayyi-dqun.* ('tribe˜tribe stand-![pl]') 'stand tribe by tribe' (i.e. 'assemble according to tribes') 156.25r, *hon˜hon-tur* ('year˜year-in') 'year by year, every year' 279.47r, *jüg˜jüg mör˜mör-tür-iyen yabu-ju* ('direction˜direction way˜way-in-own go-ing') 'going their respective ways, in various directions' 229.46, *güü-n˜güün-ece busu* ('person-[*n*]˜person-from other') 'different from other people' 195.38v.

## 4.2 ATTRIBUTES CONSISTING OF MORE THAN ONE MORPHEME.

### 4.21 ATTRIBUTES CONSISTING OF NOUN BASE OR STEM PLUS ATTRIBUTE-FORMING SUFFIX.

4.211 Some attribute-forming suffixes occur with substantive bases and stems, such that the whole sequence is an adjective. These are the following:

*.bi*$_2$ (1; pl. *.bi.n*)
- *ere* 'man, husband' — *ere.bi* 'manly' (?)

*.mśiɢ* (2)
- *noyaN* 'leader, noble' — *noya.mśiɢ* 'like a leader, suitable for a leader'

4.212 Some attribute-forming suffixes occur with adjective-nouns, such that the whole sequence is an adjective. They are the following:

*.Gciɢ* (3; occurs only before the plural suffix in *.Gci.Ud*)
- *alaɢ* 'bright' — *ala.qci.ud* 'bright'
- *qara* 'black' — *qara.qci.ud* 'black'

*.ji* (3)
- *cina.* (cf. *cina.na* 'opposite') — *cina.ji* 'opposite'
- *doro.na* 'east' — *doro.na.ji* 'eastern'
- *göre.ne.* 'west' — *göre.ne.ji* 'western'[149]

*.jiN*$_3$ (1)
- *qunaN* 'a three-year-old, one three years old' — *quna.jiN* 'three years old'

*.ŋGU*$_1$ (1; occurs before the feminine suffix {.Y}$_2$, cf. 3.213
- *qara* 'black' — *qara.ŋqu* 'black, dark'

*.Y*$_1$ (3)
- *ami.du* 'living being, living' — *ami.du.Y* 'living'
- *duta.u* 'lack, lacking' — *duta.u.Y* 'lacking'
- *mawu* 'evil, evil one' — *mawu.Y* 'bad'

.$^{+}ciN$ (3)

| | |
|---|---|
| *Kibcaɢ* 'Kipcaq' | *Kibcaq.ciN* 'Kipcaq' |
| *Màŋqol* 'a Mongol, Mongol' | *Màŋqol.ciN* 'Mongol' |
| *Sartaɢ.* 'a Moslem' | *Sartaq.cin* 'belonging to a Moslem' |

.$^{+}nUɢ$ (2; occurs only before the plural morpheme in .$^{+}nU.Ud$)

| | |
|---|---|
| *cahaaN* 'white' | *cahaan.nu.ud* 'white' |
| *qara* 'black' | *qara.nu.ud* 'black' |

.$^{+}tAwU$ (2)

| | |
|---|---|
| *cõỳeN* 'few' | *cöỳen.tewũ* 'too few times' |
| *oloɲ* 'many, large number' | *olon.tawu* 'too many times' |

4.213 Other attribute-forming suffixes occur with adverb-nouns, such that the sequence adverb-noun plus suffix is an adverb. These are the following:

.$i_2$ (1)

| | |
|---|---|
| *manaqaR* 'morning, in the morning' | *manaqar.i* 'next morning' |

.$U_5$ (1)

| | |
|---|---|
| *manaqaR* 'morning, in the morning' | *manaqar.u* 'early in the morning' |

## 4.22 ATTRIBUTES CONSISTING OF ATTRIBUTE PLUS ATTRIBUTE-FORMING SUFFIX.

### 4.221 DEATTRIBUTE ATTRIBUTE-FORMING DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES.

4.2211 One deattribute attribute-forming derivational suffix occurs with free attributes, such that the sequence attribute plus suffix is also a free attribute. It is

.*AL* (2; pl. *A.d*[150])

| | |
|---|---|
| *niji.*[151] | *niji.el* 'each single, one by one' |
| *qoriN* 'twenty' | *qori.a.d* 'twenty each' |

4.2212 Other deattribute attribute-forming derivational suffixes occur with adjectives, such that the sequence adjective plus suffix is also an adjective. These are the following:

.*giN* (1)

| | |
|---|---|
| *qataN* 'of steel' | *qataŋ.giN* 'hard' |

.*GciN*$_2$ (3)

| | |
|---|---|
| *qoa* 'fawn-colored' | *qoa.qciN* 'fawn-colored' (of a cow) |

.*qU* (1)

| | |
|---|---|
| *qataN* 'of steel' | *qataŋ.qu* 'hard, firm' |

{.iN} 'times ten', cf. 3.313.

.*KAN*$_2$ (4) occurs in adjectives with a deprecatory meaning.

| | |
|---|---|
| *qaqca* 'only' | *qaqca.qaN* 'only (wretched)' |
| *mawu* 'evil' | *mawu.qaN* 'in poor condition' |
| *jõe* 'few' | *jõe.keN* 'mere few' (pl. *jõe.ke.d*) |

{.Y}$_2$ (cf. 3.113; [2]) feminine suffix.

| | |
|---|---|
| *qara.ŋqu* 'black, dark' | *qara.ŋqu.Y* |
| *qoa* 'fawn-colored' | *qoa.Y* |

4.222 THE PLURAL SUFFIX. For the form and meaning of this suffix, see 4.112.

## 4.23 ATTRIBUTES CONSISTING OF VERB BASE OR STEM PLUS ATTRIBUTE-FORMING SUFFIX.

4.231 One deverbal attribute-forming suffix occurs in an adverb. It is

*.A*$_2$ (1)

| | |
|---|---|
| *daru-* 'press, overpower' | *daru.a* 'constantly' |

4.232 One deverbal attribute-forming suffix occurs in a free attribute. It is

*.s*$_2$ (1)

| | |
|---|---|
| *qaqa.* (cf. *qaqa.ca-* 'separate') | *qaqa.s* 'separate, separately' |

4.233 Other deverbal attribute-forming suffixes occur in adjectives. They are the following:

*.AN* (3)

| | |
|---|---|
| *dŭŭr-* 'be full' | *dŭŭr.eN* 'full' |
| *hula.* 'be red' | *hula.aN* 'red' |
| *uda-* 'be late' | *uda.aN* 'late' |

*.AŋqA* (1)

| | |
|---|---|
| *uyyid-* 'be weary' | *uyyid.aŋqa* 'inconstant, fickle' |

*.cA*$_1$ (2)

| | |
|---|---|
| *daru-* 'press, overpower' | *daru.ca* 'close behind, right after' |
| *niu-* 'conceal' | *niu.ca* 'secret' (only in the title of the SH) |

*.dAG* (2)

| | |
|---|---|
| *kŏki-* 'be afraid' | *kŏki.deG* 'easily frightened' |
| *yabu-* 'go, march' | *yabu.daG* 'inconstant, fickle' |

*.qUlAŋ*$_2$ (1)

| | |
|---|---|
| *cad-* 'be satisfied, sated' | *cad.qulaŋ* 'sated' |

*.mAl* (1)

| | |
|---|---|
| *dab.ta-* 'pound, work (metals)' | *dab.ta.mal* 'stamped' (of earthen walls) |

*.ŋgi* (1)

| | |
|---|---|
| *yada-* 'be in need, lack' | *yada.ŋgi* 'poor' |

*.ŋGU*$_2$ (2)

| | |
|---|---|
| *daari-* 'pass by; knock in; insult' | *daari.ŋgu* 'insulting' |
| *kicie-* 'strive' | *kicie.ŋgŭ* 'zealous' |

*.R*$_3$ (1)

| | |
|---|---|
| *amu-* 'be calm; cease' | *amu.R.* 'calm' (only before *.li*$_1$, cf. 4.321) |

4.24 ATTRIBUTES CONSISTING OF PARTICLE PLUS ATTRIBUTE-FORMING SUFFIX. A single attribute-forming suffix occurs with a particle. It is

*.d*$_3$ (1)

| | |
|---|---|
| *maqa* 'perhaps' (3.1312) | *maqa.d* 'really, true' |

4.25 ATTRIBUTES CONSISTING OF PREFIX PLUS ATTRIBUTE. The prefixes *t.* 'yonder', and *k.* '?', mentioned in 4.15 as occurring with nouns, also occur with attribute bases, as shown in Table 19.

| | *t.* | *k.* |
|---|---|---|
| *eyimŭ* 'such' (pl. *eyimŭ.n*) | *t.eyimŭ* 'such' (pl. *t.eyimŭ.n*) | |
| *eyin* 'so' | *t.eyin* 'so' | |
| *ejie* 'till now, up to the present | | *k.ejie* 'how far?'[152] |
| *.er* | | *k.er* 'how?' |

TABLE 19. PREFIX PLUS ATTRIBUTE

4.26 COMPOUND ATTRIBUTES. Some attributes are reduplicated compounds (cf. 4.164). E.g. *núu.d öki.d yesün˜yesü.d* ('boy.s girl.s nine˜nine.s') 'boys and girls, nine of each' 267.9v, *t.eyimü˜t.eyimü gũũ-n* ('such˜such person-[*n*]') 'just such a man' 30., *jũg˜jũg tuŋqa.a-ju* ('direction˜direction spread-ing') 'spreading [it] in all directions' 270.18r, *mún mún mör-iyer* ('same˜same way-by') 'by the same respective ways' 83..

## 4.3 VERBS CONSISTING OF MORE THAN ONE MORPHEME.

### 4.31 VERBS CONSISTING OF NOUN BASE OF STEM PLUS VERB-FORMING SUFFIX.

4.311 Some denominal verb-forming suffixes occur with substantives. They are the following:

*.cA*$_2$ (3) occurs in verbs meaning 'be, become *X*' where *X* is the meaning of the noun base.

| | |
|---|---|
| *nökö.R* 'companion, friend' | *nökö.ce-* 'be, become a friend' |

*.d*$_4$ (7)

| | |
|---|---|
| *duraɲ* 'heart, affection' | *dura.d-* 'think' |
| *qodoli* 'qodoli-arrow' | *qodoli.d-* 'shoot a qodoli-arrow' |

*.dA* (6)

| | |
|---|---|
| *arqa* 'craft; plan' | *arqa.da-* 'deceive' |
| *cisuɲ* 'blood' | *cisu.da-* 'become bloody' |

*.qA*$_3$ (1)

| | |
|---|---|
| *anda* 'sworn friend' | *anda.qa-* 'take an oath of friendship' |

*.id* (2)

| | |
|---|---|
| *booL* 'slave' | *bool.id-* 'make a slave' |

*.is* (1)

| | |
|---|---|
| *keY* 'wind' | *keẏ.is-* 'blow' (cf. *.yis* below) |

*.jA* (1)

| | |
|---|---|
| *ũbũL* 'winter' | *ũbũl.je-* 'take as winter quarters, spend the winter' |

*.lA*$_1$ (91)

| | |
|---|---|
| *aduuɲ* 'herd of horses' | *aduu.la-* 'herd horses' |
| *aqta* 'gelding, riding horse' | *aqta.la-* 'ride horseback' |
| *caɢ* 'time' | *caq.la-* 'spend time; reckon, deliberate, determine' |
| *hoY* 'forest' | *hoy.la-* 'flee into the forest' |
| *kõũ.ci.* 'one who deals with a son' | *kõũ.ci.le-* 'treat like a son, (lit. 'act like one who deals with a son') |

*.lGU* (1)

| | |
|---|---|
| *büse* 'belt' | *büse.lgü-* 'surround' |

*.ljA* (1)

| | |
|---|---|
| *śia* 'bone die' | *śia.lja-* 'play with bone die' |

*.mśi* (1)

| | |
|---|---|
| *ere* 'man, husband' | *ere.mśi-* 'act like a man' |

*.rGA* (4)

| | |
|---|---|
| *dayyi.suɲ* 'enemy' | *sayyi.su.rqa-* 'act like an enemy' |
| *gũcũɲ* 'strength' | *gũcũ.rge-* 'rely on one's strength' |

*.ri*$_1$ (2)

| | |
|---|---|
| *dalda* 'protection, defense' | *dalda.ri-* 'flee from battle, protect oneself' |
| *ũde* 'evening' | *ũde.ri-* 'stop for evening meal' |

*.s*$_3$ (2)

| | |
|---|---|
| *hũni* 'smoke, smell' | *hũni.s-* 'stink' |

*.sA* (2)

| | |
|---|---|
| *juN* 'summer' | *ju.sa-* 'spend the summer' |

*.tU* (1)

| | |
|---|---|
| *eye* 'Agreement' | *eye.tũ-* 'advise, decide, approve' |

*.yA*$_2$ (1)
*qubi* 'part, share' — *qubi.ya-* 'divide'
*.yid* (1)
*nere* 'name' — *nere.yid-* 'name'
*.yis* (1)
*keY* 'wind' — *keỳ.yis-* 'blow' (cf. *.is* above)

4.312 Other denominal verb-forming suffixes occur with adjective-nouns. They are the following:

*.jilA* (2) occurs in verbs meaning 'consider [something] *X*', where *X* is the meaning of the attribute base.
*yeke* 'great, large' — *yeke.jile-* 'consider important'
*.yitA* (2) occurs in factitive verbs.
*doro* 'under' — *doro.yita-* (only in *doro.yita-ul-* 'humiliate')

## 4.32 VERBS CONSISTING OF ATTRIBUTE BASE OR STEM PLUS VERB-FORMING SUFFIX.

4.321 Some deattribute verb-forming suffixes occur with adjectives. They are the following:

*.d*$_5$ (5)
*beleN* 'ready' — *bele.d-* 'be, make ready'
*.dki* (1)
*auY* 'wide' — *au.dki-* 'widen'

*.li*$_1$ (2) occurs in verbs meaning 'be, become *X*', where *X* is the meaning of the attribute.
*amu.R.* 'calm' — *amu.r.li-* 'be calm'
*mawu.qaN* 'bad, in poor condition' — *mawu.qa.li-* 'be suspicious'

*.śiyA* (4) occurs in verbs meaning 'consider [something] to be *X*', where *X* is the meaning of the attribute.
*berke* 'difficult' — *berke.śiye-* 'consider difficult'
*.ylA* (3)
*qurduN* 'swift' — *qurdu.yla-* 'hasten'

4.322 Other deattribute verb-forming suffixes occur with adverbs. They are the following:

*.A*$_3$ (1)
*qojid* 'late' — *qojid.a-* 'be late, be left behind'
*.lA*$_2$ (2)
*öter* 'quickly' — *öter.le-* 'hasten, do quickly'

## 4.33 VERBS CONSISTING OF VERB BASE OR STEM PLUS VERB-FORMING SUFFIX.

4.331 DEVERBAL VERB-FORMING DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES. The following derivational suffixes occur with verbs, such that the sequence verb plus suffix is a verb:

{.A}$_4$ (with allomorphs *.A* ~ *.yA* after /i/, and *.A* elsewhere; [11]) occurs in verbs with a causative meaning (cf. note 127).

*nögci-* 'die' — *nögci.e-* ~*nögci.ye-* 'kill'
*tüge-* 'be sufficient' — *tüge.e-* 'distribute'
*.cA*$_3$ (4)
*daru-* 'press, overpower' — *daru.ca-* 'press close to one another, be close' (cf. note 154)
*güyyi-* 'run, save; overtake' — *güyyi.ce-* 'run after, overtake'
*qaqa.* (cf. *qaqa.s* 'separate, separately') — *qaqa.ca-* 'separate, disperse'
*qarbu-* 'shoot an arrow' — *qarbu.ca-* 'shoot at' (?; cf. note 154)
*.ci*$_5$ (1)
*hoqto.* 'cut through' — *hoqto.ci* 'cut off'

| | |
|---|---|
| *.d*$_6$ (2) | |
| *oyisula-* 'harm secretly' | *oyisula.d-* 'harm secretly' |
| *ũde.ri-* 'pause for a meal' | *ũde.ri.d-* 'pause for a meal' |
| *.GAdA* (1) | |
| *kirũ.* (cf. *kirũ.e* 'saw') | *kirũ.gede-* 'saw' |
| *.GAljA* (1) | |
| *ketũ-* 'cross' | *ketũ.gelje-* 'go across, straight by' |

{.qA}$_2$ (with allomorphs *.qa* ~ *.a* after /u/, and *.qA* elsewhere; [5]) occurs in verbs with causative meaning (cf. note 127).

| | |
|---|---|
| *icu-* 'return' | *icu.qa-* ~ *icu.a-* 'make return' |
| *una-* 'fall' | *una.qa-* 'make fall' |
| *.ki* (1) | |
| *oor-* 'throw' | *oor.ki-* 'throw away' |
| *.l*$_3$ (10)[153] | |
| *kiŋgũ-* 'break through' | *kiŋgũ.l-* 'break through' |
| *tulba-* 'fall down' | *tulba.l-* 'split' |
| *.lA*$_3$ (8) | |
| *qarbu-* 'shoot an arrow' | *qarbu.la-* (only in *qarbu.la.ldu-* 'shoot an arrow at someone') |
| *qono-* 'spend the night' | *qono.la-* 'spend the night' |
| *.li*$_2$ (2) | |
| *amaːra-* 'love' | *amaara.li-* 'feel love, affection' |
| *.rA*$_3$ (6) | |
| *ququ-* 'break' | *ququ.ra-* 'break off' |
| *mũltũ-* 'take off' | *mũltũ.re-* 'become loose, come undone' |
| *.ri*$_2$ (3) | |
| *kiŋgũ-* 'break through' | *kiŋgũ.ri-* 'break off' |

4.332 THE VERB PLURAL SUFFIX. The verb plural suffix {.ldU} has two suppletive allomorphs: *.ldU* after vowels, and *.UlcA* after consonants.[154] The meaning of this suffix is one of plurality (cf. 4.112), but only the verb (or particle {-Ul}$_1$, cf. 4.55) which it modifies is plural, and not the whole verbal of which the plural verb is head. Thus a noun referring to a single person is sometimes subject of a plural verb; in this case the subject is one of the several people who perform the action of the verb (see below for examples). Two types of plurality are marked by the Chinese glosses of this suffix, RECIPROCAL and COOPERATIVE. E.g. (1) RECIPROCAL WITH PLURAL SUBJECT: *'aqa.nar deü.ner yeki-n t.eyin ki.ldü-mü.y ta'* ('"older.brother.s younger.brother.s do.what-ing so treat.[pl]-[non.pst].*y* you"') '"Why do you, older and younger brothers, treat one another so?"' 76.; (2) RECIPROCAL WITH SINGULAR SUBJECT: *'bi qarbu.la.ldu-su.'* ('"I shoot.[pl]-I.will"') '"I'll shoot with [him]."' (i.e. 'I'll take part in an action in which he and I will shoot at one another.') 91.; (3) RECIPROCAL WITHOUT SUBJECT: *'edõe niken-e qam.tu a-ju umarta-qsan-i-ỳen dura.d-qa.ldu-ju uǹtara-qsan-i-ỳen seri-ũl.ũlce-jũ a-ya.'* ('"now one-for together live-ing forget-[pf.adj.N]-[df]-own think-cause.[pl]-ing sleep-[pf.adj.N-df]-own awake-cause.[pl]-ing live-let's"') '"Now, living together at one (?), let us live each reminding whichever of us has forgotten, each waking up whichever of us is asleep."' 200.14v; (4) COOPERATIVE WITH PLURAL SUBJECT: *qurba.ula qośium quci.ldu-ju gũr-cũ aysu-qu-lua* ('the.three rock circle.[pl]-ing reach-ing approach-[aor.adj.N]-with') 'as soon as the three of them rounded the spur of rock together and began to draw near' 55.; (5) COOPERATIVE WITH SINGULAR SUBJECT: *Jamuqa t.ende Nayman-lua cerig mori.la-ju ire.ldũ-jũ...* ('Jamuqa then Nayman-with army ride-ing come.[pl]-ing') 'Jamuqa, having come with the Nayman that time, leading an army (lit. 'riding as an army') ...' 195.35r; (6) COOPERATIVE WITHOUT SUBJECT: *ulus bayyi-ul.ulca-qsa.d jobo.ldũ-qsa.d-i minqa.d-un noya.d bol-qa-ju* ('ulus stand-cause.[pl]-[pf.adj.N].s suffer.[pl]-[pf.adj.N].s-[df] thousand.s-of noble.s become-cause-ing') 'making leaders of thousands those who had helped [him] found the empire, and who had undergone suffering with [him]' 224.30v.

The verb *kee.ldũ-* ('say.[pl]'), which generally means 'say to one another, say together' has sometimes the more specialized meaning 'decide, state a decision', and occurs with a singular

subject which is exhaustive of the actor group; e.g. *t.ende-:ce aqa in-u ŭgŭ.le-rŭn ... kee.ldŭ-jŭ ...* ('then-from older.brother he-of say-ing.in ... say.[pl]-ing ...') 'Then his older brother decided that ...' 36..

4.34 VERBS CONSISTING OF OTHER BOUND BASE OR STEM PLUS VERB-FORMING SUFFIX. There occur the following verb-forming suffixes of undetermined type (denominal, deattribute, etc.):

| | |
|---|---|
| *.As* (1) | |
| *ùnda.* (cf. *ùnda.N* 'drink') | *ùnda.as-* 'be thirsty' |
| *.bśi* (2) | |
| *kŏ.* (cf. *kŏ.yiteN* 'cold weather') | *kŏ.bśi-* 'suffer cold' |
| *no.* (cf. *no.yitaN* 'dampness, damp weather') | *no.bśi-* 'suffer from dampness' |
| *.lA*$_4$ (1) | |
| *sundu.* (cf. *sundu.r-* below) | *sundu.la-* 'ride behind someone, ride double, have ride double' |
| *.r* (1) | |
| *sundu.* (cf. *sundu.la-* above) | *sundu.r-* 'procede in formation' |
| *.śi*$_3$ (1) | |
| *dab.* (cf. below) | *dab.śi-* 'strike' |
| *.tA* (1) | |
| *dab.* (cf. above) | *dab.ta-* 'hammer, work (metals)' |

4.35 OTHER VERBS CONSISTING OF MORE THAN ONE MORPHEME. Five verbs occur, each of which consists of two bound lexemes. They are *keb.geri-* 'trample to dust' (?) 189.10r, *keb.ke-* 'crush' 189.9v, *qam.qa-* 'break, crush' 147.49v, *kem.ke-* 'shatter' 196.43r, and *kem.kel-* 'crush' 209.1v. The lexemes *keb., kem., .geri, .ke, .qa,* and *.kel* occur only in these combinations, so that none of them can be assigned to any of the classes established above (e.g. verb, noun, prefix, affix). It is highly probable that a larger corpus would show *keb.* and *kem.* to be prefixes, and *.geri, .qa, .ke,* and *.kel* to be verb bases.

4.4 POSTPOSITIONS CONSISTING OF MORE THAN ONE MORPHEME.

4.41 POSTPOSITIONS CONSISTING OF NOUN BASE PLUS POSTPOSITION-FORMING SUFFIX. The following suffixes occur with adjective-nouns, such that the sequence adjective-noun plus suffix is a postposition:

| | |
|---|---|
| *.nA*$_2$ (1) | |
| *qoyi.* (cf. *qoyi.tu* 'behind') | *qoyi.na* 'after, behind' |
| *.rA*$_4$ (2) | |
| *dee.* (cf. *dee.gśi* 'upward') | *dee.re* 'above' |
| *doto.* (cf. *doto.qśi* 'to the inside, into') | *doto.ra* 'inside, among' |

4.42 POSTPOSITIONS CONSISTING OF POSTPOSITION PLUS POSTPOSITION-FORMING SUFFIX.

4.421 DERIVATIONAL POSTPOSITION-FORMING SUFFIXES. Two derivational suffixes occur after postpositions, such that the sequence postposition plus suffix is itself a postposition. They are

| | |
|---|---|
| *.U*$_6$ (1) | |
| *ŭgey* 'without' | *ŭgey.ŭ* 'without' |

{.Y}$_2$ (1) is the feminine suffix (cf. 3.213).

| | |
|---|---|
| *ŭgey.ŭ* 'without' | *ŭgey.ŭ.Y* |

4.422 THE PLURAL SUFFIX. The suffix {.S} (4.112) occurs after the postpositions *metŭ* 'like' and *ŭgey.ŭ* 'without' (in *metŭ.s* and *ŭgey.ŭ.n*).

4.43 COMPOUND POSTPOSITION. A single compound postposition (a polar compound, cf. 4.162) occurs once in the SH: *Onan müren ŏede¯irada güyyi-jü* ('Onan river up¯down run-ing') 'running up and down the Onan River' 74..

4.5 PARTICLES CONSISTING OF MORE THAN ONE MORPHEME. Some particles consist of a particle plus a particle-forming suffix.

4.51 VERBAL FINAL PARTICLE PLUS SUFFIX. A verbal final indicative particle is sometimes followed by one of the suffixes $.y_2$ or $\{.i\}_3$, of undetermined meaning. See 3.122.

The verbal final indicative particle *-KUY*$_1$ occurs before the plural suffix {.S} in the form *-KU.N* (i.e. *-KUY.N*) cf. 3.122.

4.52 PARTICLE PLUS PLURAL SUFFIX. The following combinations of particle and plural suffix {.S} occur:

VERBAL FINAL INDICATIVE PARTICLE PLUS {.S}:

| | |
|---|---|
| *-KUY* ('aor') | *-KUY.N* (i.e. *-kŭ.n/-qu.n*) |

DEVERBAL SUBSTANTIVALIZING PARTICLE PLUS {.S}:

| | |
|---|---|
| *-(U)Gci* ('er') | *-(U)Gci.N* |

DEVERBAL ADJECTIVE-NOMINALIZING PARTICLE PLUS {.S}:

| | |
|---|---|
| *-KUY*$_2$ ('aor.adj.N') | *-KUY.N* (i.e. *-kŭ.n/-qu.n*) |
| *-(U)GsAN* ('pf.adj.N') | *-(U)GsAN.d* (i.e. *-gse.d/-qsa.d/-ügse.d/-uqsa.d*) |

DENOMINAL ADJECTIVE-NOMINALIZING PARTICLE PLUS {.S}:

| | |
|---|---|
| *-t(U)* 'having' | *-t(U).AN* (i.e. *-t.an/-t.en*) |
| *-t(U).AY* ('having.[fem]', i.e. *-t.ay/-t.ey*) | *-t(U)AY.N* (i.e. *-t.a.n/-t.e.n*) |

DEATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVE-NOMINALIZING PARTICLE PLUS {.S}:

| | |
|---|---|
| *-AY* ('possession') | *-AY.N* (i.e. *-a.n/-e.n*) |

4.53 PARTICLE PLUS FEMININE SUFFIX. The denominal adjective-nominalizing particle *-t(U)* 'having' occurs before the feminine suffix $\{.Y\}_2$. For examples see 3.212.

| | |
|---|---|
| *-t(U)* 'having' | *-t(U).AY* ('having.[fem]', i.e. *-t.ay/-t.ey*) |

4.54 *-Ul*$_2$ PLUS *.suN*$_1$. The deverbal substantivalizing particle *-Ul*$_2$ ('ag.S', cf. 3.2211) occurs before the derivational suffix *.suN*$_1$ listed above 4.1111. The latter suffix in this collocation clearly refers to a single individual of the group named by *-Ul*$_2$.[154a] The bi-morphemic particle *-Ul.suN* occurs after six verbs in the SH:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *aduu.la-* 'care for horses' | *aduul.la-ul.* 'a group of herdsmen' | *aduu.la-ul.suN* 'a herdsman' |
| *caqda-.* | *caqda-ul.* 'rear guard' | *caqda-ul.suN* 'a member of the rear guard' |
| *eri-* 'seek' | *eri-ul.* 'a group of seekers' | *eri-ul.suN* 'a beggar' |
| *qara-* 'look' | *qara-ul* 'patrol' | *qara-ul.suN* 'spy, scout' |
| *kebte-* 'lie down, sleep' | *kebte-ŭl* 'night watch, men of the night watch' | *kebte-ŭl-sŭN* 'a man of the night watch' |
| *neŋji-* 'search' | *neŋji-ŭl* 'searching party' | *neŋji-ŭl.sŭN* 'searcher, member of a searching party' |

4.55 PARTICLE PLUS VERB PLURAL SUFFIX. The verbal medial particle $\{-Ul\}_1$ 'cause' occurs before the verb plural suffix {.ldU}. E.g. see 4.332, example (3).

## APPENDIX 1

### RESTRICTIONS ON THE OCCURRENCE OF CONTIGUOUS PHONEMES[155]

1. SEQUENCES OF VOWEL PLUS VOWEL. The following sequences occur within single morphemes: /i, e, ŏ, ŭ/ plus /e, ŭ/, /i, a, o, u/ plus /a, u/, /o/ plus /o/. No sequence of two vowels occurs over a morpheme boundary which does not occur within a single morpheme. Sequences of three vowels occur over morpheme boundaries, and very rarely within morphemes; e.g. *qono.a-ul-la:y* 'they let sleep' 84, *kee-esü* 'if one says, as for' 276.32v (more commonly *ke:-esü*), *Caaan Tatar* 'the Caaan (White) Tatars' 153..

2. SEQUENCES OF VOWEL PLUS CONSONANT. All combinations occur within morphemes except the following: /e, ŏ, ŭ/ plus *q*, /i, ŏ, ŭ, o/ plus /w/, /e, ŏ, ŭ, o, u/ plus /h/, /ŏ/ plus /j, y[156]/, and /ŭ/ plus /ś/. The only sequence of vowel plus consonant not occurring within a single morpheme which occurs over a morpheme boundary is /ŭś/, which occurs in *heŭ.śiye-* 'find [the climate] disagreeable' 248..

3. SEQUENCES OF CONSONANT PLUS VOWEL. All sequences occur except the following: /t, d, h/ plus /i/,[157] /g, k/ plus /a, o, u/, *q* plus /i, e, ŏ, ŭ/, /w/ plus /i, e, ŏ, o/, /ś, l, y/ plus /ŏ/,[158] /:/ plus /ŭ, u, i/, and /ŋ/ plus /i, e, a, ŭ, ŏ, u, o/. Of these /di, ŋi, ŋe/ and /ŋu/ occur over morpheme boundaries.

4. SEQUENCES OF VOWEL PLUS # AND # PLUS VOWEL. All sequences occur (i.e. all vowels occur both initial and final in phonological words).

5. SEQUENCES OF CONSONANT PLUS # AND # PLUS CONSONANT. All sequences occur except that /ŋ/ and /r/ do not occur after #, and # does not occur after /t, k, j, c, w, h/.[159]

6. SEQUENCES OF CONSONANT PLUS CONSONANT. The following sequences occur between vowels within single morphemes: /m, r, l/ plus /b/, /n, r, l. y/ plus /m/, /b, m, n, g, q, ŋ, r, l, y, :/ plus /d, t, c/, /d, ŋ, r, l/ plus /k/, /m, ŋ, c, d, r, l, w, s, :/ plus /g/, /b, m, n, ŋ, r, l, w, s, y/ plus *q*, /m, n, ŋ, l, w, y, :/ plus /j/, /b, w, :/ plus /r/, /m, g, q, ŋ, r, l, w, y/ plus /s/, /g, q, ŋ, w, y, :/ plus /l/, /b, m, q, d, ŋ, r/ plus /ś/, and /y/ plus /y/. The only generalization which can be made from these clusters is that /t, k, j, h/ never occur before another consonant, and /n, ŋ, h, :/ never after a consonant.

In the position after vowel and before #, the sequences /rs/ and /:d/ occur, e.g. *bars* 'tiger' and *ete:d* 'side'.

Sequences of three consonants within a single morpheme are extremely rare; to my knowledge there occur only /rsl/, /:rm/, and /:lq/ in *arslan* 'lion', *de:rme.d-* 'rob', and *qa:lqa* 'door'.

Sequences of two consonants separated by a morpheme boundary are more numerous. All combinations occur except that (1) /t, k, j, c, h/ never occur before another consonant when a morpheme boundary intervenes, and /ś/ only before /d/; (2) /m, ŋ, r, w, h/ never occur after another consonant when a morpheme boundary intervenes, and /n/ occurs so only after /n/ or /:/, and /y/ only after /y/.

Sequences of three consonants with one or two morpheme boundaries intervening are very rare; the first consonant is /:/, the second /r, l, q/, and the third an apical, palatal, or velar, e.g. *o:r-cü* 'throwing' 245.39v, *ü:r-ge-* 'cause to carry' 245.33v, *śirqu-:l-da-* 'be made to penetrate' 177.24r, *ü:-qsan* 'having drunk' 154.21r.

## APPENDIX 2

## THEORETICAL BASES OF THE PRECEDING ANALYSIS

A. DEFINITIONS. Below are defined a number of terms which are a necessary basis of the analysis presented above.[160] The frequent occurrence of these unfamiliar terms in the body of this grammar would seriously detract from its usefulness to non-linguists; therefore an attempt has been made in the case of several terms to find some more traditional word or phrase which will be more understandable to non-linguists in a sense not too different from that of the given term as here defined. Such a word or phrase is used in the body of this grammar as an equivalent of the given term defined here, in such a way that no loss of precision is involved. Thus the preceding analysis is designed to be more easily accessible to non-linguists, and still as rigorous as would be an analysis using the terms here defined. The definitions of terms adequately defined above are not repeated here.

1. Any sequence of two or more morphemes may arbitrarily be divided into two parts; one of these parts can be kept constant, while one sees what other sequences[161] replace the other (i.e. what sequences occur with the former in the same order). The former part is an ENVIRONMENT, the latter a FOCUS. The class of all sequences which substitute for a given focus in a given environment is the FOCUS CLASS of that environment. Any single morpheme member of a focus class is a MODEL of that class, while any polymorphemic member of the same focus class is an EXPANSION of such a model.[162] E.g. in the sentence *'qar.su.'* ('"go.out-I.will"') '"I will go out."' 80., we might take *-su* as an environment and *qar-* as focus; since *qar-* consists of a single morpheme, it is a model of the focus class defined by the environment *-su*. We would then find that the following sequences (among many) substitute for *qar-*, and are therefore expansions of it: *ami.du jalgi-* ('living.being swallow') '(I will) swallow a living being.' 78.11v, ***bi neke-*** ('I pursue') '(I will) pursue [them].' 90.28v, *Börte ŭjin-i niu-* ('Börte wife-[df] conceal') '(I will) conceal wife Börte.' 100.44r, *Höelun eke-yin törgŭ.d Olqunuud irgen-tür naqacu.nar-aca in-u öki quyu-* ('Höelün mother-of relative.s Olqunuud people-in maternal.uncle.s-from he-of daughter ask') '(I will) seek a girl from his maternal uncles among the Olqunuud people, relatives of mother Höelün.' 61.. This particular focus class is of considerable importance in Mongolian (it consists of verbals). However, if we pick environments at random, there is no reason to think that the focus class defined thereby must have structural significance; e.g. if in the sequence *t.e.de ber icuqa-qda-qsan irgen* ('those [indef] make.return-[pass.pf.adj.N] people') 'those people who had been caused to return' 73.4-5 we take *irgen* as an environment, the focus class defined thereby includes the following members: *t.ere* 'those (people)' 39., *kilbar* 'an easy (people)' 35., *Büyür naur Kölen naur qoyar jaura Úrśiun müren-ne bü-kü.n Ayiriud Buyruud Tatar* ('Büyür lake Kölen lake two between Úrśiun river-for be-[aor.adj.N].s Ayiriud Buyruud Tatar') 'the Ayiriud and Buyruud Tatar (people) who were on the Úrśiun River between Lakes Büyür and Kölen' 53., *Duwa soqor Burqan qaldun deere-:ce qara-ju Tüŋgelig qoroqan húruu niken böleg* ('Duwa blind Burqan hill on-from see-ing Tüŋgelig stream up a horde') 'a horde (of people) ... Duwa the blind looking out from up on Burqan Hill ... up Tüŋgelig Stream' 5.. In the first three cases the foci do have structural significance (they are partners [cf. 5. below] of *irgen*), but in the last the focus includes parts of three different tomes (see below).

2. The term TOME is used here as an equivalent of the term IMMEDIATE CONSTITUENT (for which the term CONSTRUCTION MEMBER is used in the preceding); this latter has, to my knowledge, never been rigorously defined, and different linguists have used different criteria in making immediate constituent cuts. (For a statement of some of these criteria, see B below). In analyzing the present corpus, I have divided a given sequence so as to achieve tomes each of which is a member of a focus class which contains single morphemes as well as other sequences, and which occurs with a maximal number of semantic relations to other sequences. This statement is not a definition,

since it presupposes the definition of *semantic relations to other sequences* (i.e. EPISEMEMES, see below 11-2), but it may clarify the meaning in which I use the term tome here.

Every sentence and some tomes consist of two or more tomes.[163] E.g. the sentence *bi qarbula.ldu-su* ('I shoot.[pl]-I.will') 'I'll shoot with [him].' 91. consists of two tomes *bi qarbula.ldu-* ('I shoot.-[pl]') and *-su* 'I will'; the latter is a single morpheme, and so not further divisible into tomes, while the former consists of the tomes *bi* 'I' and *qarbul.ldu-* ('shoot.[pl]'); the latter consists of the tomes *qarbula-* 'shoot' and *.ldu* ('[pl]'). Similarly the tome *Temüjin Qasar Begter Belgütey dörben* ('Temüjin Qasar Begter Belgütey four') 'Temüjin, Qasar, Begter, and Belgütey, the four' 76., consists of two tomes, *Temüjin Qasar Begter Belgütey* and *dörben* 'four'; the latter is a single morpheme, while the former consist of four tomes corresponding to the four names.

3. A morpheme sequence which is always a tome is a LEXEME. E.g. *bi* 'I' is a lexeme, since it is a single morpheme, and hence an indivisible tome at every occurrence; *qarbula.ldu-* 'shoot with' is also a lexeme: when these two morphemes occur together, they always function as a unit. On the other hand, a sequence such as *toqu-ul-* ('put.on-cause') 'have put on' is not a lexeme; e.g. in the sequence *'edoe Je[l]me-yi emeel-iyen toqu-ul'* ('"now Jelme-[df] saddle-own put.on-cause-!"') '"Now let Jelme put on your saddle [for you]"' 97. successive tome cuts yield the tomes shown in Table 20. In none of these cases does *toqu-ul-* form a tome, and in cut 4 *toqu-* and *-ul-* belong to different tomes, where *toqu-* has its own modifiers apart from *-ul-*.

| | A | B |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *edöe ... toqu-ul-* | Ø (imperative second singular) |
| 2. | *edöe* 'now' | *Jelme ... toqu-ul-* 'cause Jelme to put on one's saddle' |
| 3. | *Jelme-yi* 'Jelme (df)' | *emeel-iyen toqu-ul-* 'cause someone to put on one's saddle' |
| 4. | *emeel-iyen toqu-* 'put on one's saddle' | *-ul-* 'let, cause to' |
| 5. | *emeel-iyen* 'one's own saddle' | *toqu-* 'put on' |
| 6. | *emeel* 'saddle' | *-iyen* 'own' |
| 7. | *Jelme* 'Jelme' | *-yi* ('df') |

TABLE 20.

4. A sequence which consists of two or more tomes is a TAGMA.[164] (In the preceding chapters the term CONSTRUCTION has been used in place of TAGMA, as well as for ALLOTAGMA, defined below; cf. note 60.) E.g. in the example of Table 20, tomes 1A, 2B, 3A, 3B, 4A, and 5A are tagmas, while the remainder are not.

5. The tomes constituting a tagma are PARTNER TOMES, or simply PARTNERS. In the example of Table 20, the tomes on the same numbered lines but in different columns are partners.

6. The meaning of a morph or a tome is its SEME. E.g. in the above example, the meanings quoted are all semes.

7. The meaning of a tagma over and above the semes of its partners is the EPISEME of that tagma. (In the preceding, the term MEANING OF A [particular] CONSTRUCTION [e.g. the meaning of the construction *bi neke-* 'I pursue'] has been used in place of EPISEME.) An episeme is thus the meaning corresponding to the formal facts (1) that two partner tomes occur together in a tagma, and (2) that they occur in a given order. E.g. in row 5 of Table 20 the semes are 'one's own saddle' and 'put on'; the seme of the whole tagma (which is a tome also) is 'put on one's saddle'. The episeme of the tagma is 'an action of "putting on" is carried out on "one's saddle"' (where the words in

double quotes are the semes of the partners); this is the meaning of the cooccurrence in the above order of the partners. Similarly, in *bi neke-sŭ.* ('I pursue-I.will') 'I'll pursue [them].' 90. the episeme of the tagma *bi neke-* 'I pursue' is 'it is "I" who is carrying out the action of the "pursue"-ing'.

8. A class of semantically similar episemes which are in free variation or in complementary distribution with regard to the semes of the partner tomes involved, is an ALLOEPISEME. (In the preceding, the term CONSTRUCTION MEANING, or MEANING OF A CONSTRUCTION has been used in place of ALLOEPISEME.) E.g. there are two tagmas, *bi neke-* (in *bi neke-sŭ.* 'I'll pursue.' 90.) 'I ... pursue' and *ci úlu cida-* (in *ci úlu cida-qu.* 'You won't be able.' 90.) 'you ... not able'; their episemes are respectively 'it is "I" who is carrying out the action of "pursue"-ing' and 'it is "you(sg)" who are "be"-ing "unable"': the difference between these episemes is a result of the semes of the different verbs. The two episemes are therefore in complementary distribution, and semantically similar, so that they are both occurrences of the same alloepiseme, which may be stated as 'the seme of one partner refers to that which carries out the action referred to by the seme of the other', or simply 'actor performs action'.[165]

9. The class of tagmas which include the same alloepiseme is an ALLOTAGMA. (In the preceding, the term CONSTRUCTION has been used in place of ALLOTAGMA.) E.g. there is an allotagma (the actor-action allotagma, i.e. the construction nominal subject plus verbal treated in 3.4221) which consists of all tagmas including the alloepiseme last mentioned above.

10. A class of tomes which occur as one partner in tagmas belonging to a same allotagma is a TOMEME.[166] E.g. *bi* 'I' and *ci* 'you(sg)' are members of a tomeme whose members occur as the 'actor' partner of tagmas belonging to the actor-action allotagma. Similarly, *neke-* 'pursue' and *úlu cida-* 'not be able' are members of a tomeme whose members occur as the 'action' partner of tagmas belonging to the actor-action allotagma.

11. A class of semantically similar alloepisemes which are in complementary distribution with regard to the tomemes occurring as partners in the allotagmas including them (the alloepisemes) is an EPISEMEME. E.g. there are two similar alloepisemes 'relator applies to nominal axis' (in e.g. *ecige-yin* 'of a father', *ger-tŭr* 'into the yurt'), and 'relator applies to verbal axis' (in e.g. *neke-sŭ* 'I will pursue', *ire-be* 'came'); these are in complementary distribution, since the first occurs with the partner tomemes nominal and case particle, while the second with the partner tomemes verbal and verbal final particle. The two alloepisemes are therefore members of the same episememe 'relator applies to axis'.

12. Any alloepiseme which is not a member of any episememe (as defined above) is itself an EPISEMEME. E.g. the alloepiseme 'actor performs action' occurs only with the partners nominal and verbal: this alloepiseme is by the present definition raised to the status of an episememe.

13. A class of allotagmas which include the same episememe is a tagmeme. (In the preceding the statement 'this is a so-and-so construction' [e.g. 'this is a goal-action construction'] means 'this [tagma or allotagma] is a member of the so-and-so tagmeme'.) E.g. the class of allotagmas including the episememe 'relator applies to axis' (cf. 11 above) is the axis-relation tagmeme. A complete list of tagmemes, episememes, and allotagmas is given in 3.8.

B. IMMEDIATE CONSTITUENTS. Bazell (1951.3-4) has the following to say about immediate constituent analysis:

> The contemporary theory of the immediate constituent is unfortunately based on a blend of two levels of criteria which, in the principal field of application, do not tend to coincide. These are the criteria of cohesion and juncture.
>
> By cohesion is meant the degree to which a group of units behaves, in the totality of possible environments, like a single unit. (The question may also be framed: how similar is the distribution of the higher-level unit to some lower-level unit?) Maximal cohesion is the virtual identity in functions of the group with a single unit.

> By juncture is meant the degree to which the members of a group combine in a given series. (How close is this combination?) Juncture in the usual sense is a special instance of the relation.

And further:

> In morphology the two relations do not tend to coincide. When therefore E. Nida (Syntax p. 55) analyses *au garçon* into constituents answering to the word-division, he does so on junctural criteria out of place in the generally cohesional system of immediate constituents. There is here a closer junctural relation between preposition and article, but a closer cohesional relation between article and noun. The word is a junctural, not a cohesional unit. The consequences have been drawn by one American scholar (Z. Harris), whose constituent-analyses cut through all word-divisions.

This is the only statement I know which separates the two criteria which are at present being used in IC analysis. An example of the blending of the two criteria is found in Wells 1947, where we find on the one hand (p. 83) 'The leading idea of the theory of ICs here developed is to analyze each sequence, so far as possible, into parts which are expansions; these parts will be the constituents of the sequence.', but on the other (p. 84) 'The choice between these two analyses is dictated not by the principle of expansions as stated and exemplified above, but by two other principles of patterning equally fundamental for English and very probably for other languages: the principle of choosing ICs that will be as independent of each other as possible, and the principle that word divisions should be respected.' This last criterion is a junctural one, while those concerning expansions and independence are cohesional criteria. The principle of independence has been refined by Bloch (1953.43-4):

> We try to divide [a sequence] so as to achieve tomes that belong to maximally heterogeneous and maximally ubiquitous tomemes. A TOMEME, I need hardly say, is a class of tomes: the totality of the expressions that can replace one tome in a given sequence without altering the semantic relation to the tome that remains constant. Two tomes in the same tomeme are HOMOGENEOUS if they contain the same number of morphemes and if every morpheme of one shares membership in at least one morpheme class with the corresponding morpheme of the other. To the extent that this requirement is not met, the tomes are HETEROGENEOUS. UBIQUITY — a wretched term, not only because it is not Greek like the rest, but also because it suggests more than I mean, — is a matter of turning up in many different constructions, that is with many different semantic relations to other constituents in the sequence.

Ubiquity here is equivalent to Wells' principle of independence, and to that part of Bazell's definition of cohesion which refers to 'the totality of possible environments'. However, Bloch does not require, as does Bazell, that tomes 'behave like a single unit'. This latter requirement is very important in Bazell's cohesion principle, and is necessary in Bloch's system if he is to avoid the last traces of junctural criteria (i.e. respect for word division) in cutting into tomes. The criterion of heterogeneity is neither cohesional nor junctural; it may sometimes be useful as a subsidiary criterion, but I would apply it only when the cohesional criteria failed to make a decision.

There is, of course, no a priori basis for thinking that either the junctural or the cohesional criteris for tome cuts will yield the simplest description of all languages. In the case of Mongolian the two types of criteria give the same result in about half the tome cuts. In the remaining cuts, however, (generally when an exocentric construction is involved), they flatly disagree. E.g. in the sentence *bi neke-sü* ('I pursue-I.will') 'I'll pursue [them].' 90., the two analyses are *bi neke-sü* (junctural, where morphemes bracketed together form a tome), and *bi neke-sü* (cohesional). In either case *bi* 'I' is the subject and modifies what will then be defined as a verb (*nekesü* or *neke-* respectively), while *sü* is relator of the axis-relation tagma whose axis is *neke-* or *bi neke-*. The former analysis follows the boundary of the two phonological words, and in addition yields tomes which are more ubiquitous than those of the cohesional analysis: *bi* occurs in more than twenty allotagmas,[167] and *nekesü* in about nine, while *bi neke-* occurs in twelve, and *-sü* only in the

allotagma at hand. The junctural analysis also yields tomemes which are more heterogeneous than those obtained by cohesional analysis: the tomemes represented here by *nekesü* (junctural) and *bi neke-* (cohesional) are equally heterogeneous (they contain the same members, except that the former always has a morpheme in the position here occupied by *sü*), while that represented by *bi* (the nominal tomeme) is much more heterogeneous than that represented by *-sü* (which contains no members consisting of more than two morphemes). However, in the cohesional analysis, the two morpheme tome is an expansion of a single morpheme *(neke-)*, while in the junctural it is not.

It was mentioned above that, with regard to ubiquity, *neke-sü* occurred in about nine allotagmas, while *bi neke-* occurred in twelve: it is because of this difference in ubiquity that the cohesional analysis gives a simpler description of syntax than does the junctural. Compare the double analyses of the following three tomes presented in Table 21: *naran urqu-qu-yin urid.a* ('sun rise-[impf.adj.N] before') 'before the sun rose' 70., *naran śiŋge-esü* ('sun set-if') 'when the sun set' 81., and *bi neke-sü* 'I'll pursue [them].' 90.. If we accept the junctural analysis, we will have to state that the

| | JUNCTURAL ANALYSIS | COHESIONAL ANALYSIS |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *naran urqu-qu-yin urid.a* | *naran urqu-qu-yin urid.a* |
| 2. | *naran śiŋge-esü* | *naran śiŋge-esü* |
| 3. | *bi neke-sü* | *bi neke-sü* |

TABLE 21

following actor-action allotagmas occur: noun plus verbal noun (with or without case particle; 1), noun plus converb (2), and noun plus final verb (3); similarly, in describing adverbials, we will have to say that they occur as modifiers of verbal nouns (but not of other nouns or nominals), converbs, and final verbs. This is undesirable because (a) it necessitates treating nouns containing verbs as different from other nouns (in the cohesional analysis nominals containing verbals have exactly the same syntax as do other nominals, and (b) almost every allotagma in which final verbs occur as one partner tomeme will be found to occur also with verbal nouns and converbs as one partner, so that such allotagmas will each have to be stated in three different places in the grammar. The cohesional analysis treats all such allotagmas in a single place (under verbal constructions, 3.4).

This example is typical of those cases where junctural and cohesional criteria give different results in Mongolian. Hence I have made tome cuts using only the following cohesional criteria, applying them in the following order: a sequence is to be cut so as to achieve tomes which (1) belong to focus classes containing single morphemes as well as longer sequences, and (2) are maximally ubiquitous. For similar statements or implications, see Harris 1951.278-80, Pittman 1954.5-10, and Bazell 1952.21-4. (For the difficulties involved in applying cohesional criteria, see Bazell 1953.65-7; these difficulties rarely arise in analyzing Mongolian.)

# INDEX

In this index particles, affixes, and all morphemes showing suppletive allomorphs are listed in the following alphabetical order: /:, a, A, b, B, c, d, e, g, G, Ǥ, q, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, N, Ɲ, o, ŏ, r, s, S, ś, t, u, ŭ, U, w, y, +/ followed by zero (Ø). Morphemes whose allomorphs cannot be stated by a single phonemic or morphophonemic writing are represented by a single allomorph written between morphemic brackets, { }. All other allomorphs of such morphemes are listed between the slant lines representing phonemic transcription, but two allomorphs are not listed separately if they can be covered by a single morphophonemic writing, e.g. *-+un/-+ün/-n* are listed only once under *-+(U)n*. In the case of homonymous morphemes (which are distinguished by subscript numbers), a particle which is a phonological word is listed before one which is not, and a particle is listed before an affix. Finally, an allomorph is listed after a homonymous morpheme.


/.AN/ cf. {.iN}
*.A*$_1$ noun-forming suffix, 4.141
*.A*$_2$ deverbal attribute-forming suffix, 4.231
*.A*$_3$ deattribute verb-forming suffix, 4.322
{.A}$_4$ deverbal verb-forming suffix, 4.331
/-A/ cf. {.+A}, and {-U}$_1$
/.A/ cf. {.Y}$_2$, and {.qA}$_2$
/-AcA/ cf. {-+AcA}
*.AL* deattribute attribute-forming suffix, 4.2211
/-An/ cf. {-BAn}
*.AN* deverbal attribute-forming suffix, 4.233
*.AŋqA* deverbal attribute-forming suffix, 4.233
/-Ar/ cf. {-+BAr}
*.AR* deverbal noun-forming suffix, 4.131
*.As* verb-forming suffix, 4.34
*-AY* ('possession') deattributive adjective-nominalizing particle, 3.2214, 4.52
/.AY/ cf. {.Y}$_2$
/b/ cf. {-bA}
{ba}$_1$ 'we (exclusive)', personal pronoun, 3.211
*ba*$_2$ ('contr') emphatic particle, 3.6 (3)
{-bA} ('non.fut') verbal final indicative particle, 3.122
*be* ('contr') emphatic particle, 3.6 (3)
*ber* ('indef') emphatic particle, 3.6 (3)
{bi}$_1$ 'I', personal pronoun, 3.211
*.bi*$_2$ denominal attribute-forming suffix, 4.211
/bida/ cf. *bidaƝ*
*bidaƝ* 'we (inclusive)', personal pronoun, 3.211
*bŏed* ('even') emphatic particle, 3.6 (3)
*.bśi* verb-forming suffix, 4.34
*bürün* ('as.for') emphatic particle, 3.6 (3)
/-BAAn/ cf. {-BAn}
{-BAn} ('own') possessive particle, 3.2221, 3.322
/-BAr/ cf. {-+BAr}
*.cA*$_1$ deverbal attribute-forming suffix, 4.233
*.cA*$_2$ denominal verb-forming suffix, 4.311
*.cA*$_3$ deverbal verb-forming suffix, 4.331
{ci}$_1$ 'you (singular)': personal pronoun, 3.211
*ci*$_2$ ('as.for') emphatic particle, 3.6 (3)
{.ci}$_3$ denominal noun-forming suffix, 4.1111 (and cf. *.+ci*)
*.ci*$_4$ denominal noun-forming suffix, 4.1112
*.ci*$_5$ deverbal verb-forming suffix, 4.331
/cima/ cf. {ci}$_1$
/cin/ cf. {ci}$_1$
/.ciN/ cf. {.iN}
*-d*$_1$ ('aor') verbal final indicative particle, 3.122
*.d*$_2$ deattribute noun-forming suffix, 4.121
*.d*$_3$ attribute-forming suffix, 4.24
*.d*$_4$ denominal verb-forming suffix, 4.311
*.d*$_5$ deattribute verb-forming suffix, 4.321
*.d*$_6$ deverbal verb-forming suffix, 4.331
/.d/ cf. {.S}
/dab/ cf. {tabuN}
/dal/ cf. {doloaN}
*.dA* denominal verb-forming suffix, 4.311
/-dA/ cf. {-ǤdA} and {-+A}
/-dAcA/ cf. {-+AcA}
*.dAǤ* deverbal attribute-forming suffix, 4.233
*.dAL* deverbal noun-forming suffix, 4.131
/daƝ/ cf. *taƝ*
/.dAƝ/ cf. {.S}
*-dAY* ('member') denominal adjectivalizing particle, 3.3214
*.dki* deattribute verb-forming suffix, 4.321
/dolo/ cf. {doloaN}
{doloaN} 'seven', a numeral, 3.31
/dŏ/ cf. {dörbeN}
{dörbeN} 'four', a numeral, 3.31
*.dU*$_1$ denominal noun-forming suffix, 4.1113
*.dU*$_2$ deattribute noun-forming suffix, 4.122
*-dUwAr* ('th') deattributive adjectivalizing particle, 3.3215
/e/ cf. {ene}

*ele* ('indeed') emphatic particle, 3.6 (3)
{ene} 'this', demonstrative pronoun, 3.211
/eüN/ cf. {ene}
/ewüN/ cf. {ene}
*.geri* bound lexeme of undetermined class, 4.35
*.giN* deattribute attribute-forming suffix, 4.2212
*gü* ('real') emphatic particle, 3.6 (3)
/gü/ spelling pronunciation for $.^{+}U$ ('?'), cf. note 77
/GA/ cf. $\{\text{-Ul}\}_1$
*.GAdA* deverbal verb-forming suffix, 4.331
*.GAL* deverbal noun-forming suffix, 4.131
*.GAljA* deverbal verb-forming suffix, 4.331
$.GAN_1$ denominal noun-forming suffix, 4.1111
$.GAN_2$ deverbal noun-forming suffix, 4.131
*.GciØ* denominal attribute-forming suffix, 4.212
$.GciN_1$ denominal noun-forming suffix, 4.1111
$.GciN_2$ deattribute attribute-forming suffix, 4.2212
*.GjA* denominal noun-forming suffix, 4.1111
*.Gśi* denominal noun-forming suffix, 4.1114
$-GU_1$ ('fut') verbal final indicative particle, 3.122
$-GU_2$ ('impf.adj.N') deverbal adjective-nominalizing particle, 3.2212
$.GU_3$ deverbal noun-forming suffix, 4.132
*.Ø* deverbal noun-forming suffix, 4.131
*.ØA* deverbal noun-forming suffix, 4.131
*.ØAN* deverbal noun-forming suffix, 4.131
{-ØdA} ('pass') verbal medial particle, 3.4212
*qa.* bound lexeme of undetermined class, 4.35
*qam.* bound lexeme of undetermined class, 4.35
$.qA_1$ deverbal noun-forming suffix, 4.131
$\{.\text{qA}\}_2$ deverbal verb-forming suffix, 4.331
$.qA_3$ denominal verb-forming suffix, 4.311
*.qAY* deverbal noun-forming suffix, 4.131
/qoya/ cf. {qoyar}
{qoyar} 'two', numeral, 3.313
/qu/ cf. {qurbaN}
{qurbaN} 'three', numeral 3.313
*.qU* deattribute attribute-forming suffix, 4.2212
$.qUlA\eta_1$ deverbal noun-forming suffix, 4.131
$.qUlA\eta_2$ deverbal attribute-forming suffix, 4.233
/ho/ cf. {hoduN}
{hoduN} 'star', 2.0, 4.112
$\{\text{i}\}_1$ 'he, she, it', personal pronoun, 3.211
$.i_2$ denominal attribute-forming suffix, 4.213
$\{.\text{i}\}_3$ particle-forming suffix of undetermined meaning occurring after the temporal morpheme of verbal final particles, 3.122, 4.51
*.id* denominal verb-forming suffix, 4.311
*.iliØ* denominal noun-forming suffix, 4.1111
/ima/ cf. $\{\text{i}\}_1$
{.iN} 'times ten', deattribute attribute-forming suffix, 3.313, 4.2212
/in/ cf. $\{\text{i}\}_1$
*inu* ('really') emphatic particle, 3.6 (3)
*.is* denominal verb-forming suffix, 4.331 (and cf. *.yis*)
/-iyAn/ cf. {-BAn}
*.jA* denominal verb-forming suffix, 4.311
*je* ('surely') emphatic particle, 3.6 (3)
*.ji* denominal attribute-forming suffix, 4.212
*.jilA* denominal verb-forming suffix, 4.312
$-jiN_1$ ('member|fem') denominal adjectivalizing particle, 3.3214
$.jiN_2$ denominal noun-forming suffix, 4.1111
$.jiN_3$ denominal attribute-forming suffix, 4.212
/jirqo/ cf. {jirqoaN}
{jirqoaN} 'six', numeral, 3.313
/-jügü/ spelling pronunciation for /-jüü/ (?), cf. note 73
/-J/ cf. {-JUU}
/-JAAy/ rare verbal final indicative particle, cf. note 71
/-Jigi/ HY equivalent of SH *-J.iAy*, cf. notes 70, 74
/-JiUy/ rare verbal final indicative particle, cf. note 71
*-JU* ('ing') converbial particle, 3.3212
{-JUU} ('non.fut') verbal final indicative particle, 3.122
*k.* denominal noun-forming and deattribute attribute-forming prefix, 4.15, 4.25
*ke.* bound lexeme of undetermined class, 4.35
*keb.* bound lexeme of undetermined class, 4.35
*.kel* bound lexeme of undetermined class, 4.35
*kem.* bound lexeme of undetermined class, 4.35
*.ki* deverbal verb-forming suffix, 4.331
*.kiN* denominal noun-forming suffix, 4.1112
/KA/ cf. $\{\text{-Ul}\}_1$
$.KAN_1$ denominal noun-forming suffix, 4.1111
$.KAN_2$ deattribute attribute-forming suffix, 4.2212
*kü* ('real') emphatic particle, 3.6 (3)
$-KUY_1$ ('aor') verbal final indicative particle, 3.122, 4.52
$-KUY_2$ ('aor.adj.N') deverbal adjective-nominalizing particle, 3.2212, 4.52
$-l_1$ ('act.S') deverbal substantivalizing particle, 3.2211
$.l_2$ denominal noun-forming suffix, 4.1114
$.l_3$ deverbal verb-forming suffix, 4.331
/.l/ cf. $\{.\text{Ul}\}_3$
$.lA_1$ denominal verb-forming suffix, 4.311
$.lA_2$ deattribute verb-forming suffix, 4.322
$.lA_3$ deverbal verb-forming suffix, 4.331
$.lA_4$ verb-forming suffix, 4.34
$.lA\eta$ deverbal noun-forming suffix, 4.131
{.ldU} verb plural suffix, 4.332, 4.112
*.lGU* denominal verb-forming suffix, 4.311
$.li_1$ deattribute verb-forming suffix, 4.321

.$li_2$ deverbal verb-forming suffix, 4.331
.*liGA* deverbal noun-forming suffix, 4.131
.*liɢ* denominal noun-forming suffix, 4.1112
.*ljA* denominal verb-forming suffix, 4.311
.*lki* deverbal noun-forming suffix, 4.131
*lú* ('indeed') emphatic particle, 3.6 (3)
.*m* deverbal noun-forming suffix, 4.131
*maqa* 'perhaps', sentence particle, 3.1312
/man/ cf. {ba}$_1$
.*mAd* denominal noun-forming suffix, 4.1111
.*mAl* deverbal attribute-forming suffix, 4.233
.*mi* denominal noun-forming suffix, 4.1111
/min/ cf. {bi}$_1$
.$mji_1$ denominal noun-forming suffix, 4.1112
.$mji_2$ deverbal noun-forming suffix, 4.132
.*mśi* denominal verb-forming suffix, 4.311
.*mśiɢ* denominal attribute-forming suffix, 4.211
.*mUn* deverbal noun-forming suffix, 4.131
-*n* ('n') denominal adjective-nominalizing particle, 3.2213
/na/ cf. {bi}$_1$
/nama/ cf. {bi}$_1$
/nay/ cf. {naymaN}
{naymaN} 'eight' numeral, 3.313
.$nA_1$ denominal noun-forming suffix, 4.1114
.$nA_2$ denominal postposition-forming suffix, 4.41
/.nAd/ cf. {.S}
/.nAr/ cf. {.S}
.*ncAr* denominal noun-forming suffix, 4.1111
.$N_1$ denominal noun-forming suffix, 4.1111
.$N_2$ deverbal noun-forming suffix, 4.131
.$N_3$ noun-forming suffix, 4.141
/.N/ cf. {.S}
.*Ɲ* deattribute noun-forming suffix, 4.122
.*ŋgi* deverbal attribute-forming suffix, 4.233
.$ŋGU_1$ denominal attribute-forming suffix, 4.212
.$ŋGU_2$ deverbal attribute-forming suffix, 4.233
.*r* verb-forming suffix, 4.34
.$rA_1$ denominal noun-forming suffix, 4.1114
.$rA_2$ denominal attribute-forming suffix, 4.212
.$rA_3$ denominal postposition-forming suffix, 4.41
/.reN/ cf. {.iN}
.*rGA* denominal verb-forming suffix, 4.311
.$ri_1$ denominal verb-forming suffix, 4.311
.$ri_2$ deverbal verb-forming suffix, 4.331
.*riƝ* deverbal noun-forming suffix, 4.131
-$rU_1$ ('so.that') converbial particle, 3.3212
.$rU_2$ denominal noun-forming suffix, 4.1112
.$R_1$ denominal noun-forming suffix, 4.1111
.$R_2$ deverbal noun-forming suffix, 4.131
.$R_3$ deverbal attribute-forming suffix, 4.233
-$s_1$ ('doing.fast') converbial particle, 3.3212
.$s_2$ deverbal attribute-forming suffix, 4.232
.$s_3$ denominal verb-forming suffix, 4.311
/.s/ cf. {.S}
.*sA* denominal verb-forming suffix, 4.311
.*sAɢ* noun-forming suffix, 4.141
.*sGUlAŋ* deverbal noun-forming suffix, 4.131
-*sU* ('I.will') verbal final indicative particle, 3.122
-*sUGAy* ('may.I') verbal final hortative particle, 3.121
.$sUN_1$ denominal noun-forming, and particle-forming suffix (occurring in the suffix -*Ul.sUN* with the particle -$Ul_2$ ['ag.S']), 4.1111, 4.54
.$sUN_2$ denominal noun-forming suffix, 4.1113
.*sUƝ* deverbal noun-forming suffix, 4.131
{.S} the plural suffix, 4.112, 4.222, 4.21, 4.52
.$śi_1$ deverbal noun-forming suffix, 4.131
.$śi_2$ denominal noun-forming suffix, 4.1115
.$śi_3$ verb-forming suffix, 4.34
.*śiyA* deattribute verb-forming suffix, 4.321
*t.* denominal noun-forming and deattribute attribute-forming prefix, 4.15, 4.25
/tab/ cf. {tabuN}
{tabuN} 'five', numeral, 3.313
.*tA* verb-forming suffix, 4.34
/-tA/ cf. {.$^+$A}, and {-ɢdA}
-*tAAr* deattribute attributivizing particle, 3.3215
-*tAlA* ('till') converbial particle, 3.3212
*tAƝ* 'you', personal pronoun, 3.211
-$tAY_1$ ('member') denominal adjectivalizing particle, 3.3214
.$tAY_2$ denominal noun-forming suffix, 4.1112
.*tU* denominal verb-forming suffix, 4.311
-*tUGAy* ('may.he') verbal final hortative particle, 3.121
-*tUr* ('in, to') a lative particle, 3.3211
-*tUwAr* deattribute attributivizing particle, 3.3215
-*t(U)* 'having', denominal adjective-nominalizing particle, 3.213, 3.3213, 4.52
{-U}$_1$ ('non.pst') verbal final indicative particle, 3.122
.$U_2$ deverbal noun-forming suffix, 4.131
.$U_3$ deverbal noun-forming suffix, 4.132
.$U_4$ noun-forming suffix, 4.141
.$U_5$ denominal attribute-forming suffix, 4.213
.$U_6$ postposition-forming suffix, 4.421
/.Uci/ cf. {.ci}$_3$
/.Ud/ cf. {.S}
-*UjA* (I.fear') verbal final indicative particle, 3.122
{-Ul}$_1$ 'cause', verbal medial particle, 3.4211
-$Ul_2$ ('ag.S') deverbal substantivalizing particle, 3.2211, 4.52
{.Ul}$_3$ deverbal noun-forming suffix, 4.131
.*UL* noun-forming suffix, 4.142
/.UlcA/ cf. {.ldU}
{.Uli} deverbal noun-forming suffix, 4.131
.*UlA* deattribute noun-forming suffix, 4.121

-*Ul.sUN* deverbal nominalizing particle (-*Ul*$_2$ plus .*sUN*$_1$) 4.54
/.UlU/ cf. {.Uli}
.*UN* deattribute attribute-forming suffix, 4.2212
.*UR*$_1$ denominal noun-forming suffix, 4.1111
.*UR*$_2$ deverbal noun-forming suffix, 4.131
-*(U)A* ('non.fut') verbal final indicative particle, 3.122
-*(U)Ad* ('after') converbial particle, 3.3212
-*(U)AY* ('impf.act.S') deverbal substantivalizing particle, 3.2211
-*(U)dKUn* ('!|pl]') verbal final hortative particle, 3.121
-*(U)Gci* ('er') deverbal substantivalizing particle, 3.2211, 4.52
-*(U)GsAN* ('pf.adj.N') deverbal adjective-nominalizing particle, 3.3212, 4.52
-*(U)GtUD* ('!|pl]') verbal final hortative particle, 3.121
/(U)l/ cf. {-(U)lAA}
{-(U)lAA} (non.fut') verbal final indicative particle, 3.122
/-(U)lUA/ rare verbal final indicative particle, cf. note 71
-*(U)msAr* ('non.yet') converbial particle, 3.3212
-*(U)mU* ('non.pst') verbal final indicative particle, 3.122
-*(U)rA* ('to') converbial particle, 3.3212
/-(U)y/ cf. {-(U)yU}
-*(U)yA* ('let.us') verbal final indicative particle, 3.121
{-(U)yU} ('non.pst') verbal final indicative particle, 3.122
-*y*$_1$ ('aor') verbal final indicative particle, 3.122
.*y*$_2$ particle-forming suffix of undetermined meaning occurring after the temporal morpheme of verbal final particles, 3.122, 4.51
/.yaN/ cf. {.iN}
.*yA*$_1$ deverbal noun-forming suffix, 4.131
.*yA*$_2$ denominal verb-forming suffix, 4.311
/-yA/ cf. {-$^+$A}
/.yA/ cf. {.A}$_4$
/-yAcA/ cf. {-$^+$AcA}
/-yAn/ cf. {-BAn}
/-yAr/ cf. {-$^+$BAr}
/ye/ cf. {yesüN}
{yesüN} 'nine', numeral, 3.313
/-yi/ cf. {-$^+$yi}
.*yid* denominal verb-forming suffix, 4.311
/-yin/ cf. {-$^+$yiN}
.*yis* denominal verb-forming suffix, 4.311 (cf. .*is*)
.*yitA* denominal verb-forming suffix, 4.312
.*yitAN* noun-forming suffix, 4.141
/-yiyar/ cf. {-$^+$BAr}
.*ylA* deattribute verb-forming suffix, 4.321
-*yU* ('?') sentence particle, 3.1311
/-yU/ cf. {-$^+$yi} and {-$^+$yiN}
.*Y*$_1$ denominal attribute-forming suffix, 4.212
{.Y}$_2$ feminine suffix (deattribute attribute-forming, and postposition-forming suffix), 4.2212, 3.213, 4.53
{-$^+$A} ('for') the dative particle, 3.3211
{-$^+$AcA} ('from') the ablative particle, 3.3211
/-$^+$Ar/ cf. {-$^+$BAr}
/-$^+$BAAn/ cf. {-BAn}
/-$^+$BAn/ cf. {-BAn}
{-$^+$BAr} ('by') the instrumental particle, 3.3211
.$^+$*ci* denominal noun-forming suffix, 4.1111 (and cf. {.ci}$_3$)
.$^+$*ciN* denominal attribute-forming suffix, 4.212
/.$^+$d/ cf. {.S}
-$^+$*dUr* ('in, to') a lative particle, 3.3211
/-$^+$E/ cf. {-$^+$A}
/-$^+$i/ cf. {-$^+$yi} and {-$^+$yiN}
/-$^+$iAr/ cf. {-$^+$BAr}
/-$^+$iyAr/ cf. {-$^+$BAr}
-$^+$*lUA* ('with') the comitative particle, 3.3211
/-$^+$nAcA/ cf. {-$^+$AcA}
/-$^+$nE/ cf. {-$^+$A}
/-$^+$ni/ cf. {-$^+$yi}
/-$^+$nU/ cf. {-$^+$yiN}
.$^+$*nUØ* denominal attribute-forming suffix, 4.212
/-$^+$tA/ cf. {-$^+$A}
/-$^+$tAcA/ cf. {-$^+$AcA}
.$^+$*tAwU* denominal attribute-forming suffix, 4.212
-$^+$*tUr* ('in, to') a lative particle, 3.3211
-$^+$*U* ('?') sentence particle, 3.1311
/-$^+$U/ cf. {-$^+$yiN}
/-$^+$Un/ cf. {-$^+$yiN}
-$^+$*UU* ('?') sentence particle, 3.1311
-$^+$*(U)BAsU* ('if') converbial particle, 3.3212
-$^+$*(U)n* ('ing') converbial particle, 3.3212
-$^+$*(U)rUn* ('ing.in') converbial particle, 3.3212
{-$^+$yi} ('df') the definite particle, 3.2221
{-$^+$yiN} ('of') the genitive particle, 3.3211
/-:cA/ cf. {-$^+$AcA} and 1.12
/-:l/ cf. {-Ul}$_1$, and 1.12
-Ø ('!') verbal final hortative particle, 3.121
-Ø cf. {-U}$_1$

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## FOOTNOTES

[1]Eastern as distinguished from the Western Middle Mongolian exemplified by the works of the Arab grammarians (cf. note 4). This distinction is implied by Poppe 1954a.302. (Dates following an author's name refer to the particular work of that author published in that year, as specified in the Bibliography). Middle Mongolian is the stage of Mongolian exhibited by the oldest extant texts: the term OLD MONGOLIAN is reserved for the stage preceding this (i.e. at the end of the first millenium A.D.), which is known only from words quoted in Chinese sources, and from the archaic spelling traditions of the Uigur and Mongolian alphabets.

[2]It is now known that this title was a later addition: the original title is preserved as a subtitle, *Ciŋgis qahan-nu hujaur* 'The origin of Cingis Qahan'; cf. Mostaert 1954.ix-xii, and Hung 1951.466-71.

[3]For the difficulties of dating the text, see Hung 1951.487-92.

[4]That of the LEIDEN MANUSCRIPT treated by Poppe 1927. Other Arab works are listed in the Bibliography under Melioranskij 1904, and Poppe 1938. For the dating of these works, see Poppe 1927.1009-11.

[5]The Secret History consists of approximately 35,000 phonological words, and 60,000 morpheme occurrences. These figures were obtained by counting the number of items on one page of Haenisch's edition (1937), and multiplying by the number of pages in that edition.

[6]The hP'ags-pa script shows as many phonemic distinctions as does the Chinese transcription of the SH and HY, and is somewhat easier to interpret than the latter, but the extant documents written with it are relatively few, and quite short. Texts in the Uigur and Mongolian scripts are next to useless for comparative reconstruction because of the archaic spelling conventions, and the lack (or infrequent use) of sufficient graphs to show certain phonemic distinctions.

[7]The best résumé of the contents of the SH is to be found in Haenisch 1948.171-4.

[8]Cf. Hung 1951.482.

[9]The alliterating phonemes in poetry are printed in bold face type in the edition of Pelliot (1949). Here they are underlined.

[10]Cf. ... *kee-n köü.d-i-yen qaucin üge.s qalad-un ötö.gü.s üge.s órkid-un maśi mawu.la-b.i.* '[so] saying, she spoke very harshly to her sons, citing ancient words, quoting old words.' 78.; this occurs after a long passage of poetry.

[11]This section is for the most part a résumé of Hung 1951.

[12]There has been considerable controversy among Japanese scholars as to whether there was an intermediary edition of the SH in hP'ags-pa script. Hattori (1939, 1951, 1954) thinks there was, while Murayama (1953) and certain others (e.g. Poppe 1944.114, and Japanese scholars whose works are referred to in Murayama 1953) argue against this assumption. I am not convinced by the reasoning of Hattori.

[13]For the transcription see 1.01.

[14]E.g. the break between sections 5-6, 12-3, 14-5, 18-9, 20-1, 30-1, 36-7, 62-5, 66-8.

[15]That between chüan 3 and 4.

[16]This division (listed in Haenisch 1937.126) at least avoids the break between chüan 3 and 4 which occurs in the middle of a sentence.

[17]Hung 1951.433 (under MWYCPS) and 446.

[18]Hung 1951.434 (under YCPS[CP]) and 446.

[19]Hung 1951.434 (under YCPS[P-P]) and 438.

[20]Hattori 1939 gives an edition of the first chüan of the SH. Unfortunately this work has not been available to me.

[21]Aalto 1951 gives a list of textual variants found in the rare Pozdneev edition of sections 1-96. These are mostly obvious copying mistakes, but some variants do occur which may be significant.

[22]The Yeh, Commercial Press, and Shiratori editions all follow the same pagination and alignment (Hung 1951.447).

[23]When there is any uncertainty on the value of a particular Chinese character in Mongolian, I have followed Lewicki 1949. This work, while dealing primarily with the HY rather than the SH, is still the most detailed treatment yet published on the transcription system of the SH.

[24]A reproduction of one page of the Yeh edition is given in Haenisch 1937.141-2, which may be compared with his romanized text of the same passage in 1937.7. It should be noted that Haenisch puts in spaces between some groups of phonemes which are not separately bracketed in the YCPS; e.g. at the beginning of section 55 he writes *gurkui lue* where the Chinese transcription shows a single bracket group. These added spaces of Haenisch correspond to some of the boundaries between free lexemes (3.0) which are marked here by a hyphen.

[25]We would then have what one might call a syllabic transliteration rather than a transcription.

[26]E.g. the Stone of Cingis Qan has /moŋɣol/ in line 2 (Murayama 1950.110). Both of these words occur frequently in the Sino-Mongolian Inscriptions (abbreviated SMI), e.g. /maŋlay/ in SMI 1335.9 (Cleaves 1950.71), SMI 1338.36 (Cleaves 1951.56), SMI 1362.2, 10 (Cleaves 1949.62-3), and /moŋɣol/ in SMI 1335.1 (Cleaves 1950.71), SMI 1338.1, 17, 36 (Cleaves 1951.53, 54, 56), SMI 1346.27, 34 (Cleaves 1952.71), SMI 1362.1, 3 (Cleaves 1949.62).

Note that here a Mongolian phoneme sequence is written between slant lines only when a single phoneme is being discussed, or when the phonemic transcription is being contrasted with some other transcription of that sequence.

[27] Lewicki refers to the "phags-pa', but means the language of the Chinese *h*P'ags-pa inscriptions which Dragunov (1930) calls Ancient Mandarin.

[28] References to the text consist of a number referring to one of the 281 section distinguished in all romanized editions of the SH, plus a dot, plus (when necessary) a number referring to a leaf number within a given section. The letters *r* and *v* after such numbers refer to recto and verso of a given leaf.

[29] Vowel harmony is regularly written when the necessary Chinese syllables were available for the transcription, and when the transcribers did not employ mnemonic devices which necessitated transcribing a given Mongolian syllable by a Chinese one which was not as phonetically similar to it as possible. E.g. the comitative particle *-lUA* is constantly written *-lua* after lexemes containing back vowels, or which we know from historical evidence contained back vowels (when the transcription is ambiguous), and *-lue* elsewhere. An actual proof of the fact that the language of the SH had vowel harmony has never been published, but there is no doubt that such a proof would be possible on descriptive grounds alone.

[30] This was suggested to me by Gerhard Doerfer in a personal communication dated May 25, 1954.

[31] The only possible piece of evidence in favor of Pelliot's theory is that at least one verb containing only /i/ vowels is followed by particles with back rather than front vowels: this verb is *niśi-* 'beat, thrash', which occurs in e.g. *niśi-qda-qu.n* 'those to be beaten' 227.43v. (Cf. 2.2) Note that there is some historical evidence which may point to a phonemic distinction between *i* and *ï*: while the Uigur script of the SMI does not distinguish the two, it does distinguish the sequences back velar plus *i* and front velar plus *i*. The Chinese transcription of the YCPS and HY on the other hand, has only the sequence front velar plus *i* (e.g. the SH has *taki-ju* 'serving' 216., while SMI 1335.17 has *taγi-n* 'serving', which Cleaves 1950.107 note 18 says is a writing for *taqi-n*). Two hypotheses are possible: (1) in the language represented by the SMI there was a single phoneme /i/ which occurred after both front and back velars; in this case a writing such as *taki-ju* in the SH may indicate (a) that the SH represents a different dialect from that of the SMI — one in which back velars had been fronted before /i/, or (b) that the SH represents the same dialect as that of the SMI and really had the sequence back velar plus /i/. While Ancient Mandarin had a sequence *χi* (Dragunov 1930.633, 784 #163), it had no sequence *γi* or *qi* (or at least no such sequence is listed by Dragunov as attested); thus the writings *gi* and *ki* in transcriptions of Mongolian words containing back vowels would have been a makeshift representation of /γi/ and /qi/. (2) In the language of the SMI there were two phonemes /i/ and /ɪ/ which were not distinguished in the Uigur script, but whose phonemic status is assured by the occurrence of particles with back vowels with some verbs having only vowels written *i* in the script, but which we may now call /ɪ/; in this case we may interpret SH forms such as *taki-* (a) as phonemically /taki/, assuming that the SH represents a dialect in which /ɪ/ had become /i/, and back velars fronted before this /i/, or (b) as phonemically /taqɪ/, with the assumption that the SH represents the same dialect as the SMI, or (c) as phonemically /taqi/, with the same reasoning as in (1b) above. Accepting interpretation (2b), we could distinguish *niśi-* 'beat' and *ki-* 'do', and so avoid separate statements about the former in the morphophonemics. From a purely descriptive point of view, it is probably better to withhold judgement, and write *gi* and *ki* with the Chinese transcribers, on the understanding that this writing may not be phonemic.

[32] E.g. Pelliot does not distinguish between *müren-ü* 96.38v, and *müren-nü* 1., but has *mürän-ü* in both passages (1949.5, 21).

[33] For a detailed critique of this and the above-mentioned transcriptions, see Lewicki 1949.19-24.

[34] Lewicki 1949.82-4, 109-11; and cf. the statement of de Smedt-Mostaert 1933.xii: 'En 'phags-pa at dans les transcriptions du Iuen tch'ao pi cheu et Houa i i iu, aucune distinction n'étant faite entre les postgutturales *q* et *γ*, pour distinguer ces deux consonnes, nous nous sommes basés sur les dialectes modernes.'

[35] If *Joci-de* occurred many times and *Joci-da* only once, we would probably amend the latter, and write *Jöci-de* everywhere; this type of amendation is frequently made by Haenisch, sometimes without note.

[36] These terms NEUTRAL, FRONT, and BACK are meant to be purely structural, with no necessary reference to the phonetic shape of the vowels listed. Cf. the treatment of vowel harmony in 1.22.

[37] /q/ and /γ/ are assumed to be different phonemes on historical evidence; since they are never distinguished in the Chinese transcription, they are always written here by the graph *q* (cf. 1.032). It follows that in the sections on the distribution of phonemes (1.2 and Appendix 1), /q/ and /γ/ are not distinguished.

[38] This occurs only in Chinese place names; since native speakers of Chinese probably transcribed the YCPS, we cannot be sure that they wrote the Mongolian pronunciation of these names rather than what they knew to be 'correct'. The status of this phoneme is therefore doubtful.

[39] Except, of course, for phonemes of stress and pitch. Lewicki (1949.66) thinks there may be some correlation between feature of stress and pitch in Mongolian and the tones of the Chinese characters used in transcription; he is, however, unable to come to any definite conclusions.

[40] E.g. the hP'ags-pa script shows *d* and *g* (probably representing voiceless lax phones) while Arab writers use their *t* and *k* rather than *d* and *g*: to decide the significance of the latter transcription, one would have to go into the history of the Arab works, and the evidence for the phonetic shape of Arabic *t*, *k*, *d*, and *g* in the thirteenth century. Further, within the SH a few spelling variants favor the interpretation of these phones as members of the /t/ and /k/ phonemes, while the morphophonemics are simpler if we assign them to the /d/ and /g/ phonemes. Mostaert and Cleaves read *d* and *g* for comparative reasons.

[41] It is known that two same vowels came together only when a consonant dropped between them (Vladimircov 1939.193-216); in the present-day dialects the two vowels are either retained as separate, or more frequently contracted into a single long vowel.

[42]For intermittently present distinctions, see Harris 1951.39, and Bloch 1946.201 (where such an intermittently present pause is called FACULTATIVE PAUSE). If bracket group boundaries represented only intermittently present pauses, and not some constant phonetic fact, the Chinese transcription shows one of the features of a regularized orthography in writing all such pauses rather than only those made by a given speaker in one particular utterance. I have retained this feature of a regularized orthography, if indeed it is such.

[43]I.e. there are several groups of morphs such that (1) the members of one group do not seem to differ in meaning from one another, and (2) the formal difference between members of each group is the same in the same environments. (E.g. after /n/ there is a formal difference *n/* Ø between members of four groups of morphs [allomorphs of the definite, genitive, dative, and ablative particles].) Rather than set up several morphemes for the contrasting morphs of such a group, it is assumed that the formal differences are conditioned by some phoneme or phonemes not written by the transcription. It is such a conditioning phoneme or phonemes which are written by the graph ^.

[44]Here V means any vowel, C any consonant.

[45]Capital letters (except V and C as above note 44) indicate morphophonemes, for which see chapter 2.

[46]Here and in the following the term SEQUENCE means A SEQUENCE OF ONE OR MORE ITEMS.

[47]For +, a morphophonemic juncture, see 2.3.

[48]This is the practice followed by Harris 1951.225 note 14.

[49]In the statements of the constituency of morphophonemes, and of allomorphs, these morphophonemes are included as vowels, and those in 2.2 as consonants. E.g. the morpheme {.ldU} (the verb plural suffix) has the allomorphs *.UlcA* after consonants, and *.ldU* after vowels; in the form *asa.ulca-* 'ask one another' *.UlcA* follows not the vowel /a/, but the consonant /Ø/ (i.e. *asaØ-* 'ask'), which in this position is zero.

[50]There may have been other morphemes which acted like *niśi-* in the spoken language represented in the SH; forms which furnish proof as to whether a morpheme containing only /i/ vowels is followed by particles with back or front vowels are rare. For the morpheme *niśi-* the forms *niśi-tuqay* and *niśi-qda-run* (so written in the Chinese transcription) are attested in 199.9r and 227.43v respectively. These contrast with the forms /ki-tügey/ (written *kitugay*) and /ki-gde-rün/ (written *kigderun*) occurring in 229.46v and 245.34v respectively, from the verb *ki-* 'do'. Pelliot distinguished these verbs as *nīśī* and *ki-* (cf. note 31).

[51]Here and in the following, whole construction members (i.e. tomes, cf. Appendix 2, A2) are usually quoted as examples; e.g. *ecige-lüe min-u* 'with my father' is a construction member, while *ecige-lüe* 'with father' is not (*-lüe* 'with' here is in construction with *ecige min-u* 'my father'). Sometimes in order to save space (especially with very long construction members) fragments of construction members will be quoted as examples, but then three dots will indicate that the example is not complete; e.g. the construction member of which ... *ab-quy-lua* is a fragment is *deü.ner köü.d in-u bawu-ju qaa.t.ay tergen-ü qaalqa ab-quy-lua* 'as soon as their younger brothers and sons dismounted and took off the door of the qaatay wagon', where *-lua* 'with' is in construction with all the preceding. The beginning of this long construction member is irrelevant to the present discussion, so that member is not quoted in full.

[52]To aid the reader in understanding the translations of the passages quoted as examples, a literal translation is added in parentheses after each passage (unless the literal translation is virtually identical with the freer one). In this parenthetical translation every free lexeme (cf. 3.0) of the Mongolian is separately translated into English, as are also the bound lexemes {.S} (the plural suffix), {.ldU} (the verb plural suffix), and $\{.Y\}_2$ (the feminine suffix). Spaces in this translation correspond to spaces in the Mongolian, hyphens to hyphens. A period occurs between two English words which translate a single Mongolian free lexeme, e.g. *alda-* ('let.go'). A given Mongolian lexeme is translated by the same English sequence whenever it occurs; for this reason, the free translation may sometimes seem very different from the parenthetical one, but reference to the treatment of any particles involved in the passage will usually resolve the difficulty. For section references, see the Index.

[53]For the form and meaning of this morpheme, see Mostaert 1952.374-9.

[54]Morphophonemic transcriptions such as this are added when they seem necessary to the understanding of the form in question.

[55]When a Mongolian form is quoted without reference to the text, such references will be found in Haenisch 1937.

[56]For this term see 3.0.

[57]This and similar statements below are generalizations: some nouns and attributes are not attested an all morphophonemically significant positions.

[58]Cf. Harris 1951.240-2.

[59]Cf. Appendix 2, A3.

[60]CONSTRUCTION is used as a synonym of both TAGMA and ALLOTAGMA as defined in Appendix 2, A4 and 9. The ambiguity here is not serious, since it will always be clear from the context whether an actual morpheme sequence (tagma) or a class of such sequences (allotagma) is meant. The phrase IS IN CONSTRUCTION WITH is equivalent to IS ONE PARTNER TOME (Appendix 2, A5) IN A TAGMA THE OTHER PARTNER OF WHICH IS.

[61]The terms SUBORDINATE and COORDINATE here are equivalent to Bloomfield's terms SUBORDINATIVE ENDOCENTRIC, and CO-ORDINATIVE ENDOCENTRIC (Bloomfield 1933.194-5).

[62]The terms MEMBER(S) OF A CONSTRUCTION and CONSTRUCTION MEMBER(S) are equivalent to the term PARTNER TOME(S) (or TOMEMES); cf. Appendix 2, A5.

[63]However, it is probable that one particular set of divisions will make possible a simpler statement of syntax than any other.

[64]However, when less than the totality of a quoted sentence is used as an example, it will not be distinguished from a similar part of a non-quoted sentence. E.g. *qar-* 'go out'.

[65]The term AN AXIS-RELATION CONSTRUCTION is equivalent to the phrase AN ALLOTAGMA OF THE AXIS-RELATION TAGMEME, the parts of which are defined in Appendix 2, A9 and 13. Terms such as AXIS-RELATION or ACTOR-ACTION are semantic lables for the tagmemes (which are classes of constructions — as it were super-constructions) enumerated in 3.8.

[66]Zero elements mark the non-occurrence of all of a class of morphemes in a particular position (as zero in the decimal system marks the absence of the numbers from one to nine).

[67]So Doerfer 1954.25B1

[68]Really unmarked as to number. A (semantically) unmarked category is one which does not definitely signal the presence of a given meaning, while a marked category does so signal. E.g. in the pair *duck/drake, drake* is marked: it definitely means that the bird mentioned is male. *Duck,* on the other hand is unmarked: while it may be used contrastively of a female bird, it more commonly occurs when the question of sex has not been brought up, or is irrelevant. Cf. Garey 1955.23-4 for pertinent literature.

[69]The form *-gtün* occurs twice in 230.2v, where it is paralleled by two occurrences of *-dgün;* Haenisch (1937.77, 119) emends these cases of *-gtün* to *-dgün.* Mostaert (1951.386) argues against this emendation.

[70]For $\{.i\}_3$ see Mostaert 1953.xvi and Cleaves 1950.120-1; the latter states with regard to the form *ögčigi* in the text of the Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1335 'Thus we have attested a feminine suffix *-ǰigi* and *-čigi* for the *praesens perfecti.* (Cf. also the suffix *-ǰi'ai* of the Secret History, where we find, for example, *aǰi'ai* in YCPS 1.1a4.) From these examples it is clear that this feminine form was used not only when the subject of the verb was feminine, but when the action performed by a masculine subject was, so to say, for feminine benefit. In the case of the words with vowels of the back series, however, we should expect the suffix **-ǰiyi* not *-ǰigi.'*

Doerfer is the only person who has attempted any systematic analysis of these indicative particles: he distinguishes a masculine singular, a feminine singular, and a masculine plural. If we arrange his results (1954.23 = 1955.248-62) in tabular form, his analysis is as shown in Table 22. Doerfer has difficulty in stating when feminine

| MASCULINE SG. | FEMININE SG. | MASCULINE PL. |
|---|---|---|
| *-ba* | *-bi* | *-bai* |
| *-ju'u* | *-ji'ai* | *-ju'ui* |
| | *-jigi* | |
| | *-je'ai* | |
| *-la'a* | *-ligi* | *-la'ai* |
| | *-liyi* | |
| *-mu* | *(?)* | *-mui* |
| *-u, -yu* | *-i, -yi* | *-ai* |
| *-a(?)* | *(?)* | *-'ai(?)* |
| *-hu* | *-ḥui* | *-hun* (historically feminine pl.) |

TABLE 22. DOERFER'S ANALYSIS OF VERBAL FINAL PARTICLES

forms occur; he disposes of the theories that a feminine form occurs (1) whenever the subject is feminine (2) whenever the object is feminine, (3) whenever a woman is helped or hindered by the action of the verb. 'Wann also steht die feminine Form des Verbs? Es lässt sich eine Mindestaussage treffen: sie k a n n stehen (muss aber nicht), wenn im Kontext irgendwie ein Femininum vorkommt. Es kann sich dabei handeln 1. um ein Subjekt ... 2. um ein direktes Objekt ... 3. um ein indirektes Objekt ... 4. Das Femininum kann Quasisubjekt sein ... 5. Die fem[inine] Form kann dann stehen, wenn eine Frau über jemanden spricht, ohne dass dieser selbst eine Frau zu sein braucht ... 6. Zuweilen ist der Zusammenhang mit einem Femininum ganz locker ....' Further he states 'Wie ist diese eigentümliche Lage wohl entstanden? Aus Mangel an älteren Dokumenten lässt sich darüber nichts Genaues aussagen. Lediglich eine — phantastisch klingende — Hypothese konnte ich aufstellen: Zur Zeit der G[eheimen] G[eschichte] waren die älteren fem[ininen] Formen in der Volkssprache wohl schon längst untergegangen, hielten sich aber noch als halbverstandenes archaisch-literarisches Gut. Die eigentliche Regel für den Gebrauch femininer Formen (die wohl die war, dass nach fem[inine] Subjekt das Verb fem[inine] Formen annahm) war vergessen — man wusste aber noch, dass es fem[inine] Formen gab, die so irgendwie (ich drücke mich bewusst vage aus) angewandt werden mussten, wenn von weiblichen Wesen gesprochen wurde und daraus resultiert die seltsam verworrene Lage im Gebrauch der fem[ininen] Formen. Ich weiss, dass diese Hypothese wenig plausibel klingt und möchte sie daher nur zur Diskussion stellen, bis sie eine bessere Lösung gefunden haben wird.' (1955.251-2)

The occurrences of the so-called masculine plural forms are equally difficult: both singular and plural forms occur with both singular and plural subjects. However, as in the case of the feminine forms and feminine subjects, there is a greater-than-chance correlation between masculine plural forms and plural subjects according to Doerfer's statistics. Doerfer does not put forth any hypothesis for the peculiar distribution of these masculine plural forms.

[71] This analysis does not cover the forms *-JAAy*, *-JiUy*, or *-(U)lUA*, which are extremely rare.

[72] According to the system of chronemic analysis set up by Garey 1955.9-15, 23-4. To say that a morpheme has a NON-FUTURE meaning means that it is indiscriminately past or present, while a NON-PAST morpheme is either present or future. In the parenthetical translation most of these particles are distinguished simply as ('non.fut') and ('non.pst').

[74] The very rare form *-jügü* of this morpheme (e.g. *ile-jügü* 170.6r) is probably a spelling pronunciation from the Uigur script, where all cases of *-JUU* would have been spelled with intervocalic velar.

[74] The form *-J.igi* is found in SMI 1335.29, 34 (Cleaves 1950.120-1). Cf. note 70 above.

[75] Except before *.y₂* this morpheme occurs only after vowels, so that the writing *-(U)A* rather than *-A* is an interpretation from the morphological parallelism.

[76] The sign ˜ connects the two members of compounds; cf. 4.16.

[77] The particle *-yU* occurs only after /u/ and /ü/. The others occur after both vowels and consonants. I assume that the rare form *-gü* (e.g. *ese-gü* 'not?' 193.24v, the only occurrence I have noted) is a spelling pronunciation from the Uigur script. I have not written *-+U* as *-+U:* in accordance with 1.13 (by comparison with *-+UU*) because of the possibility that the form with two vowels is a variant of that with one which occurred under emphatic stress; this is the sort of morpheme in which longer emphatic forms are to be expected.

[78] I.e. sequences which are definitely sentences occur both before and after a sequence which is not in construction with either, or else no sentence follows, and the sequence is not in construction with what precedes.

[79] The pronouns *bidaN*, {ba}, *taN*, and *an* are unmarked as to number, while the others are marked as singular; see 4.112.

[80] References in Haenisch 1939 (except *bidan-tur* and *bidan-aca*, which occur e.g. in 149.5v and 118.13r respectively).

[81] It is difficult to know how to analyze the pair *bi/nama*. The latter might be considered to contain two morphemes *na*, an allomorph of $\{bi\}_1$, and *.ma*, an accusative suffix. This latter would occur only after $\{bi\}_1$. However, *.ma* may well have been a particle (hence *-ma*) rather than a suffix in the spoken language reflected in the SH: *nama* is so rare that any analysis must be arbitrary. I would prefer to leave the question open, and simply call *nama* a syntactically conditioned allomorph of $\{bi\}_1$.

[82] Doerfer (who treats gender in 1954.23B = 1955.262-6) says in a personal communication of 24 June 1955 'Ich bezeichne ... als "Neutrum" in SH alles, was nicht Bezeichnung männlicher oder weiblicher Wesen ist (Nacht, Buch, Regenschirm, Banane usw.) Bei manchen dieser "Neutra" stellte ich dann Schwanken *-tu/-taị* bei zugeordnetem @ [i.e. modifier] fest. Aus Mangel an Beispielen lässt sich annehmen, dass Schwanken für A l l e "Neutra" gilt.' He also states there that he believes that appropriate examples in the SH are too few adequately to substantiate my analysis.

[83] There are a very few exceptions to these statements on gender: e.g. *nere-t.ey* 'named ...' of a man in 46., and *sedkil-tü* 'having ... thought' 255.27r of a woman. Some of these it may eventually be better to emend; others will probably change the above statements somewhat. More research is necessary before a complete statement can be made about gender in the language of the SH. (Cf. the morpheme $\{.i\}_3$ occurring in verbal final particles, and the suffix $.Y_1$, which may have some gender reference; also the suffixes $.GciN_1$ and $.GciN_2$ seem to mean 'female sex of non-human animals'. A more complex system of genders than the above may be involved.)

[84] It is the work of the lexicographer rather than of the grammarian to compile exhaustive lists of such categories. The categories have been set up here, and are easily distinguishable (though the occurrence of differentiating environments is not frequent enough to allow one to assign all nouns in the SH to one category or the other; the SH is too short for that).

[85] Cf. the similar meaning difference between *taŋri* 'God' and *teŋri* 'sky' noted by Pelliot (1944.172 note 1) as occurring in the Istanbul edition of Ibn Muqanna (Poppe 1938.447-8).

[86] In the parenthetical translation of particles, S means 'substantival', and adj.N 'adjective-nominal'.

[87] For the suffix $.sUN_1$ see 4.1111 and 4.54.

[88] All morphemes, other than the verbal final particles, which have any time reference, refer to time relative to the time of the particle which is in construction with the verbal in which they occur; e.g. *'güüin˜ne ese ög-tegsen bö-esü Dobun mergen deü˜de-en cima˜da quyu-ya.'* ("'man-for not give-[pass-pf.adj.N] be-if Dobun clever younger.brother-for-own you-for ask-let's"') '"If [she] has not been given to a man, let us ask her for you, the younger of us, Dobun the clever.' 6.. Here *-ya* ('let's') is future, *-esü* is non-future (relative to the future of *-ya*), and *-gsen* is perfective (relative to the time of *-esü*). Thus the sentence means 'Let us (in the future) ask ... if she turns out (at the future time when we ask) not to have been given to a man (previous to that time).' By PERFECTIVE I mean that the action so called is finished by the time referred to by the particle in construction with the verbal in which the perfective particle occurs; by IMPERFECTIVE, that such action is not finished then (it may not even have been started).

[89] The form *-gün* occurs once in *bü-gün* 195.38r, where it is paralleled by *bü-kü.n*. I would consider emending the former to *bü-kü.n;* similarly, I would emend the one occurrence of *-kü* (in 85.) to *-gü*. If the particles *-gün* and *-kü* were normally functioning elements in the language, they would probably occur more than a single time each in a corpus the length of the SH.

[90] Two sequences are equivalent in SITUATIONAL MEANING if they refer to the same event; they may differ in the way they view that event *(Bill hit John* versus *John was hit by Bill)*, in style *(Bill hit John* versus *Bill aimed a blow at John which did not miss its mark)*, or in explicitness *(Bill hit John* versus *Bill hit John over the head)*.

[91] Poppe 1944.108 treats *n*-nouns without *-n* as a Kasus indefinitus of the noun; Doerfer 1954.24 sets up an N-Kasus and a O-Kasus for e.g. *kö͡un* and *kö͡u* 'son'.

[92] Apparent cases of *n*-nominals without *-n* as subject are cleared up by Doerfer 1954.24. With regard to *'kö͡u min-u noqay^-yaca śoci.mtawu bü-lee.'* ('"son I-of dog-from afraid be-[non.fut]"') '"My son is afraid of dogs."' 66., where *kö͡u min-u* has usually been considered subject of *noqay^-yaca śoci.mtawu bü-lee*, Doerfer says in a personal communication of 24 June 1955 'es heisst *kö'ü minu - noqaį-yača čočimta'u bü͡le'e - quda, kö'ü minu noqaį-yača bu čoči'ul* "meinen Sohn - er hatte Angst vorm Hund - Schwager, meinen Sohn lass vorm Hund nicht erschrecken"; *kö'ü minu* ist also O b j e k t.'

[92a] In *sau.ri dee.re sau-l-ju* ('seat on sit-[cause]-ing') 216.20r, *sau.riN* is better taken as object of *sau-* than as in construction with *dee.re;* therefore 'having sit high up on a throne'. In a personal communication of 24 June 1955, Doerfer translates *'sa'uri de'ere sa'ulju takiju* "als Sitz [Essiv] das Obere anweisend ['sitzen lassend'], hochehrend"'.

[92b] Doerfer insists that *-an* after the genitive particle is always the possessive particle, and not a plural of the particle *-AY*. This is contrary to Haenisch's analysis 1950.5 which I have followed here.

[93] I emend *ayisu* to *ayisun (ayis-un* or *ayisu-n)* which occurs, e.g. 98.. There are two verbs which do not differ perceptibly in meaning, *ayiS-* and *ayisu-* 'approach' (e.g. *ayis-qu.n* and *ayisu-qu.n* 195.36r).

[94] Numbers in parentheses preceding examples of allomorphs shown in this and similar tables below refer to the numbered rows in the respective tables.

[95] According to the statement of 1.12, one should write *-BA:n* rather than *-BAn*, since this form varies with *-BAAn*. I have not done so because there is no parallel form **-AAn* without *b* parallel to *-An* (i.e. *-BAn* not after ^); forms with and without *b* are quite parallel here and in the allomorphs of the instrumental particle (3.3211), and in the latter there is no form with a double vowel. To introduce the parallelism *-BA:n/-BAAn* would be to lose the greater parallelism *b/ø*.

[96] This allomorph occurs only a single time (see examples); its status is therefore doubtful.

[97] The actual writings are *kebdeśiyen* and *gerie*. The latter is probably an attempt to write /en/ without a preceding /y/, while the former may represent either /yen/ or /en/.

[98] Written *deuluebeyen;* I assume that the *y* is only graphic here because of the form *-baan* exhibited below.

[99] /ami-yan/ and /ami-an/ are written *ami-yan* and *ami-an*.

[100] I take *nökö.e kilügü^-ben* as absolute nominal (3.4226), though formally it could be object as 121.38r *öreele eber-i-yen ququra-ju* '[the ox] breaking one of its horns'.

[101] The text has *ire-jü* here and in an almost identical passage in 177.31r, which refers to the same event: *'kö͡un-ü-en Temüjin-e od-un bara-qsan irge¯orqo^-ban dörben i‡lü.üd-i-yen ire-jü ög-te-be.'* In this passage Haenisch emends *ire-* 'come' to *ile-* 'send': ('"son-for-own Temüjin-for go-ing end-[pf.adj.N] people¯folk-own four hero.s-[df]-own send-ing give-[pass-non.fut]"') '"[I] was given my people which had completely scattered by my son, Temüjin, who sent his four heroes."' If one emends one passage, one should emend both.

[102] The *ü* of *kö͡un-ü-en* is shown to be the dative particle rather than the genitive or definite particles (which are homophonous in this position) by the occurrence of *Temüjin-e* in apposition with *kö͡un-ü-en* in the passage from 177.31r quoted in the last note above.

[103] Percentages are based on a count of occurrences in the first two chüan of the SH only.

[104] It often makes a neater English translation to omit a postmodifying numeral such as this; e.g. the word *both* is usually too strong a translation for *qoyar* or *jirin* in this position.

[105] Cf. *mawu.qan emeel-tü śiŋqula.qan mori-n ög-cü ile-ed* ('bad saddle-having small.white.horse horse give-ing send-after') 'after sending [him] the small white horse with the bad saddle' 193.25r.

[106] I take *bö͡ere* as modifying *alaq*, and *qacar* as modifying *qoa*. The partitive meaning (e.g. only the cheeks are said to be beautiful) comes from the meanings of the words involved.

[107] Not all the attributes listed here as numerals occur with these particles in the SH; it is clear that they would in a larger corpus.

[108] And before *-tUAr* in the form *dö-tü͡er* 'fourth' which occurs in the HY.

[109] But *jir* before {.iN} in the form *jir.aN* 'sixty' which occurs in the HY.

[110] {yesün} 'nine' is the only numeral which occurs before the plural suffix in the SH. Note that *harbaN* 'ten', *jauN* 'hundred', *minqaN* 'thousand', and *tümeN* 'ten thousand' are adjective-nouns rather than attributes.

[111] *jir.aN* 'sixty' occurs in the HY.

[112] Cf. note 102.

[113] A complete list of occurrences of the allomorphs *-tA* and *-dA* of this morpheme will be found in Murayama 1953.24-8.

[114] In this and the following sections, no attempt is made to set up an exhaustive classification of the meanings of the case particles; as simple as possible a statement is made which will give the reader some idea of the chief meanings of each particle. It should be emphasized that lables such as agent or indirect object are purely semantic terms which do not refer to any formal feature of distribution.

[115] Nouns ending in /o, ö/ plus /N, N, G/ are very rare; I have only one occurrence of such a noun before this particle: *olo-ar* (i.e. *oloN-BAr*, 'many-by') 'by many'. From this example it is not clear whether /o, ö/ belongs with /u, ü/ or /a, e/.

[116]All occurrences of this particle are listed by Murayama 1953.31-44. Murayama sets up *-dUr* as the allomorph of this morpheme after vowels, /y/ and /n/, and *-tUr* as that occurring elsewhere. His statistics are most impressive, but until there is some explanation of the contrary cases (92 out of 826) no descriptive use can be made of them.

[117]For more examples of this type, see Doerfer 1954.26B.

[118]Cf. *harban quruu.d-un kimul in-u* ('ten finger.s-of nail it-of') 'the nails of our ten fingers' 276.32r.

[119]A sequence verb plus converbial particle is traditionally called a converb; see for example Poppe 1954b.95, and (for Old Turkic) Gabain 1950.119.

[120]Haenisch 1950.24 lists a 'converbum finale auf *-uta*', which occurs only once in the text in the form *uqa-uta* 'to find out'. From this one form there is no way of telling whether we really do have a converbial particle here *(-uta,* i.e. *-UtA),* or whether this is the dative of a noun *uqa.u* (i.e. *uqa.u-ta* 'for finding out').

[121]As indicated by the particle in construction with such a verbal; see note 88.

[122]Pelliot's emendation 1949.6.

[123]The emendation is mine, cf. note 89.

[124]Pelliot's emendation for *Jarciul.*

[125]For the allomorphs of the numerals before these particles see 4.313.

[126]In the edition of Haenisch (1952).

[127]Historically, the allomorphs *-GA (~-KA)* and *-Ul (~-:l)* are reflexes of different morphemes; the post-vocalic reflexes of **-GA* (which yielded the allomorph *-GA* [~ *-KA*] of the causative particle) are the suffixes $\{.A\}_4$ and $\{.qA\}_2$(4.331). These latter are suffixes, since they always form a lexeme with the preceding verb: this is not true of *-GA (~-KA)* or of *-Ul (~-:l).*

[128]For an analysis of this sentence see Appendix 2, A3 (Table 21).

[129]Several levels of quotation are really involved: if *A* represents a statement made by the presumed author of the SH, while *B* is a statement which he puts into the mouth of one of the characters, *B* is a quotation of *A,* or of some statement on the level of *A* (whether by the author or by some other person about whose direct utterances we have no control) which the author might have put into the text but did not. I know of no case where both *A* and a quotation *B* of *A* occur with identical wording; the author may have avoided this for stylistic reasons. The following pair are as close a match as I have found: *A* is ... *Alan qoa ere ügey.ü.y ... qurban köü.d töre-ül-b.i* ('Alan fair husband without.[fem] ... three son.s be-born-cause-[non.fut].*i*') 'Alan the fair bore three sons without husband ...' 17., while *B* is *'ene eke bidan-u ... ere ügey.ü.y ... e.de qurban köü.d töre-ül-b.i.'* ('"this mother we[incl]-of ... husband without ... these three son.s be.born-cause-[non.fut].*i*"') '"This mother of ours ... has born these three sons ... without husband."' 18., Next, *C* is a statement which one of the characters in the narration attributes to some third person; it is a quotation of a statement on the level of *B*. Again, identical pairs do not occur, but compare this pair: *B* is *'bidan-u cerig ci jasa.'* ('"we[incl]-of army you[sg] command-!"') '"You command our army."' 170.4v, while *C* is '... "... *ene cerig ci jasa." kee-n nama-yi tüśi-n ügü.le-mü.y.'* ('"this army you[sg] command-!' say-ing me-[df] commission-ing speak-[non.pst].*y*"') '"... [he] spoke commissioning me saying '... you command this army.'"' 170.6r. Further levels, *D, E,* etc., work in the same way. Therefore we may say that a quotation on the level *B* has as its original a sentence on the level *A,* while a quotation *C* has an original *B,* etc.. The *A/B* type is the most frequent, so that most of the examples quoted here are of this type. It is easy to analogize from the occurring pairs, and so reconstruct non-occurring originals of quotations. Such reconstructed sequences are used as seldom as possible; an asterisk is prefixed to such sequences.

[130]So Cleaves 1955 ad loc.

[131]The verb *bol-* 'become, be' has also the pregnant meaning 'be well, be fit, be right, be able', which is especially frequent with a negative.

[132]Note the difference in the final between *qaN* 'ruler' and *qahaN* 'ruler of the Mongols', and cf. ... *Qutula-yi qahan bol-qa-ba.* ('Qutula-[df] qahan become-cause-[non.fut]') 'made Qutula qahan' 57.. Haenisch emends *qa* in the above quotation to *qa[han]*, but this is unnecessary.

[133]Cleaves (1948b.450-5) compares this sentence with the phrase *bida aqanar degüner ... dur-a qočarulčaǰu* in the letter of Öljeitü to Philippe le Bel. He states (1948b.54-5) 'The word *dur-a* is the subject and not the object of this verb [*qočarulčaǰu*]. Hence *dur-q qočarulčaǰu* means literally "the affection remaining behind on both sides." However, *bida aqanar degüner* is the subject of the whole expression *dur-a qočarulča-* just as *Činggis qahan* is the subject of *dura qočorču'u* in the passage of the Secret History cited above. Thus very literally, *bida aqanar degüner ... dur-a qočarulčaǰu* means "We, elder brothers and younger brothers, ... the affection remaining behind on both sides."' To this Doerfer replies (1954.24.2) 'In 165,10 tere uge tur Cinggis ḫahan dotora'an Onghan Nilḫa-sanggum ḫoyar tur dura ḫocorcu'u scheint mir (entgegen CLEAVES "The expression DUR-A QOČARUL-ČAǰU") dura doch nicht Subjekt zu sein – dies würde duran lauten müssen – sondern relativisch aufzufassen zu sein: "auf dies Wort hin blieb Ch. gegenüber O. und N. in bezug auf die Zuneigung zurück = seine Zuneigung den beiden gegenüber liess nach".' In the light of the other examples quoted here, I feel that Doerfer's interpretation is the only possible one.

[134]Cleaves' emendation (1953b.246-8) for *dalua.*

[135]Here *V* represents any verbal.

[136]This definition is similar in intention to that of Buck 1955.31: 'The simplest postpositional phrase, which is morphologically distinct from other constructions, is one whose final member, the postposition itself, while governing the preceding elements, is in its minimal form and is neither subject nor object of a verb.' As it stands

this definition is unsatisfactory; is addition to the fact that the terms *member* and *govern* are undefined, the sentence is illogical: the subject of *is neither subject nor object of a verb* must be *the simplest postpositional phrase,* since it has already been stated that the postposition is in construction with the preceding elements. If this change is made, and a reasonable definition of *member* and *govern* is assumed, this definition is almost equivalent to mine.

[137]Since most types of particles occur in only a single construction, it is simpler to list and exemplify the particles of a given type in the section where that construction is treated, rather than to give examples both here and there.

[138]They postmodify verbal sentences, nominals, and verbals.

[139]The meanings of some of these particles are indistinguishable one from another; hence some different particles are glossed identically in the parenthetical translation.

[140]*bŏed* and *bürŭn* are historically sequences of verb plus converbial particle; homonomous sequences *bŏ-ed* 'after being' and *bü-rŭn* 'in being' do occur in the SH. However, the former occur in positions where other verb plus converbial particle sequences do not occur, namely in the position of emphatic particles.

[141]Historically this is the pronoun {i} plus the genitive particle (which sequences occurs as such frequently in the SH); since it occurs in the same positions as emphatic particles, and since other sequences pronoun plus genitive particle do not occur here, we are dealing with different sequences, one a single lexeme, and the other a two-lexeme sequence.

[142]It is difficult to state more concretely the meaning of this tagmeme. Formally the constructions grouped into it have in common (1) the fact that they are all exocentric, and (2) the fact that the second member of each is a single lexeme (particle or postposition).

[143]This meaning is present in all other tagmemes consisting of subordinate constructions, but elsewhere there is some further strand of meaning involved.

[144]The absence of an arrow (which when present points to the head of the construction) indicates that the order of the construction members is free in at least some cases.

[145]The period occurring after a morpheme, and showing that this morpheme is a bound lexeme, is always immediately followed by some phoneme in a text. In quoting single bound lexemes, this period is retained.

[146]In this and the following lists of affixes, the following items are listed: (1) the affix, (2) suppletive allomorphs of that affix (if any), (3) number of lexemes in which the affix occurs, (4) sequence affix plus plural suffix (if the two occur together), (5) meaning of the affix (if determinable), and (6) a few typical lexemes containing the affix. Affixes are listed in the alphabetical order stated in the Index. This particular suffix is a particularly complex one: the difference in meaning between it and the suffix *.+ci* (for which see below) is not determinable, and formally $\{.ci\}_3$ and *.+ci* do not differ after vowels; hence there are ten nouns ending in /ci/ which might be cited as examples of either of these suffixes, e.g.

| | |
|---|---|
| *aqta* 'horse, gelding' | *aqta.ci* 'one who cares for or catches horses' |
| *deü* 'younger brother' | *deü.ci.* 'one who deals with a younger brother' (only in *deü.ci.le-* 'treat like a younger brother', cf. $.lA_1$, 4.311) |

[147]This suffix (and all other affixes in which *q* is written) occurs only after back vowel lexemes, so there is no way of knowing whether it contains the morphophoneme *G*, *Ø*, or *K*.

[148]Written *kokan*, plural *kokod*.

[149]Once 175..

[150]So Poppe 1954a.304; cf. 3.313.

[151]Cf. HY *niji.ged* 'each separately'.

[152]Cf. HY *k.ejee* 'when?'.

[153]The verbs which occur with this suffix occur otherwise only with the suffixes $.rA_3$ and $.ri_2$ (see below) and with the converbial particles $-s_1$ and $-rU_1$ (3.3212). Some special subclass of verbs may be involved here.

[154]To my knowledge it has not hitherto been recognized that these two formally different suffixes are in complementary distribution, and therefore are allomorphs of a single morpheme. Haenisch, for example, treats the meanings of the two, which he calls respectively REZIPROK and KOOPERATIV, under the heading WECHSEL DER GENERA in 1950.19; he assumes that the two should correspond in meaning to the glosses *siang* and *kung* 'reciprocal' and 'cooperative' respectively. (In Written Mongolian *.UlcA* and *.ldU* are apparently different morphemes, and do mean 'cooperative' and reciprocal' respectively; cf. forms such as *ide-lče-* 'take part in eating' quoted in Poppe 1954b.63.) The only passage in the SH which would necessitate treating *.ldU* and *.UlcA* as separate morphemes is *'sayi-n ecige-yin cin-u nilqa nuntuq˜huni butara.ulca-ju a-tuqay.'* ('"good-[n] father-of you[sg]-of youngest.son camp˜smell scatter.[pl]-ing live-let.him"') '"Let the youngest son of your good father help scatter the camp-smell."' 242.24r-v; here I would emend *butara.ulca-* to *butara-[ul].ulca-* 'help cause to scatter'. The addition of the causative particle also clarifies the meaning of the passage: *butara.ulca-* is otherwise intransitive, 'dispersing together'. On the basis of the complementary distribution of these allomorphs, one must reject Haenisch's emendations *qarbu[l]ca-* (1939.61) and *daru[l]ca-* (1939.33).

[154a]I owe this observation to Doerfer 1954.19.4.

[155] The phoneme /f/ is not included in the following statement of occurrence restrictions; it occurs only after # before /u/ (in 247., 248., 253.).

[156] The sequence *ðy* does occur in the name *Tödöyen* 46., which may be phonemically /tödöen/ or /tödöyen/.

[157] The sequence /si/ occurs only in the morpheme /taysi/ 'prince' (so transcribed by Cleaves 1955, section 50), which Haenisch writes *taize*, and Pelliot *taïǰï*.

[158] This sequence may occur in *cólo* 'gap, joint, lull', which Mostaert transcribes *čölö* 1951.370.

[159] The non-occurrence of the sequences /t#/ and /k#/ is a result of the phonemicization of the pre-pausal dental and pre-velar phones as /d/ and /g/ respectively. Cf. 1.11.

[160] The terms TOME, LEXEME, TAGMA, PARTNER, SEME, EPISEME, TOMEME, EPISEMEME, and TAGMEME, were used by Bernard Bloch in his lectures on linguistic analysis in the spring of 1952; since definitions of these terms have never appeared in print (with the exception of TOMEME, for which see B below) the present writer alone is responsible for the definition and use of these terms.

[161] Here and in the following the term SEQUENCE is used in the sense of 'a sequence of one or more morphemes'.

[162] For the terminology cf. Wells 1947.81-6.

[163] In Mongolian only coordinate construction ever consist of more than two tomes.

[164] This is equivalent to Wells' term CONSTITUTE (1947.84).

[165] The terms ACTOR, ACTION, GOAL, etc., used in stating meanings are purely semantic categories. They are used as such in other contexts as well, cf. e.g. 3.421.

[166] For Bloch's definition see B below.

[167] I have not carried out junctural analyses for the whole corpus, or even for any considerable part of it, so cannot state the exact number of constructions in which any given tomeme obtained by junctural analysis occurs.

[168] This is the system used by Carroll 1953 (cf. pp. 12, 246).