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ABSTRACT

The present book is an introduction to Mongolian, designed to give the most essential information about that language to nonspecialists in the field, primarily to linguists who are interested in learning about the structure, or students of Mongolian who wish to get a general picture of the language before they begin studying it in detail. Presented is a systematic discussion of the phonology, morphology, and syntax, the linguistic classification of Mongolian and the Mongolian language family, its historical background, writing systems, and literature. A selected bibliography follows each chapter. The linguistic material in this handbook is based on the Khalkha dialect, the most important dialect of the Mongolian language, spoken by the majority of the population of the Mongolian People's Republic. (AMM)

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MONGOLIAN

LANGUAGE HANDBOOK

NICHOLAS POPPE

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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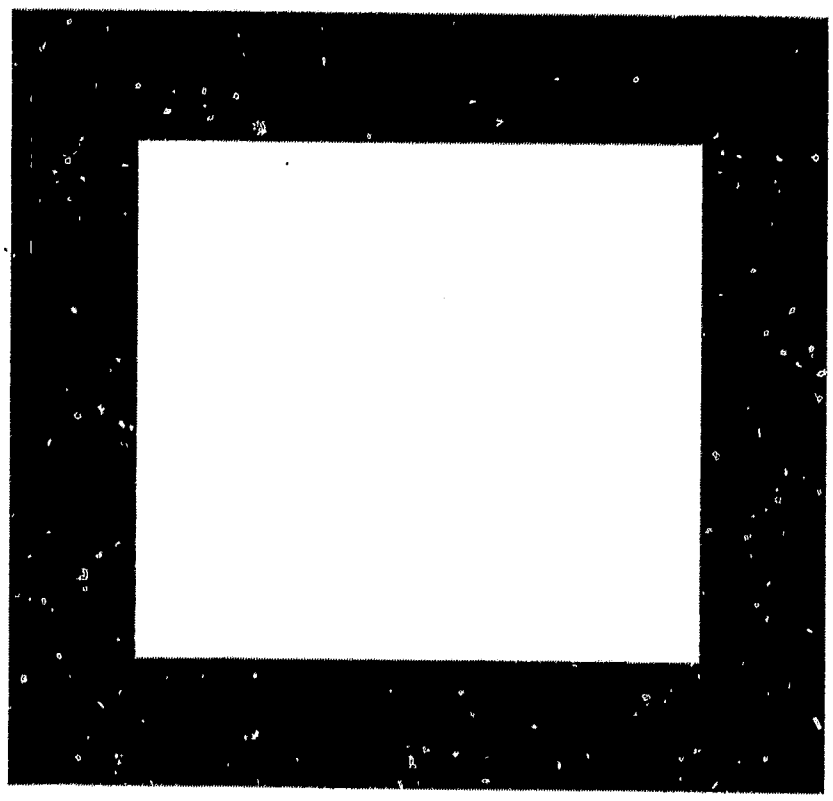

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MONGOLIAN

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INTRODUCTION TO THE SERIES

Each volume in the Language Handbook Series is intended to provide an outline of the salient features of a particular language and a summary of the language situation and language problems of the country or area in which it is spoken. The scope of the series is the major modern languages of Asia and Africa.

It is hoped that the handbooks will prove useful to several different kinds of readers. One is the linguistic specialist who is not himself a specialist in the particular language treated, e.g. a Swahili scholar who is interested in Arabic. Another is the student who is past the beginning stages of his study and who wishes to have a concise and condensed general picture of the language and its setting. A third reader is the area specialist, e.g. a sociologist, who wishes to know basic linguistic or sociolinguistic facts about the area. The handbooks are not designed to serve as instructional materials for the language in question, nor are they intended as a guide to local customs or cultural differences or the like.

There has been some attempt to hold the handbooks to a suggested general framework so as to give the series some uniformity, but in practice the individual studies vary considerably, both because of the differences of approach of the individual authors and the range and variety of problems of the individual languages. In general, each author in his own way treats the following matters: the language in its social and historical setting, its linguistic structure, its writing system (as appropriate), its points of contrast with English, and its literature. The description of the linguistic structure has provided the greatest problem in presentation. The authors have made a serious effort to avoid excessive use of technical linguistic terminology but nevertheless a certain amount of linguistic sophistication on the part of the reader must be assumed. Given the status of modern linguistics as a discipline

it has not seemed wise to attempt to write in a popularized style.

The language handbooks represent a new kind of venture in the field of applied linguistics. It is probable that some portions or aspects of the various studies will be found inadequate or of little value, but the authors and the editor are confident that the series as a whole represents a useful step in the application of linguistic knowledge to practical language problems.

Frank A. Rice
Director, Office of Information and Publications
Center for Applied Linguistics

MONGOLIAN LANGUAGE HANDBOOK

PREFACE

The present book is an introduction to Mongolian and is designed to give the most essential information about that language to nonspecialists in the field, primarily to linguists who are interested in learning about the structure of Mongolian, or students of Mongolian who wish to get a general picture of the language before they begin studying it in detail. General readers interested in languages may also find this book useful.

This is not a textbook for the study of the Mongolian language. In a textbook, grammatical rules are frequently distributed among the various lessons, in connection with illustrative exercises. The present book, however, provides a systematic discussion of the phonology, morphology, and syntax, and gives the necessary information about each of these in one place. As a result, this book may be useful to the student of Mongolian who wishes to review and systematize his knowledge of Mongolian grammar.

In comparison to many other languages, Mongolian has been little studied, and there is even confusion with regard to the term "Mongolian." Therefore, the reader is asked to pay particular attention to what is said in sections 1.2 and 1.3 about the Mongolian language and the Mongolian language family. The present book is primarily concerned with the Mongolian language, and the information supplied is based on Khalkha, the main dialect spoken in the Mongolian People's Republic, which is easily understood by all Mongols who inhabit the Republic and those who inhabit Inner Mongolia, i.e. Chinese Mongolia.

The insufficient knowledge of, and the misconceptions about, the Mongols and Mongolia, so characteristic of most of the nonspecialists in the Mongolian field, have been taken into account, and therefore the most essential geographic and historical information is also given here.

PREFACE

The Mongols have an old and relatively rich literature. A brief sketch of their literature, including folklore, follows the linguistic sections of this book.

The main source for the present book is the author's Khalkha-Mongolische Grammatik (1951), but J.C. Street's Khalkha Structure (1963), S. Luvsanvandan's Mongol xèlniĭ züĭn surax bičig 1-2 (Ulaanbaatar, 1956), and Orčin cagiĭn mongol xèlniĭ züĭ (Ulaanbaatar, 1957) were also used.

Nicholas Poppe

NOTATIONS

Mongolian words, phrases, and clauses are given either in phonemic transcription (2.1) or in transliteration (1.8). Where it is necessary a phonetic transcription is enclosed within square brackets.

SYMBOLS

/ /	encloses phonemic transcription
[ ]	encloses phonetic transcription
' '	encloses glosses or translations
____	underlines transliteration
-	at the end of a sequence indicates a verb stem; before a suffix, indicates that the suffix is taken by verbs; before and after a suffix, indicates that the suffix is added to verb stems and forms verb stems
+	at the end of a sequence indicates a noun stem; before a suffix, indicates that the suffix is added to noun stems; between two sequences, indicates internal open juncture
*	indicates a reconstructed or hypothetical form
<	indicates direction of development ('developed from...' or 'originated from...')
>	indicates direction of development ('developed to...' or 'yielded...')
~	'alternates with'

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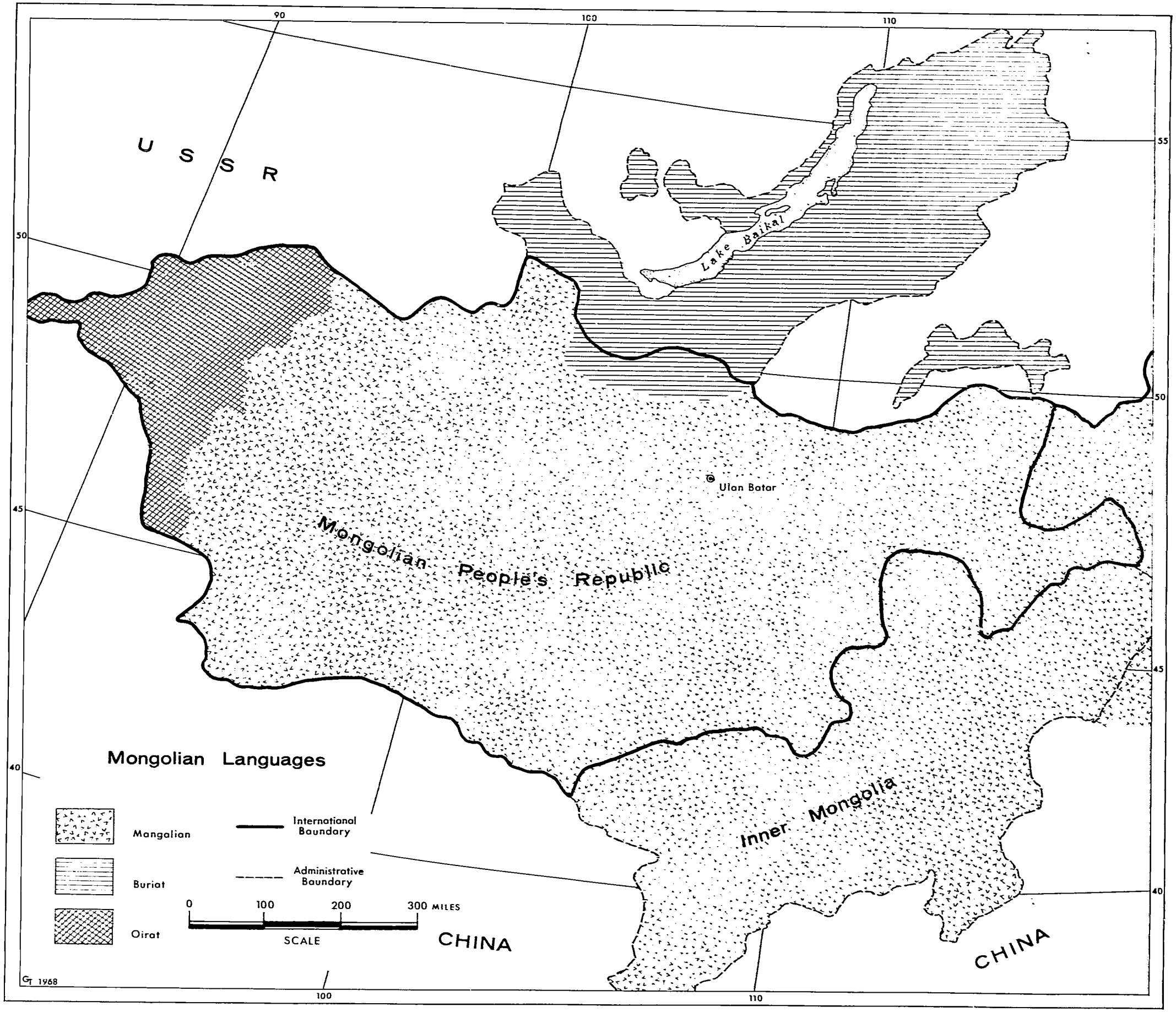
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1. THE LANGUAGE SITUATION

1.1. What is Mongolian?

Mongolian is the speech of members of an ethnic group living in various regions of Central Asia, in the adjacent parts of Manchuria and East Siberia, in Northern Tibet, in some areas of Afghanistan, and as far west as the Lower Volga region in the European part of the USSR. It is only natural that the Mongols, being scattered over such a vast area, do not have a uniform language. Instead, they speak a large number of dialects, some of which are so different from other dialects that their speakers are not understood by Mongols of other areas. For this reason such dialects are considered different, although mutually related, languages.

The various Mongolian languages have different names, and only one is called Mongolian. There are nine other languages, namely, Buriat, Yagur, Monguor, Santa, Paongan, Yellow Uighur, Moghol, Oirat, and Kalmyk (see Table 1).

1.2. The Mongolian language

The Mongolian language is spoken in the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR), in the adjacent parts of Manchuria, and in an area called Inner Mongolia (IM). Both Inner Mongolia and Manchuria are at present part of China. The language as spoken in the three areas is only more or less uniform. The native speakers of the various dialects of the Mongolian language (see Table 2) understand each other as easily as the native speakers of English whose homes are in different parts of England or America. A Mongol from the MPR converses with a Mongol from Inner Mongolia as easily as an Englishman from Middlesex understands an American from New York or a Canadian from British Columbia.

Table 1

The Mongolian languages

	Language	Known number of speakers	Geographic distribution
1.	Mongolian	1,639,100 (1959)	See Section 1.2.
2.	Buriat	253,000 (1959) 24,000 (1956)	Autonomous Buriat Republic; autonomous districts in the Irkutsk and Chita regions of the USSR; northern MPR; and an unknown number in northwestern Manchuria
3.	Oirat	60,000 (1956)	Northwestern MPR; an unspecified number in the Autonomous Uighur District in Sinkiang (China); and in the Kuku Nor region in the Ch'inghai province of China
4.	Kalmyk	106,000 (1959)	Kalmyk Autonomous Republic in the USSR
5.	Moghol	———	Various places in the provinces of Herāt, Maimana, and Badakhshān of Afghanistan
6.	Dagur	22,600 (1953-1954) 2,000	Northwestern Manchuria and Chuguchak district, province of Sinkiang, China
7.	Monguor	53,000 (1953-1954)	Parts of the provinces of Kansu and Ch'inghai in China
8.	Santa	155,500 (1953-1954)	Parts of the province of Kansu in China
9.	Paongan	8,000 (1953-1954)	Vicinity of Paongan, province of Ch'inghai in China
10.	Yellow Uighur	1,200 (1954)	Kan-chou in the province of Kansu in China

Note: The figures enclosed in parentheses indicate the year of the census. The first figure for speakers of Buriat refers to the USSR, the second figure refers to the MPR. The first figure for speakers of Dagur refers to Manchuria, the second figure refers to the Chuguchak district.

THE LANGUAGE SITUATION

The total number of speakers of the Mongolian language amounts to approximately 1,639,100 persons. Of these, 655,100 live in the MPR, and the remaining one million or so live in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia.

The most important dialect of the Mongolian language is Khalkha, which is spoken by the majority of the population of the MPR. It is the official language of the nation, the total population of which amounts to 845,500 persons (1956 census) and comprises a number of Mongolian ethnic subgroups, each speaking a separate dialect or language; see Table 3.

The dialects of these eight ethnic subgroups are named after the subgroups, i.e. the Khalkha dialect, the Dariganga dialect, etc. Of these eight different dialects, Khalkha and Dariganga are dialects of the Mongolian language. Buriat is an independent language -- not a dialect of the Mongolian language. Dialects nos. 4 through 8 are dialects of the Oirat language. The remaining ethnic subgroups of the population of the MPR are Kazakhs and Uriankha, both speaking two different Turkic languages. There are also Russians, Chinese, Evenki (Tungus), and representatives of other non-Mongolian peoples.

The literary language in use in the Mongolian People's Republic is based on Khalkha. It serves all groups of Mongols living in the MPR, i.e. 742,600 persons. According to the census of 1956, the total number of literate Mongols was close to 500,000.

The alphabet is Cyrillic. It was introduced in 1941. Until then, the old alphabet of Uighur origin was used, and the written language was an archaic form of Mongolian, going back to the thirteenth century and very different from spoken Mongolian (see 1.7.)

There is an extensive literature and press in the new literary language. For example, in 1960 there existed 29 newspapers, with a combined annual circulation of 11,816,800 copies, and 16 periodicals, with a combined annual circulation of 2,394,500 copies.

Table 2

The main dialects of the Mongolian language

Name of the dialect	Number of speakers	Geographical distribution
Khalkha	639,100	Mongolian People's Republic
Dariganga	16,000	Southeastern MPR
Chakhar	unspecified	Chakhar district, IM
Urat	unspecified	Ulan Tsab district, IM
Kharchin-Tümüt	± 300,000	Jou Uda district, IM
Khorchin	unspecified	Jerim district, IM
Üjümüchin	unspecified	Shilingol district, IM, and in the MPR where there are emigrants from Shilingol
Ordos	unspecified	Yeke Juu district, IM
Bargu	unspecified	Khulun-Buyir district, N.W. Manchuria

Note: The dialects of the Mongolian language are not denoted on the map facing page 1.

In 1960 there were 419 elementary schools, 15 high schools, and 7 institutions of higher education at the university level. The number of students in that year was 131,046, including 6,909 university students.

The Khalkh dialect and the literary language which is based on it are easily understood by all speakers of the Mongolian language, no matter what their dialect may be.

1.3. The Mongolian language family

As has been indicated, the Mongolian language is not an isolated language, but a member of a group of related languages. The family of Mongolian languages (see Table 1) comprises the Mongolian language (including all its dialects) and nine other languages, most of which are as incomprehensible to the speakers of the Mongolian language as German is to an Englishman who has never studied it. Nevertheless, the Mongolian languages are related languages, with mutual relations comparable to those of the Germanic languages.

The total known number of speakers of Mongolian languages is estimated at 2,262,400. It is probably safe to assume that the actual number of speakers is closer to 3 million.

1.4. Linguistic classification

The Mongolian languages belong to the so-called Altaic language group, which comprises the Mongolian, Turkic, Manchu-Tungus languages, and, according to some scholars, also Korean. The Turkic languages are: Turkish, spoken in Turkey; Azerbaijani; Turkmen; Uzbek; Kazakh; Kirghiz; Tatar; and many other languages. Manchu is a written language. It is spoken by a small group of people in Manchuria. Tungus comprises Evenki, Lamut, Negidal, Solon, and a few other minor languages spoken in East Siberia. Korean is the language spoken in Korea.

The Altaic languages have many features in common. All of them are agglutinative, i.e. word-formation and inflection are

Table 3

The ethnic composition of the Mongolian population of the MPR

	Name of the subgroup	Total number	Percentage of the total population of the MPR
1.	Khalkha	639,100	75.6%
2.	Dariganga	16,000	2.0
3.	Buriat	24,600	2.9
4.	Dörbet	25,700	3.0
5.	Bayit	15,900	1.9
6.	Dzakhachin	10,800	1.3
7.	Öölet	4,900	0.6
8.	Torguut	4,700	0.5

carried out by adding of suffixes to otherwise unchanging word-stems, e.g. Mong. [san-], stem of the verb "to think", in [san-ăn] 'he thinks', [san-ăw] 'he thought', [san-ā] 'the thought'; Turk. [er] 'man', [er+lär] 'men'; [gel-], stem of the verb "to come", in [gel-iyor] 'he comes', [gel-di] 'he came', etc.

Another characteristic feature is the nominal character of the verb, i.e. the verbal forms have originated from nouns, cf. Mong. naγad-, stem of the verb "to play": naγad-u-m 'the play' and 'he plays'; Turk. ač-, stem of the verb "to open": ač-ar 'key' and 'he will open'.

The Altaic languages also have a common vocabulary. A large number of regular sound correspondences has been established, and there is much in favor of the assumption that the Altaic languages are genetically related to each other, although some scholars doubt it and regard all common elements in vocabulary and grammar as criss-cross borrowings which occurred at different times. However, if there is a genetic affinity between the Altaic languages,

Mongolian must be regarded as related to Turkish or Evenki, much as English, being a Germanic language, is related to Polish, which is a Slavic language, both Germanic and Slavic belonging to the Indo-European language family.

1.5. Historical background

The Mongols are first mentioned in historical documents of the eighth century A.D. At that time, one of their major tribes, the Tatars, was known, but the name "Mongol" occurs for the first time in the period of the Chinese T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618-907). Most of what is Mongolia today was then inhabited by Turks, and the Mongolian tribes lived in Northwestern Manchuria and in the southern part of Transbaikalia, i.e. the region to the east of Lake Baikal in Siberia.

The first ruler of a relatively large federation of the Mongols was Khaidu who in the eleventh century united a number of tribes. That federation was called "Mongol". At that time, the Turks had already moved to the west, and most of their former territory was populated by various Mongolian tribes. The federation reached its highest power under Khaidu's grandson, Khabul. After his death, the federation declined. Temüjin (born ca. 1155), who later assumed the title Chingis Khan, united the Mongolian tribes again, restored the old name Mongol, and became the founder of a vast Mongolian empire. The empire was proclaimed in 1206. It comprised most of the present territories of the Mongolian People's Republic, Inner Mongolia, Transbaikalia, and the northwestern part of Manchuria. Chingis Khan began the conquest of North China and undertook several military campaigns against Tangut (a principality inhabited by a people related to the Tibetans), but paid most of his attention to the conquest of what is now Chinese and Russian Turkestan. Chingis Khan's vanguard armies moved around the Caspian Sea and converged in Southern Russia, where, on May 31, 1222, they inflicted an overwhelming defeat upon the Russians. After the completion of the

conquest of Turkestan, in 1225, Chingis Khan returned to Mongolia. He died in 1227, during his last campaign in Tangut, and was succeeded by his son Ögedei, who ruled from 1229 to 1241. During his reign, the conquest of North China was completed and the ruling dynasty, Kin (1125-1234), fell. Subsequently, war was waged against South China, which was under the rule of the Sung dynasty (960-1279). However, the greatest conquests were made in the West. All of Southern Russia and large areas of Middle Russia were occupied, and Kiev, the oldest city in Russia and her former capital, was captured and destroyed in 1240. The Mongolian army, which included soldiers of many other nationalities, also invaded Poland, Silesia, Austria, and Hungary, under the command of Batu, a grandson of Chingis Khan. When the news of Ögedei's death reached him, Batu withdrew his armed forces and went back to Mongolia, and the Mongols never returned to the regions west of Russia. But Russia remained under Mongolian domination for a long time. Eastern Russia, at that time inhabited mostly by Finno-Ugric and Turkic tribes, became a Mongolian vassal kingdom in 1237, which continued in power under the name of the Golden Horde until 1438, when it split into two kingdoms. One of these, the Kazan Kingdom, was later, in 1552, conquered by the Russian Tsar Ivan IV. The territory of the Golden Horde was populated by Turks and other non-Mongolian tribes. There were very few Mongols in the territory, and the Mongolian language was not spoken after 1325. Only one event connected with the Mongolian conquests in the West is important from the linguistic point of view. This is Hülegü's campaign against Afghanistan. Hülegü, with an army of 129,000, set off to conquer Persia and other countries of Western Asia. In the course of this military enterprise he invaded Afghanistan and set up Mongolian garrisons. The descendants of the soldiers stationed there are the Moghols of our time. Thus, a new ethnic group and a new language appeared as a result of the Mongolian wars.

The population of the Mongolian Empire at the time of Chingis Khan and Ögedei included many Mongolian tribes and clans whose

names still exist, such as Khori Tümet, who are identified with the Khori, the name of a Buriat tribe. Another tribe mentioned in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is Ikires, which is identical with the present-day Ekhirit, also a Buriat tribe. The Oirat, Jalayir, Sünit, and other tribes which still exist were mentioned in various sources of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The foundation of the Mongolian Empire and the subsequent wars played an important role in the development of the Mongolian languages. Military service and the numerous campaigns reshuffled the Mongolian clans and tribes, regrouped them, and united them.

The Mongolian Empire experienced its greatest expansion under Khubilai Khan (1259-1294). His armies conquered the remaining part of China and he founded a new capital at a location near the present city of Peking. Under him, a new dynasty was proclaimed, named Yüan, which remained in power until 1368. His realm was no longer an empire of the Mongols, but became a Sino-Mongolian Empire, in which the Mongols were a small minority among China's vast population. The center of political life shifted from Mongolia to China, and the original Mongolian territories became a remote borderland which played no role in the political, economic, and cultural life of the Empire.

When the Yüan dynasty collapsed in 1368 and the last Yüan emperor fled to Mongolia, China came under native Chinese rulers, the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). In Mongolia, internal feuds soon began and continued intermittently until the end of the seventeenth century. During this period of more than 300 years, the political power shifted several times from the Mongolian princes to the Oirat rulers. The Mongols were united again for a short time under Dayan Khan (1470-1543). After his death, the Khalkha region, which represents approximately four-fifths of the present territory of the Mongolian People's Republic, became a separate principality. It had been bequeathed by Dayan to his youngest son, Geresenje. At a later period, in 1635, Southern Mongolia, i.e. the country to the south of Khalkha, was conquered by the

Manchus, who also conquered all of China, proclaimed their dynasty (Tai Ch'ing [1644-1911]), and made Southern Mongolia an integral part of China. This gave rise to the terms "Inner Mongolia" and "Outer Mongolia". Inner Mongolia belonged to China and was, so to speak, within its national boundaries, whereas Outer Mongolia (Khalkha) remained for a while independent, and was outside the Chinese territory.

In the seventeenth century, many important events took place. First of all, the feuds of the Mongolian princes still continued. The most devastating war was that waged upon the Mongols by the Oirat prince Galdan Bushuktu in 1688. It caused a mass flight of the Mongols across the northern frontier into the land of the Buriats. The war was so disastrous to the Mongols that their princes had to ask the Tai Ch'ing Emperor to intervene. In return, they pledged allegiance to the Tai Ch'ing dynasty (but not to China). As a result, Outer Mongolia became a dependency of the Manchu-Chinese Empire in 1691.

Also in the seventeenth century, the Buriats, who lived in East Siberia in the regions west, south, and east of Lake Baikal, were conquered by the Russians and became Russian subjects. Soon Russian settlers appeared, and the first cities were built. This was the beginning of Russian cultural and linguistic influence upon the Buriats.

The seventeenth century was also the period of the Oirat migrations. Originally -- at the time of Chingis Khan -- the Oirats lived on the upper course of the Yenisei River, but in the seventeenth century their center was in Jungaria, the northwestern part of the Sinkiang province in China. Their life was anything but peaceful because of the wars between the Oirat princes and frequent raids by Kazakhs. In 1606, one of their princes, Kho Örlük, opened negotiations with the Russian authorities, and soon a large group of Oirats under his leadership left Jungaria and moved into the Volga region. They arrived there in 1630. Their descendants, known as the Kalmyks, are still there, and the Kalmyk language came into existence as the result of the separation

of its speakers from the other Oirats. However, some of the Kalmyks left Russia in 1771 and returned to Jungaria. Some of the Oirats moved, in the seventeenth century, into the region west of Khalkha, i.e. into the territory of the present-day districts Bayan Ölegei, Ubsa Nuur, and Kobdo of the MPR. Their descendants are still there. Another group of Oirats migrated into the Kuku Nor region, Ch'inghai, and some of them settled in the valley of the river Etsin Gol. Consequently, the Oirats are widely scattered.

The seventeenth century was also the period of the rapid spread of Lamaism, a relatively new form of Buddhism. All the Mongols, both in Inner and Outer Mongolia, the Oirats (including the Kalmyks), and some of the Buriats became Buddhists, either in the seventeenth century or at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Buddhism brought learning, and the only schools that existed were in monasteries. The monasteries also engaged in extensive literary activity. Numerous Buddhist books were translated from Tibetan into Mongolian, and a large number of them were published by the monasteries.

The seventeenth century was also the time of appearance of political boundaries separating various groups of Mongols. Inner Mongolia became an integral part of China, and the Mongols in Manchuria became subjects of China also. Outer Mongolia remained a semi-independent country, but was still a Chinese protectorate. The Buriats and Kalmyks became subjects of Russia. In addition, there were minor groups of Mongols in Afghanistan and in various areas of China.

For a number of reasons the seventeenth century was also an important period in the history of the Mongolian language. It was the beginning of the "New Mongolian" period, and likewise the time of the appearance of the Oirat script, devised in 1648 by the learned lama Zaya Pandita, and of the Oirat written language.

The subsequent periods were relatively quiet. Under the rule of the Tai Ch'ing dynasty, Inner Mongolia and Manchuria underwent extensive colonization by Chinese farmers. In many

areas the Mongols lost their livelihood, because no place was left to them where they could graze their cattle. In most regions of Inner Mongolia the Mongols became a minority group, the main population being Chinese. At the present time, the population of Inner Mongolia amounts to 7,400,000 persons. The total number of Mongols in China is 1,463,000, of whom 997,000 live in the Autonomous Inner Mongolian Region.

In Outer Mongolia the activities of the Chinese merchants and usurers ruined thousands of nomads. High taxes and the corvée system imposed by the Mongolian princes, enormous tributes paid to the Imperial court in Peking, mismanagement and corruption of officials, injustice, and disregard for human rights, all created discontent among the Mongols of Outer Mongolia. As a result, rebellions occurred. One rebellion, led by the Oirat Amur Sanaa, engulfed most of Outer Mongolia and lasted from 1754 to 1758. A rebellion of the Moslems, in the second half of the nineteenth century, lasted many years and was particularly ruinous to the Mongols.

In China, the revolution of 1911 that resulted in the overthrow of the Tai Ch'ing dynasty was favorable to the Mongol's aspirations for national liberation. The Mongols declared Outer Mongolia an independent nation. Their autonomy was recognized by China and Russia in 1913, and a special joint declaration was issued to that effect. In spite of the fact that this declaration still recognized the suzerainty of China over Outer Mongolia, the latter preserved its semi-independent status until the revolution of 1917 in Russia. The fall of the Tsarist government, and the annulment by the Soviet government of all treaties concluded by the old regime, were taken advantage of by the Chinese authorities, who in 1919 sent an occupation army into Mongolia. In the meantime, civil war was ravaging the former Russian Empire. One of the anti-communist military leaders, Baron Ungern-Steinberg, retreated with his military forces from Siberia to Outer Mongolia, in order to regroup. There he defeated the Chinese, expelled them from Mongolia, and helped the Mongols to re-establish their own

government, which was headed by the religious leader of Mongolia, the Jebtsun Damba Khutuktu, who assumed the title of Emperor. Baron Ungern-Sternberg's army, defeated in several encounters with the Soviet Red army, was demoralized and soon fell apart. It dissolved into numerous bands which confiscated food and horses from the Mongols, and even attacked the population. Finally, in 1921 the Mongolian government permitted the Soviet armed forces to enter Mongolia and liquidate the remaining groups of the former White army. In 1921, a People's Government was established, and after the death of Jebtsun Damba Khutuktu in 1924, Outer Mongolia was proclaimed a People's Republic. According to its constitution, it was a nation which was planned to develop according to the non-capitalistic way, and the foundation for a gradual transition to socialism was envisioned.

During the less than fifty years of Outer Mongolia's independence, great changes have occurred in her economic, social, and cultural life. The cultural changes are of particular importance because the spread of education, the opening of various types of schools, including universities, the coming into existence of an academy of sciences and other learned bodies, the large circulation of books and periodicals, regular radio broadcasting, and the introduction of television, have all raised the cultural level enormously and produced great changes in the language, which is constantly being enriched by new words and terminology.

Similar great changes have occurred in the Buriat and Kalmyk areas, two autonomous republics within the USSR, where literacy is now almost 100 percent.

As for Inner Mongolia, not much is known about recent developments, or about the general position of the Mongols. It is known that they still use the old Mongolian alphabet, which was abolished in 1931 in the Buriat Republic and in 1941 in the MPR. There is a Mongolian university in Kuku Khoto (Kweisui, in Chinese). Otherwise nothing is known about the linguistic situation or the general cultural conditions in Inner Mongolia.

1.6. Historical periods of the language

The time of the first appearance of the oldest form of Mongolian is unknown, but what is called "Ancient Mongolian" (AMo.) probably lasted until the twelfth century A.D., i.e. until the first federations of the Mongolian tribes were established. Ancient Mongolian has not been preserved in written sources, and the only material available is a few words attested in Chinese annals and a number of words borrowed by the ancestors of the present-day Tungus from Ancient Mongolian, e.g. Evenki atiga 'knapsack' < AMo. *atigā > Kh. ačaa [ač^{h}ā] 'load transported on horseback', which has preserved the consonant *t before i, and the consonant *g in intervocalic position before a long vowel.

At the end of the Ancient Mongolian period, the old Mongolian script and the so-called Script Mongolian language appeared. Although Script Mongolian has preserved a few AMo. features, such as intervocalic *g, it is not identical with AMo. and represents a stage transitional to Middle Mongolian.

Middle Mongolian is the language that was spoken from the twelfth century to the sixteenth or even seventeenth century. At that time, the language still preserved the initial h in words such as harban 'ten' = Kh. arav [arwă], but intervocalic *g had already disappeared, e.g. ba'u- 'to descend' (AMo. *bagū-) = Kh. buu- [Bū-]. This stage is represented by the language of the so-called Secret History, a work written in the thirteenth century and preserved in Chinese phonetic transcription. Other sources are various Chinese-Mongolian glossaries of the fourteenth century, edicts and other texts written in the so-called 'Phags-pa Script (1269-1368), and Mongolian-Arabic and Persian-Mongolian glossaries and dictionaries of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in which Mongolian is rendered with Arabic letters. There are also lists of words in Georgian and Armenian transcription, and individual words in Latin transcription which are found in diaries of the European travelers who visited Mongolia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

THE LANGUAGE SITUATION

The Middle Mongolian Period was followed by the "New Mongolian" Period. Only after the seventeenth century did Mongolian, Buriat, Oirat, and Kalmyk acquire their characteristic features and gradually become what they are at the present time.

The most recent period of the Mongolian language history began in the 1920's, after revolutions had occurred in China, Russia, and Mongolia, in a period during which political, economic, social, and cultural changes took place.

1.7. The old Mongolian scripts

The earliest written record of the Mongolian language is an inscription on a stele erected in honor of Chingis Khan's nephew, Yisünke. The inscription, which can be dated approximately A.D. 1225, shows an orthography which closely corresponds to the orthography of later periods, which suggests that the script was established prior to that date.

The Old Mongolian script is of Uighur origin. The Uighurs were a Turkic nation with a relatively high civilization, and possessed a script from the time of the seventh century A.D. Their most ancient kingdom was in the ninth century, in Mongolia. Later they moved to the West and established a kingdom in Chinese Turkestan. The Uighurs borrowed their script from the Sogdians, a civilized nation speaking an Iranian language. The Sogdian script is ultimately of Aramaic origin, and goes back to a North Semitic alphabet.

The Old Mongolian script is written vertically downwards, the columns running from left to right. This alphabet was used by all Mongols, including some of the Oirats, from the thirteenth century until recently.

The Buriats were the first to abolish the Old Mongolian script. They introduced the Latin alphabet in 1931, but replaced it in 1937 with the Russian alphabet. In the Mongolian People's Republic the old alphabet was in use until 1941, when it was also replaced by the Russian alphabet. The Mongols in Inner Mongolia still use the old alphabet.

Table 4

The letters of the Old Mongolian alphabet

Transcription	Characters		
	Initial	Medial	Final
a			
e			
i			
o u			
ö ü			
n			
ng			
q			
γ			
b			
p			
s			
š			
t d			
l			
m			
č			
j			
y			
k g			
k			
r			
v			
h			

THE LANGUAGE SITUATION

The Mongolian written in the old alphabet is called "Script Mongolian". It is based upon a dialect of the twelfth or early thirteenth century, a dialect which still retained some Ancient Mongolian features, but otherwise displayed Middle Mongolian forms. For example, it retained the intervocalic *g before an original long vowel, e.g. baγu- 'to descend' = Kh. buu- [Bū-]. On the other hand, it did not preserve the initial *p or *f or even its Middle Mongolian reflex, h; cf. arban 'ten' = MMo. harban = Kh. arav [arwă]; odun 'star' = MMo. hodun = Kh. od [ɔDDŏ].

Script Mongolian was used only as the language of writing; it was not a spoken language. It is phonologically and grammatically very different from Modern Mongolian. The following example will illustrate the difference:

Script Mongolian: baraγun qoyina-ača bögen egülen γarču udal ügei sirügün boroγan oroba

Modern Mongolian: baruun xoinoos bөөn үүl garč udal-güi širүүn boroo orov

Translation: 'There appeared from the northwest cumulus clouds, and soon a heavy rain fell'

The Old Mongolian alphabet has 24 letters. Each letter appears in three different forms, according to its position in the word: an initial one used at the beginning of words, a medial one used in the middle of words, and a final one used at the end of words. The letters of the Mongolian alphabet are given in Table 4.

The Emperor Khubilai of the Yüan dynasty conceived the plan of introducing another alphabet which would be suitable for all the languages spoken in his empire, including Chinese. The new script was invented by the learned Buddhist monk, 'Phags-pa Lama. It is based upon the Tibetan alphabet, and is called the "'Phags-pa Script", after its inventor. Sometimes it is referred to as the Square Script, because of the quadrangular shape of the letters. It was introduced in 1269, but used only until 1368. There are

Table 5

The vowel letters of the 'Phags-pa Script

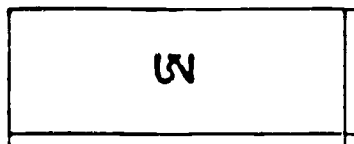
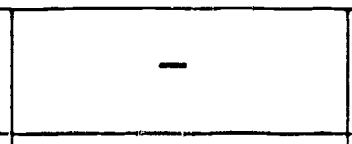
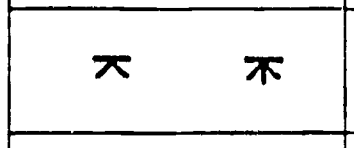
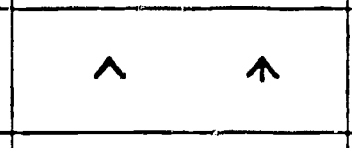
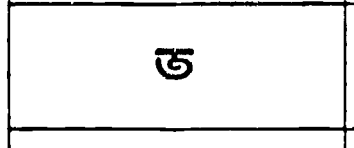
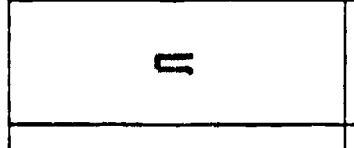
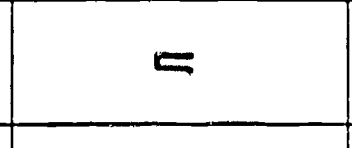
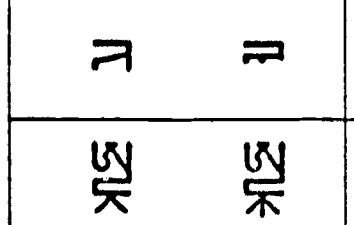
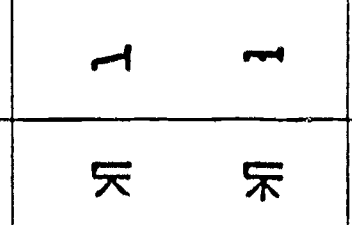
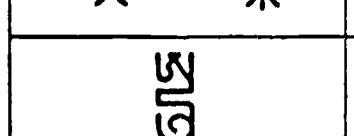
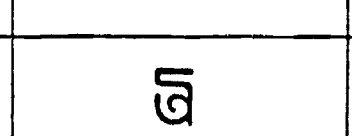
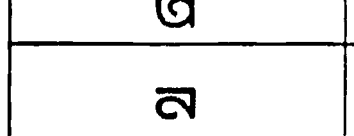
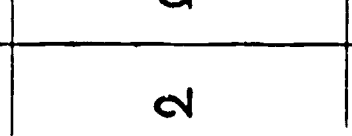
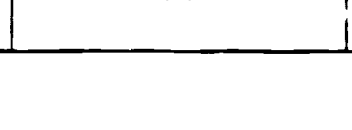
		*a*
		*o*
		*u*
		*e*
		*ė*
		*ö*
		*ü*
		*i*

Table 6

The consonant letters of the 'Phags-pa Script

	p		*č'*
	b		*ǰ*
	v		*š*
	m		*ž*
	t		*y*
	t'		*k*
	d		*k'*
	n		*g*
	r		*q*
	l		*γ*
	c'		*ŋ*
	j		*h*
	s		·
	z		*ɣ*
	č		*u̯*

few documents written in the 'Phags-pa Script, among which are several imperial edicts, a Buddhist inscription, fragments of a printed book, etc. The 'Phags-pa Script is shown in Tables 5 and 6.

1.8. The Cyrillic alphabet

Cyrillic is the name of the alphabets of Slavs of the Orthodox Church. The Russian, Ukrainian, Bielorussian, Bulgarian, and Serbian alphabets have developed from it, and are referred to as Cyrillic.

The Cyrillic alphabet was introduced into the Mongolian People's Republic in 1941. It consists of 34 letters. Of these, 32 are identical with the letters of the present-day Russian alphabet, with two letters taken from the old Russian alphabet (see Table 7). The Buriats and the Kalmyks also use alphabets based upon the Russian alphabet, but they are slightly different from the new Mongolian alphabet.

The relation between the letters and phonemes, and the orthographic rules will be explained below (see 2.4.).

Table 7

The new Mongolian (Cyrillic) alphabet

Letter	Latin Transliteration	Letter	Latin Transliteration
А а	a	П п	p
Б б	b	Р р	r
В в	v	С с	s
Г г	g	Т т	t
Д д	d	У у	u
Е е	e	Ү ү	ü
Ё ё	ë	Ф ф	f
Ж ж	ž	Х х	x
З з	z	Ц ц	c
И и	i	Ч ч	č
Й й	ĭ	Ш ш	š
К к	k	Ъ ъ	’
Л л	l	Ы ы	ï
М м	m	Ь ь	’
Н н	n	Э э	è
О о	o	Ю ю	yu
Ө ө	ö	Я я	ya

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2. PHONOLOGY

2.1. The phonemes

Mongolian has the following phonemes: /ə i ɯ u e ɵ o a p t k b d g c č ʒ ǰ f s š x w y m n ŋ l r/.

2.11. The consonants

The Mongolian consonant phonemes are shown in Table 8.

Table 8

The consonant phonemes of Mongolian

		Labial	Dental	Velar
Stops	Tense	(/p/)	/t/	(/k/)
	Lax	/b/	/d/	/g/
Affricates	Tense		/c/ /č/	
	Lax		/ʒ/ /ǰ/	
Fricatives	Tense	(/f/)	/s/ /š/	/x/
	Lax	(/w/)	/y/	
Nasals		/m/	/n/	/ŋ/
Liquids			/l/	
			/r/	

Note: Phonemes which are alien to Mongolian and occur only in loan words are enclosed in parentheses.

2.111. The tense stops

The tense stops /p t k/ are voiceless and with the exception of /t/, are aspirated in all positions.

(1) /p/ is a tense voiceless bilabial stop and resembles

English p in pin. It occurs only in loan words. Most speakers do not distinguish between /p/ and /f/.

/pɯɯʒə/ [pʰɯ̄ʒə̆] 'shop'

/sampiŋ/ [såmpʰɪ̆~] 'abacus'

(2) /t/ is a tense voiceless apico-dental or post-dental stop. It is acoustically similar to English t in ten. There are two allophones: [tʰ], which is aspirated, and [t], which is unaspirated. Of these, [t] occurs initially when the second syllable is short and has a tense consonant at its onset.

/too/ [tʰō] 'number'

/utaa/ [u̲tʰā] 'smoke'

/tatəxə/ [tatʰă̆χă̆] 'to pull'

/urtə/ [u̲Rtʰă̆] 'long'

(3) /k/ is a tense voiceless dorso-velar aspirated stop. It occurs only in recent loan words, and most speakers substitute /x/ for it.

/kapitaal/ [kʰapʰitʰāi] 'capital'

2.112. The lax stops

The lax stops /b d g/, with the exception of /d/, which is always voiceless, have voiced and voiceless allophones.

(1) /b/ is a lax bilabial stop. Its allophones are [b w B W]. The allophone [b] is a voiced bilabial stop identical with English b in bear. It occurs only in medial position, after /m/ and /l/, and before a vowel.

/umbəxə/ [u̲mbă̆χă̆] 'to wade, to walk in water'

/elbəg/ [elbĕ̆G] 'plentiful'

The allophone [w] is a voiced bilabial fricative. It is important to note that it is not a semivowel and is very different from English w. It is comparable to Spanish b [β] in Habana. This allophone occurs intervocalically, after /r/ in medial position, in syllable-final position before a lax consonant, and in final position in monosyllabic words.

/yabə/ [yåwă̆] 'go!'

/arbə/ [arwă] 'ten'

/yabgəŋ/ [yåwg̬ă~] 'pedestrian'

/ab/ [aw] 'take!'

The allophone [B] is a lax voiceless bilabial stop (media lenis). It resembles acoustically initial b in some German dialects and gives the impression of a consonant intermediate between b and unaspirated p. It occurs initially, in word-final position in polysyllabic words, and in syllable-final position before a tense consonant.

/bar/ [Bar] 'tiger'

/tələb/ [tʰəllə̆B] 'appearance'

/abtəx/ [aBtʰăχă] 'to be taken'

The allophone [W] is a voiceless bilabial fricative, the voiceless counterpart of [w]. It occurs in syllable-final position before a tense consonant. In word-final position, it occurs in words of two or more syllables.

/absəŋ/ [aWsă~] 'one who has taken'

/tələ̆b/ [tʰəllə̆W] 'appearance'

(2) /g/ is a lax dorso-velar consonant. Some allophones are deep-velar (back-velar), other allophones are front-velar. Some allophones are stops, other are fricatives. The allophones are [G̬ g̬ ɣ G g g]. The allophones [G g g] occur only with front vowels; the allophones [G̬ g̬ ɣ] occur only with back vowels. The allophones [G̬ g̬ G g] are stops; the allophones [ɣ g] are fricatives. The allophones [G̬ G] are voiceless; the allophones [g̬ ɣ g g] are voiced.

The allophone [G̬] is a lax voiceless back-velar stop. It occurs in words with back vowels in initial position, in word-final position, and in syllable-final position before tense consonants.

/gar/ [G̬ar] 'hand'

/agtə/ [aG̬tʰă] 'gelding'

/ug/ [uG̬] 'foundation, primary'

The allophone [g̬] is a lax voiced back-velar stop. It occurs in medial position after /b m ŋ l r/ in words with back vowels.

/yabgəŋ/ [yáwğă~] 'on foot, pedestrian'

/amgae/ [amg̊ä̊e̊] 'the bit of the bridle'

/uŋgəldəxə/ [uŋg̊ă̊ɬDă̊χă̊] 'to neigh'

/gargəxə/ [G̊arg̊ă̊χă̊] 'to take out'

The allophone [ɣ] is a back-velar voiced fricative. It occurs only in intervocalic position in words with back vowels.

/bagə/ [Baɣă] 'small'

/unəgaaxə/ [un̆ă̆ɣāχă̆] 'to drop, to make fall down'

The allophone [G] is a lax voiceless front-velar stop. It occurs only in words with front vowels and in the same positions as [G̊], i.e. initially, in word-final position, and before tense consonants in medial position.

/ger/ [Ger] 'yurt'

/egcə/ [eGc^{h}ĕ] 'steep'

/əg/ [əG] 'give!'

The allophone [g] is identical with English g in gate. It is a lax voiced front-velar stop. It occurs in words with front vowels in medial position after /m ŋ l r/ and before a vowel. It occurs also intervocalically, in which position it often alternates with [g̊].

/emgəŋ/ [emğĕ~] 'old woman'

/əŋgərxə/ [əŋğŏrx̆ĕ] 'to pass'

/ergə/ [erğĕ] 'steep bank'

/degee/ [Deg̃ɛ̄] or [Deg̊g̃ɛ̄] 'hook'

The allophone [g̊] is a lax voiced front-velar fricative. It occurs only in intervocalic position in words with front vowels, alternating with [g].

/degee/ [Deg̃ɛ̄] or Deg̊g̃ɛ̄] 'hook'

(3) /d/ is a lax voiceless apico-dental stop (media lenis) which has only one allophone, namely [D]. In medial position, between a single vowel phoneme and shwa, it is usually geminate, i.e. [DD̆].

/darxə/ [Darχă] 'to press'

/dotər/ [Dot^{h}ŏr] 'inside, within'

/adxə/ [aDχă] 'handful'

/ed/ [eD] 'goods, material'

/modə/ [mɔDDɔ̆] 'tree'

/modoor/ [mɔDɔ̄r] 'by means of a tree'

2.113. The tense affricates

The tense affricates are /c č/. A phonemic distinction between these two affricates exists in Khalkha, Kharchin, and some other dialects, but does not exist in Chakhar, Urat, Ordos, and Khorchin. Examples: Khalkha /cadəxə/ 'to be satiated' and /čadəxə/ 'to be able', but Chakhar /čadəxə/ 'to be satiated' and /čȧdəxə/ 'to be able'.

(1) /c/ is a tense dental or post-dental affricate which resembles English [ts] in that's it. It has two allophones: [cʰ], which is aspirated and [c], which is not aspirated.

The allophone [c] occurs initially when the following short syllable begins with a tense consonant.

/casəŋ/ [cassă~] 'made of snow'

/cacəg/ [cacʰăG̬] 'fringe'

The allophone [cʰ] is a tense dental or post-dental aspirated affricate. It occurs initially and medially.

/cagaan/ [cʰaγā~] 'white'

/acrəxə/ [acʰrăχă] 'to bring'

/acə/ [acʰă] 'fork, pitchfork'

(2) /č/ is a tense alveolar or post-alveolar affricate comparable to English ch. It has the allophones [č] and [čʰ].

The allophone [č] is unaspirated and occurs in initial position when the second syllable begins with a tense consonant and the vowel of the second syllable is a shwa.

/čuxəl/ [ču̬χχăɬ] 'important'

The allophone [čʰ] is aspirated. It occurs initially and medially.

/čuluu/ [čʰu̬ɬū̬] 'stone'

/čarae/ [čʰȧrȧė̯] 'face'

/či/ [čʰi] 'thou'

2.114. The lax affricates

The lax affricates are /ʒ/ and /ǰ/. No phonemic distinction exists between them in Ordos, Chakhar, Urat, and Khorchin.

(1) /ʒ/ is a lax voiceless dental or post-dental affricate, comparable to English dz in adze. In intervocalic position, between a single vowel phoneme and shwa, it is usually geminate, i.e. [ʒʒ].

/garʒə/ [Garʒă] 'financial loss'

/ʒaxə/ [ʒaχχă] 'edge, border'

/gaʒər/ [Gaʒʒăr] 'country, land'

(2) /ǰ/ is a lax voiceless alveolar or post-alveolar affricate. It is acoustically close to English j. Intervocalically, between a single vowel and /i/, it is usually geminate.

/ǰil/ [ǰil] 'year'

/ənǰixə/ [ənǰǐxĕ] 'to spend two nights and a day between them'

/aǰig/ [ȧǰǰĭG] 'attention'

2.115. The fricatives

Mongolian has six fricatives, namely /f w s š y x/. Of them, /f w/ are bilabial; /š y/ are fronto-alveolar; /s/ is dental or post-dental; and /x/ is dorso-velar.

(1) /f/ is a tense bilabial fricative similar to English f. It occurs only in recent loan words. Most Mongols do not distinguish between /p/ and /f/, and use them indiscriminately. The phonetic value of /f/ is [φ].

/fabrig/ [φābrĭG] 'plant, factory'

(2) /w/ is a lax bilabial fricative. In genuine Mongolian words [w] occurs only as an allophone of /b/ (see 2.112.), but in loan words [w] occurs in positions in which the [w] allophone of /b/ does not occur.

/waar/ [wār] 'tile' < Chinese

/wiiʒə/ [wīʒă] 'visa' < Russian < Western languages

(3) /s/ is a tense voiceless dental or post-dental fricative identical with English s in song. It is usually geminate

between a single vowel phoneme in the initial syllable and a shwa in the second syllable.

/sar/ [sar] 'moon, month'

/bəs/ [Bəs] 'cotton cloth'

/asuuxə/ [asŭ̯χă] 'to ask'

/usəndə/ [us̯̆sănDă] 'in water'

/təsəlχə/ [tassăɬχă] 'to tear apart'

(4) /š/ is a tense voiceless fronto-alveolar fricative identical with English sh. Between a single vowel phoneme of the initial syllable and /i/ of the second syllable, it is usually geminate.

/šar/ [šar] 'yellow'

/aašilxə/ [āšĭɬχă] 'to be angry'

/xašaa/ [χašā] 'fence, court'

/tašixə/ [tašš̆ĭχă] 'to hit, to strike'

(5) /y/ is a lax fronto-alveolar fricative comparable to English y. It has little or no friction in word-initial position, but in medial position, between vowels, and in final position the friction is rather strong. Between a single vowel of the initial syllable and a shwa of the following syllable, /y/ is usually geminate.

/yabəxə/ [yåwăχă] 'to go'

/xayaad/ [χayāD] 'having thrown'

/xayəxə/ [χayyăχă] 'to throw'

/ayə/ [ayyă] 'circumstance'

/abyaa/ [awyā] 'let us take!'

(6) /x/ is a tense voiceless dorso-velar fricative which is acoustically close to Gaelic ch in loch. It has the allophones [x ᵏx χ ᵏχ], all of which are usually geminate between the single vowel of the initial syllable and the shwa of the second syllable.

The allophone [x] is a tense fronted dorso-velar fricative and occurs initially in words with front vowels, and medially before a geminate vowel or diphthong.

/xeŋ/ [xeŋ] 'who'

/xəxəə/ [xöx$\bar{\text{ö}}$] 'cuckoo'

/exə/ [exxĕ] 'mother'

The allophone [^{k}x] is an affricate which begins as a stop and ends as a fricative. It occurs in words with front vowels instead of [x] in some dialects, but in almost all dialects after a consonant in medial position.

/eŋxə/ [ėŋ^{k}xĕ] 'peace'

The allophone [χ] is a tense voiceless back-velar (deep-velar) fricative. It occurs only with back vowels in initial position and after a consonant in medial position.

/xarə/ [χară] 'black'

/uxaa/ [u̯χā] 'hill'

/axə/ [aχχă] 'elder brother, elder, uncle'

The allophone [$^{k}_{\chi}$χ] is a back-velar tense affricate which begins as [k̯] and ends as [χ]. It occurs in back-vocalic words in positions in which front-vocalic words have [^{k}χ].

/aŋxə/ [aŋ$^{k}_{\chi}$χă] 'beginning'

/xatuu/ [$^{k}_{\chi}$χat^{h}ū̯] 'difficult'

2.116. The nasals

The nasals are /m n ŋ/.

(1) /m/ is a bilabial nasal identical with English m. It has only one allophone, which is [m].

/mal/ [mal] 'cattle'

/em/ [em] 'medicine'

(2) /n/ is an apico-dental or post-dental nasal identical with English n. It has only one allophone, which is [n]. Between the single vowel of the initial syllable and the shwa of the second syllable, it is usually geminate.

/nar/ [nar] 'sun'

/endə/ [ėnDĕ] 'here'

/enə/ [ėnnĕ] 'this'

(3) /ŋ/ is a dorso-velar nasal similar to English ng in song. It has two main allophones, [ŋ] and [˜].

The allophone [ŋ] is a dorso-velar nasal with complete oral closure. It occurs medially before /g x k/, and at the end of monosyllabic words with short vowels. (If we take into consideration that in words with back vowels, [ŋ] becomes back-velar, the allophone [ŋ] actually [illegible] two allophones, [ŋ] and [ŋ̟].)

/aŋxə/ [aŋ^{k}χă] 'beginning'

/eŋxə/ [e̊ŋ^{k}xĕ] 'peace'

/oŋ/ [ɔŋ] 'year'

The allophone [˜] is nasalization of the vowel, or, more precisely, the nasalized end of a vowel. It is rather weak and is the result of incomplete oral closure. It occurs finally in monosyllabic words, the vowel of which is geminate or a diphthong. It also occurs at the end of words of two or more syllables.

/xaaŋ/ [χā˜] 'khan, king'

/ulaaŋ/ [uɬā˜] 'red'

/čineeŋ/ [č^{h}inē˜] 'the size of'

/aŋxəŋ/ [aŋ^{k}χa˜] 'initial'

2.117. The liquids

Mongolian has a lax apico-dental or post-dental phoneme /l/ and the apical trill /r/.

(1) /l/ has a decrescendo voicing before a tense consonant or in word-final position. It is dark when preceded and/or followed by back vowels. In words with front vowels, and before /i/ in all words, it is light and corresponds to French or German l in lèvre or leben, respectively. When final /i/ disappears, e.g. in fast speech, its trace is the palatalization of /l/, i.e. the allophone is [l^{j}]. Consequently, the allophones are [L l l^{j} Ɬ ɬ]. Intervocalically, between the single vowel phoneme of the initial syllable and the shwa of the following syllable, /l/ is often geminate, i.e. [ll] or [ɬɬ].

The allophone [l] occurs in words with front vowels, and before /i/ in words with back vowels. It is comparable to

French or German l.

/bel/ [Bel^{l} 'waist'

/elbəg/ [elb̆ə̆G] 'plentiful'

/eləs/ [ellĕs] 'sand'

/lɯɯ/ [lw̃] 'basket'

The allophone [L] occurs in medial position before tense consonants in words with front vowels. It is comparable to English l in full.

/xeltəgii/ [xeLt^{h}ə̆gī] 'oblique'

The allophone [ɬ] is a dark lax apico-dental phoneme which resembles Russian л in палка. It occurs in words with back vowels.

/aləxə/ [aɬɬăχă] 'to kill'

/ləmə/ [ɬamă] 'Buddhist priest'

/xaalgə/ [χāɬğă] 'gate'

/galuu/ [G̬aɬū] 'goose'

The allophone [Ł] is the voiceless counterpart of [ɬ]. It occurs before tense consonants in words with back vowels.

/altə/ [aŁt^{h}ă] 'gold'

The allophone [l^{j}] appears where /i/ has disappeared. The palatalization is the trace of that /i/.

/surguuli/ [sṵrg̬ūlĭ] or [sṵrg̬ūl^{j}] 'school'

Note: The only phonemically geminate consonant is /ll/, e.g. /emeelee/ 'his own saddle (accus.)', /emeellee/ 'please saddle!'.

(2) /r/ is an apical trill. Before a tense consonant it is decrescendo voiced and often becomes completely unvoiced, like Russian р in Петр. This allophone is [R]. The other allophone, [r], occurs in all the other positions. There are no genuine Mongolian words with /r/ at the onset. Most speakers cannot pronounce an initial /r/, and prefix a prosthetic vowel.

/ger/ [Ger] 'yurt'

/irsəŋ/ [irsĕ~] 'one who has come'

/urtə/ [u̬Rt^{h}ă] 'long'

/oryooŋ/ [ɔryɔ̃~] 'district' < Russian < French rayon
/araadi/ [arɑ̃Dĭ] 'radio' < Russian < Western languages

2.12. The vowels

The vowels occur (1) as single vowel phonemes, e.g. /a/; (2) as geminate vowel phonemes, e.g. /aa/; (3) as diphthongs, e.g. /ae/.

In most of the dialects there are seven strong or fully articulated vowel phonemes /e ɵ ɯ i a o u/ and one weak or overshort vowel phoneme /ə/, which can be characterized as shwa. The vowel phonemes are shown in Table 9.

Table 9

The vowel phonemes of Mongolian

		Unrounded	Rounded	
			Front	Back
Strong	High	/i/	/ɯ/	/u/
	Mid	/e/	/ɵ/	/o/
	Low	/a/		
Weak		/ə/		

Single strong (fully articulated) vowel phonemes, with the exception of /i/, occur in most of the dialects only in the initial syllable (Ordos seems to be the only dialect in which single strong vowel phonemes occur in all syllables). The strong vowel phonemes occur, however, as geminates or as components of diphthongs, in all syllables in all dialects.

The weak (overshort) vowel phoneme occurs only in non-initial syllables. (Ordos does not have this phoneme.)

2.121. The phoneme /e/

The phoneme /e/ is the class of mid-front vowels. Its allophones are [e ē ė ę̇ ę̄ ē].

The allophone [e] is a mid-front unrounded vowel, more or less like English e in den. It occurs in monosyllabic words and in polysyllabic words with /ə/ or /ee/ in the second syllable, and also as the second component of the diphthongs /ae oe/ in non-initial syllables. It occurs after any consonant but the velars and /y/. Geminate /ee/ occurs in all positions, as [ē].

/em/ [em] 'medicine'

/ertə/ [eRt^{h}ĕ] 'early'

/xeer/ [xēr] 'steppe, desert'

/erees/ [erēs] 'screw'

/dalae/ [Dal̆̆e] 'sea'

/noxoe/ [nɔχŏe] 'dog'

The allophone [ė] is a mid-high front unrounded vowel which sounds like something between English e in pen and i in pin. It occurs in the initial syllable when followed by /č ǰ š/; in words with /i/ in the second syllable; and after /y/.

/ečixə/ [ėč^{h}ĭxĕ] 'to go away'

/xešig/ [xėššĭG] 'bliss'

/yendər/ [yenDĕr] 'platform, tribune'

The allophone [ę̇] is nonsyllabic [ė]. It occurs as the second component of the diphthongs /ae oe/ in the initial syllable or in monosyllabic words.

/aexə/ [äę̇χă] 'to be afraid'

/oe/ [oę̇] 'forest, grove'

The allophone [ę̄] is a centralized unrounded vowel. It is articulated with the tongue retracted and is described as a mid-high central open vowel. It occurs after velar consonants in the initial syllable.

/xeŋ/ [xę̄ŋ] 'who'

/gedəs/ [GęDDĕs] 'intestines'

The allophone [ɛ̄] occurs only as a long vowel in noninitial syllables in emphatic speech, where is replaces [ē] = /ee/.

/tertee/ [tert^{h}ɛ̄] 'on the farther side (don't you see it?)'

2.122. The phoneme /ɵ/

The phoneme /ɵ/ is the class of rounded mid or low front or fronted-central vowels. Its allophones are [ö ɔ̈ ɵ].

The allophone [ö] occurs in the initial syllable when the next vowel is /ɵɵ/. It is identical with German ö or French eu.

/gerɵɵs/ [Görɔ̈s] 'antelope'

The allophone [ɔ̈] is phonemically /ɵɵ/. It is a low fronted-central rounded vowel somewhat resembling Swedish ö in för.

/ɵɵrɵɵ/ [ɔ̈rɔ̈] 'himself'

The allophone [ɵ] occurs in all other positions. It is a mid-high fronted-central rounded vowel which somewhat resembles Southern Swedish u in lund.

/xɵl/ [xɵl] 'foot'

/ɵdər/ [ɵˤDĕr] 'day'

2.123. The phoneme /ɯ/

The phoneme /ɯ/ is the class of rounded high-front or central vowels. Its allophones are [ü ^{ü} ɯ ɯ̄].

The allophone [ü] is a high-front rounded vowel, identical with German ü and French u. It occurs as the first component of the diphthong /ɯi/ in the initial syllable, and after /y/ in the initial syllable.

/gɯi/ [Güi̯] 'run!'

/yɯldə/ [yülDĕ] 'herpes'

The allophone [^{ü}] is a very short [ü], a glide which occurs as the first component of the diphthong /ɯi/ in noninitial syllables.

/ɵdɯi/ [ɵD^{ü}i] 'not yet'

The allophone [ɯ] is a rounded fronted-central high vowel which resembles Norwegian u in hus. It occurs in the initial syllable in all the other positions. Geminate /ɯɯ/ is [ɯ̄]; it occurs in all syllables.

/bɯs/ [Bɯs] 'belt'

/sɯɯ/ [sɯ̄] 'milk'

/xelɯɯlxə/ [xe̯lɯ̄lxĕ] 'to let say'

2.124. The phoneme /i/

The phoneme /i/ is the class of high front or central unrounded vowels. It has the allophones [i i̯ ĭ ⁱ i̯].

The allophone [i] is a high front unrounded vowel, more or less like English i in shin. It occurs in the initial syllable.

/irə/ [irĕ/ 'come!'

/bičig/ [Bičʰĭg] 'letter'

The allophone [i̯] is phonemically the geminate /ii/ in initial position or after /t b d g c ʒ s x m n l r/. It is a fronted-central high unround vowel.

/iimə/ [i̯mĕ] 'such'

/xii/ [xi̯] 'air'

/tiimə/ [tʰi̯mĕ] 'such as that'

The allophone [ĭ] occurs only in noninitial syllables. It is a short [i].

/ami/ [ȧmĭ] 'life'

/barixə/ [Bȧrĭχă] 'to catch'

The allophone [ⁱ] is an overshort [i], a glide before other vowels. It is the nonsyllabic element of the diphthongs /ia io/ in the initial syllable, and /iaa ioo iuu/ in the noninitial syllables.

/nialxə/ [nⁱäɨχă] 'infant'

/aliaa/ [ȧlⁱā] 'naughty, frolicsome'

/xoliood/ [χolⁱōD] 'having mixed'

The allophone [i̯] is the nonsyllabic element of the diphthongs /ui ɯi/.

/uiləxə/ [ui̯ɬăχă] 'to weep'

/ʑɯil/ [ʑüi̯l] 'kind, sort'

2.125. The phoneme /a/

The phoneme /a/ is the class of low unrounded vowels which includes front, central, and back vowels. Its allophones are [ä ȧ ǎ a ā], and in some dialects [å].

The allophone [ä] is a low front unrounded vowel that resembles English a in bat. It occurs in the diphthongs /ia/ and /ae/ in the initial syllable or in monosyllabic words.

/nialxə/ [n^{i}äɬχă] 'infant'

/saeŋ/ [säe̯~] or [säe̯ŋ] 'good'

/aexə/ [äe̯χă] 'to be afraid'

The allophone [ȧ] is an unrounded low central vowel, close to French a in madame. It occurs in the initial syllable before a syllable with /i/.

/ami/ [ȧmĭ] 'life'

/aliaa/ [ȧl^{i}ā] 'naughty, frolicsome'

The allophone [ǎ] is a short [ȧ] and occurs as the first component of the diphthong /ae/ in noninitial syllables.

/dalae/ [Daɬǎe] 'sea'

The allophone [å] is a slightly rounded [a]. It occurs only before /b/ in some dialects in the western part of the Mongolian People's Republic.

/yabəxə/ [yåwăχă] 'to go, to walk'

The allophone [a] is the "pure" Italian a in padre. It occurs in all the other positions.

/amə/ [amă] 'mouth'

/xarə/ [χară] 'black'

The allophone [ā] is geminate /aa/ in all positions.

/xaalgə/ [χāɬg̜ă] 'gate'

/ulaaŋ/ [u̜ɬā~] 'red'

2.126. The phoneme /o/

The phoneme /o/ is the class of lower-mid rounded back or central vowels. Its allophones are [ɔ ɔ̄ o ö ŏ].

The allophone [ɔ] is an open, low-mid rounded back vowel close to English aw in saw. It occurs in the initial syllable, before /ə/ in the following syllable, and in monosyllabic words. Geminate /oo/ occurs as [ɔ̄] in these positions.

/oŋ/ [ɔŋ] 'year'

/modə/ [mɔDDŏ] 'tree'

/ocsər/ [ɔ̄sər] 'tape'

The allophone [o] is the French o in homme. It occurs in the diphthong /oe/ in the initial syllable, after /i/ or /y/, and before /i/ of the second syllable. Geminate /oo/ occurs as [ō] in these positions.

/xoenə/ [χoe̤nŏ] 'afterwards'

/niombə/ [n^{i}ombŏ] 'meditation' < Tibetan

/yorə/ [yorŏ] 'omen'

/mori/ [morĭ] 'horse'

/moriooroo/ [morĭōrō] 'by his own horse'

The allophone [ŏ] is a short [o] and occurs as a component of the diphthong /oe/ in noninitial syllables.

/noxoe/ [nɔχŏe] 'dog'

2.127. The phoneme /u/

The phoneme /u/ is the class of high back rounded vowels. Its allophones are [u̜ ū̜ u ū ŭ].

The allophone [u̜] is a back vowel produced with the larynx considerably lowered. It gives the acoustic impression of being a vowel between English oo in door and oo in foot. The allophone [u̜] occurs in all positions except before a syllable with /i/, immediately before or after /i/, and immediately after /y/. The allophone [ū̜] is geminate /uu/ and occurs in the same positions.

/us/ [u̜s] 'water'

2

/ulaaŋ/ [u̜ɬā~] 'red'

/uul/ [ū̜ɬ] 'original'

The allophone [u] is higher than [u̜] and comes closer to the French ou in ouvert. It occurs before a syllable with /i/ and immediately after /y/. It also forms the first component of the diphthong /ui/ in initial syllables. The allophone [ū] is geminate /uu/ and occurs in the same positions as [u].

/ulig/ [ullĭG] 'nuisance'

/uliaas/ [ul^{i}ās] 'poplar'

/yum/ [yum] 'something'

/uiləxə/ [ui̜lăχă] 'to weep'

/taniuulxə/ [t^{h}ȧn^{i}ūɬχă] 'to make acquainted'

The allophone [ŭ] is a short [u]. It occurs as the first component of the diphthong /ui/ in noninitial syllables.

/xarəŋxui/ [χarăŋ^{k}·χŭi] 'darkness'

2.128. The phoneme /ə/

The phoneme /ə/ is the class of weak or overshort mid-front, central, or back vowels. It occurs only in noninitial syllables. Its allophones are [ĕ ă ə̆ ɔ̆], the selection depending on the vowel of the preceding syllable, unless this vowel is either /ə/ or /i/ in a noninitial syllable, in which case it is conditioned by the vowel preceding /ə/ or /i/. Also, when the vowel of the preceding syllable is one of the diphthongs /ae oe ui ɯi/, the quality of /ə/ is conditioned by the first, rather than the second, member of the diphthong.

The allophone [ĕ] is an overshort, reduced [e], more or less like English a in sofa. It occurs after /e ee i ii ɯ ɯɯ ɯi/ in a preceding syllable.

/enə/ [enĕ] or [ennĕ] 'this'

/deerə/ [Dērĕ] 'on, above'

/irsəŋ/ [irsĕ~] 'one who has come'

/tiimə/ [t^{h}ī̜mĕ] 'such one'

/ɯnə/ [ɯnĕ] 'price'

/tɯɯndə/ [tʰɯ̄nDĕ] 'to him'

/ɯilə/ [üi̯lĕ] 'work'

/erxiləgči/ [ėrxĭlĕGčʰĭ] 'manager'

The allophone [ă] is an overshort, reduced [a]. It occurs after /a aa ae u uu ui/.

/arbəŋ/ [arwă~] 'ten'

/baatər/ [Bātʰăr] 'hero'

/aexəbtər/ [äe̯χăWtʰàr] 'terrible'

/urəŋ/ [u̯ră~] 'skillful'

/uurləxə/ [ū̯rɬăχă] 'to become angry'

/uiləxə/ [ui̯ɬăχă] 'to weep'

The allophone [ɔ̆] is an overshort, reduced [ɔ]. It occurs after /o oo oe/.

/modə/ [mɔDDɔ̆] 'tree'

/oosər/ [ɔ̄sɔ̆r] 'tape'

/oelgəxə/ [oėɬg̯ɔ̆χɔ̆] 'to understand'

/orčimdə/ [ɔrčʰĭmDɔ] 'in the vicinity'

The allophone [ĕ] is an overshort, reduced [ə]. It occurs after /ə əə/.

/ədər/ [əDDĕr] 'day'

/bəərə/ [Bɔ̄̈rĕ] 'kidney'

2.13. Juncture

There are three types of juncture: One internal open juncture /+/; and two terminal junctures, namely, the comma juncture /,/ and the final-pause juncture /./.

The comma juncture is usually accompanied by a rising pitch, but the final-pause juncture is accompanied by a falling pitch.

The compound juncture occurs in words compounded of two independent words. The juncture between them is close, with assimilation of some consonants and with fusion of the vowels, the initial vowel of the second word absorbing the final /ə/ of the first word. The compound has one main stress, which is on the strongest syllable of the compound.

/šaršəbuu/ [šaršăwū´] 'owl', but
/šar+šubuu/ [ša´r šu̯wū´] 'yellow bird' (any yellow bird)
/xarxɯŋ/ [χa´rxŭŋ] 'commoner, layman', but
/xar+xɯŋ/ [χa´r xɯ´ŋ] 'black man'

2.14. Stress

The stress is expiratory and strong. It is predictable; consequently, nonphonemic.

Words containing no geminate vowel phonemes or diphthongs have the stress on the initial syllable.

/axə/ [a´χχă] 'elder brother'
/uŋšisəŋ/ [u̯´ŋšĭsă~] 'having read'

Words containing one geminate vowel phoneme or one diphthong have the stress on the geminate vowel or diphthong, respectively.

/galuu/ [Ga̯ɬū´] 'goose'
/dalae/ [Daɬăe´] 'sea'

Words containing more than one geminate vowel phoneme or diphthong have the stress on the penultimate geminate vowel or diphthong.

/morioooroo/ [mor^{i}ō´rō] 'by means of his own horse'
/dalaegaaraa/ [Daɬăeɣā´rā] 'by means of his own sea'

2.15. Emphatic accent

The emphatic accent occurs only on the last vowel of a word. In polysyllabic words, all preceding vowels have their normal pitch, but the last vowel receives either a falling or rising pitch.

/darǰáa./ [Darǰá.] 'Darja!' (simple emphasis or address)
/darǰáa,/ [Darǰá,] 'Darja, indeed?' (surprise)

2.2. Phonotactics

Only the most important information will be supplied here, as a preliminary to the discussion of the morphophonemics (see 2.3.).

2.21. Vowels and vowel sequences

Table 10, adapted from Street's Khalkha Structure (p. 65), shows the vowel sequences which occur as phonemic nuclei in the native vocabulary of the Khalkha dialect.

Table 10

Phonemic nuclei

	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90
	V	iV	Vi/Ve	Vu	VV	iVV	uVV	uVe	Vii
1	a	ia	ae	au	aa	iaa	uaa	uae	
2	o	io	oe		oo	ioo			
3	e				ee				
4	ɵ				ɵɵ				
5	u		ui		uu	iuu			
6	ɯ		ɯi		ɯɯ				
7	i				ii				
8	ə								əii

The occurrences are illustrated below. Note that 11 (the intersection of column 10 and row 1) is /a/; 36 (the intersection of column 30 and row 6) is /ɯi/; 54 is /ɵɵ/, etc.

10 single vowel:

11 /tanae/ 'your', 12 /odoo/ 'now', 13 /xeŋ/ 'who', 14 /šenə/ 'night', 15 /ulaaŋ/ 'red', 16 /ɯgə/ 'word', 17 /bičig/ 'letter', 18 /enə/ 'this'

20 /i/ and a single vowel:

21 /miaŋgə/ 'thousand', 22 /niombə/ 'meditation' < Tibetan

30 single vowel and /i/ or /e/:

31 /saeŋ/ 'good', 32 /oe/ 'forest', 35 /uiləxə/ 'to weep', 36 /ɯilə/ 'work'

40 Single vowel and /u/. Occurs only in one word and is probably a borrowing from Script Mongolian: 41 /augaa/ 'might'

50 a geminate vowel phoneme:
51 /xaa/ 'where?', 52 /too/ 'number', 53 /deerəes/
'from above', 54 /eeɤee/ 'oneself', 55 /uu/ 'drink!',
56 /sɯɯ/ 'milk', 57 /tiimə/ 'such'
60 /i/ and a geminate vowel phoneme:
61 /xiaa/ 'aide-de-camp', 62 /xoliood/ 'having mixed',
65 /xariuu/ 'answer'
70 /u/ and a geminate vowel phoneme:
71 /guaa/ 'beauty'
80 /u/ plus vowel plus /e/:
81 /guae/ 'Mr.'
90 single vowel and /ii/:
98 /axəiiŋ/ 'of the elder brother'

2.22. Vowel harmony

The vowels of Mongolian are restricted as far as their occurrence in a word is concerned. The rules restricting their occurrence are called "vowel harmony". This term implies that the vowels must "harmonize" or "agree" with each other within a word. The general rule is that, with the exceptions of /ə i ii/ in noninitial syllables, either only front vowels /e ə ɯ/ or only back vowels /a o u/ may occur in one word. This applies to both single and geminate vowel phonemes. The diphthongs are classified as front or back according to whether the vowel other than /i/ or /e/ is front or back, e.g. /ɯi/ is front, but /ui/, /ae/, and /ia/ are back. Table 11 shows the possible occurrences.

The vowel harmony rules apply to vowels within all morphemes which constitute a word or a word-form. There are only a few exceptions.

Compound words do not comply with the vowel harmony: each member of the compound retains its own vowels. These are mostly names of people, places, etc.: /cerəndulmaa/ 'Tserendulmaa' (woman's name).

Table 11

Vowel harmony

<table>
<tr><th>After:</th><th colspan="3">May occur:</th></tr>
<tr><td>/ɑ aa ae/ or
/u uu ui/</td><td>/aa ae/</td><td rowspan="2">/uu ui/</td><td rowspan="5">/i ii/ and
/ə/</td></tr>
<tr><td>/o oo oe/</td><td>/oo oe/</td></tr>
<tr><td>/e ee/ or
/ɯ ɯɯ ɯi/</td><td>/ee/</td><td rowspan="3">/ɯɯ ɯi/</td></tr>
<tr><td>/ɵ ɵɵ/</td><td>/ɵɵ/</td></tr>
<tr><td>/i ii/ in an
initial syllable</td><td>/ee/</td></tr>
<tr><td>/ə/ in a
noninitial syllable</td><td colspan="3">any vowel</td></tr>
</table>

Examples: /xaanaasaa/ 'where from?', /yabaarae/ 'go (later)!', /xatuu/ 'hard', /xarəŋxui/ 'darkness', /utaa/ 'smoke', /untuu/ 'anger', /burgui/ 'needle for cleaning the pipe', /xodoodə/ 'colon (intestine)', /oruulxə/ 'to put in', /bolxuicə/ 'as far as possible', /erees/ 'screw', /xelɯɯlxə/ 'to let say', /bɯrɯi/ 'dusk', /ɵgɵɵmər/ 'generous', /ɵɵrɵɵ/ 'oneself', /ɵdɯi/ 'not yet', /bɵɵrəŋxɯi/ 'round, spherical', /irəxə/ 'to come', /iimə/ 'such', /xiigeer/ 'by means of air', /irɯɯleed/ 'having made come'.

Foreign names and recent borrowings from other languages also retain their original vowels: /germaani/ 'Germany', /pioneer/ 'pioneer' (Boy Scouts).

A few suffix morphemes do not comply with the harmony: /oegɯi/ 'treeless, bare of forests', /yabʊ̆jee/ 'he went', /ertee/ 'indebted', etc.

2.23. Occurrence of consonants

Not all consonants occur in all positions, and the general rule is that consonant clusters do not occur initially.

2.231. Single consonants

The phoneme /ŋ/ does not occur in syllable- or word-initial position. All other consonants may occur in syllable-initial and, with the exception of /r/, in word-initial position. There are only a few native words with initial /l/.

Initial /r/ does not occur in native words. Loanwords with initial /r/ receive a prosthetic vowel, e.g. /araadi/ 'radio' < Russian < Western languages.

The tense stops, the affricates /c ʒ č ǰ/, and the velar fricative /x/ do not occur in syllable- or word-final position.

2.232. Two consonants

Not all consonants form clusters with all other consonants. For example, in normal speech, such clusters as /bm bn dc dʒ dǰ ds dn/ do not occur. In fast speech, elision of /ə/ may occur, and in such a case a cluster may appear which is alien to normal speech and which is not supported by the facts of Mongolian grammar, e.g. [ɯʒtʰʊ̆l] 'while he was looking' is phonemically /ɯʒətəl/, because /ʒ/ does not occur in syllable-final position.

With the exception of /ll/, there is no phonemic gemination of consonants. (N.B. The geminates [DD], [ss], etc., e.g. [BiDDʊ̆r] = /bidər/ 'spots, dots', are allophones of the phonemes /d/ or /s/, respectively.)

Table 12 shows two consonant clusters consisting of a syllable-final and a syllable-initial consonant.

Table 12

Consonant clusters

Syllable-initial consonants		Syllable-final consonants									
		10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
		b	d	g	m	n	ŋ	s	š	r	l
1	b		•	•	•					•	•
2	m		•							•	•
3	t	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		•	•
4	d	•		•	•	•	•			•	•
5	c	•		•	•	•				•	•
6	ʒ	•		•	•	•				•	•
7	s	•		•	•	•	•			•	•
8	č	•		•	•	•	•	•		•	•
9	ǰ	•		•	•	•				•	•
10	š	•		•	•	•	•			•	•
11	n			•	•			•		•	•
12	l	•	•	•	•			•		•	•
13	r	•		•	•		•	•			
14	g	•			•		•	•	•	•	•
15	x	•	•	•	•		•	•	•	•	•

The examples are numbered: the numbers 10 to 100 indicate syllable-final consonants; the numbers 1 to 15 indicate syllable-initial consonants. E.g. in section 10, number 3 refers to the cluster /bt/, etc.

10 /b/ plus another consonant:

3 /dabtəxə/ 'to forge, to do a smith's work', 4 /ebdəxə/ 'to break', 5 /dabcəŋ/ 'platform', 6 /abʒaatae/ 'impermanent, changing', 7 /tabsəg/ 'trunk, large box', 8 /xabčig/ 'narrow', 9 /obǰiŋ/ 'cunning, sly', 10 /ebšeexə/ 'to yawn', 12 /abligə/ 'bribe', 13 /tobruu/ 'anything convex (lens-shaped)', 14 /yabgəŋ/ 'pedestrian', 15 /dabxər/ 'double'

/d/ plus another consonant:
1 /udbəl/ 'water lily', 2 /eedməg/ 'sour milk, kind of yogurt', 3 /cadtəl/ 'to satiety', 12 /edləxə/ 'to own', 15 /adxə/ 'handful'

/g/ plus another consonant:
1 /ʒagbər/ 'pattern', 3 /agtə/ 'gelding', 4/xagdə/ 'last year's dry grass', 5 /bagcə/ 'bundle', 6 /ugʒərxə/ 'to pull, to jerk', 7 /ugsaa/ 'origin, lineage', 8 /agčixə/ 'to dry up and become shorter, to shrink', 9 /negǰixə/ 'to search' (a house, etc.), 10 /ogšixə/ 'to rise', 11 /egnee/ 'ranks', 12 /baglaa/ 'bundle, bunch', 13 /təgrəg/ 'circle, circular', 15 /əgxə/ ~ /əxə/ 'to give'

/m/ plus another consonant:
1 /umbəxə/ 'to wade, to walk in water', 3 /xamtə/ 'together', 4 /umdə/ 'drink', 5 /camcə/ 'shirt', 6 /umʒəd/ 'precentor in a Buddhist monastery', 7 /amsəxə/ 'to taste', 8 /əmči/ 'property', 9 /amǰiltə/ 'achievement', 10 /samsuu/ 'digestive organs', 11 /emnəxə/ 'to give medical treatment', 12 /nomləxə/ 'to preach', 13 /amrəg/ 'beloved', 14 /emgəg/ 'ailment', 15 /emxə/ 'order, system'

/n/ plus another consonant:
3 /untəxə/ 'to sleep', 4 /endə/ 'here', 5 /xancui/ 'sleeve', 6 /xenʒə/ 'late born', 7 /sansər/ 'material world, world of vanity', 8 /sančig/ 'hair on the temples', 9 /senǰi/ 'eye of a needle', 10 /xonšoor/ 'muzzle, snout'

/ŋ/ plus another consonant:
3 /aŋtae/ 'having game animals', 4 /aŋdə/ 'to a game animal', 7 /daŋsə/ 'ledger', 8 /aŋči/ 'trapper, hunter of game', 10 /uŋšixə/ 'to read', 13 /maŋrəxə/ 'to moo', 14 /eŋgər/ 'southern slope', 15 /aŋxə/ 'beginning'

/s/ plus another consonant:
3 /tastəxə/ 'to sever, to tear', 8 /ʒesči/ 'coppersmith', 11 /xɯsnəg/ 'form' (document to be filled in), 12 /desləgči/ 'lieutenant', 13 /asrəxə/ 'to take care of somebody', 14 /esgəxə/ 'to cut', 15 /asxəxə/ 'to spill'

80 /š/ plus another consonant:
14 /uušgi/ 'lung', 15 /gišxəxə/ 'to step on'

90 /r/ plus another consonant:
1 /arbəŋ/ 'ten', 2 /ermələ̧əxə/ 'to desire', 3 /ertə/ 'early', 4 /erdəm/ 'science, learning', 5 /aarcə/ 'a kind of sour cheese', 6 /garə̧ə/ 'financial loss', 7 /arsəgər/ 'ramified', 8 /arčixə/ 'to cleanse', 9 /borǰiŋ/ 'granite' (stone), 10 /oršixə/ 'to be in, to dwell', 11 /ərnəxə/ 'to develop', 12 /gerləxə/ 'to marry', 14 /gergii/ 'wife', 15 /barxirəxə/ 'to shout, to yell'

100 /l/ plus another consonant:
1 /albə/ 'service, duty', 2 /balməd/ 'adventurer', 3 /altə/ 'gold', 4 /aldə/ 'fathom', 5 /ulcəŋ/ 'having running eyes', 6 /aalə̧ə/ 'spider', 7 /elsəg/ 'friendly', 8 /belčixə/ 'to graze', 9 /swlǰixə/ 'to plait, to knit', 10 /golšig/ 'pleasant, amiable', 11 /xelnə/ 'he says', 12 /emeellə/ 'saddle', 14 /belgə/ 'sign', 15 / elxəg/ 'sieve'

2.233. Three consonants

Clusters of three consonants may appear in fast speech as a result of elision of /ə/. The first component of such clusters is /n l r/.

/ɯnsənees/ > /ɯnsnees/ 'from cinders'
/altənaas/ > /altnaas/ 'from gold'
/xulsənaas/ > /xulsnaas/ 'from reeds'
/orsənoos/ > /orsnoos/ 'from having entered'

2.3. Morphophonemics

This section deals with the alternation of nasals, the alternation of vowels, and internal and external sandhi.

2.31. Alternation of nasals

The phoneme /n/ does not occur in final position. In fast speech, a final shwa may be dropped, leaving a preceding /n/ in final position. However, such a final /n/ is phonemically /nə/. Only /ŋ/ occurs in absolute final position.

Final /ŋ/ is, historically, of dual origin. In some words it goes back to *ŋ; in others, it has developed from *n, e.g. /aŋ/ < *aŋ 'game animal', but /oŋ/ < *on 'year'.

When final /ŋ/ goes back to *ŋ, it always retains its velar articulation. Moreover, it even becomes /ŋg/ before a vowel, e.g. /aŋ/ 'game animal', /aŋ+də/ 'to the game animal', /aŋg+aas/ 'from the game animal'.

When final /ŋ/ goes back to *n, it again becomes /n/ when a suffix beginning with a vowel or a consonant other than a velar consonant is added, e.g. /oŋ/ 'year', but /on+də/ 'in the year', /on+oos/ 'from the year', etc. In such stems, there is an alternation /ŋ/~/n/. Such stems are called "stems with a stable /n/".

There is a large group of nouns with stems ending in /n/ which retain this /n/ in some positions, but drop it in other positions, e.g. /temeen+/ 'camel': /temee/ 'camel' (subject form), /temee+g/ 'camel' (dir. obj.), /temeen+də/ 'to the camel', /temeen+ees/ 'from the camel'. Such stems are called "stems with an unstable /n/".

Consequently, there are three distinct classes of stems:

1. Stems with alternating /ŋ/~/ŋg/
2. Stems with alternating /ŋ/~/n/
3. Stems with alternating /n/~zero

Examples: 1. /aŋ/~/aŋg+/ 'game animal', 2. /noyəŋ/~/noyən+/ 'prince', 3. /modən+/~/modə/ 'tree'. The presence of /+/ indicates that the form in question is the stem, and the absence of /+/ indicates that the form is the subject form.

2.32. Alternation of vowels

2.321. Regular alternation of /ə/ with zero is found in cases in which a geminate vowel other than /ii/ is added to a stem-final /ə/, the result being that /ə/ is absorbed by the geminate vowel or, so to speak, "disappears", e.g. /axə+/ 'elder brother' + /aar/ instrumental → /axaar/ 'by means of the elder brother'.

2.322. In cases in which /ii/ is added to a stem-final /ə/, the /ə/ remains, and, together with /ii/, becomes /əii/, i.e. [ɪ̄] with a preceding shwa glide, the allophone of the shwa depending on the quality of the vowel of the preceding syllable, e.g. /axə+/ 'elder brother' + /iiŋ/ genitive → /axəiiŋ/ 'of the elder brother'; /xotə+/ 'city' + /iiŋ/ → /xotəiiŋ/ 'of the city'; /bəxə+/ 'wrestler' + /iiŋ/ → /bəxəiiŋ/ 'of the wrestler'.

2.323. Regular alternation of stem-final /i/ with zero is found in cases in which geminate /ii/ is added. When /i/, so to speak, "disappears", its remaining trace is the palatalization of an immediately preceding /l m n r/, e.g. /surguuli/ 'school' + /iiŋ/ → /surguuliiŋ/ [surgūlʲɪ̄˜] 'of the school'; /ami/ 'life' + /iiŋ/ → /amiiŋ/ [ȧmʲɪ̄˜] 'of the life'.

2.324. Regular alternation of stem-final /i/ with zero occurs also when any geminate vowel phoneme (not necessarily /ii/) is added to a stem in which stem-final /i/ is preceded by /š č ǰ/, e.g. /bagši+/ 'teacher' + /aar/ instrumental → /bagšaar/ 'by means of the teacher'; /surəgči+/ 'student' + /aar/ → /surəgčaar/ 'by means of the student'; /argəmǰi/ 'rope' + /aar/ → /argəmǰaar/ 'by means of a rope'.

2.325. A regular alternation of /ə/ and /i/ with zero occurs in the final closed syllable of a disyllabic stem when a geminate vowel or a diphthong is added. This occurs in words in which /ə/ or /i/ is preceded by /l m n r/ or /s/, e.g. /usən+/ 'water' + /aas/ ablative → /usnaas/ 'from water'; /bilig+/ 'intellect' +

/eer/ instrumental → /bilgeer/ 'by means of the intellect'; /xulsən+/ 'reed' + /aas/ → /xulsnaas/ 'from reed'; /olsən+/ 'hemp rope' + /oos/ → /olsnoos/ 'from hemp rope'.

2.326. An irregular and rather unpredictable alternation of /ə/ or /i/ with zero occurs in fast speech. These two vowel phonemes may be dropped in final position, or disappear in medial position, e.g. /enə xɯŋ ulaambaatəraas irsəŋ/ 'this man has come from Ulan Bator' may be pronounced in slow speech, in which all words are pronounced carefully and with clear intervals between them, as [ėnĕ xɯŋ u̯ɬā~ bāt^{h}ărās irsĕ~], but it may also be pronounced as [ėn xɯŋ u̯ɬāmbāt^{h}rās irsĕ~]. In fast speech, therefore, it is by no means easy to divide a Mongolian word into syllables and to establish their boundaries. Thus, [arwă~] 'ten', in fast speech, could be interpreted as /arəbəŋ/ or as /arbəŋ/. A word like [xəDDĕlmĕrč^{h}ĭ~] could be interpreted as /xədəlmərčiŋ/ or as /xədləmərčiŋ/ or /xədəlmərəčiŋ/ or /xədləmərəčiŋ/.

There occurs also irregular metathesis of the shwa between a liquid and another consonant, e.g. /xaalgə/~/xaaləg/ 'gate', /argə/~/arəg/ 'means', /belgə/~/beləg/ 'sign, omen', etc.

Matters are made easier when one keeps in mind that /p č ǰ t c ʒ y k x/ do not occur in syllable-final position. Consequently, [u̯t^{h}sār] 'by means of thread' in fast speech cannot be /utsaar/ but can only be /utəraar/. In other words, any of these nine consonants always presumes a following vowel, and syllable-final /p č ǰ t c ʒ y k x/ can only be /pV čV ǰV tV cV ʒV yV kV xV/, where V is either /ə/ or /i/.

In syllable-final position only /b d g s š m n ŋ l r/ occur. Therefore, the really difficult cases are those in which a vowel may have been dropped after one of these consonants, excluding, however, /ŋ/, which never occurs before vowels. This is so because both /bCV dCV gCV/, etc., and /bVCV dVCV gVCV/, etc., are possible, C being any other consonant, and V being any vowel, e.g. /xabətae/ 'having skill, skillful' and /xabtae/ 'having a Pekinese'; or /bagətae/ 'having something in a small quantity'

and /bagtae/ 'possessing a bag' (i.e. an administrative unit of a few households). Street has demonstrated that there is a clear contrast between the presence or absence of /ə/ after /b g s m n l r/, to which /d/, not mentioned by him, should also be added.

2.33. Internal sandhi

Internal sandhi manifests itself in the assimilation or alternation of consonants within a word.

2.331. Assimilation manifests itself in the occurrence of different allophones in various positions, e.g. syllable-final /b g l r/ are unvoiced before /t c č s š x/ and represented by the allophones [B G̊ G L R] respectively, i.e. the alternations [b]~[B], etc., are nonphonemic.

2.332. Alternation manifests itself in the choice of allomorphs of certain morphemes, namely, those having /d ǰ g/ at their onset.

Table 12 shows all the two-consonant clusters that occur in Mongolian. Not all of them, however, occur at morpheme boundaries. For example, /bd/ is possible within a morpheme, e.g. /ebdə-/ 'to break', but /bd/ does not occur at morpheme boundaries, i.e. a morpheme beginning with /d/ cannot be added to a morpheme ending in /b/. Also, when /g r/ are in morpheme-final position, no /d/ can be added. Further, as was seen above, the clusters /dd sd/ do not occur at all; therefore, no /d/ can be added to a morpheme which has final /d s/.

2.3321. Suffixes with initial /d/ are the dative-locative suffix and the passive-verb suffix.

The dative-locative suffix is /də/, e.g. /xaan+/ 'king', /xaandə/ 'to the king'. With stems ending in /b d g s r/, the allomorph /tə/ is used.

/tələb+/ 'form', /tələbtə/ 'to the form'
/boləd+/ 'steel', /bolədtə/ 'to the steel'
/bičig+/ 'letter', /bičigtə/ 'to the letter'
/uləs+/ 'nation', /ulədtə/ 'to the nation'
/gar+/ 'hand', /gartə/ 'to the hand'

The passive-verb suffix is /də-/, e.g. /ol-/ 'to find', /oldə-/ 'to be found'. With stems ending in /b g s r/, the allomorph /tə-/ is used.

/ab-/ 'to take', /abtə-/ 'to be taken'
/əg-/ 'to give', /əgtə-/ 'to be given'
/gar-/ 'to overtake', /gartə-/ 'to be overtaken'

2.3322. The suffix of the imperfect gerund is /ǰi/, e.g. /ol-/ 'to find', /olǰi/ 'finding'. With verbal stems ending in /b g s r/, the allomorph /či/ is used.

/ab-/ 'to take', /abči/ 'taking'
/əg-/ 'to give', /əgči/ 'giving'
/bos-/ 'to rise', /bosči/ 'rising'
/gar-/ 'to overtake', /garči/ 'overtaking'

2.3323. The suffix of the causative verb is /gə-/. In Ordos and some other dialects there are two allomorphs, /gE-/ and /xE-/; when the stem of the verb ends in /b s/, the allomorph /xE-/ is used. Some subdialects of Khalkha also have two allomorphs, /gə-/ and /xə-/, but the new literary language is based on a dialect which has only /gə-/, e.g. Ordos /bos-/ 'to rise', /bosxo-/ 'to raise'; North Khalkha /bos-/ 'to rise', /bosxə-/ 'to raise'; Standard Khalkha /bosgə-/ 'to raise'.

2.34. External sandhi

External sandhi manifests itself in assimilation of consonants belonging to different words, e.g. one consonant being word-final and the next one word-initial. This occurs in fast speech. Either the preceding consonant is assimilated to the succeeding consonant or vice versa.

2.341. The preceding consonant is assimilated to the succeeding one.

(a) Final /ŋ/. When the next consonant is /b/ or /m/, word-final /ŋ/ becomes /m/, e.g. /saeŋ baenə/ [säe̤m bäe̤nă] 'is good'.

When the next consonant is a dental, word-final /ŋ/ becomes /n/, e.g. /ulaaŋ tug/ [u̯łān tʰu̯G̯] 'red banner'; /məŋgəŋ ʑoos/ [məŋgə̆n ʑɔ̄s] 'silver coin'.

(b) Final /ǰ/ of the gerund is replaced by /d/ before a following /s/.

/xelǰ baenə/ 'is speaking'

/xelǰ suub/ [xelD sū̯w] 'sat speaking, sat and spoke'.

2.342. The succeeding consonant is assimilated in voicing to the preceding word-final consonant. This affects only /b/ following /m n ŋ l/ and /g/ following /m n ŋ l r/. In isolation, /b/ in /baenə/ 'is' is [B], but in /saeŋ baenə/ [säe̤m bäe̤nă] 'is good', it is [b].

The same can be said, mutatis mutandis, about /g/.

2.4. Orthographical representation of the phonemes

2.41. General remarks on the alphabet

The new Mongolian (Cyrillic) alphabet is not phonemic. It lacks specific graphemes for some phonemes, e.g. /y/ and /ə/, and in some cases uses one letter for two phonemes, e.g. я = /ya/. On the other hand, one letter sometimes renders different phonemes, e.g. е, which is /ye/ in some cases but /yə/ in other cases, and /y/ in a third group of cases. Consequently, the phonemic value of some graphemes is not immediately predictable.

2.42. Representation of the consonant phonemes

The consonants б and в represent /b/. The allophones [b] and [B] are rendered with б, the allophones [w] and [W] are rendered with в.

The following letters render their respective phonemes quite adequately, i.e. each letter denotes only one consonant phoneme:

г /g/	к /k/	р /r/	ж /x/
д /d/	л /l/	с /s/	ц /c/
ж /ǰ/	м /m/	т /t/	ч /č/
з /ʒ/	п /p/	ф /f/	ш /š/

N.B. In final position, the letters **ж ч ш** render /ǰi čі ši/ respectively.

The letter **н** is ambiguous because it represents both /n/ and /ŋ/. Initially and intervocalically, it is /n/, but in word-final position and before /g x/ (and /k/ in loan words), it represents /ŋ/. The orthography is completely ambiguous in the cases of the clusters /nd ŋd nt ŋt nč ŋč/ because, in all of them, /n/ and /ŋ/ are rendered with **н**.

анд /andə/ 'friend' and /aŋdə/ 'to a game animal'
анч /aŋč/ 'hunter'
онч /onči/ 'inertia'
санд /sandə/ in /sandə mendə/ 'in a hurry' and /saŋdə/ 'in the treasury'
банк /baŋk/ 'bank'

The letters **т** and **г** render /t/ and /g/ in all cases but one: the cluster /dx/ is written as **тг**, e.g. **хатгах** /xadxəxə/ 'to sting'.

2.43. Representation of the vowel phonemes

The single vowel phonemes (with the exception of /i/) and the geminate vowel phonemes are rendered in a uniform manner: one letter stands for a single vowel phoneme, and the repetition of the same letter is used to render the geminate vowel phoneme.

хана /xanə/ 'wall'
хаана /xaanə/ 'where?'

The orthographical representation of the diphthongs is simple: the non-syllabic element in /ae oe ui ɯi/ is always rendered with **й**.

сайн /saeŋ/ 'good'

ой /oe/ 'forest'

уйлах /uiləxə/ 'to weep'

The general principle is to avoid groups of more than two vowel letters. Therefore /iaa/ is **иа**. To avoid confusion of /iaa/ with /ia/, the latter is rendered with **я**

мянган /miaŋgəŋ/ 'thousand'

амиараа /amiaaraa/ 'apart, separately'

2.431. Representation of /i/

The phoneme /i/ is regularly rendered by **и**, and in certain non-initial syllables by **ь**. The letter **ь** represents /i/ in final position after /m n l r g b t d x/, provided that the consonant is preceded by a vowel but not by another consonant, i.e. **ь** is not written after consonant clusters. In medial position **ь** represents /i/ when it occurs between a consonant of Group I and a consonant of Group II or a convocalic.

Consonants of Group I: **б в г л м н р**

Consonants of Group II: **д ж з с т х ц ч ш**

Convocalics: **е ё ю я**

тань /tani/ 'recognize!'

харь /xari/ 'stranger'

тоть /toti/ 'parrot'

захь /ʒaxi/ 'place an order!'

амьд /amidə/ 'live, living'

тольд /tolidə/ 'in the mirror'

харьяат /xariyaatə/ 'subject of a country'

In all the other cases **и** is used.

тамхи /tamxi/ 'tobacco'

тотид /totidə/ 'to the parrot'

ажил /aǰil/ 'work'

The geminate vowel phoneme /ii/ is rendered with **ий**.

ийм /iimə/ 'such'

хийснэ /xiisənə/ 'flies in the wind'

дэлхий /delxii/ 'world'
амийг /amiig/ 'the life' (dir. obj.)
багшийг /bagšiig/ 'the teacher' (dir. obj.)

2.432. The phoneme /əii/

The phoneme /əii/, which occurs only in noninitial syllables, is always rendered with **ы** .

амын /amәiiŋ/ 'of the mouth'
гарыг /garәiig/ 'the hand' (dir. obj.)

2.433. Representation of shwa

The overshort, reduced vowel phoneme /ə/ is indicated in some positions but is not marked in others. Where it is indicated, it is rendered with the letters **а о э ө** , which render rather accurately the allophones of /ə/ = [ă ŏ ĕ ə̆]; or with **ъ** , which is used only before syllables with **ё я** /yoo yaa/.

оръё /orəyoo/ 'let us enter!'
гаръя /garəyaa/ 'let us go out!'
очъё /očəyoo/ 'let us go!'

The principal rules regarding the letters а о э ө are shown in Table 13.

Table 13

Representation of /ə/

After syllables with:	/ə/ is written with:
а аа ай у уу уй	**а**
о оо ой	**о**
э ээ ү үү үй	**э**
ө өө	ө

бага	/bagə/ 'small'
байна	/baenə/ 'is'
хаана	/xaanə/ 'where?'
унах	/unəxə/ 'to fall down'
ууна	/uunə/ 'he drinks'
уйлах	/uiləxə/ 'to weep'
модонд	/modəndə/ 'in the forest'
оосор	/oosər/ 'tape'
хойно	/xoenə/ 'afterwards'
эвлэл	/eblə1/ 'union'
үнэн	/ʉnəŋ/ 'truth'
өргөн	/ərgəŋ/ 'wide, broad'

The rules of Mongolian orthography require that a consonant of Group I must either have a vowel letter preceding it or following, whereas a consonant of Group II needs no vowel preceding it or following it when this consonant comes immediately after a consonant of Group I or when it is between two consonants of Group I, one of which is preceded and the other is followed by a vowel. In other words, the vowel (V) must be indicated only either before or after a consonant of Group I (CI). Consequently, /yabəgəŋ/ 'pedestrian' can only be written as **явган** because /b/, which is a consonant of Group I, is preceded by a vowel and therefore no vowel is written after it. Likewise, /maltəməl/ 'soil deposits' can only be written as **малтмал** because /t/ is between two consonants of Group I, one of which is preceded and the other is followed by a vowel, i.e. after /t/ no vowel is written, because /t/ follows CVCI and is followed by CIVC. The formula for this word is CIVCICIICIVCI.

2.44. The convocalics

The Mongolian Cyrillic alphabet has four letters which represent syllables consisting of /y/ followed by a vowel. These are **е ё ю я.**

е renders both /ye/ and /yə/ initially, and /yə/ in non-initial syllables. In monosyllables, /ye/ and /yə/ are not

distinguished from each other. The combination **ээ** renders /yee/. When **е** is followed by a vowel letter other than **э** or **ө**, it renders /y/. Note that **е** renders /-yee/ or /-yөө/ in the voluntative suffix.

ер	/yer/ 'ninety' (as noun)
ер	/yөr/ 'in general'
ерэн	/yerөŋ/ 'ninety' (as adjective)
ерөн	/yөrөŋ/ 'in general'
бие	/biyə/ 'body'
биеийн	/biyiiŋ/ 'of the body'
биеэ	/biyee/ 'oneself' (dir. obj.)
хэлье	/xelөyee/ 'I shall say'

ё renders /yo/ initially, and /yə/ in noninitial syllables. The combination **ёо** renders /yoo/. Note that **ё** renders /-yoo/ in the voluntative suffix.

ёс	/yos/ 'custom'
гоё	/goyə/ 'pretty, elegant'
оёос	/oyoos/ 'seam'
оръё	/orөyoo/ 'let us enter!'

ю renders both /yu/ and /yɯ/ initially. In monosyllables, /yu/ and /yɯ/ are not distinguished from each other. The combination **юу** renders /yuu/, and the combination **юү** renders /yɯɯ/.

юм	/yum/ 'something'
юлд	/yɯldə/ 'herpes'
юунд	/yuundə/ 'why?'
буюу	/buyuu/ 'or'
юмбүү	/yɯmbɯɯ/ 'bullion'

я renders /ya/ at the beginning of a word, /ia/ in an initial syllable beginning with a consonant, and /yə/ in noninitial syllables. The combination **яа** renders /yaa/. Note that **я** renders /-yaa/ in the voluntative suffix.

явах	/yabөxə/ 'to go'
мянган	/miaŋgөŋ/ 'thousand'

ая	/ayə/ 'circumstance'
баян	/bayəŋ/ 'rich'
ямаан	/yaasəŋ/ 'what kind of?'
явъя	/yabəyaa/ 'let us go!'

2.45. The postconsonantals

The postconsonantals are **ъ** and **ь**. The letter **ъ** is called the "hard sign". Its function in Mongolian orthography is to render /ə/ or zero.

авъя /abəyaa/ or /abyaa/ 'let us take!'

The letter **ь** is the so-called "soft sign". It indicates the phoneme /i/, or zero.

2.46. Summary of the graphemes

The following list shows all the graphemes of Mongolian, with indication of phonemic values and with examples.

SUMMARY OF THE GRAPHEMES OF MONGOLIAN

Grapheme	Phonemic Value	Position	Examples	
а	/a/	Initial syllable	**тах**	/taxe/ 'horseshoe'
	/ə/	Noninitial syllables	**арван**	/arbeŋ/ 'ten'
аа	/aa/	All syllables	**наашь**	/naaši/ 'hither'
ай	/ae/	All syllables	**сайн**	/saeŋ/ 'good'
б	/b/	Initial; medial after **л м н**	**бар**	/bar/ 'tiger'
			алба	/albə/ 'service'
в	/b/	Final and medial after consonants other than **л м н**; intervocalic	**ав**	/ab/ 'take!'
			татвар	/tatəbər/ 'tax'
г	/g/	All positions	**гал**	/gal/ 'fire'
д	/d/	All positions	**дотор**	/dotər/ 'inside'
е	/ye/	Initial	**ер**	/yer/ 'ninety'
	/yө/	Initial	**есөн**	/yəsəŋ/ 'nine'
	/yə/	After a vowel	**бие**	/biyə/ 'body'
	/yee/	Voluntative suffix	**нээе**	/neeyee/ 'let us open!'
	/yөө/	Same after **ө**	**өгье**	/ögəyөө/ 'let us give!'
	/y/	Before vowels other than **э** or **е**	**биеийн**	/biyiiŋ/ 'of the body'

Grapheme	Phonemic Value	Position	Examples	
еэ	/yee/	Initial; after vowels **и э ү**	**еэ**	/yee/ excl. of disappointment
			биеэ	/biyee/ 'himself' (dir. obj.)
ё	/yo/	Initial	**ёс**	/yos/ 'custom'
	/yə/	In noninitial syllables	**оёх**	/oyəxə/ 'to sew'
	/yoo/	Voluntative suffix	**оръё**	/orəyoo/ 'let us go in!'
ёо	/yoo/	Initial and medial	**ёоз**	/yooʒə/ 'deuce'
			оёор	/oyoor/ 'bottom'
ёу	/yuu/	Noninitial syllables	хоёул	/xoyuul/ 'both'
ж	/ǰ/	All positions	**жил**	/ǰil/ 'year'
з	/ʒ/	All positions	**зах**	/ʒaxə/ 'edge'
и	/i/	Initial and noninitial syllables	**ир**	/ir/ 'come!'
			амжилт	/amǰiltə/ 'achievement'
	/yi/	Initial in some words	**их**	/yixə/ 'large'
ий	/ii/	All positions	**ийм**	/iimə/ 'such'
иа	/iaa/	Noninitial syllables	**ханиад**	/xaniaadə/ 'cough'
ио	/ioo/	Noninitial syllables	**хориод**	/xoriood/ 'about twenty'

иу	/iuu/	Noninitial syllables	**хариу**	/xariuu/ 'answer'
й	/e/	In /ae oe/	**сайн**	/saeŋ/ 'good'
			нохой	/noxoe/ 'dog'
	/i/	In /ui ɯi/	**уйлах**	/uiləxə/ 'to weep'
			үйл	/ɯilə/ 'work'
к	/k/	All positions (in loan words)	**консул**	/koonsəl/ 'consul'
л	/l/	All positions	**лам**	/lam/ 'priest'
м	/m/	All positions	**мал**	/mal/ 'cattle'
н	/n/	Initial; between vowels; in most cases before consonants other than **г х**	**нар**	/nar/ 'sun'
			энэ	/enə/ 'this'
			энд	/endə/ 'here'
	/ŋ/	Word-final; before **г х**; sometimes before other consonants	**хүүхэн**	/xɯɯxəŋ/ 'girl'
			онгоц	/oŋgəcə/ 'boat'
			анх	/aŋxə/ 'beginning'
			анд	/aŋdə/ 'to the game animal'
о	/o/	Initial syllable	**он**	/oŋ/ 'year'
	/ə/	Noninitial syllables	**оронд**	/orəndə/ 'in the place'
оо	/oo/	All syllables	**оосор**	/oosər/ 'tape'

Grapheme	Phonemic Value	Position	Examples	
ой	/ɔe/	All syllables	ой	/oe/ 'forest'
ө	/ɵ/	Initial syllable	өндөр	/ɵndər/ 'high'
	/ə/	Noninitial syllables	хөтөл	/xɵtəl/ 'hill'
өө	/ɵɵ/	All syllables	өөрөө	/ɵɵrɵɵ/ 'himself'
п	/p/	All positions (in loan words)	пүрэв	/pɯrbə/ 'Thursday'
			опер	/oopir/ 'opera'
р	/r/	All positions	рам	/ram/ 'indigo'
с	/s/	All positions	сар	/sar/ 'moon'
т	/t/	All syllables	татах	/tatəxə/ 'to pull'
			хотгор	/xotəgər/ 'soil depression'
тг	/dx/	At syllable boundary	атга	/adxə/ 'handful'
у	/u/	Initial syllable	ус	/us/ 'water'
уу	/uu/	All syllables	уул	/uul/ 'mountain'
уа	/uaa/	All syllables	гуа	/guaa/ 'beautiful woman'
уай	/uae/	Initial syllable	гуай	/guae/ 'Mr.'
уй	/ui/	All syllables	уйлах	/uiləxə/ 'to weep'

ү	/ɯ/	Initial syllable	**үс**	/ɯs/ 'hair'
үү	/ɯɯ/	All syllables	**үүд**	/ɯɯdə/ 'door'
үй	/ɯi/	All syllables	**үйл**	/ɯilə/ 'work'
ф	/f/	All positions (in loan words)	**фабрик**	/faabrikə/ 'factory'
х	/x/	All positions	**хатуу**	/xatuu/ 'hard'
ц	/c/	All positions	**цаг**	/cag/ 'time'
ч	/č/	All positions	**чи**	/či/ 'thou'
ш	/š/	All positions	**шинэ**	/šinə/ 'new'
ъ	/ə/~zero	Medial before the letters **ё** **я**	**оръё**	/orəyoo/ 'let us go in!'
			явъя	/yabəyaa/ 'let us go!'
ы	/əii/	Noninitial syllables in words with back vowels	**галын**	/galəiiŋ/ 'of the fire'
ь	/i/	Final after г д л м н р т х; medial between CI and CII	**толь**	/toli/ 'mirror'
			амьд	/amidə/ 'living'
	zero	Between CI and convocalic	**ирье**	/iryee/ 'let us come!'
э	/e/	Initial syllable	**энэ**	/enə/ 'this'
	/ə/	Noninitial syllables	**үнэ**	/ɯnə/ 'price'
ээ	/ee/	All syllables	**дээрээс**	/deerees/ 'from above'

Grapheme	Phonemic Value	Position	Examples	
эй	/ee/	In the suffix /tee/ **тэй**	**гэртэй**	/gertee/ 'having a house; married'
ю	/yu/	Initial syllable in words with back vowels	юмаар	/yumaar/ 'by means of something'
	/yш/	Initial syllable in words with front vowels	**юмбүү**	/yшmbuш/ 'bullion'
юу	/yuu/	All syllables of words with back vowels	**юугаар**	/yuugaar/ 'by means of what?'
юү	/yшш/	All syllables of words with front vowels	**юүлэх**	/yшшlxə/ 'to transfuse'
я	/ya/	Initial	**явах**	/yabəxə/ 'to go'
	/yə/	Noninitial syllables	баян	/bayəŋ/ 'rich'
	/ia/	Initial syllable after a consonant	мянган	/miaŋgəŋ/ 'thousand'
	/yaa/	Voluntative suffix	**явъя**	/yabəyaa/ 'let us go!'
яа	/yaa/	Initial; medial after a vowel	**яасан**	/yaasəŋ/ 'what kind of?'
			аяархан	/ayaarxəŋ/ 'still, careful'
яй	/yae/	Initial	**яйрах**	/yaerəxə/ 'to crumble'

2.5. Select Bibliography

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3. MORPHOLOGY

3.1. Typological structure

3.11. Agglutination

Mongolian is an agglutinative language, i.e. word formation and inflection are carried out by attaching one morpheme to another, e.g. a suffix to a stem. (The process is called "agglutination", from the Latin verb agglutinare 'to glue to'.) Except for the morphophonemic alternations and internal sandhi discussed in section 2.3, the elements "glued" to one another do not undergo any change.

3.12. Stems and suffixes

All Mongolian morphemes can be divided into two groups: stems and suffixes. A stem is a lexical morpheme; it is, so to speak, the carrier of the basic meaning, e.g. /ger+/ 'house', /gar+/ 'hand', /gal+/ 'fire', etc. A suffix is an element which does not convey any lexical meaning and does not occur alone. It changes the meaning of the stem or gives its meaning another nuance. A suffix does not occur freely. Whereas /ger/ 'house' or /gal/ 'fire' may occur freely and without any suffix, a suffix, such as /+gči/ of the actor, does not occur freely but only after another morpheme, i.e. the stem.

Stems are primary and derived. A primary stem consists of only one morpheme, e.g. /ger+/ 'house'. It cannot be reduced to any smaller morphological unit. But another stem may be derived from a primary stem. Thus, by adding /+lə-/, which derives verbs from nouns, the derived secondary stem /gerlə-/ 'to marry' may be formed. (At first glance, 'marry' has nothing in common with the word for house. However, it originated from the idea of 'to make a home of one's own'.) By adding other

suffixes of derivation, e.g. /-ɯɯl-/, other words may be formed from /gerlə-/ 'to marry'; cf. /gerlɯɯl-/ 'to make marry' which is a tertiary stem.

Suffixes can be divided into two groups: derivational and inflectional. Th derivational suffixes form new stems, e.g. /+lə-/ (cf. /ger+lə-/ 'to marry', from /ger/ 'house, home'). The inflectional suffixes yield different forms of the same word. The suffixes of noun declension and of verb conjugation are inflectional suffixes.

It follows from the above that words may consist of a number of morphemes, namely, a stem and several suffixes, e.g.:

/bari-/ 'to seize'

/bari-ldə-/ 'to seize each other' (= 'to wrestle')

/bari-ld-aa/ 'the wrestling'

/bari-ld-aa+ǰi/ 'wrestler'

/bari-ld-aa+ǰi+d/ 'wrestlers'

/bari-ld-aa+ǰi+d+tə/ 'to the wrestlers'

As stated above, the stem occurs freely. This applies to both primary and derived stems. The stem of a noun is the subject-direct object case, e.g. /ger+/ 'house'. The stem of a verb is the imperative, second person singular, e.g. /suu-/ 'sit down!'

A derived stem, i.e. secondary, tertiary, etc., can always be traced to a primary stem. However, in a few cases, no part of a word can be identified as its primary stem. For example, the words /enə/ 'this', /edə/ 'these' (cf. /terə/ 'that' and /tedə/ 'those') have in common the initial element /e+/, which does not occur freely. Such an element may be called a root. Other examples are: /deerə/ 'on', /deeši/ 'upwards', /deedə/ 'upper', /deegɯɯr/ 'along the top', which have the morpheme /dee+/ in common, which does not occur freely. There are also verbs, e.g. /xəldə-/ 'to freeze, to congeal', /xər-/ 'to become cold', /xəši-/ 'to become stiff with cold', all three derived from /xə-/, which does not occur freely. In practical grammars,

roots are not discussed, because the stems derived from them are treated as independent entities, just as a grammar of Modern English would not discuss the historical relationship between words like think and thank.

The suffixes, with a very few exceptions, comply with the rules of vowel harmony, i.e. a suffix may appear with different vowels, depending on the vowels of the preceding syllables. Consequently, all suffixes can be divided into the following groups, depending on the number of different forms in which the suffix in question occurs.

(1) One form:

Suffixes with /ii/, e.g. /+ii/ of the genitive, e.g. /xelnii/ 'of the tongue', /morinii/ 'of the horse'.

Suffixes with /ə/, e.g. /+də/ of the dative-locative, e.g. /xendə/ 'to whom?', /axədə/ 'to the elder brother'.

(2) Two forms:

Suffixes with /ɯɯ/, e.g. /-ɯɯl-/ of causative verbs, e.g. /medɯɯl-/ 'to let know', /yabuul-/ 'to let go, to send away'.

(3) Four forms:

Suffixes with /ee/, e.g. /+eer/ of the instrumental, e.g. /tergeer/ 'by car', /xəlɵɵr/ 'by means of the foot', /garaar/ 'by hand', /modoor/ 'by means of a stick'.

3.2. Form and functional classes

Mongolian word classes are distinguished by a combination of formal and functional criteria. There are ten classes of stems, namely, nouns, adjectives, numerals, pronouns, adverbs, post-positions, verbs, conjunctions, particles, and interjections.

3.21. Nouns

Nouns may occur with all the suffixes given under noun inflection (see 3.41) and may act as subjects in clauses and as direct objects in verbal phrases. They may also act as heads of nominal phrases. There are several sub-classes of nouns, as follows.

3.211. The negative noun /ɯgɯi/ 'absence, nonexistence', which can be declined and occurs with postpositions, e.g. /ɯgɯiŋ/ 'of the nonexistence', /ɯgɯidə/ 'in the absence', /ɯgɯigee/ 'his own absence' (dir. obj.), /ɯgɯiŋ tul/ 'because of the absence'.

3.212. The reflexive nouns /eer/ 'self' and /eersəd/ 'selves', which occur only with the reflexive suffix when functioning as subject of a clause, e.g. /eeree/ 'oneself', /eersədee/ 'selves', /eertee/ 'to himself', /eersədtee/ 'to themselves', /eeriiŋ/ 'of himself', /eersədɪɪŋ/ 'of themselves, their own', /eersədiiŋ tul/ 'for their own sake'.

3.213. The interrogative nouns /xen+/ 'who?' and /yuu/ (stem /yuun+/) 'what?', which are declined as any other noun but have no plural, e.g. /xenii/ 'of whom?' = 'whose?', /xendə/ 'to whom?', /yuugaar/ 'by means of what?'.

3.214. The indefinite nouns are based on the interrogative nouns given above and are formed with the particle /č/, which follows any inflectional suffix, e.g. /xenč/ 'whoever, anyone', /xeniič/ 'anyone's', /xendəč/ 'to anyone'; /yuuč/ 'whatever, anything' (stem /yuun+/), /yuuniič/ 'of anything', /yuugaarč/ 'by means of anything'.

3.22. Adjectives

Adjectives are used as attributes in attribute-plus-head nominal phrases, e.g. /saeŋ xɯndə/ 'to a good person'. They also occur in phrases which correspond, in meaning, to the comparative and superlative constructions of English, e.g. /narnaas xaluuŋ/ 'hotter than the sun', /xamgiiŋ saeŋ/ 'the best', lit. 'the good of all'. Adjectives occur with adverbs and intensifying particles, e.g. /toŋ buruu/ 'absolutely wrong', /šab šar/ 'completely yellow'. Many adjectives function as adverbs and occur preverbally, e.g. /saeŋ medənə/ 'he knows well'.

Adjectives are declined when substantivized, e.g. /saenəiig/ 'the good one' (dir. obj.), /saendaa/ 'in his goodness', /saenin/ 'his good one'.

3.221. The demonstrative adjectives are /iimə/ 'one like this', /tiimə/ 'one like that', /ədɯi/ 'this much, as many as these', /tədɯi/ 'that much, as many as those'.

When functioning as nouns, the demonstrative adjectives are declined and occur with postpositions, e.g. /iimiiŋ/ 'of one like this, of such one', /tiimiiŋ tul/ 'because of one like that, because of such one', /tədɯigees/ 'from that much'.

3.222. The interrogative adjectives are /yamər/ 'what, what kind of?', /ali/ 'which?', /xedəŋ/ 'how many?'.

When functioning as a noun, the adjective /xedəŋ/ drops its final /ŋ/, e.g. /xedəŋ xɯŋ/ 'how many people?'; but /xedə baenə/ 'how many are there?'.

The interrogative noun /yuun+/ (see 3.213) functions as an adjective, appearing in the adjective form /yuuŋ/, e.g. /yuuŋ xɯŋ/ 'what kind of a person?'.

3.223. The indefinite adjectives are based on the interrogative adjectives. Some of them are formed with the particle /č/ (cf. 3.214), e.g. /yamərč/ 'whatever', /alinč/ 'whichever', /alibaa/ 'any' < Script Mongolian.

3.23. Numerals

The cardinal numerals from one to ten are the basis of the number system. The numerals from eleven to nineteen are compounded of /arbəŋ/ 'ten' and the numerals one, two, three, etc.

The numerals from twenty to ninety are derived from the numerals two, three, etc., and display formative elements that are no longer productive.

There are special words for 100, 1000, 10,000, 100,000, and one million. The last two are borrowings from Tibetan.

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The cardinal numerals from one to ten are:

1	/negə/	6	/ʒurgaaŋ/
2	/xoyər/	7	/doloon/
3	/gurbəŋ/	8	/naemən/
4	/dərbəŋ/	9	/yəsəŋ/
5	/tabəŋ/	10	/arbəŋ/

The compound numerals from eleven to nineteen are:

11	/arbəŋ negə/	15	/arbəŋ tabəŋ/
12	/arbəŋ xoyər/	19	/arbəŋ yəsəŋ/

The numerals from twenty to one hundred are:

20	/xoriŋ/	60	/ǰarəŋ/	100	/ʒuuŋ/
30	/gučiŋ/	70	/daləŋ/		
40	/dəčiŋ/	80	/nayəŋ/		
50	/tabiŋ/	90	/yerəŋ/		

The numerals 21, 22, 23, etc., are composed of /xoriŋ/ and the numerals one, two, three, etc.

22	/xoriŋ xoyər/	45	/dəčiŋ tabəŋ/
25	/xoriŋ tabəŋ/	56	/tabiŋ ʒurgaaŋ/
33	/gučiŋ gurbəŋ/	75	/daləŋ tabəŋ/

The numbers 200, 300, 400, etc., 2,000, 3,000, 4,000, etc., are composed of the numerals for 2, 3, 4, etc. and /ʒuuŋ/ 'hundred' or /miaŋgəŋ/ 'thousand', respectively.

200	/xoyər ʒuuŋ/	2,000	/xoyər miaŋgəŋ/
300	/gurbəŋ ʒuuŋ/	3,000	/gurbəŋ miaŋgəŋ/
500	/tabəŋ ʒuuŋ/	5,000	/tabəŋ miaŋgəŋ/

The numerals 10,000, 100,000, etc., use special words of foreign origin, as follows:

10,000 /tɯmən/ (borrowed from Ancient Turkic)

100,000 /bumən/ (borrowed, like all the following numerals, from Tibetan)

1,000,000 /sayə/

10,000,000 /ǰibaa/

100,000,000 /dɯnčɯɯr/

Instead of /tɯmən/ and the other words for higher numbers, compound numerals may be used:

10,000 /arbəŋ miaŋgəŋ/

100,000 /ʒuuŋ miaŋgəŋ/

10,000,000 /arbəŋ sayə/

100,000,000 /ʒuuŋ sayə/

When functioning as nouns or adverbs, the numerals ending in /ŋ/ drop the /ŋ/, e.g. /gurbə/ 'three' (answering the question "How many are they?"); /gurbə irsəŋ/ 'came three times'. When functioning as adjectives (i.e. attributively), they retain the /ŋ/, e.g. /gurbəŋ xɯŋ/ 'three persons'.

3.24. Pronouns

Pronouns display special inflectional features (see 3.42).

3.25. Adverbs

The adverbs are a mixed class and include words that can be classified as defective nouns because most of them take only a few declension suffixes or represent petrified forms of nouns. Many of them take the reflexive-possessive suffix and occur with possessive forms of personal pronouns.

(1) Adverbs taking only the ablative suffix /+ees/ are: /endə/ 'here', /tendə/ 'there', /gadnə/ 'outside', /naanə/ 'on this side', /caanə/ 'on that side', /xaanə/ 'where?', /xoenə/ 'behind', /ɵmnə/ 'in front of', etc.; cf. /endees/ 'from here', /gadnaas/ 'from without', /caanaas/ 'from the farther side'.

(2) Those taking only the dative-locative suffix /+də/ are: /caaši/ 'in that direction', /ɯrgəlǰi/ 'permanently, always', /gentə/ 'suddenly', /maši/ 'very much, greatly', etc.; cf. /caašidə/ 'in the future, since now', /ɯrgəlǰidə/ 'all the time', etc.

(3) Those taking the genitive suffix /+iiŋ/ are: /sayə/ 'just now, recently', cf. /sayəiiŋ/ 'of not long ago, recent'; /margaaši/ 'tomorrow', cf. /margaašiiŋ/ 'of tomorrow'; /ɵcəgdər/ 'yesterday', cf. /ɵcəgdəriiŋ/ 'of yesterday'; /nəgɵɵdər/ 'the day after tomorrow', cf. /nəgɵɵdəriiŋ/ 'of the day after tomorrow'.

(4) Those taking more than one case suffix are: /xeʒee/ (stem /xeʒeen+/) 'when?', cf. /xeʒeenees/ 'since when?', /xeʒeenii/ 'of long ago, ancient', /xeʒeedə/ 'always'; /gentə/ 'suddenly', cf. /gentədə/ 'suddenly', /gentəiiŋ/ 'of a sudden, sudden, unexpected'.

(5) The following invariable words can also be listed among the adverbs: /toŋ/ 'very, completely', cf. /toŋ buruu/ 'absolutely wrong'; /xaayaa/ 'sometimes'; /bas/ 'also, aga·n'; /yaləŋguiyaa/ 'particularly' < Script Mongolian; /yaməgtə/ 'always' < Script Mongolian; /xugə/ 'asunder'; /xagə/ 'in two', cf. /xagə cabčibə/ 'he chopped [it] in two'; /tasə/ 'asunder'; /sugə/ 'out', cf. /sugə tatəbə/ 'he pulled it out'.

3.251. Demonstrative adverbs are: /endə/ 'here', /iiši/ 'hither', /enətee/ 'on this side', /tendə/ 'there', /tiiši/ 'in that direction', /tertee/ 'on that side', /naaši/ or /naeši/ 'in this direction', /caaši/ or /caeši/ 'in that direction', /ɯɯnčiləŋ/ 'in this way, thus', from /ɯɯn+/, stem of /enə/ 'this', /tɯɯnčiləŋ/ 'in that manner, thus, so', from /tɯɯn+/, stem of /terə/ 'that'.

3.252. Interrogative adverbs are /xeʒee/ 'when?', /xaa/ 'where?', /xaanə/ 'where?', /xaaši/ or /xaeši/ 'where to?'.

3.253. The emphasizing adverbs are /maši/ or /mašidə/ 'very much, greatly', cf. /maši saeŋ/ 'very good'; /neŋ/ 'very', cf. /nəŋ saeŋ/ 'very good'; /dendɯɯ/ 'too, more than enough', cf. /dendɯɯ oləŋ/ 'too many'; /daanč/ 'much too', cf. /daanč ertə/ 'much too early'.

3.254. Emphasizing adverbs, used with words denoting colors and a few other words, are formed with a reduplicating particle (C)Vb, in which C = the initial consonant (if any) of the word involved, and V = the first vowel, e.g. /xab xarə/ 'pitch-black',

/cab cagaaŋ/ 'snow-white', /ub ulaaŋ/ 'completely red', /gəb gentə/ 'all of a sudden'.

3.26. Postpositions

The postpositions are a mixed category. Their functions are the same as those of English prepositions, with the difference that postpositions follow the words governed whereas prepositions precede them, e.g. /ǎǰiləiiŋ tul/ 'because of work' : /ǎǰil/ 'work', /tul/ 'because of'.

3.261. The genuine postpositions function only as postpositions. They do not occur freely and are invariable. The following postpositions belong to this category: /tul/ or /tuldə/ 'because of', with the genitive; /tələə/ 'instead of', with the genitive; /šaxəm/ or /šaxuu/ 'almost', with the subj.-obj. case, e.g. /arbə šaxuu/ 'almost ten'; /garui/ 'more than, exceeding', with the subj.-obj. case, e.g. /xori garui/ 'more than twenty'.

3.262. Some nouns, adverbs, and verbs may act as postpositions.

3.2621. Some postpositions are of nominal origin, e.g. /xaǰuudə/ 'at, by', from /xaǰuu/ 'side', e.g. /geriiŋ xaǰuudə/ 'by the house'; /xaǰuugaar/ 'along', instrumental of /xaǰuu/, e.g. /geriiŋ xaǰuugaar/ 'along the house'; /ačaar/ 'thanks to', instrumental of /ači/ 'merit', e.g. /saeŋ emčiiŋ ačaar/ 'thanks to a good physician'; /učraas/ 'for the reason of, in consequence of', ablative of /učir/ 'reason, occasion', e.g. /əbčinii učraas/ 'because of illness'.

3.2622. Some postpositions are of adverbial origin, e.g. /naanə/ 'on this side', /goləiiŋ naanə/ 'on this side of the river', cf. /naanə baenə/ 'it is on this side'; /deerə/ 'above', /šireeŋ deerə/ 'on the table', cf. /deerə baenə/ 'it is above'; /dorə/ 'below, underneath', /geriiŋ dorə/ 'under the house', cf. /dorə baenə/ 'it is below'; /dergedə/ 'by the side', /geriiŋ dergədə/

'by the side of the house', cf. /dergədə baenə/ 'it is by the side'.

3.2623. Some postpositions are verbs, or, more precisely, gerunds, e.g. /xɯrtəl/ 'until, till', gerund of /xɯr-/ 'to reach, to arrive', e.g. /odoo xɯrtəl/ 'until now'; /exləŋ/ 'since, starting from', gerund of /exlə-/ 'to begin, to start', e.g. /bagə nasnaas exləŋ/ 'since childhood', lit. 'beginning from an early age'.

3.27 Verbs

The verbs have verbal inflection and serve, in their finite forms, as centers of verbal phrases. The verbal forms include the imperative, the tenses, verbal nouns, and gerunds, which are adverbs of verbal origin. The verbal nouns function as nouns (as syntactic subjects or complements), as adjectives (as syntactic attributes), and as finite verbs (syntactic predicates). The gerunds function as verbal attributes or adverbs.

3.271. The demonstrative verbs are /eŋgə-/ or /iŋgə-/ 'to act in this way', and /tegə-/ or /čiŋgə-/ 'to act in that way'. The gerunds of these verbs function as demonstrative adverbs, e.g. /iŋgəǰi/ 'acting in this way' = 'so'; /iŋgeed/ 'having acted in this way' = 'so, thus'; /tegəǰi/ 'acting in that way' = 'so'; /tegeed/ 'having acted in that way' = 'then'.

3.272. The interrogative verbs are /yaa-/ 'to do what?, to act how?' and /xaečǐ-/ 'to go where?'.

The gerunds of these verbs function as interrogative adverbs, e.g. /yaaǰi/ 'doing what?' = 'how?'; /yaagaad/ 'after having done what?' = 'why?'; /xaečǐǰi yabaa/ 'where do you go?', lit. 'where going do you go?'.

3.28. Conjunctions

The conjunctions are invariable and are used to connect or to introduce clauses.

3.281. Co-ordinating conjunctions are the following:

(1) /ba/ 'and', which is used to connect words, e.g. /mal ba xədəə aǰəxui/ 'cattle and rural economy'.

(2) /bəgəəd/ 'and', which is used to connect words and clauses, e.g. /sergələŋ bəgəəd gabšigae/ 'vigilant and dexterous'; /negəniini tolgoe cagaaŋ bəgəəd saxəlni xar/ 'the head of one of them was white and the beard was black'.

(3) /boləŋ/ 'and', which is used to connect words, e.g. /ɯiləd bər boləŋ xədəlmərčid/ 'industry and the workers'.

In everyday speech these conjunctions are little used. Instead, numerals denoting the number of objects enumerated are used after the last word, e.g. /əbəgəŋ emgəŋ xoyər/ 'an old man and an old woman', lit. 'old man, old woman, two'; /xoni yamaa noxoe gurbə/ 'a sheep, a goat, and a dog', lit. 'sheep, goat, dog, three'.

(4) /buyuu/ 'or', e.g. /mod buyuu čuluu/ 'wood or stone'.

(5) /xariŋ/ 'but', e.g. /aduu baenə gesəŋ xariŋ ɯxər baebə/ '[he thought] it was a herd of horses, but it was a herd of oxen'.

(6) /esəbees/ or /esəbəl/ 'otherwise, or else', e.g. /či ɯldə esəbəl bi xamtə yabəyaa/ 'stay here, otherwise I shall go together with you'.

3.282. The subordinating conjunctions are the following:

(1) /gebəč/ 'although, however, and yet', e.g. /batəlsəŋ gebəč sergiilxə xerəgtee/ 'although he has fortified [it], nevertheless, it is necessary to be cautious'.

(2) /xerəb/ or /xerbee/ 'if', e.g. /xerbee či manaedə irəbəl/ 'if you come to us'.

3.29. Particles

The particles are invariable. They include the interrogative particles; negative, connecting, and confirmative particles; particles of probability; and adverbial particles.

3.291. The interrogative particles are /ɯɯ/, /šɯɯ/, and /bə/.

(1) The particle /ɯɯ/ ~ /yɯɯ/ complies with the rules of vowel harmony, and is /uu/ ~ /yuu/ with words with back vowels. It behaves like a suffix, but is not counted among the suffixes because it is neither a word-forming nor an inflectional element.

/ɯɯ/ and /uu/ are added to words ending in a consonant or in /ə/, e.g. /ta ɯʒəsənɯɯ/ 'have you seen?'; /enɯɯ/ < /enə+ɯɯ/ 'this?'.

/yɯɯ/ and /yuu/ are used after geminate vowel phonemes, diphthongs, and after single vowel phonemes of a monosyllable, e.g. /baenuu ɯgɯiyɯɯ/ 'is it or is it not?'; /gaxae yuu/ 'a pig?'; /ʒɯgeer ǰiriiŋ čimee yɯɯ/ 'just an ordinary rumor?'; /ta yuu/ 'you?'; /bi yɯɯ/ 'I?'.

(2) The particle /šɯɯ/ is a negative interrogative particle corresponding to French n'est-ce pas?. It is used in rhetorical questions, e.g. /bi yabəlaa šɯɯ/ 'I went, didn't I?'.

(3) The particle /bə/ or /b/, in emphatic speech /bee/, is added to the predicate of a clause which contains an interrogative word such as /xeŋ/ 'who?', /yamər/ 'what kind of?', /xaanə/ 'where?', /xeʒee/ 'when?', etc.; e.g. /ta yuu xiiǰ baenəb/ 'what are you doing?'; /xeŋ irsəŋbə/ 'who has come?'; /čiǰ xaečiǰ yabaa bee/ 'where are you going?'.

3.292. The negative particles are /gɯi/, /es/, /ɯl/, /bɯɯ/, /bitəgii/, /biši/, and /dɯi/.

(1) /gɯi/ goes back to the negative noun /ɯgɯi/ (cf. 3.211). It is attached to the end of nouns and all words functioning as nouns, including verbal nouns which, together with this particle, function as negative finite forms. The particle /gɯi/ does not comply with the rules of vowel harmony, e.g. /modəgɯi gaʒər/ 'a treeless country'; /irsəŋgɯi/ 'he has not come'.

(2) /es/ is a borrowing from Script Mongolian. It is used with verbal forms, except the imperative forms. It precedes the verbal form and corresponds in meaning to English not, e.g.

/es gɯicəbə/ 'he did not overtake'; /es medəbəl/ 'if he does not know'; /es medəǰi/ 'not knowing, unknowingly'.

(3) /ɯl/ is likewise a borrowing from Script Mongolian. It is used with verbal forms, except the imperative forms, and precedes the verbal form in question, e.g. /ɯl medəgči/ 'he who does not know', lit. 'not knowing one'; /ɯl xədəlxə xərəŋgə/ 'immovables', lit. 'property which does not move'; /ɯl bolnə/ 'is not permitted'.

(4) /bɯɯ/ is also a borrowing from Script Mongolian. It is a prohibitive particle and is used preceding the imperative forms of the verb. It corresponds in meaning to English don't, e.g. /bɯɯ xel/ 'don't say!'; /aebəl bɯɯ xii, xiibəl bɯɯ ae/ 'if you are afraid, don't do it; if you do it, don't be afraid!'.

(5) /bitəgii/ is a prohibitive particle and is used preceding the imperative forms of the verb. It corresponds to English don't, e.g. /bitəgii yabə/ 'don't go!'; /ta bitəgii yaaraarae/ 'you should not hurry!', lit. 'don't hurry!'.

(6) /biš/ or /biši/ negates the preceding and implies the opposite, i.e. it is translated as 'not... but...', e.g. /gišɯɯŋ biš/ 'not a member' (implies that he is an outsider); /enə min'i nom biš/ 'this is not my book' (implies that it is someone else's book); /ta minii ažil xiiǰi baegaa biš ulsəiiŋ ažil xiiǰi baenə/ 'you do not work for me, but for the nation', lit. 'you are not doing my work, you are doing the work of the nation'.

(7) /dɯi/ 'not yet' is added to verbal nouns, usually to the verbal noun of the imperfect in /-ee/, e.g. /ireedɯi/ 'has not come yet'; /bidə yabəxədɯi/ 'we are not yet going'.

3.293. The particle /č/ is a connective-concessive particle. It is /č/ after a final vowel, and /či/ after a final consonant. It conveys the meanings 'and, also, too' and 'even', e.g. /bič medənə/ 'I, too, know [about it]'; /bi bodəsənčigɯi/ 'I have not even thought [about it]'; /terəč yabənə/ 'he, too, will go'.

3.294. The confirmative and emphasizing particles are /dee/, /1/, and /xɵɵ/.

(1) /dee/ complies with the vowel harmony. It emphasizes a statement, e.g. /bagšɨ irnɵ dee/ 'the teacher will, of course, come'; /bi tanaedɵ očinɵ doo/ 'I shall by all means go to you'.

(2) /1/ is an emphasizing particle. Added to some verbal forms, it conveys the significance of 'still', e.g. /durtael baenɵ/ 'he really likes it'; /xecɯɯl xɯŋ šɯɯ/ 'a certainly difficult person, isn't he?'; /boroo orǰil baenɵ/ 'it is still raining'.

The particles /1/ and /dee/ are often used together, in order to further emphasize the statement, e.g. /togləyool doo/ 'let us play!', /ɵgɵl dɵɵ/ 'give it!'.

(3) The particle /xɵɵ/ conveys the meaning 'exactly' and occurs mainly in poetry and folk songs, e.g. /ceŋxərləŋxəŋ xarɵgdɵnɵ xɵɵ/ 'it is seen light blue'.

3.210. Interjections

The interjections express sounds and noises. They occur mainly in preverbal position and are usually linked to other words by means of the verb /ge-/ 'to say', e.g. /xur xur/ sound of snoring; /tii tii yaasəŋ xaluuŋ yumbee/ 'whew, how hot it is!'; /usɵndɵ cɯl getəl unɵxɵ/ 'to fall into water so that it makes [the sound] tsul'; /xoŋ xoŋ xiiǰ baebɵ/ '[the bell] rang', lit. 'it was making [the sound] khon khon'.

3.3. Derivation

Word-formation or, more precisely, derivation of secondary stems from primary stems (or tertiary stems from secondary stems, etc.) is carried out by adding derivational suffixes to the stem concerned. In this manner, nouns are derived from nouns or verbs, and adverbs are derived from nouns, or verbs are derived from nouns, verbs, or interjections.

The derivational suffixes are attached to the stems, no other changes occurring in the latter except that stem-final

/n/ and a few other consonants at the end of a noun stem are dropped before a derivational suffix.

Derivation by means of suffixes is the usual way of forming words from other words, but it is not the only way, since words can also be formed by compounding.

3.31. Nouns

Nouns can be formed from nouns, adjectives, numerals, and verbs. Some suffixes of noun derivation also form adjectives. As a general rule, stem-final /n/ of a primary noun is dropped before a derivational suffix.

3.311. Nouns from nouns and adjectives

Nouns formed from nouns and adjectives may be divided into the following semantic groups: names of professions, names of protective coverings, abstract nouns, diminutive nouns, collective nouns, and names of plants and animals.

3.3111. Names of professions are formed with the suffixes /+čʲi/ and /+čʲin+/.

(1) /+čʲi/, e.g. /emčʲi/ 'physician', from /em+/ 'medicine'; /altəčʲi/ 'goldsmith', from /altən+/ 'gold'.

(2) /+čʲiŋ/, stem /+čʲin+/, e.g. /ajʲilčʲiŋ/ 'worker', from /ajʲil+/ 'work'; /ɯildəbərčʲiŋ/ 'worker', from /ɯildəbər+/ 'industry'.

3.3112. Names of protective coverings are formed with the suffix /+bčʲi/, e.g. /xuruubčʲi/ 'thimble', from /xuruun+/ 'finger'; /xɯʒɯɯbčʲi/ 'collar', from /xɯʒɯɯn+/ 'neck'; /salxibčʲi/ 'cover for an air vent', from /salxin+/ 'wind'.

3.3113. Abstract nouns are formed with the suffix /+ləg/, e.g. /təmərləg/ 'metal', from /təmər+/ 'iron'; /bayələg/ 'wealth', from /bayən+/ 'rich'; /niigəmləg/ 'society', from /niigəm+/ 'society, community, common'.

3.3114. Diminutive nouns denote objects smaller in size than those denoted by the primary noun stems; also various remote degrees of kinship, e.g. "little grandson" = great-grandson. The suffix is /+ncər/, e.g. /uutəncər/ 'small bag', from /uutə+/ 'bag'; /čonəncər/ 'jackal', from /čonə+/ 'wolf'; /ɯnəgəncər/ 'raccoon', from /ɯnəgən+/ 'fox'; /ʒeencər/ 'great-grandchild' (child of Ego's daughter's child), from /ʒee+/ 'grandchild' (child of Ego's daughter); /gučincər/ 'the son of Ego's great-great-grandson', from /guči+/ 'great-great-grandson'.

3.3115. Collective nouns are formed with the suffixes /+čɯɯd/ (or /+čɯɯl/), and /+təŋ/.

(1) /+čɯɯd/ or /+čɯɯl/, e.g. /bayəčuud/ or /bayəčuul/ 'rich people, capitalists, bourgeoisie', from /bayən+/ 'rich'; /ʒaluučuud/ 'youth, young persons, youth league', from /ʒaluu+/ 'young'; /idərčɯɯl/ 'youth', from /idər+/ 'young'.

(2) /+təŋ/ (stem /+tən+/), e.g. /araatəŋ/ 'the class of carnivorous animals', from /araan+/ 'molar tooth'; /tuuraetəŋ/ 'the class of ungulate animals', from /tuurae+/ 'hoof'; /xərəŋgətəŋ/ 'bourgeoisie', from /xərəŋgə+/ 'property, capital'; /erdəmtəŋ/ 'scholars'; /ɯʒəltəŋ/ 'those who share a common view', from /ɯʒəl+/ 'view, opinion'.

Words ending in /+təŋ/ often have a singular meaning, e.g. /oyuutəŋ/ 'student', from /oyuun+/ 'wisdom, intellect'; /amitəŋ/ 'living being, animal', from /amin+/ 'life'; /mergəǰiltəŋ/ 'specialist', from /mergəǰil+/ 'specialty, profession'.

3.3116. Names of plants and animals are formed with the suffixes /+gənə/, /+lʒəgənə/, /+lʒae/, /+lǰi/, and /+dae/.

(1) /+gənə/, e.g. /ulaagənə/ 'red currant', from /ulaan+/ 'red'; /xargənə/ 'caragana' (a plant), from /xarə/ 'black'; /šɯɯdərgənə/ 'Chelidonium L.' (a plant), from /šɯɯdər+/ 'dew'; /xulgənə/ 'mouse', from /xulə+/ 'grey'; /xedəgənə/ 'bumblebee', from /xedər+/ 'obstinate'.

(2) /+lʒəgənə/, e.g. /šarəlʒəgənə/ name of a plant, from /šarə+/ 'yellow'; /temeelʒəgənə/ 'dragonfly', from /temeen+/ 'camel'.

(3) /+lʒae/, e.g. /ulaalʒae/ 'lilium sarana' (a plant), from /ulaan+/ 'red'; /borəlʒoe/ name of a plant, from /borə+/ 'grey'.

(4) /+lǰi/, e.g. /šarəlǰi/ 'artemisia', from /šarə+/ 'yellow'; /borəlǰi/ a species of birch, from /borə+/ 'grey'; /ulaalǰi/ name of a plant, from /ulaan+/ 'red'; /naemələlǰi/ 'crab', from /naemən+/ 'eight'.

(5) /+dae/, e.g. /doloodoe/ 'Trientalis europea L.' (a plant), from /doloon+/ 'seven'; /ʒurgaadae/ name of a bush, from /ʒurgaan+/ 'six'.

3.3117. Nouns with various meanings are formed with the suffixes /+ləŋ/ and /+ldee/.

(1) /+ləŋ/ (stem /+ləŋg+/ before a suff. with a vowel at the onset), e.g. /tariaaləŋ/ 'field', from /tariaan+/ 'crops'; /xɯreeləŋ/ 'committee', from /xɯreen+/ 'circle, fence'; /duguiləŋ/ 'circle' (political, social), from /dugui+/ 'wheel, anything that is round'; /urəsxələŋ/ 'current' (of water), from /urəsxə/ 'streaming, running'; /šɯdləŋ/ an animal at the age when it changes its teeth, from /šɯdən+/ 'tooth'; /soyooləŋ/ an animal at the age when it grows new canine teeth, from /soyoon+/ 'canine tooth'.

(2) /+ldee/, e.g. /xɯɯxəldee/ 'doll', from /xɯɯxən+/ 'girl'; /booxəldoe/ 'devil', from /booxə+/ 'he who makes obstacles'.

3.312. Nouns from numerals

Nouns are formed from numerals with the suffixes /+uul/, /+lǰiŋ/, and /+dae/.

(1) /+uul/ (stem /+uulən+/), e.g. /xoyuul/ 'the two together', from /xoyər+/ 'two'; /gurbuul/ 'the three together', from /gurbən+/ 'three'.

(2) /+lǰiŋ/ (stem /+lǰin+/, forming names of geometrical figures, e.g. /gurbəlǰiŋ/ 'triangle, triangular', from /gurbən+/ 'three'; /dərbəlǰiŋ/ 'square', from /dərbən+/ 'four'; /tabəlǰiŋ/ 'pentagon, pentagonal', from /tabən+/ 'five'.

(3) /+dae/, see 3.3116.(5).

3.313. Nouns from verbs

Nouns from verbs are formed with a variety of suffixes. With a few exceptions, e.g. names of tools, most nouns derived from verbs cannot be assigned to any particular semantic group.

(1) /-ee/ (stem /-een+/) typically forms nouns denoting the process of an action, e.g. /barildaa/ 'wrestling', from /barildə-/ 'to wrestle'; /xeləlcee/ 'discussion, negotiations', from /xeləlcə-/ 'to discuss, to negotiate'; /xaraa/ 'eyesight', from /xarə-/ 'to look at something'.

(2) /-eeči/ (< /-ee/ + /+či/ [3.3111.(1)]), treated here as a separate suffix although it is a compound in origin because it is often found on verbal stems which do not form the verbal noun in /-ee/, forms agent nouns, e.g. /bičeeči/ 'scribe', from /bičі-/ 'to write'; /ʒuraači/ 'painter', from /ʒurə-/ 'to paint, to draw'; /alaači/ 'killer, murderer', from /al-/ 'to kill'. (None of these verbs forms the verbal noun in /-ee/.)

(3) /-ɯɯl/ forms agent nouns, e.g. /xaruul/ 'sentry, sentinel', from /xarə-/ 'to look at something'; /turšuul/ 'scout', from /turši-/ 'to explore, to reconnoiter'; /daguul/ 'follower, companion', from /dagə-/ 'to follow'.

(4) /-ɯɯr/ forms names of tools (with stems containing the phoneme /r/, the suffix is /-ɯɯl/), e.g. /maltuur/ 'wooden shovel, snow shovel', from /maltə-/ 'to dig'; /əlgɯɯr/ 'hanger', from /əlgə-/ 'to hang up'; /bariuul/ 'handle', from /bari-/ 'to seize, to take'.

(5) /-ɯɯri/ (with stems containing the phoneme /r/, the suffix is /-ɯɯli/), e.g. /agnuuri/ 'hunting ground', from /agnə-/ 'to hunt'; /togtuuri/ 'stability, permanence', from /togtə-/ 'to become stable, to be stabilized'; /ʒobuuri/ 'suffering',

from /ʒobə-/ 'to suffer'; /surguuli/ 'school', from /surgə-/ 'to teach'.

(6) /-ri/, e.g. /baeri/ 'quarters', from /bae-/ 'to be, to stay'; /suuri/ 'basis, seat', from /suu-/ 'to sit down'; /xɛbtəri/ 'bed, anything to lie on', from /xebtə-/ 'to lie down'; /neməri/ 'addition', from /nemə-/ 'to add'.

(7) /-eeŋ/ (stem /-een+/), g. /baeldaaŋ/ 'war', from /baeldə-/ 'to fight'; /šɯteeŋ/ 'holy image, object of veneration or worship', from /šɯtə-/ 'to believe in something'; /xubilgaaŋ/ 'transformation, reincarnation of a saint, a reincarnated saint', from /xubilgə-/ 'to transform'.

(8) /-m/, e.g. /xerčim/ 'piece', from /xerči-/ 'to cut'; /toxəm/ 'saddlecloth', from /toxə-/ 'to saddle'; /ʒɯsəm/ 'piece, slice', from /ʒɯsə-/ 'to cut'.

(9) /-g/, e.g. /bičig/ 'letter', from /biči-/ 'to write'; /ʒurəg/ 'picture', from /ʒurə-/ 'to draw'; /ʒɔrig/ 'valiancy', from /ʒori-/ 'to be determined'; /gunig/ 'sadness', from /guni-/ 'to be sad'.

(10) /-ʒə/ typically forms nouns denoting the result of an action, e.g. /olʒə/ 'booty, profit', from /ol-/ 'to find, to obtain'; /garʒə/ 'expense', from /gar-/ 'to go out'; /orʒə/ 'income', from /orə-/ 'to come in'.

(11) /-s/ (stem /-sən+/), e.g. /nulməs/ 'tear', from /nulmə-/ 'to spit'; /xɛɛs/ 'foam', from /xɛɛ-/ 'to swell, to rise' (dough).

(12) /-ees/ (stem /-eesən+/), e.g. /xadaas/ 'nail', from /xadə-/ 'to drive in'; /nɛxɛɛs/ 'patch', from /nɛxə-/ 'to mend'.

(13) /-eer/, e.g. /belčeer/ 'grazing, pasture', from /belči-/ 'to graze'; /ɯdeer/ 'a thin leather thong', from /ɯdə-/ 'to sew'.

(14) /-məg/, e.g. /xuurməg/ 'fraud', from /xuur-/ 'to deceive'; /xoliməg/ 'mixture', from /xɔli-/ 'to mix'.

(15) /-š/ or /-ši/, e.g. /idəš/ 'food', from /idə-/ 'to eat'; /buləš/ 'grave, tomb', from /bulə-/ 'to inter'; /tɯləš/ 'fuel', from /tɯl-/ 'to burn'.

(16) /-li/, e.g. /saali/ 'yield of milk', from /saa-/ 'to milk'; /sacəli/ 'libation', from /sacə-/ 'to strew, to sprinkle'.

(17) /-l/, e.g. /ɯxəl/ 'death', from /ɯxə-/ 'to die'; /ǰargəl/ 'happiness', from /ǰargə-/ 'to be happy'.

(18) /-cə/, e.g. /ʒarcə/ 'servant', from /ʒarə-/ 'to employ someone'; /yabəcə/ 'process, course' (of an affair), from /yabə-/ 'to walk, to go'.

(19) /-mtə/, e.g. /barimtə/ 'fact' (originally, 'what one can seize, anything tangible'), from /bari-/ 'to seize, to take'; /boomtə/ 'roadblock, a border checkpoint', from /boo-/ 'to bind, to obstruct'.

(20) /-ltə/, e.g. /nemәltə/ 'addition', from /nemə-/ 'to add'; /yalәltə/ 'victory', from /yalə-/ 'to conquer'; /booltə/ 'band, string, tire', from /boo-/ 'to bind'.

(21) /-lgə/ (stem /-lgən+/), e.g. /uŋšilgə/ 'reading', from /uŋši-/ 'to read'; /xaalgə/ 'gate', from /xaa-/ 'to close'.

(22) /-bər/, e.g. /taelbər/ 'commentary, explanation', from /tael-/ 'to explain'; /ɯildəbər/ 'industry', from /ɯiləd-/ 'to work, to do something'.

(23) /-mər/, e.g. /xədəlmər/ 'work', from /xədəl-/ 'to move, to work'.

(24) /-dəl/ (after stem-final /r/, the suffix is /-təl/), e.g. /baedəl/ 'situation', from /bae-/ 'to be'; /yabədəl/ 'action', from /yabə-/ 'to move, to go, to act'; /surtəl/ 'doctrine', from /sur-/ 'to learn, to study'.

(25) /-dəs/ (stem /-dəsən+/), e.g. /oroodəs/ 'wrapping', from /oroo-/ 'to wrap'; /ʒardəs/ 'woman servant', from /ʒarə-/ 'to employ'.

(26) /-mǰi/, e.g. /serəmǰi/ 'vigilance', from /serə-/ 'to stay awake, to be alert'; /təxəerəmǰi/ 'equipment', from /təxəer-/ 'to equip'.

(27) /-də/ (stem /-dən+/), e.g. /xaniaadə/ 'cough', from /xaniaa-/ 'to cough'; /ineedə/ 'laughter', from /inee-/ 'to laugh'.

(28) /-ləŋ/ (stem /-ləŋg+/), e.g. /ǰargələŋ/ 'happiness', from /ǰargə-/ 'to be happy'; /ʒobələŋ/ 'suffering', from /ʒobə-/ 'to suffer'; /xadələŋ/ 'meadow, hay field', from /xadə-/ 'to mow'.

(29) /-gə/, e.g. /taniuulgə/ 'information', from /taniuul-/ 'to make acquainted with something, to let know'; /orčuulgə/ 'translation', from /orčuul-/ 'to translate'.

(30) /-xɯɯŋ/ (stem /-xɯɯn+/), e.g. /bɯteegdəxɯɯŋ/ 'production, product', from /bɯteegdə-/ 'to be produced'; /surtəxuuŋ/ 'morale', from /surtə-/ 'to be studied, to be learned'.

(31) /-sgələŋ/ (stem /-sgələŋg+/), e.g. /ɯʒəsgələŋ/ 'spectacle, exhibition', from /ɯʒə-/ 'to see'; /bayəsgələŋ/ 'joy', from /bayəs-/ 'to rejoice'.

(32) /-ɯɯrgə/ typically forms names of tools, e.g. /xəšɯɯrgə/ 'lever', from /xəši-/ 'to prop up'; /damnuurgə/ 'carrying-pole, yoke', from /damnə-/ 'to carry something by means of a yoke'.

(33) /-b/, e.g. /təsəb/ 'budget, estimate of cost', from /təsə-/ 'to conjecture, to make an estimate'; /sedəb/ 'subject, topic', from /sedə-/ 'to plan'.

3.314. Compound nouns

Compound nouns are formed either by co-ordinate or subordinate composition.

3.3141. Compound nouns formed by co-ordinate composition are usually called "binoms". They consist of two nouns, neither of which is governed by the other. In writing they are rendered as two words, with the exception of proper names, e.g. personal names, names of cities, etc. The juncture between the two words is the compound juncture (see 2.13), e.g. /aduuməl/ 'cattle, domestic animals', from /aduu/ 'herd of horses' and /mal/ 'cattle'; /erdəmsoyəl/ 'education', from /erdəm/ 'wisdom, knowledge, science' and /soyəl/ 'culture'; /argəxemǰee/ 'measure' (applied in order to achieve something, e.g. drastic measures),

from /argə/ 'means' and /xemǰee/ 'size, measure' (such as length); /gaʒərusə/ 'territory', from /gaʒər/ 'earth' and /usə/ 'water'; /orəlgəʒarəlgə/ 'budget', from /orəlgə/ 'income' and /ʒarəlgə/ 'expense'; /lubsəndendəb/ the name of a person, from /lubsəŋ/ and /dendəb/.

3.3142. Compound nouns formed by subordinate composition are of two types.

(1) The first member is comparable to an attribute. It is either a noun functioning as an adjective, or an adjective, or numeral, e.g. /gaʒərʒɯi/ 'geography', from /gaʒər/ 'earth' and /ʒɯi/ 'rule'; /ulaambaatər/ 'the city of Ulaanbaatar', from /ulaan/ 'red' and /baatər/ 'hero'; /šaršəbuu/ 'horned owl', from /šar/ 'yellow' and /šubuu/ 'bird'; /nəgəedər/ 'the day after tomorrow', from /nəgəe/ 'next, second' and /ədər/ 'day'.

Some compound nouns of this type are written together, others are treated in the orthography as two words.

(2) The first member of the compound is comparable to a direct object governed by the second member, e.g. /čuluubutəluur/ 'rock crusher', from /čuluu/ 'rock, stone' and /butəluur/ 'breaker, a crushing-machine'; /šoroodxuur/ 'dredger', from /šoroo/ 'earth' and /udxuur/ 'scoop'.

3.32. Adjectives

All adjectives can be substantivized, i.e. function as nouns. As such, they can take the plural suffix, occur in all case forms, and take the possessive suffixes. Adjectives are derived from nouns, adjectives, numerals, adverbs, and verbs.

3.321. Adjectives from nouns

Most nouns function as adjectives without any particular suffix, e.g. /təmər/ 'iron', which is a noun in the phrase /xatuu təmər/ 'hard iron', but an adjective in the phrase /təmər xubiŋ/ 'iron bucket'.

Nouns with stems ending in /n/ alternating with zero form adjectives with a final /ŋ/, e.g. /modə/, stem /modən+/ 'wood', but /modəŋ/ 'wooden'; /altə/, stem /altən+/ 'gold', but /altəŋ/ 'golden'; /čuluu/, stem /čuluun+/ 'stone, rock', but /čuluuŋ/ 'stone (adj.), of stone'; /us/, stem /usən+/ 'water', but /usəŋ/ 'pertaining to water, aquatic'.

Adjectives are also formed from nouns by means of suffixes.

(1) /+ləg/ typically forms adjectives denoting possession of a quality, e.g. /tosləg/ 'fat, oily', from /tos/ (stem /tosən+/) 'grease, fat, butter, oil'; /sɯrləg/ 'majestic, imposing, impressive', from /sɯr/ 'grandeur, greatness, majesty'; /šabərləg/ 'muddy, pertaining to clay', from /šabər/ 'clay, mud'; /usləg/ 'watery' from /us/ (stem /usən+/) 'water'.

(2) /+məg/, e.g. /goyəməg/ 'dandy', from /goyə+/ 'elegance'; /yixəməg/ 'haughty', from /yixə/ 'greatness, great'; /torgəməg/ 'silky', from /torəg/ (stem /torgən+/) 'silk'.

(3) /+bxi/, e.g. /usəbxi/ 'watery', from /us/ (stem /usən+/) 'water'; /idəbxi/ 'active, energetic', from /idə/ 'energy, dexterity'.

(4) /+xii ~ +xae ~ +xoe/, e.g. /sɯrxii/ 'serious, terrific', from /sɯr/ 'grandeur, majesty'; /balərxae/ 'indistinct, obscure', from /balər/ 'darkness, gloom'; /xoŋxərxoe/ 'uneven' (road), from /xoŋxər/ 'hole' (in the ground, road, etc.); /nabtərxae/ 'ragged', from /nabtəs/ (stem /nabtəsən+/) 'rags'.

(5) /+də/, e.g. /amidə/ 'live, living', from /amin+/ 'life'; /dornədə/ 'eastern', from /dornə+/ 'east'.

(6) /+tə/ forms adjectives denoting possession of something, e.g. /albətə/ 'subject', from /albən+/ 'corvée, service'; /čuluutə/ 'stony', from /čuluun+/ 'stone'.

Adjectives ending in /+tə/ very often function as substantives, and many place names in Mongolia are adjectives in origin, e.g. /erdəmtə/ 'scholar, savant', from /erdəm+/ 'science'; /galuutə/ 'abounding in geese' (a place name), from /galuun+/ 'goose'.

(7) /+tee ~ +tae ~ +toe/ forms adjectives denoting possession of something, e.g. /uxaantae/ 'intelligent', from /uxaan+/ 'intellect'; /moritoe/ 'having a horse', from /morin+/ 'horse'; /galtae/ 'fiery', from /gal+/ 'fire'; /gertee/ or /gertei/ 'married, possessing a home of his own', from /ger+/ 'house, home'.

3.322. Adjectives from adjectives

Adjectives formed from adjectives include the diminutive and feminine forms.

3.3221. The diminutive adjectives are mainly formed from color names and denote weak shades of colors. Only the suffix /+xəŋ/ is taken by all adjectives, or nouns functioning as adjectives.

(1) /+xəŋ/ (stem /+xən+/) forms adjectives of endearment, i.e. adjectives denoting various qualities of persons, animals, etc., that are spoken of affectionately, e.g. /ulaaŋxəŋ cecəg/ 'a red floweret', from /ulaan+/ 'red'; /xetəxəŋ gaʒər/ '[your] distant [dear] homeland', from /xetə+/ 'distant'; /goyəxəŋ/ 'pretty', from /goyə/ 'elegance, elegant'.

The suffix /+xəŋ/, although added to an adjective, often refers to the following noun, e.g. /xarəxəŋ mori/ 'little black horse' (cf. 'horsey' in nursery talk), and not 'a rather black horse'.

The suffix /+xəŋ/ is also taken by numerals, and forms diminutive numerals, e.g. /gurbəŋxəŋ/ 'only three', from /gurbən+/ 'three'; /arbəŋxəŋ/ 'only ten', from /arbəm+/ 'ten'.

In sagas, the suffix /+xəŋ/ is also taken by the gerund in /-ŋ/ when it refers to persons spoken of affectionately, e.g. /eʒələŋxəŋ tərəsəŋ/ 'born to rule', from /eʒələŋ/ 'ruling', from /eʒəl-/ 'to rule'.

(2) /+btər/ forms names of weak shades of color and other weak qualities, e.g. /ulaabtər/ 'reddish', from /ulaan+/ 'red'; /xarəbtər/ 'blackish', from /xarə+/ 'black'; /yaduubtər/ 'rather

poor', from /yaduu+/ 'poor'; /xeltəgiibtər/ 'somewhat awry', from /xeltəgii+/ 'awry, oblique'.

(3) /+ŋgui/ forms names of weak shades of colors, e.g. /borəŋgui/ 'rather grey, greyish', from /borə+/ 'grey'; /šarəŋgui/ 'rather yellow, yellowish', from /šarə+/ 'yellow'.

(4) /+dɯɯ/ forms names of weak shades of colors, e.g. /xəxədɯɯ/ 'bluish', from /xəxə+/ 'blue'.

(5) /+mdəg/, e.g. /xəxəmdəg/ 'bluish', from /xəxə+/ 'blue'.

3.3222. Mongolian has no grammatical gender, and the form of an adjective is the same whether it refers to a male or female person, with the exception of adjectives which denote the age or color of domestic animals.

(1) /+gčiŋ/ (stem /+gčin+/) forms adjectives denoting colors of female domestic animals, e.g. /xarəgčiŋ ɯnee/ 'black cow' (cf. /xarə buxə+/ 'black bull'); /cagaagčiŋ gɯɯ/ 'white mare' (cf. /cagaaŋ azərgə+/ 'white stallion').

When substantivized, these forms drop their final /ŋ/, e.g. /xarəgči/ 'the black one, Blackie', /cagaagči/ 'the white one, Whitey'.

(2) /+ǰiŋ/ (stem /+ǰin+/) forms adjectives denoting the age of female animals, e.g. /gunəǰiŋ ɯnee/ 'a three-year-old cow' (cf. /gunəŋ buxə/ 'a three-year-old bull'); /dənəǰiŋ temee/ 'a three-year-old female camel' (cf. /dənəŋ temee/ 'a three-year-old male camel').

When substantivized, these forms drop their final /ŋ/, e.g. /gunəǰi/ 'the three-year-old one'.

3.323. Adjectives from numerals

Adjectives formed from numerals comprise ordinal numerals, distributive numerals, diminutive numerals, and adjectives denoting age.

3.3231. The ordinal numerals are formed with the suffixes /+dɯgeer/ and /+dəxi/.

(1) /+dɯgeer/, borrowed from Script Mongolian, has the allomorphs /+dɯgeer/ on stems with front vowels, and /+dugaar/ on stems with back vowels, e.g. /negədɯgeer/ 'first', from /negə/ (stem /negən+/) 'one'; /xoyərdugaar/ 'second', from /xoyər+/ 'two'; /arbədugaar/ 'tenth', from /arbəŋ/ (stem /arbən+/) 'ten'.

It is also taken by the interrogative adjective /xedəŋ/ (stem /xedən+/) 'how many?'.

(2) /+dəxi/ forms ordinal numerals, e.g. /negədəxi/ 'first', from /negə/ (stem /negən+/) 'one'; /gurbədəxi/ 'third', from /gurbəŋ/ (stem /gurbən+/) 'three'.

3.3232. The distributive and approximative numerals are formed with the suffix /+eed/ 'by twos, each two, two (to each one)', 'by threes, each three, three (to each one)', etc. The numbers one and two have irregular forms. The other meaning of such numerals is "approximately so and so many", e.g. /neǰeed/ 'by ones, each one, one (to each one)', from /negə/ 'one'; /xoš̆ood/ 'by twos, each two, two (to each one)', from /xoyər+/ 'two'; /gurbaad/ 'by threes, each three, three (to each one), approximately three', from /gurbən+/ 'three'; /xoriood/ 'by twenties, each twenty, twenty (to each one), approximately twenty', from /xorin+/ 'twenty'; /ʒuugaad/ 'by hundreds, each hundred, hundred (to each one), approximately a hundred', from /ʒuun+/ 'hundred'.

3.3233. The diminutive numerals ("only three", "only five", etc.) are formed with the suffix /+xeŋ/, see 3.3221.(1).

3.3234. Adjectives denoting age are formed with the suffix /+tee/, see 3.321.(7), e.g. /gurbətae/ 'three-year-old', from /gurbən+/ 'three'; /arbətae/ 'ten-year-old', from /arbən+/ 'ten'; /xorin+tabətae/ 'twenty-five-year-old', from /xorin+tabən+/ 'twenty-five'.

3.324. Adjectives from adverbs

Adjectives are formed from adverbs with the suffixes /+də/ and /+xi/.

(1) /+də/, see 3.321.(5), e.g. /gadaadə/ 'outer', from /gadaa+/ 'out, without'; /caadə/ 'remote, that on the farther side of something', from /caa+/, in /caaši/ 'in that direction'.

(2) /+xi/ with adverbs of place, the dative-locative and genitive of nouns, and the genitive of the personal pronouns, e.g. /endəxi/ 'of this place', from /endə/ 'here'; /xoešixi/ 'hind, back', from /xoeši/ 'backwards'; /deegɯɯrxi/ 'upper', from /deegɯɯr/ 'above, along the top'; /gertəxi/ 'domestic', from /gertə/ 'in the house' (dat.-loc.), from /ger+/ 'yurt, house'; /usəndəxi/ 'aquatic', from /usəndə/ 'in the water' (dat.-loc.), from /usən+/ 'water'; /xaanaexi/ 'khan's, that of the khan, royal', from /xaanae/ 'of the khan' (gen.), from /xaan+/ 'khan, king'; /axəiiŋxi/ 'that of the elder brother', from /axəiiŋ/ 'of the elder brother', from /axə+/ 'elder brother'; /manaexi/ 'ours', from /manae/ 'of us', gen. of /bidə/ 'we'.

3.325. Adjectives from verbs

Adjectives from verbs are formed with the suffixes /-ɯɯ/, /-ɯɯŋ/, /-gii/, /-gər/, /-mxii/, /-mtəgii/, /-ŋgi/, /-ŋxii/, /-ee/, /-ɯɯr/, /-š+gɯi/.

(1) /-ɯɯ/, e.g. /xatɯɯ/ 'hard', from /xatə-/ 'to dry up, to harden'; /sogtuu/ 'drunk, intoxicated', from /sogtə-/ 'to become drunk'.

(2) /-ɯɯŋ/, e.g. /ərnɯɯŋ/ 'developed', from /ərnə-/ 'to develop'; /xaluuŋ/ 'hot', from /xal-/ 'to become hot'.

(3) /-gii/, replacing final /ii/ of the stem, and /-gae ~ -goe/, replacing final /ae oe/, respectively, e.g. /xeltəgii/ 'slanting', from /xeltii-/ 'to slant'; /xaʒəgae/ 'awry, oblique', from /xaʒae-/ 'to be awry'.

(3) /-gər/ replacing final /ii ae oe/ of the stem, e.g. /sertəgər/ 'standing on edge, bristling', from /sertii-/ 'to

bristle'; /gialgər/ 'shining, glittering', from /gialae-/ 'to shine, to glitter'; /xotəgər/ 'concave, hollow', from /xotoe-/ 'to be bent, to bend in'.

(5) /-mxii ~ -mxae ~ -mxoe/, e.g. /idəmxii/ 'ravenous, avaricious', from /idə-/ 'to eat'; /aemxae/ 'timid, fearful', from /ae-/ 'to be afraid'; /orəmxoe/ 'having access to something, having the permission to enter a place at any given time', from /orə-/ 'to enter'.

(6) /-mtəgii ~ -mtəgae ~ -mtəgoe/, e.g. /aemtəgae/ 'timid, fearful', from /ae-/ 'to be afraid; /ičimtəgii/ 'shy, bashful', from /ičі-/ 'to be ashamed'; /orəmtəgoe/ 'having access to something, having the permission to go in at any time', from /orə-/ 'to enter'.

(7) /-ŋgi ~ -ŋgə/, e.g. /xatəŋgi/ 'lean', from /xatə-/ 'to dry up'; /yadəŋgi/ 'poor', from /yadə-/ 'to be poor, to be unable'; /xatəŋgə/ 'strong, hard', from /xatə-/ 'to harden'; /seəŋgə/ 'hoarse', from /seə-/ 'to be hoarse'.

(8) /-ŋxii/, e.g. /ecəŋxii/ 'lean', from /ecə-/ 'to be exhausted'; /turəŋxae/ 'lean', from /turə-/ 'to become lean, to lose weight'.

(9) /-ee/, e.g. /guŋšaa/ 'having a nasal twang', from /guŋši-/ 'to speak through the nose'; /goŋginoo/ 'whimpering', from /goŋginə-/ 'to whimper'.

(10) /-ɯɯr/, see 3.313.(4), e.g. /xianuur/ 'careful, observant, alert', from /xianə-/ 'to keep under observation'; /nialgənuur/ 'sticky', from /nialgənə-/ 'to be sticky, to stick to something'.

(11) /-š+gɯi/, composed of /-š/, see 3.313.(15), and the negative particle /gɯi/, see 3.292.(1), forms adjectives denoting unfitness, e.g. /uuš+gɯi/ 'undrinkable', from /uu-/ 'to drink'; /xeləš+gɯi/ 'unspeakable, inexpressible', from /xelə-/ 'to say, to speak'; /ɯʒəš+gɯi/ 'ugly, disgusting, nothing to look at', from /ɯʒə-/ 'to see'.

3.326. Compound adjectives

Compound adjectives are composed of two adjectives, or of a noun and an adjective. The compounds are of two types, co-ordinate and subordinate.

3.3261. Co-ordinate compounds are composed of two adjectives, e.g. /ᵊguuyixə/ 'enormous', from /aguu/ 'vast' and /yixə/ 'large'; /šarəlaaŋ/ 'yellowish-red', from /šar/ 'yellow' and /ulaaŋ/ 'red'; /xarbəraaŋ/ 'dark colored', from /xar/ 'black' and /baraaŋ/ 'dark'; /xarxɯrəŋ/ 'dark brown', from /xar/ 'black' and /xɯrəŋ/ 'brown'.

3.3262. Subordinate compounds are composed of two adjectives, or of a noun and an adjective.

(1) The first adjective denotes a quality with which that of the second adjective is compared, e.g. /casəncəgaaŋ/ 'snow-white', from /casəŋ/ 'snowy, pertaining to snow, of snow' and /cagaaŋ/ 'white'; /cusənəlaaŋ/ 'blood-red, red as blood', from /cusəŋ/ 'bloody, pertaining to blood' and /ulaaŋ/ 'red'; /altənšər/ 'yellow as gold', from /altəŋ/ 'golden' and /šar/ 'yellow'.

(2) The second adjective is formed with the suffix /+tee ~ +tae ~ +toe/, see 3.321.(7), and the first adjective is an attribute of the second adjective, e.g. /šardeeltee/ 'yellow-robed', from /šar/ 'yellow' and /deeltee/ 'having a robe'; /urtəčixitee/ 'long-eared', from /urtə/ 'long' and /čixitee/ 'having ears'; /morinǰiltee/ 'born in the year of the horse', from /moriŋ/ 'equine' and /ǰiltee/ 'having the year of'.

(3) A special case is a compound composed of a numeral adjective and another adjective, e.g. /dərbəŋxəltee/ 'four-legged', from /dərbəŋ/ 'four' and /xəltee/ 'having legs'; /tabəŋxəšuutae od/ 'a five-pointed star', from /tabəŋ/ 'five' and /xošuutae/ 'having points', from /xošuun+/ 'point'.

(4) The first member is a noun, and the second member is an adjective ending in /+tee ~ +tae ~ +toe/, e.g. /morisaetae/

'having good horses', from /mori/ 'horse' and /saetae/ 'having something good', from /saeŋ/ 'good'; /čanərsaetae/ 'of good quality', from /čanər/ 'quality' and /saetae/ 'having something good'; /šɯdəmuutae/ 'having bad teeth', from /šɯdə/ 'tooth, teeth' and /muutae/ 'having something bad', from /muu/ 'bad'; /usyixətee/ 'having much water, abounding in water, well-irrigated', from /us/ 'water' and /yixətee/ 'having something big', from /yixə/ 'big, large, much'.

3.33. Adverbs

Adverbs are formed from nouns, adjectives, numerals, adverbs, and verbs.

3.331. Adverbs from nouns

Adverbs from nouns are formed with the suffixes /+cee/, /+ǰiŋ/, /+də/, and /+gɯɯr/.

(1) /+cee/ forms adverbs denoting the height reached by something, e.g. /əbədəgcəə/ 'up to the knees', from /əbədəg/ 'knee'.

(2) /+ǰiŋ/ forms adverbs denoting the length of time, e.g. /ədərǰiŋ/ 'the whole day', from /ədər/ 'day'.

(3) /+də/, with final /n/ of the stem dropped, e.g. /nasədə/ 'always', from /nas/ (stem /nasən+/) 'lifetime'.

(4) /+gɯɯr/, e.g. /əgləəgɯɯr/ 'in the morning', from /əgləə/ 'morning'; /oroeguur/ 'in the evening', from /oroe/ 'evening'.

3.332. Adverbs from adjectives

Adverbs from adjectives are formed with the suffixes /+də/, /+tər/, /+eeši/, and /+ɯɯr/.

(1) /+də/, e.g. /yixədə/ 'greatly', from /yixə/ 'great, large'; /ɯrgəlǰidə/ 'always, continuously', from /ɯrgəlǰi/ 'permanent'.

(2) /+tər/, with the stem-final /n/ dropped, e.g. /saetər/ 'well', from /saeŋ/ (stem /saen+/) 'good'.

(3) /+eeši/, e.g. /urtaaši/ 'lengthwise', from /urtə/ 'long'.

(4) /+ɯɯr/, e.g. /xoluur/ 'far away', from /xolə/ 'far, distant'; /urduur/ 'along the front side', from /urdə/ 'front, frontal'.

3.333. Adverbs from numerals

Adverbs from numerals are formed with the suffix /+tə/. These are the so-called multiplicative numerals, e.g. /negəntə/ 'once, one time', from /negə/ (stem /negən+/) 'one'; /gurbəntə/ 'thrice, three times' from /gurbəŋ/ (stem /gurbən+/) 'three'.

The same suffix is taken by /oləŋ/ 'many' and /xedəŋ/ 'several', e.g. /oləntə/ 'many times', from the stem /olən+/; /xedəntə/ 'several times', from the stem /xedən+/.

3.334. Adverbs from adverbs

Adverbs from adverbs are formed with the suffixes /+də/, /+gši/, and /+ɯɯr/, and the particle /č/ or /či/.

(1) /+də/, e.g. /xezeedə/ 'always', from /xezee/ 'when?'; /caašidə/ 'in the future', from /caaši/ 'further, in that direction'; /xoenəgšidə/ 'in the future', from /xoenəgši/ 'in the future'.

(2) /+gši/, e.g. /xoenəgši/ 'in the future', from /xoenə/ 'afterwards'; /gadəgši/ 'out', from /gadaa/ 'outside'.

(3) /+ɯɯr/, e.g. /gaduur/ 'along the outside, by', from /gadaa/ 'outside'; /caaguur/ 'farther off', from /caa/ in /caaši/ 'in that direction'.

(4) The indefinite adverbs are formed from the interrogative adverbs, see 3.252, by adding the particle /č/ or /či/, see 3.293, e.g. /xaač/ 'wherever', from /xaa/ 'where?'; /xezeeč/ 'whenever', from /xezee/ 'when?'.

3.335. Compound adverbs

There are four main types of compound adverbs: (1) reduplication of the adverb; (2) compounds composed of an adverb preceded by

another adverb; (3) compounds composed of an adverb preceded by an emphasizing adverb; and (4) compounds of an adverb followed by an echoing word.

(1) Reduplication, e.g. /xaaxaa/ 'where where?'.

(2) Adverb preceded by another adverb which has the opposite meaning, e.g. /endətəndə/ 'here and there, somewhere', from /endə/ 'here' and /tendə/ 'there'.

(3) Adverb preceded by an emphasizing adverb, see 3.254, e.g. /xeb xeʒee/ 'whenever, always', from /xeb/ and /xeʒee/ 'when?'.

(4) Adverb followed by an echoing word, e.g. /araečirae/ 'somehow, scarcely', from /arae/ 'hardly, scarcely'.

3.34. Verbs

Verbs are formed from nouns, adjectives, numerals, adverbs, verbs, and interjections.

3.341. Verbs from nouns

(1) /+l-/ or /+lə-/ forms verbs from noun stems, except those ending in /m/ or /ŋ/ (see [2] below). The verbs derived with this suffix are mostly transitive and have the general meanings "to do or to employ something, to act as something", e.g. /gaʒərlə-/ 'to put into the earth, to bury', from /gaʒər/ 'earth'; /orlə-/ 'to replace someone, to be someone's deputy', from /or/ (stem /orən+/) 'place'; /altəl-/ 'to gild', from /altə/ (stem /altən+/) 'gold'; /dael-/ 'to wage war', from /daeŋ/ (stem /daen+/) 'war'; /gaʒərčil-/ 'to guide, to be a guide', from /gaʒərči/ 'guide'; /usəl / 'to water', from /us/ (stem /usən+/) 'water'; /šubuul-/ 'to hunt birds' from /šubuu/ (stem /šubuun+/) 'bird'.

(2) /+nə-/, with noun stems ending in /m/ or /ŋ/. The stem-final /ŋ/ of the noun is replaced by /g/, e.g. /emnə-/ 'to cure, to treat', from /em/ 'medicine'; /gamnə-/ 'to take good care of something, to use sparingly, to keep something', from /gam/ 'thrift, careful handling, care for something'; /agnə-/ 'to hunt', from /aŋ/ (stem /aŋ+/) 'game animal'.

(3) /+də-/ typically forms transitive verbs having the general meaning "to use or employ something", e.g. /gaʒərdə-/ 'to land', from /gaʒər/ 'land, earth'; /argədə-/ 'to use a ruse', from /argə/ 'ruse, means, trick'; /algədə-/ 'to slap', from /aləg/ (stem /aləgən+/) 'palm of the hand'.

(4) /+tə-/ typically forms intransitive verbs with the general meaning "to become something", e.g. /gemtə-/ 'to be damaged, to suffer damage', from /gem/ 'evil, damage'; /xirtə-/ 'to become dusty, filthy, or soiled', from /xir/ 'filth'; /tosətə-/ 'to become greasy, to be soiled with grease', from /tos/ (stem /tosən+/) 'grease, fat'.

(5) /+ǰi-/ forms intransitive verbs with the general meaning "to become something", e.g. /ɯrəǰi-/ 'to procreate, to increase in number', from /ɯrə/ 'fruit, seed, offspring'; /amərǰi-/ 'to calm down, to be in peace', from /amər/ 'peace'.

(6) /+ǰirə-/ forms intransitive verbs with the same meanings as (5), e.g. /aŋgiǰirə-/ 'to be separated from something, to get rid of something', from /aŋgi/ 'part, division, class'.

(7) /+rə-/ forms intransitive verbs with the same meanings as (5) and (6), e.g. /ənčirə-/ 'to become orphaned', from /ənčiŋ/ (stem /ənčin+/) 'orphan'; /belbəsrə-/ 'to be widowed', from /belbəs/ (stem /belbəsən+/) 'widower, widow'.

(8) /+ši-/ forms intransitive verbs with the general meaning "to acquire something", e.g. /aldərši-/ 'to become famous, to acquire fame', from /aldər/ 'fame'; /suuriši-/ 'to become sedentary, to settle down and cease to be a nomad', from /suuri/ 'seat, place'.

(9) /+širə-/ forms intransitive verbs with the same meanings as (8), e.g. /ʒɯgširə-/ 'to get into the habit of something, to grow familiar with something', from /ʒɯg/ 'direction'; /sanaaširə-/ 'to intend', from /sanaa/ (stem /sanaan+/) 'thought'.

(10) /+rxə-/ forms intransitive verbs with the general meaning "to possess a certain quality in excess", e.g. /noyərxə-/ 'to be fond of power, to be imperious or tyrannical', from /noyəŋ/ (stem /noyən+/) 'prince'; /omərxə-/ 'to be haughty', from /oməg/ 'pride, haughtiness'.

(11) /+sə-/ forms intransitive verbs, e.g. /noersə-/ 'to sleep', from /noer/ 'sleep'; /maxəsə-/ 'to crave after meat', from /maxə/ (stem /maxən+/) 'meat'.

3.342. Verbs from adjectives

Verbs from adjectives are formed with the suffixes enumerated in 3.341, and a few other suffixes.

(1) /+s-/ forms intransitive verbs, e.g. /nariis-/ 'to become thin', from /nariiŋ/ (stem /nariin+/) 'thin'; /bagəs-/ 'to become small', from /bagə/ 'small'.

(2) /+də-/, cf. above, e.g. /yixədə-/ 'to become large, to increase' from /yixə/ 'large, great'; /urtədə-/ 'to become long', from /urtə/ 'long'.

(3) /+rə-/, cf. above, e.g. /xəxərə-/ 'to become blue', from /xəxə/ 'blue'; /nɔgoorə-/ 'to become green' from /nogooŋ/ (stem /nogoon+/) 'green'.

(4) /+l-/, cf. above, with stems containing the phoneme /r/, forms verbs with the same meaning as (3), e.g. /šarəl-/ 'to become yellow', from /šar/ ~ /šarə/ 'yellow'.

(5) /+ǰi-/ forms intransitive verbs, cf. above, e.g. /bayəǰi-/ 'to become rich', from /bayəŋ/ (stem /bayən+/) 'rich'; /ənərǰi-/ 'to become a member of a large family, to become a member of a large group of people mutually related', from /ənər/ 'having a large family'; /mergəǰi-/ 'to specialize, to acquire a specialty', from /mergəŋ/ (stem /mergən+/) 'wise'.

(6) /+ǰirə-/ forms intransitive verbs, cf. above, e.g. /saeǰirə-/ 'to improve', from /saeŋ/ (stem /saen+/) 'good'; /muuǰirə-/ 'to deteriorate', from /muu/ 'bad'.

(7) /+šee-/ forms transitive verbs with the general meaning "to regard as something", e.g. /saešaa-/ 'to approve of', from /saeŋ/ (stem /saen+/) 'good'; /ʒəbšəə-/ 'to approve of, to regard as correct', from /ʒəb/ 'correct, just'; /buruušaa-/ 'to reproach, to censure', from /buruu/ 'wrong'.

(8) /+čil-/ forms transitive verbs, e.g. /šinəčil-/ 'to renew', from /šinə/ 'new'.

(9) /+širə-/ forms intransitive verbs, cf. above, e.g. /oləširə-/ 'to increase, to grow numerous', from /olən/ (stem /olən+/) 'many, numerous'; /taebəširə-/ 'to calm down, to become peaceful', from /taebən/ (stem /taebən+/) 'peaceful'.

3.343. Verbs from numerals

(1) /+də-/, cf. above, e.g. /xoyərdə-/ 'to bifurcate, to hesitate between two solutions', from /xoyər/ 'two'; /gurbədə-/ 'to make threefold', from /gurbən/ (stem /gurbən+/) 'three'.

(2) /+tə-/, cf. above, e.g. /xoyərtə-/ 'to be split into two, to see double', from /xoyər/ 'two'.

3.344. Verbs from adverbs

Verbs from adverbs are formed with the suffixes /+l-/, /+rə-/, /+či-/, and /+čil-/.

(1) /+l-/, cf. above, e.g. /gadaal-/ 'to go outside', from /gadaa/ 'out'; /caašil-/ 'to proceed further, to move in that direction', from /caaši/ 'farther away, in that direction'; /multəl-/ 'to pull out', from /multə/ 'out, off'; /butəl-/ 'to break to small pieces, to crush', from /butə/ 'asunder'.

(2) /+rə-/, cf. above, e.g. /multər-/ 'to fall out', from /multə/ 'out, off'; /ʒadərə-/ 'to split open', from /ʒadə/ 'openly, gapingly'.

(3) /+či-/ forms transitive verbs, e.g. /sugəči-/ 'to pull out, to jerk out', from /sugə/ 'out'; /multəči-/ 'to pull out with a sudden and sharp movement', from /multə/ 'out, off'.

(4) /+čil-/, cf. above, forms transitive verbs, e.g. /gaduurčil-/ 'to regard someone as a stranger, to have the feeling that someone does not belong where he is, to discriminate', from /gaduur/ 'out, along the outer side'.

3.345. Verbs from verbs

Verbs from verbs can be divided into two main groups: (1) verbs which can be formed from all verbal stems, and (2) verbs which can only be formed from a limited number of verbal stems.

3.3451. Verbs of the first category are comparable to the voices of the Latin, Greek, or English verb, e.g. active, passive (and in Greek, also middle) voice. In Mongolian this category comprises the causative, passive, cooperative, reciprocal, intensive, diminutive, and plural verbs.

3.34511. Causative (or factitive) verbs convey the idea of making someone perform an action. The suffixes are /-ɯɯl-/, /-gɯɯl-/, /-lgə-/, /-gə-/, /-xə-/, /-gee-/, and /-ee-/.

(1) /-ɯɯl-/ forms causative verbs from transitive verbs, and transitive verbs from intransitive verbs. It is added to stems ending in /ə/ and /i/, e.g. /yabuul-/ 'to make (let) go, to send', from /yabə-/ 'to go, to walk'; /ɯʒɯɯl-/ 'to make see, to show', from /ɯʒə-/ 'to see'; /bičɯɯl-/ 'to make write down', from /bičі-/ 'to write'; /bariuul-/ 'to make seize, to hand', from /bari-/ 'to seize'; /idɯɯl-/ 'to make (let) eat, to feed', from /idə-/ 'to eat'; /aluul-/ 'to make (let) kill', from /alə-/ 'to kill'; /oruul-/ 'to make (let) enter, to bring in', from /orə-/ ~ /or-/ 'to enter'.

(2) /-gɯɯl-/ is found in /baeguul-/ 'to establish, to found', from /bae-/ 'to be'.

(3) /-lgə-/ forms causative verbs from transitive verbs, and transitive verbs from intransitive verbs. It is added to stems ending in a geminate vowel phoneme or a diphthong, e.g. /uulgə-/ 'to make drink', from /uu-/ 'to drink'; /suulgə-/ 'to make (let) sit, to seat', from /suu-/ 'to sit'; /nɯɯlgə-/ 'to make (let) move to another place, to cause someone to change his abode', from /nɯɯ-/ 'to transhume, to live a nomad's life'; /xaraelgə-/ 'to make jump', from /xarae-/ 'to jump'; /baelgə-/ 'to let be somewhere, to leave somebody, to station', from /bae-/ 'to be'.

(4) /-gə-/ forms causative verbs from stems ending in /l r s/, e.g. /bolgə-/ 'to make', from /bol-/ 'to become'; /olgə-/ 'to make find, to hand out, to give', from /ol-/ 'to find'; /gargə-/ 'to make come out, to let out, to take out, to

chase c ', from /gar-/ 'to come out'; /xɯrgə-/ 'to bring to the point of destination', from /xɯr-/ 'to arrive, to reach'; /surgə-/ 'to teach, to instruct', from /sur-/ 'to learn, to study'; /bosgə-/ 'to make stand up, to erect', from /bos-/ 'to go up'.

(5) /-xə-/, which occurs in most dialects, is added to stems ending in /s d/, e.g. /bosxə-/ 'to make stand up', from /bos-/ 'to stand up', see above; /əsxə-/ 'to increase the number of something, to breed, to raise cattle', from /əs-/ 'to increase in number, to procreate'; /negədxə-/ 'to unite somebody', from /negəd-/ ~ /negədə-/ 'to become one, to join'; /cadxə-/ 'to satiate somebody', from /cad-/ 'to become satiated'.

(6) /-gee-/ is found on a few stems ending in /ə/, e.g. /unəgaa-/ 'to make fall down, to overthrow', from /unə-/ 'to fall down'.

(7) /-ee-/ is added to some stems ending in /ə/, e.g. /ʒoboo-/ 'to torment', from /ʒobə-/ 'to suffer'; /untəraa-/ 'to extinguish, to put out' (fire), from /untərə-/ 'to go out' (light); /ʒogsoo-/ 'to stop', from /ʒogsə-/ 'to stand still'; /xataa-/ 'to make dry, to dry something', from /xatə-/ 'to become dry'.

3.34512. Passive verbs are formed with the suffixes /-gdə-/, and /-də-/ or /-tə-/.

(1) /-gdə-/ is added to stems ending in /ə/, /i/, or a geminate vowel phoneme, e.g. /barigdə-/ 'to be seized, to be caught', from /bari-/ 'to seize, to catch'; /ɯʒəgdə-/ 'to be seen', from /ɯʒə-/ 'to see'; /geegdə-/ 'to be lost, to get lost', from /gee-/ 'to lose'; /oroogdə-/ 'to be wrapped', from /oroo-/ 'to wrap'; /aləgdə-/ 'to be killed', from /alə-/ 'to kill'.

(2) /-də-/ is added to stems ending in /l/, /-tə-/ to stems ending in /r b g/, e.g. /oldə-/ 'to be found', from /ol-/ 'to find'; /gartə-/ 'to be excelled by someone, to be defeated in horse races', from /gar-/ 'to excel, to win a race';

/abtə-/ 'to be taken', from /ab-/ 'to take'; /əgtə-/ 'to be given', from /əg-/ 'to give'.

3.34513. Cooperative verbs convey the idea of participation in an action or joining others in an action. The suffix is /-lcə-/, e.g. /idəlcə-/ 'to eat with others', from /idə-/ 'to eat'; /suulcə-/ 'to sit with others, to attend a session', from /suu-/ 'to sit'; /surəlcə-/ 'to study in a group with others', from /sur-/ 'to study'.

3.34514. Reciprocal verbs convey the idea of an action directed against each other by the actors. The suffix is /-ldə-/, e.g. /buudəldə-/ 'to shoot at each other', from /buudə-/ 'to shoot'; /aləldə-/ 'to kill each other', from /alə-/ 'to kill'; /barildə-/ 'to seize each other, to wrestle', from /bari-/ 'to seize'; /tebrəldə-/ 'to embrace each other', from /tebrə-/ 'to embrace'.

3.34515. Intensive verbs denote actions which affect the object totally, or actions carried out completely and to the very end. The suffixes are /-čǐ-/ and /-čxə-/.

(1) /-čǐ-/ is added to intransitive verbs, e.g. /yabəčǐ-/ 'to leave, go away', from /yabə-/ 'to go'; /untəčǐ-/ 'to fall asleep', from /untə-/ 'to sleep'.

(2) /-čxə-/ is added to transitive verbs, e.g. /idəčxə-/ 'to eat up', from /idə-/ 'to eat'; /buudəčxə-/ 'to shoot to death', from /buudə-/ 'to shoot'.

3.34516. Diminutive verbs denote actions of short duration. The suffix is /-ʒənə-/, e.g. /suuʒənə-/ 'to sit down for a while', from /suu-/ 'to sit'; /xɯleeʒənə-/ 'to wait a little', from /xɯlee-/ 'to wait'; /baeʒənə-/ 'to stop for a while, to wait', from /bae-/ 'to be, to stand'.

3.34517. Plural verbs denote actions performed by many actors. The suffix is /-cəgee-/, e.g. /yabəcəgaa-/ 'to walk, to go',

from /yabə-/ 'to walk, to go'; /suucəgaa-/ 'to sit, to live' (many persons), from /suu-/ 'to sit, to live' (one person); /orəcəgoo-/ 'to enter' (many persons), from /orə-/ 'to enter'.

3.34518. The suffixes enumerated in sections 3.34511-3.34517 may combine with one another. Thus, a causative verb may be formed from a reciprocal verb; a passive verb may be formed from a causative verb, etc. However, there are restrictions on which suffixes may be added to each other.

(1) A causative verb may be formed from a primary verb stem, a causative verb, a passive verb, a cooperative verb, or a reciprocal verb.

(a) Causative from a primary stem, e.g. /irүүl-/ 'to make come', from /irə-/ 'to come'.

(b) Causative from a causative, e.g. /oruulgə-/ 'to make bring in', from /oruul-/ 'to make come in, to bring in', from /orə-/ 'to go in'; /garguul-/ 'to make take out', from /gargə-/ 'to take out', from /gar-/ 'to go out'.

(c) Causative from a passive, e.g. /үrəgdүүl-/ 'to waste, to squander', from /үrəgdə-/ 'to be spent', from /үrə-/ 'to spend'; /barigduul-/ 'to cause to be seized', from /barigdə-/ 'to be seized', from /bari-/ 'to seize'; /barəgduul-/ 'to cause to decrease', from /barəgdə-/ 'to be exhausted, to be spent', from /barə-/ 'to end, to come to an end'.

(d) Causative from a cooperative, e.g. /orəlcuul-/ 'to make participate', from /orəlcə-/ 'to participate, to enter with the others', from /orə-/ 'to enter'.

(e) Causative from a reciprocal, e.g. /barilduul-/ 'to make wrestle', from /barildə-/ 'to wrestle', from /bari-/ 'to seize'.

(2) A passive verb can only be formed from a primary or a causative verb.

(a) Passive from a primary stem, e.g. /ələgdə-/ 'to be killed', from /alə-/ 'to kill'.

(b) Passive from a causative, e.g. /togtoogdə-/ 'to be resolved', from /togtoo-/ 'to resolve', from /togtə-/ 'to stand'; /baeguuləgdə-/ 'to be founded', from /baeguul-/ 'to found', from /bae-/ 'to be'.

(3) A cooperative verb can be formed from a primary verb, a causative verb, or a reciprocal verb.

(a) Cooperative from a primary stem, e.g. /suulcə-/ 'to participate in something, to sit together with other persons, to attend a meeting', from /suu-/ 'to sit down'.

(b) Cooperative from a causative, e.g. /baeguuləlcə-/ 'to participate in founding or erecting something', from /baeguul-/ 'to found', from /bae-/ 'to be'.

(c) Cooperative from a reciprocal, e.g. /buudəldəlcə-/ 'to participate in shooting at each other', from /buudəldə-/ 'to shoot at each other', from /buudə-/ 'to shoot'.

(4) A reciprocal verb can be formed only from a primary verb, e.g. /aləldə-/ 'to kill each other', from /alə-/ 'to kill'.

(5) Intensive verbs can be formed from most verbs, e.g. /aləčxə-/, from /alə-/ 'to kill'; /gargəčxə-/, from /gargə-/ 'to take out', from /gar-/ 'to go out'; /gartəči-/, from /gartə-/ 'to be excelled', from /gar-/ 'to excel'.

(6) Plural verbs can be formed from all verbs, e.g. /suucəgaa-/, from /suu-/ 'to sit'; /ɯʒɯɯlcəgee-/, from /ɯʒɯɯl-/ 'to show', from /ɯʒə-/ 'to see'; /aləgdəcəgaa-/, from /aləgdə-/ 'to be killed', from /alə-/ 'to kill'; /idəlcəcəgee-/, from /idəlcə-/ 'to participate in eating', from /idə-/ 'to eat'; /barildəcəgaa-/, from /barildə-/ 'to wrestle', from /bari-/ 'to seize'.

3.3452. Verbs of the second category cannot be formed from all verbs.

(1) /-l-/ forms frequentative verbs, i.e. verbs denoting actions which are repeated without interruption, e.g. /dusəl-/ 'to drip', from /dusə-/ 'to drop, to fall' (drops); /coxil-/ 'to knock all the time', from /coxi-/ 'to strike, to beat'.

(2) /-rə-/ forms middle verbs, i.e. verbs which denote actions which take place without being caused by an actor, i.e. actions which, so to speak, take place all by themselves, e.g. /ebdərə-/ 'to fall to pieces, to get broken', from /ebdə-/ 'to break'; /asxərə-/ 'to spill' (intr.), from /asxə-/ 'to spill something'.

(3) /-lʒə-/ forms verbs which denote rhythmic motions, e.g. /gaŋxəlʒə-/ 'to swing' (branches of a tree), from /gaŋxə-/ 'to swing'.

(4) /-bəlʒə-/ or /-gəlʒə-/ forms verbs which denote uninterrupted actions, e.g. /anibəlʒə-/ 'to blink all the time', from /ani-/ 'to close the eyes'; /sanəgəlʒə-/ 'to daydream', from /sanə-/ 'to think'.

3.346. Verbs from interjections

Verbs from interjections are formed with the suffixes /+čignə-/, /+ginə-/ or /+gəna-/, and /+xirə-/ or /+xərə-/. They denote the making of sounds for which the interjection in question stands.

(1) /+čignə-/, e.g. /tarčignə-/ 'to jingle, to crackle', from /tar/; /šarčignə-/ 'to rustle', from /šar/.

(2) /+ginə-/ or /+gənə-/, e.g. /xaŋginə-/ 'to ring, to clank', from /xaŋ/; /giŋginə-/ 'to make a thin and wailing sound', from /giŋ/; /duŋginə-/ 'to drone', from /duŋ/.

(3) /+xirə-/ or /+xərə-/, e.g. /xašxərə-/ 'to shout', from /xaš/; /barxirə-/ 'to shout, yell, cry', from /bar/; /xurxirə-/ 'to snore, to snort', from /xur/.

3.347. Compound verbs

Compound verbs are composed of an adverb or interjection and the verb /xii-/ 'to do'.

(1) Adverbs in /-s/ (formed from verb stems) and /xii-/ yield verbs denoting quick and often unexpected actions, e.g. /cuxəsxii-/ 'to pop up quickly and unexpectedly', from /cuxui-/ 'to appear, to protrude'; /yabəsxii-/ 'to go quickly', from /yabə-/ 'to go'.

(2) Interjections and /xii-/, e.g. /xoŋxii-/ 'to ring', from /xoŋ/; /šaryii-/ 'to rustle', from /šar/.

3.4. Inflection

3.41. Noun inflection

Nouns may occur unsuffixed or with one or more inflectional suffixes. There are three kinds of suffixes which may be added to noun stems, namely, plural suffixes, declensional suffixes, and possessive suffixes, in this order. In addition, short forms of the personal pronouns may be added enclitically. They function as possessive suffixes.

3.411. Basic form

A noun without any suffixes is the basic form. It is identical with the stem. Nouns ending in /n/ which alternates with zero have two stems: the plural suffixes and some declension suffixes are added to the stem which lacks the final /n/; the other declension suffixes are added to the stem ending in /n/.

3.412. Plural suffixes

There are several plural suffixes.

(1) /+d/ is added to noun stems which end in /n/ and in /n/ ~ zero, and to stems formed with the suffixes /+ǰi/, /-eeǰi/, and /-gǰi/.

/noyəd/ 'princes', from /noyən+/

/morid/ 'horses', from /morin+/ ~ /mori+/

/malǰid/ 'cattlemen', from /malǰin+/

/galǰid/ 'firemen', from /galǰi+/

/bičeečid/ 'scribes', from /bičeeči+/

/surəgčid/ 'students', from /surəgči+/

The plural of /nəxər+/ 'comrade, friend' is /nəxəd/; the plural of /tŭšiməl+/ 'official' is /tŭšiməd/.

(2) /+s/ is added to noun stems which end in /ə/, in a geminate vowel phoneme, and to some stems which end in the diphthongs /ae/ and /oe/. The diphthongs are shortened to /ə/.

/dargəs/ 'chiefs', from /dargə+/

/erəs/ 'men', from /erə+/

/ʒaluus/ 'young men', from /ʒaluu+/

/gaxəs/ 'hogs', from /gaxae+/

/noxəs/ 'dogs', from /noxoe+/

(3) /+nɯɯd/ is added to most noun stems which end in the diphthongs /ae/ and /oe/, and in the geminate vowel phonemes /ee/ and /ii/.

/dalaenuud/ 'seas', from /dalae+/

/xooloenuud/ 'pipes', from /xooloe+/

/degeenɯɯd/ 'hooks', from /degee+/

/erbeexiinɯɯd/ 'butterflies', from /erbeexii+/

(4) /+ɯɯd/ is added to noun stems which end in consonants other than /n/.

/xələgɯɯd/ 'vessels', from /xələg+/

/arəduud/ 'cattlemen, free nomads', from /arəd+/

/tələbɯɯd/ 'forms', from /tələb+/

/ulsuud/ 'peoples, nations', from /uləs+/

/aŋguud/ 'game animals', from /aŋ+/

(5) /+nər/ is added to stems of nouns which denote various degrees of kinship, senior and respected persons, and gods. The suffix is rendered as **нар** in orthography and written separately.

/axənər/ 'elder brothers', from /axə+/

/dɯɯnər/ 'younger brothers', from /dɯɯ+/

/bəənər/ 'shamans', from /bəə+/

/lamənər/ 'Buddhist priests', from /lamə+/

/bagšinər/ 'teachers', from /bagši+/

/teŋrinər/ 'gods', from /teŋri+/

/bodisəduaanər/ 'the Bodhisattvas', from /bodisəduaa+/

(6) To plural forms ending in /+s/, /+d/, and /+nər/ the suffix /+ɯɯd/ may be added. Such double plural forms are used with reference to esteemed persons, e.g. /ersɯɯd/ 'men', from /erəs/, from /erə+/; /noyəduud/ 'princes', from /noyəd/, from /noyən+/; /nəxədɯɯd/ 'comrades', from /nəxəd/, from /nəxər+/; /lamənəruud/ 'Buddhist priests', from /lamənər/, from /lamə+/.

3.413. Declension suffixes

Mongolian has eight cases, namely, subject-direct object, genitive, dative-locative, ablative, accusative, instrumental, comitative, and directive.

The case suffixes are added to the stem. With stems ending in /n/ alternating with zero, the genitive, dative-locative, and ablative suffixes are added to the stem with final /n/. The other case suffixes are added to the stem lacking the final /n/.

The case suffixes are the same for both the singular and plural. In the singular, they are added directly to the stem. In the plural, they are added after the plural suffix.

(1) The subject-direct object case is formed with a zero suffix, i.e. it is identical with the stem. Nouns ending in /n/ ~ zero use the stem without /n/.

/mori/ 'horse', from /morin+/ ~ /mori+/

/noyəŋ/ 'prince', from /noyən+/

/ger/ 'yurt', from /ger+/

/nom/ 'book', from /nom+/

(2) The genitive case is formed with the suffixes /+n/, /+iin/, /+giin/, /+ii/. The final /n/ of /+n +iin +gii n/ becomes /ŋ/ in word-final position, but remains /n/ before /+də/; see 3.4131.

(a) /+ŋ/ is added to stems ending in /ii/ or diphthongs.

/delxiiŋ/ 'of the world', from /delxii+/

/dalaeŋ/ 'of the sea', from /dalaɛ+/
/noxoeŋ/ 'of the dog', from /noxoe+/
/xarəŋxuiŋ/ 'of the darkness', from /xarəŋxui+/

(b) /+iiŋ/ is added to front-vocalic stems ending in /ə/ or in any consonant except /n/; to back-vocalic stems ending in /g/; and to stems with back or front vowels which end in /i/. The allomorph /+əiiŋ/ is added to back-vocalic stems ending in /ə/, or in /b d s m l r/.

/eriiŋ/ 'of the man', from /erə+/
/tələbiiŋ/ 'of the form', from /tələb+/
/ediiŋ/ 'of material', from /ed+/
/bəsiiŋ/ 'of the textile', from /bəs+/
/emiiŋ/ 'of the medicine', from /em+/
/emɛɛliiŋ/ 'of the saddle', from /emeel+/
/geriiŋ/ 'of the yurt', from /ger+/
/bičigiiŋ/ 'of the writing', from /bičig+/
/adəgiiŋ/ 'of the lower course of the river', from /adəg+/
/aŋgiiŋ/ 'of the game animal', from /aŋ+/ ~ /aŋg+/
/bičeečiiŋ/ 'of the scribe', from /bičeeči/
/surguuliiŋ/ 'of the school', from /surguuli+/
/bagšiiŋ/ 'of the teacher', from /bagši+/
/mujiiŋ/ 'of the province', from /muji+/
/axəiiŋ/ 'of the elder brother', from /axə+/
/xadəiiŋ/ 'of the cliff', from /xadə+/
/xabəiiŋ/ 'of the Pekingese' (dog), from /xab+/
/moridəiiŋ/ 'of the horses', from /morid+/, from /morin+/ ~ /mori+/
/uləsəiiŋ/ 'of the nation', from /uləs+/
/saməiiŋ/ 'of the comb', from /sam+/
/galəiiŋ/ 'of the fire', from /gal+/
/garəiiŋ/ 'of the hand', from /gar+/

(c) /+giiŋ/ is added to stems ending in a front or back geminate vowel phoneme.

/bəegiiŋ/ 'of the shaman', from /bəə+/

/eleegiiŋ/ 'of the vulture', from /elee+/

/odɔogiiŋ/ 'of the present time', from /odɔo+/

(d) /+ii/ is added to stems with front vowels which end in /n/. The allomorph /+əii/ is added to stems with back vowels which end in /n/.

/xelnii/ 'of the tongue', from /xelən+/ ~ /xelə+/

/ɯsənii/ 'of the hair', from /ɯsən+/ ~ /ɯsə+/

/modənəii/ 'of the tree', from /modən+/ ~ /modə+/

/noyənəii/ 'of the prince', from /noyən+/

(3) The dative-locative case is formed with the suffix /+də/, added to stems which end in a vowel or diphthong or in /ŋ n m l/. Stems ending in any other consonant take the allomorph /+tə/.

/axədə/ 'to the elder brother', from /axə+/

/aŋdə/ 'to the game animal', from /aŋ+/ ~ /aŋg+/

/noyəndə/ 'to the prince', from /noyən+/

/morində/ 'to the horse', from /morin+/ ~ /mori+/

/emdə/ 'to the medicine', from /em+/

/biǰigtə/ 'to the writing', from /biǰig+/

/uləstə/ 'to the nation', from /uləs+/

/gertə/ 'in the yurt', from /ger+/

(4) The ablative case is formed with the suffix /-ees/, added to all stems with the exception of those ending in a geminate vowel phoneme or a diphthong, which take the allomorph /+gees/.

/axaas/ 'from the elder brother', from /axə+/

/garaas/ 'from the hand', from /gar+/

/tɯšiməlees/ 'from the official', from /tɯšiməl+/

/aŋgaas/ 'from the game animal', from /aŋ+/ ~ /aŋg+/

/dɯɯgees/ 'from the younger brother', from /dɯɯ+/

/morinoos/ 'from the horse', from /morin+/ ~ /mori+/

/dalaegaas/ 'from the sea', from /dalae+/

(5) The accusative, the case of the definite direct object (see 4.152), is formed with the suffixes /+g/ and /+iig/.

(a) /+g/ is added to stems ending in a geminate vowel phoneme or a diphthong; also to stems ending in /n/ ~ zero preceded by a geminate vowel phoneme.

/bəəg/ 'the shaman', from /bəə+/

/toog/ 'the number', from /toon+/ ~ /too+/

/galuug/ 'the goose', from /galuun+/ ~ /galuu+/

/dalaeg/ 'the sea', from /dalae+/

(b) /+iig/ is added to stems with front vowels which end in any consonant or in /ə/ or /i/, and to stems with back vowels which end in /i/ or /g/. Back-vocalic stems ending in /ə/ or any consonant other than /g/ take the allomorph /+əiig/.

/bičigiig/ 'the letter', from /bičig+/

/eriig/ 'the man', from /erə+/

/emiig/ 'the medicine', from /em+/

/emeeliig/ 'the saddle', from /emeel+/

/surguuliig/ 'the school', from /surguuli+/

/adəgiig/ 'the lower course of the river', from /adəg+/

/aŋgiig/ 'the game animal', from /aŋ+/ ~ /aŋg+/

/garəiig/ 'the hand', from /gar+/

/axəiig/ 'the elder brother', from /axə+/

(6) The instrumental case is formed with the suffix /+eer/. Stems ending in a geminate vowel phoneme or a diphthong take the allomorph /+geer/.

/nəxəreer/ 'with the help of the comrade', from /nəxər+/

/sɯxeer/ 'by means of an ax', from /sɯxə+/

/garaar/ 'by means of the hand', from /gar+/

/aŋgaar/ 'by means of a game animal', from /aŋ+/ ~ /aŋg+/

/morioor/ 'by horse', from /morin+/ ~ /mori+/

/dɯɯgeer/ 'with the help of the younger brother', from /dɯɯ+/

/dalaegaar/ 'by sea', from /dalae+/

(7) The comitative case is formed with the suffix /+tee ~ +tae ~ +toe/.

/aabətae/ 'with the father', from /aabə+/

/nəxərtee/ 'with the comrade', from /nəxər+/

/noxoetoe/ 'with the dog', from /noxoe+/

(8) The directive case is formed with the suffix /+ruuu/. With stems containing /r/ the suffix is /+luuu/.

/usəruu/ 'towards the water', from /usən+/ ~ /usə+/

/dargəluu/ 'in the direction of the chief', from /dargə+/

/gerluuu/ 'in the direction of the house', from /ger+/

/cecəgruuu/ 'in the direction of the flowers', from /cecəg+/

3.4131. Certain case suffixes may be added to other case suffixes. The resulting forms are called "double case forms". Such double case forms are the genitive-locative, locative-ablative, and the genitive-directive. Almost any case suffix may be added to a comitative form.

(1) The genitive-locative is formed with a genitive suffix to which the suffix of the dative-locative is added. Consequently, the compound suffixes are /+ndə/, /+iində/, /+əiində/, /+giində/, /+iidə/, /+əiidə/ (the last is usually /+aedə/, /+oedə/).

/badəmguaendə/ 'at Mr. Badma's', from /badəmguaeŋ/

/bagšiində/ 'at the teacher's', from /bagši+/

/laməiində/ 'at the lama's', from /lamə+/

/noyənoedə/ 'at the prince's', from /noyər+/

(2) The locative-ablative is formed with the suffixes /+də/ and /+ees/. Only the word /ger/ 'house' occurs in this form, which is /gertees/ 'from home'.

(3) The genitive-directive is identical in meaning with the directive. It is formed with the directive suffix, which is added to the genitive suffix, e.g. /axəinruu/ 'in the direction of the elder brother'.

(4) The comitative form takes all case suffixes. The most frequent compound forms are the comitative-accusative, e.g. /axətaeg/ 'with the elder brother', and the comitative-

instrumental (identical in meaning with the simple comitative), e.g. /axətaegaar/ 'together with the elder brother'.

3.414. Possessive suffixes

The possessive suffixes indicate the owner or possessor of the object concerned. They are added to the case suffixes. There are two kinds of possessive suffixes, namely, a personal possessive suffix, and a reflexive possessive suffix.

Abbreviated forms of the genitive case of the personal pronouns may be added enclitically to the case forms to indicate possession. Although the short forms are not suffixes, they will be dealt with in the following sections.

3.4141. The possessive suffix of the third person is /+ni/ after vowels, /+ini/ after a final /n/, and /+əni/ after a consonant other than /n/. The final /i/ of the suffix is usually dropped, so that the suffix is /+n/, /+in/, or /+ən/, respectively. It is to be noted that the final /n/ of the suffix is apico-dental, not velar.

/axən/ 'his elder brother', from /axə+/

/noyənin/ 'his prince', from /noyən+/

/gerən/ 'his yurt', from /ger+/

The suffix /+n/, /+in/, /+ən/ is written as **нь** in the Cyrillic script and always separately, e.g. **ах нь** /axən/ 'his elder brother'.

3.4142. Possession by the first or second person is indicated by the short genitive forms of the personal pronouns added enclitically to the case forms.

1st pers. sing. /mini/ 1st pers. pl. /mani/ or /maani/

2nd pers. sing. /čini/ 2nd pers. pl. /tani/ or /taani/

The final /i/ of all these forms is usually dropped, and the form concerned ends in an apico-dental /n/, i.e. /min/ 'my', /čin/ 'thy', /man/ or /maan/ 'our', /tan/ or /taan/ 'your'.

According to the rules of Mongolian orthography, the short genitive forms of pronouns are written separately, e.g. **ах минь** /axəmin/ 'my elder brother', with compound juncture between the stem and the short genitive form of the pronoun.

3.4143. The possessive suffix /+n/, etc. and the short genitive forms /min/, etc. are added to the case suffixes. Some case suffixes undergo changes.

(1) The genitive suffixes ending in /n/ drop the /n/ before the suffix /+n/ and before /min/ and /man/, e.g.:

gen. /+n/ + /+n/ → /+n/
+ /min/ → /+min/
+ /maan/ → /+maan/

In the orthography, the final /n/ of the genitive suffix is always written.

(2) The accusative suffix /+iig/ ~ /+əiig/ drops it. final /g/ before the suffix /+n/ and all enclitically added pronouns; the accusative suffix /+g/ is replaced with /+gii/, e.g.:

acc. /+iig/ + /min/ → /+iimin/
+ /čin/ → /+iičin/
+ /+n/ → /+iin/
acc. /+g/ + /min/ → /+giimin/
+ /čin/ → /+giičin/
+ /+n/ → /+giin/

(3) The remaining case suffixes do not undergo any changes, e.g. abl. /+ees/ and /+ən/ result in /+eesən/ "from his..."; instr. /+eer/ and /min/ result in /+eermin/ "by means of my..."; dat.-loc. /+də/ and /čin/ result in /+dəčin/ "to thy..." or "in thy..."; comit. /+tae/ and /taan/ result in /+taetaan/ "together with your..."

3.4144. The reflexive possessive suffix, /+ee/ ~ /+gee/ ~ /+xee/ 'his, your, my...', indicates that the possessor of the object is the same as the subject of the sentence. The reflexive

possessive suffix may be added to any of the case suffixes but the nominative, except for the reflexive nouns /өөr+/ 'self' and /өөrөd+/ 'selves' (see 3.212), which can function as the subject of a sentence.

(1) /+ee/ is added to the accusative, dative-locative, ablative, and instrumental suffixes; it may also be added directly to the noun stem to form an accusative. Final /n/ alternating with zero is dropped before the suffix.

(2) /+gee/ is added to the comitative and directive suffixes.

(3) /+xee/ is added to the genitive suffix.

3.41441. The reflexive possessive declension rules are illustrated by the following examples.

nom.	/noxoe+/ 'dog'	/morin+/ ~ /mori+/ 'horse'	/ger+/ 'yurt'
gen.	/noxoeŋxoo/	/morinөiixoo/	/geriiŋxee/
acc.	/noxoegoo/	/moriigoo/ or /morioo/	/geriigee/ or /geree/
dat.	/noxoedoo/	/morindoo/	/gertee/
abl.	/noxoegoosoo/	/morinoosoo/	/gereesee/
instr.	/noxoegooroo/	/morioooroo/	/gereeree/
comit.	/noxoetoegoo/	/moritoegoo/	/gerteegee/
dir.	/noxoeruugaa/	/moriluugaa/	/gerlɯɯgee/

3.42. Pronoun inflection

The inflection of the pronouns is, in general, similar to that of the nouns: some pronouns take plural suffixes, and all pronouns take declension suffixes and possessive suffixes. The main difference between the inflection of pronouns and that of nouns is that each pronoun has more than one stem. Also, the subject form is different from the declension stems and, therefore, the term nominative case is appropriate. In addition, short genitive forms of the pronouns of the first or second person may be used to indicate possession; see 3.414.

3.421. Personal pronouns

(1) The pronoun /bi/ 'I' has the declension stems /min+/, /namae+/, and /nadə+/.

nom.	/bi/ 'I'
gen.	/minii/
acc.	/namaeg/
dat.	/nadədə/
abl.	/nadaas/
instr.	/nadaar/
comit.	/nadətae/
dir.	/nadəruu/

(2) The pronoun /ǰi/ 'thou' has the declension stems /ǰin+/, /ǰamae+/, and /ǰamə+/.

nom.	/ǰi/ 'thou'
gen.	/ǰinii/
acc.	/ǰamaeg/
dat.	/ǰamədə/
abl.	/ǰamaas/
instr.	/ǰamaar/
comit.	/ǰamətae/
dir.	/ǰaməruu/

(3) The pronoun /bidə/ 'we' has the declension stems /bidən+/ ~ /bidənər+/ and /man+/. The stem /bidən+/ ~ /bidənər+/ is an inclusive pronoun, i.e. "we the speakers and you the listeners"; the stem /man+/ is an exclusive pronoun, i.e. "we the speakers, excluding you the listeners". (Note that /bidənər+/ is a pleonastic plural, i.e. /bidə/ plus the plural suffix /+nər/.)

nom.	/bidə/	~ /bidənər/ 'we (incl.)'	/bidə/ 'we (excl.)'
gen.	/bidə̂nii/	~ /bidənəriiŋ/	/manae/
acc.	/bidəniig/	~ /bidənəriig/	/manəiig/
dat.	/bidəndə/	~ /bidənərtə/	/mandə/
abl.	/bidənees/	~ /bidənərees/	/manaas/
instr.	/bidəneer/	~ /bidənəreer/	/manaar/

comit.	/bidəntee/ ~ /bidənərtee/	/mantae/
dir.	/bidənrɯɯ/ ~ /bidənərlɯɯ/	/manaeruu/

(4) The pronoun /ta/ 'you (sing.)' has the declension stem /tan+/. Its plural is /taanər/, i.e. /taa+/ plus the plural suffix /+nər/.

nom.	/ta/ 'you (sing.)'	/taanər/ 'you (plur.)'
gen.	/tanae/	/taanərəiiŋ/
acc.	/tanəiig/	/taanərəiig/
dat.	/tandə/	/taanərtə/
abl.	/tanaas/	/taanəraas/
instr.	/tanaar/	/taanəraar/
comit.	/tantae/	/taanərtae/
dir.	/tanaeruu/	/taanərluu/

This pronoun also has the plural forms /taanuud/ and /taanuus/. These are regarded as impolite forms of address.

3.422. Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns /enə/ 'this' and /terə/ 'that' are also used as personal pronouns of the third person.

(1) The declension stems of /enə/ 'this, he, she, it' are /ɯɯn+/, /enɯɯn+/, and /enən+/, which are freely interchangeable.

nom.	/enə/		
gen.	/ɯɯnii/	/enɯɯnii/	/enənii/
acc.	/ɯɯniig/	/enɯɯniig/	/enəniig/
dat.	/ɯɯndə/	/enɯɯndə/	/enəndə/
abl.	/ɯɯnees/	/enɯɯnees/	/enənees/
instr.	/ɯɯneer/	/enɯɯneer/	--
	/ɯɯgeer/	/enɯɯgeer/	--
comit.	/ɯɯntee/	/enɯɯntee/	--
dir.	--	--	/enərɯɯ/

The plural is /edə/ (declension stem /edən+/) 'these, they', which may take the plural suffixes /+nər/ or /+geer/.

nom.	/edə/	/edənər/	/edəgeer/
gen.	/edənii/	/edənəriiŋ/	/edəgeeriiŋ/

acc.	/edəniig/	/edənəriig/	/edəgeeriig/
dat.	/edəndə/	/edənərtə/	/edəgeertə/
abl.	/edənees/	/edənərees/	/edəgeerees/
instr.	/edəneer/	/edənəreer/	/edəgeereer/
comit.	/edəntee/	/edənərtee/	/edəgeertee/
dir.	/edərɯɯ/	/edənərlɯɯ/	/edəgeerlɯɯ/

(2) The declension stems of /terə/ 'that, he, she, it' are /tɯɯn+/, /terɯɯn+/, and /terən+/ or /tern+/. They are freely interchangeable.

nom.	/terə/		
gen.	/tɯɯnii/	/terɯɯnii/	/ternii/
acc.	/tɯɯniig/	/terɯɯniig/	/terniig/
dat.	/tɯɯndə/	/terɯɯndə/	--
abl.	/tɯɯnees/	/terɯɯnees/	/ternees/
instr.	/tɯɯneer/	/terɯɯneer/	--
	/tɯɯgeer/	/terɯɯgeer/	--
comit.	/tɯɯntee/	/terɯɯntee/	--
dir.	--	--	/terəlɯɯ/

The plural is /tedə/ (declension stem /tedən+/) 'those, they', which may take the plural suffixes /+nər/ or /+geer/. (/tedə/, /tedənər/, and /tedəgeer/ are declined like /edə/, /edənər/, and /edəgeer/, respectively.)

3.423. Pronouns may occur with the possessive suffixes and with the enclitically added short genitive forms of the personal pronouns, see 3.414.

/namaegaa/ 'me of his own'

/nadaaraa/ 'by means of me of his own'

/čamətaegaa/ 'together with thee of his own'

/mantaegaa/ 'together with us of his own'

/tɯɯndəčin/ 'to him of thee'

/tɯɯnteegee/ 'together with him of his own'

/taamin/ 'you of mine'

/bičin/ 'I of thine'

/terəčin/ 'that of thine'

3.43. Verb inflection

The inflection of the verb comprises four main groups of forms: (1) imperative and voluntative, (2) indicative, (3) verbal nouns, and (4) gerunds. Most of the forms refer to all three persons of both numbers.

3.431. Imperative and voluntative

The imperative and voluntative express commands, requests, wishes, and intentions. They can occur with the negative particles /bɯɯ/ and /bitəgii/.

(1) A zero suffix forms an imperative which expresses a strict order. This form is identical with the stem of the verb. The prohibitive particle is /bitəgii/ (rarely /bɯɯ/).

/yabə/ 'go!', from /ya·ə-/
/əg/ 'give!', from /əg-/
/bitəgii yabə/ 'don't go!'

(2) /-gtəŋ/ or /-təŋ/ forms the benedictive, a deferential or polite request directed to someone who is to be addressed as /ta/ 'you' (cf. French vous, German Sie) or a group of such persons. The prohibitive particle is usually /bitəgii/.

/yabəgtəŋ/ or /yabətəŋ/ 'please go!'
/əgəgtəŋ/ or /əgtəŋ/ 'please give!'
/suugtəŋ/ 'please sit down!', from /suu-/
/bitəgii yabəgtəŋ/ 'please don't go!'

(3) /-ee/ forms the so-called precative, a form that indicates humble but urgent begging, which is addressed to the second person of the singular and plural. In the singular, the pronoun /čˇi/ 'thou' is added enclitically to the suffix. In the plural, the pronoun /ta/ 'you' is added. The final vowel of the pronoun is usually dropped so that the singular form ends in /-eeč/, and the plural form ends in /-eet/. The prohibitive particle is usually /bitəgii/.

/yabaač/ 'go!' (="I implore thee to go")
/əgeeč/ 'give!' (="I implore thee to give")
/əgeet/ 'give!' (="I implore you to give")

(4) /-eeree -ɵeree -aarae -ooroe/ forms the imperative of the future, which expresses an order or request which is to be fulfilled later. The prohibitive particle is /bitəgii/ or /bɯɯ/.

/margaaši yabaarae/ 'go tomorrow!'

/xoǰim ɵgɵeree/ 'give later!'

/bitəgii yaaraarae/ 'don't hurry!', from /yaarə-/ 'to hurry'

(5) /-g/ forms the imperative of the third person, which expresses a grudgingly given permission to perform the action in question (more or less = "let him do it for all I care").

/yabəg/ 'let him (them) go!'

(6) /-eesee -ɵesee -aasae -oosoe/ expresses a strong but vain wish for something to happen, a longing for something that is unlikely to happen. In Khalkha, it refers mainly to the third person ("if only he ..."), but in other dialects it may refer also to the first or second person ("if only I ..."; "if only you ..."). This form is usually called the optative.

/yabaasae/ 'if only he would go!'

/oroosoe/ 'if only he would enter!'

/ɯxeesee/ 'if only he would die!'

(7) /-yee/ forms the so-called voluntative of the first person, which expresses the intention to perform the action in question. The prohibitive particle is usually /bɯɯ/.

/yabəyaa/ 'let me go!', 'let us go!'

/ɵgəyɵɵ/ 'let me give!', 'let us give!'

/suuyaa/ 'let me sit down!', 'let us sit down!'

/bɯɯ yabəyaa/ 'let us not go!'

(8) In the modern literary language there are several suffixes which have been borrowed from Script Mongolian and are alien to the colloquial language: -sɯgei/-sugai of the first person, e.g. /yabəsugae/ 'I will go!'; -tɯgei/-tugai of the third person, e.g. /mandətəgae/ 'long live!', lit. 'may he rise!'; and -ɯɯʒei/-uuʒai, the so-called dubitative, which expresses a fear

that something undesirable may happen, e.g. /oluuʒae/ 'what if he finds it?', from /ol-/ 'to find'.

3.432. Indicative

The indicative forms are finite forms that function as predicates of clauses.

There are four indicative forms. All of them take the interrogative particle /ɯɯ/, and occur, in the modern literary language, with the negative particle /es/, see 3.292.(2). In Colloquial Khalkha the indicative forms do not occur with the negative particles; instead, verbal nouns with following /gɯi/ are used.

(1) /-nə/ or /-n/ forms the present tense of the imperfect, which denotes a timeless action that may take place in the future or at any indefinite time, e.g. "the train arrives at three o'clock", i.e. every day at the same time.

/bi medən/ 'I know', from /medə-/ 'to know'

/či xeʒee irnə/ 'when wilt thou come?', from /ir-/ 'to come'

/bagšɨ margaadər irnə/ 'the teacher will come tomorrow'

/bi es medən/ 'I do not know'

The colloquial equivalent of the phrase /es medən/ 'do not know' is the verbal noun of the future ending in /-xə/ (see 3.433) with the negative particle /gɯi/, e.g. /bi medəxgɯi/ 'I do not know'.

(2) /-ɪee/ forms the so-called present tense of the perfect, which expresses an action which has taken place, and which has either been witnessed or is commonly known, and is therefore regarded as an indisputable fact.

/ənəə oroe bidə xoyər xamtə guaanʒəndə idəlee/ 'this evening the two of us ate in a restaurant', from /idə-/ 'to eat'

/bi tanəiig yixə sanəlaa/ 'I have missed you very much', from /sanə-/ 'to think of, to long for'

/bagšĭ irlee/ 'the teacher has come'

/bi es xellee/ 'I did not say'

The colloquial equivalent of the phrase /es xellee/ 'did not say' is the verbal noun of the perfect ending in /-səŋ/ (see 3.433) with the negative particle /gɯi/, e.g. /xelsəŋgɯi/ 'did not say', /xelsəŋgɯyɯɯ/ 'didn't he say?'.

(3) /-bə/ or /-b/ forms the so-called past tense of the perfect, which corresponds more or less to the English simple past tense. In statements, it is not often used in the colloquial language, which prefers the verbal noun of the perfect (see 3.433), but in questions it occurs quite frequently with the interrogative particle /ɯɯ/.

/bosəbə/ or /bosəb/ 'got up', from /bos-/ 'to get up'

/es medəb/ 'did not know'

/ta ɯʒəbɯɯ/ 'did you see?', from /ɯʒə-/ 'to see'

The colloquial equivalent of the phrase /es medəb/ is the verbal noun of the perfect ending in /-səŋ/ with the negative particle /gɯi/, e.g. /medəsəŋgɯi/ 'did not know'.

(4) /-ǰi/ or /-ǰ/ on stems ending in a vowel or /l/, and /-čĭ/ or /-č/ on stems ending in /g d s b r/, forms the so-called past tense of the imperfect, which denotes an action that took place in the past and lasted for some time. In emphatic speech, the suffix is /-ǰee -čee/. It occurs with the negative particles /es/ and /ɯl/, and with the interrogative particle /ɯɯ/.

/ɯrgəlǰi ɯndəs tɯɯǰi/ 'all the time he collected [edible] roots', from /tɯɯ-/ 'to collect'

/tiim saeŋ xɯɯ baeǰee/ 'there was such a good lad', from /bae-/ 'to be'

/nar garčĭ/ 'the sun rose', lit. 'came out', from /gar-/ 'to come out'

/bi čamaeg xɯleen geǰɯɯ/ 'do you mean I am going to wait for you?', lit. 'didst thou say I would wait for thee?', from /ge-/ 'to say'

/es bolǰee/ 'he did not agree', from /bol-/ 'to agree'

The colloquial equivalent of the phrase /es bolǰee/ is the verbal noun of the perfect ending in /-səŋ/ (see 3.433) with the negative particle /gwi/, e.g. /bolsəŋgwi/ 'he did not agree'.

3.433. Verbal nouns

Verbal nouns can be derived from all verbs. They possess all features of both nouns and verbs, and may occur with gerunds, whereas the nouns derived from verbs (see 3.313) do not, e.g. /suuǰ uŋšisəŋ/ 'he who read while sitting', i.e. the gerund /suuǰ/ 'sitting' and the verbal noun /uŋšisəŋ/ 'the one who read' (cf. /uŋšilgə/ 'reading', which cannot be preceded by a gerund).

Verbal nouns can be declined and take the plural and possessive suffixes. They function as subjects and predicates of clauses. As predicates, they function as finite verbs, and may occur with the preverbal negative particles /es/ and /ɯl/, or with the negative particle /gwi/ which is added to nouns. They also take the interrogative particles /ɯɯ/ and /bə/ ~ /b/; see 3.291.

(1) /-gči/ forms the verbal noun of the actor. It functions as a noun or adjective or verb. As a noun, it is declinable, takes the plural suffix /+d/, and the possessive suffixes. As a verb, it takes the negative particle /es/.

/yabəgči/ 'goer, going'

/uŋšigči/ 'reader, reading'

/erxəm uŋšigči/ 'esteemed reader!'

/erxəm uŋšigčid/ 'esteemed readers!'

/uŋšigči xɯɯxəŋ/ 'the reading girl, the girl who reads'

/temtərč sudləgči/ 'one who examines by groping', from /sudlə-/ 'to examine'

/taanər tusləgči baetəgae namaeg xuurdəg imaa/ 'you are not only not helping but you always deceive me!', from /tuslə-/ 'to help'

/es medəgči bolbə/ 'he pretended not to know', lit. 'he became a not-knowing-one'

(2) /-ee/, after geminate vowel phonemes or diphthongs /-gee/, forms the noun of the imperfect, which functions as a noun, adjective, or verb, denoting actions that began in the past and are still continuing at the time of speaking.

/gəexəǰ sonirxəǰ suugaan čǐ bidə xoyər/ 'those who sit, marvelling and interested, are the two of us', lit. 'marvelling and being interested the sitting ones are thou, we, two', from /suu-/ 'to sit' with the possessive suffix /+n/ of the third person.

/ardəčin yabaa bɯsgɯi/ 'the woman walking behind thee'

/minii xɯɯ cerəgtə dargaar baegaa/ 'my son has been an officer in the army', lit. 'my son has been in the capacity of an officer in the army'

/ta xaraa biiʒə/ 'you have probably seen', from /xarə-/ 'to see'

/galtə ireeyɯɯ/ 'has Galta come?'

/čǐ xaečiǰ yabaabə/ 'where art thou going?', from /yabə-/ 'to walk, to go' with the interrogative particle /bə/

/galtə ireegɯi/ 'Galta has not come'

(3) /-səŋ/ (stem /-sən+/) forms the verbal noun of the perfect, which denotes completed (finished) actions that took place in the past. It functions as subject, predicate, attribute, and, with case suffixes, as complement. As a predicate, with or without a copula, it functions as the past tense, and in Colloquial Khalkha, it is preferred to the past tense in /-bə/.

/yabəsənin irlee/ 'he who was gone has come', lit. 'the gone one has come'

/yabəsəd irlee/ 'those who had gone have come' (plural of /yabəsəŋ/)

/martəsənəiig sanuulxə/ 'to remind of what has been forgotten', acc. of /martəsəŋ/ 'the forgotten one', from /martə-/ 'to forget'

/uulʒəsəŋ nəxər/ 'the comrade who has been met', from /uulʒə-/ 'to meet'

/cərəŋ ičisəndee uilsəŋ/ 'when he was ashamed, Tseren cried', lit. 'in his own being ashamed, Tseren cried', from /ičі-/ 'to be ashamed', dat.-loc. with the reflexive possessive suffix

/batə surguuliaa təgəssəŋ/ 'Bata has graduated from school', from /təgəs-/ 'to finish, to complete'

/batə irsəŋgwi/ 'Bata did not come'

/batə irsəŋgwyuwu/ 'didn't Bata come?'

/batə xeʒee irsəmbə/ 'when did Bata come?', from /irsəŋ/ plus /bə/

(4) /-dəg/ forms a verbal noun indicating a habitually or frequently performed action. It functions as subject, predicate, attribute, and complement.

/eejiiŋ xeldəg ʒəb dəə/ 'what mother usually says is, indeed, true'

/xeldəg gurbə, xiidəg gancə/ 'those who talk all the time are three [but] he who [really] does [something] is only one', lit. 'constant talkers are three, and doer is only one', from /xel-/ 'to say, speak, talk' and /xii-/ 'to do'

/duuun sonsədəg/ 'his younger brother always listens', from /sonsə-/ 'to listen'

/činii abčirdəgiig bi abənə šuuu/ 'I certainly take what you always bring', lit. 'don't I take thy always brought?', from /abčir-/ 'to bring'

/altəŋ gurgəldae alinaasč iluuu doŋgədədəg/ 'the nightingale usually sings better than anything', from /doŋgədə-/ 'to twitter, to sing'

/taanərəiiŋ sedxəl amərdəguu/ 'is your mind usually at peace?', from /amər-/ 'to be peaceful, to be at peace'

(5) /-xə/ forms a verbal noun which denotes an action which will be performed in the future. It functions as any

member of a clause. As a predicate, with the negative particle /gɯi/, it is the negative counterpart of the present tense. This verbal noun is often translated as an infinitive, and in most dictionaries the verbs are given in this form.

/nar garxə oertəbə/ 'sunrise was near', lit. 'the sun's coming out approached'

/irxə ǰil/ 'next year', lit. 'the year which will come'

/batə udəxəgɯi irxə yɯm/ 'Bata will come soon', lit. 'Bata will come without being late', from /udə-/ 'to last long, to be late' and /ir-/ 'to come' with the copula /yɯm/

/bucəxəiig yaarnə/ '[he] hurries to go back', from /bucə-/ 'to return, to go back' with the acc. suffix.

/bi irxəgɯi/ 'I shall not come'

3.434. Gerunds

Gerunds (or converbs) function as verbal modifiers or adverbial complements, and denote actions which accompany the action of the main verb, or the circumstances under which the action of the finite verb takes place. Some gerunds occur with the negative particle /es/ or /ɯl/, but most of them do not occur with negative particles at all: instead, special phrases are used (see 3.4341). Some gerunds take the possessive suffixes and the short genitive forms of the pronouns, and some occur with the interrogative particle /ɯɯ/.

(1) /-ŋ/ forms the so-called modal gerund. When immediately preceding the main verb, it indicates the manner in which the main action is carried out, e.g. /nisəŋ ir-/ 'to fly to', lit. 'to come flying'; /bi xaš̌xirəŋ xelbə/ 'I shouted [to him the following words]', lit. 'I said shouting', from /xaš̌xirə-/ 'to shout'.

When separated from the main verb by other words, this gerund expresses an action simultaneous with that of the main

verb, e.g. /tɯɯnii uur xilən ɯrgəlǰi badərəŋ durgɯicəxən uləm neməgdəsəŋ/ 'his anger constantly growing, his dislike grew still more', from /badərə-/ 'to grow, to expand'.

When repeated, this gerund expresses a frequently repeated action, e.g. /xarəŋ xarəŋ uiləne/ 'he weeps, glancing all the time [at him]', lit. 'looking looking, weeps', from /xarə-/ 'to look'.

(2) /-ǰi/ or /-ǰ/ after a stem-final vowel or /l/, /-čі/ or /-č/ after a stem-final /g d b s r/, forms the imperfect gerund, otherwise called the gerund of the simultaneous action, which expresses an action that takes place simultaneously with the action of the main verb.

/nar xelbiiǰ oroeŋ serɯɯŋ amisgəl orəbə/ 'the sun sinking, the evening's cool breeze began', from /xelbii-/ 'to incline'

/moritoe xɯŋ irǰ buubə/ 'a horseman came and dismounted', lit. 'coming, dismounted'

The imperfect gerund functions also as a verbal complement in expressions such as /nom ɯʒəǰ exəlsəŋ/ 'he began to read', from /ɯʒə-/ 'to read'; /uŋšiǰi čadənə/ 'he can read', from /uŋši-/ 'to read'; /uŋšiǰi sursəŋ/ 'he learned to read'.

The imperfect gerund followed by /baenə/ 'is' functions as the English progressive present, e.g. /uŋšiǰi baenə/ 'is reading'.

(3) /-eed/, after geminate vowels or diphthongs /-geed/, forms the gerund of the perfect, which denotes an action which precedes, in time, that of the main verb. It occurs with the negative particle /es/, and with the interrogative particle /ɯɯ/.

/iŋgəǰ asuugaad xəmsəgəə atiruulbə/ 'having asked so, he frowned', from /asuu-/ 'to ask'

/iŋgəǰi ʒogsooduu/ 'having thus stopped?', from /ʒogsə-/ 'to stop'

/es olood gaexəsaar baeb/ 'not having found [it], he stood wondering', from /ol-/ 'to find'

/ǰabər namdaad cas orǰ exələb/ 'the wind having decreased, snow began to fall', from /namdə-/ 'to decrease, to fall, to become low'

/saeŋ yabaad ireeree/ 'have a nice trip and come [back well]!', lit. 'having gone well, come [back]!'

(4) /-bəl/ forms the conditional gerund, which denotes an action which constitutes the condition for another action. This gerund occurs with the negative particle /es/.

Colloquial Khalkha prefers, however, a phrase consisting of a verbal noun and the conditional gerund of /bol-/ 'to become', i.e. /bolbəl/, which is often shortened to /bol/ or /bəl/.

/uul xerəb daerəldəbəl dabaad bidə garnə/ 'if a mountain is encountered, we will go across it', lit. 'if a mountain is met, we, having gone over [it], shall come out', from /daerəldə-/ 'to meet each other, to run across each other'

/bodəbəl tarni uŋšiǰ baexə bolәltoe/ 'if one thinks [about it], he seems to be reading a magic formula', from /bodə-/ 'to think'

/bidə :oglәŋ asuubəl dulmaa xelsənin/ '[this is] what Dulmaa said when we asked [her] jokingly]', from /asuu-/ 'to ask'

/axəčin əčigdər irsəŋ bol/ 'if your elder brother came yesterday ...'

/či margaadər irxə bol/ 'if thou comest tomorrow ...'

/ta es irəbəl/ 'if you do not come ...'

/ta irxəgwi bolbəl/ or /ta irxəgwi bol/ 'if you do not come ...'

(5) /-bəč/ forms the concessive gerund, which denotes an action in spite of which another action takes place (or does not take place). Colloquial Khalkha prefers, however, a verbal noun with the particle /č/, see 3.293.

/batə irbəč cecegee yabənə/ 'although Bata comes, Tsetsegei goes'

/əndər uulən+deerees širtəbəč xoləiiŋ b^raa xarəgdəxgɯi/ 'although one looks attentively from the top of a high mountain, the outlines of distant [objects] are not seen', from /širtə-/ 'to fix one's gaze on something'

/yaaǰ bodəbəč neriin oləx yɯm biš/ 'no matter how [much] I think, [I] cannot remember his name', from /bodə-/ 'to think'

/irsənč tusgɯi baenə/ 'although he has come, it is of no use'

(6) /-seer/ forms the so-called abtemporal gerund, which denotes an action since the time of which another action has taken place, or a continuous and lasting action.

/xuučiŋ xɯɯ xul morin+deer xəndləŋ suuǰ xatiruulsaar xɯrč irbə/ 'Khuuchin Khuu, sitting on a bay horse, arrived, while continuously making [his horse] trot', from /xatiruul-/ 'to cause to trot'

/xoosəŋ xubiŋgaa xaŋginuulsaar orǰ irbə/ 'he entered while clanking his empty bucket', from /xaŋginuul-/ 'to clank, to cause to make noise'

/bi irseer gurbə xonəǰ baenə/ 'it is three days since I came', lit. 'I am spending three days and nights since I came'

(7) /-xleer/ forms the successive gerund, which denotes an action which is followed immediately by another action. This gerund occurs with the possessive suffixes and the short genitive forms of the pronouns.

/yabəxlaaraa xeleeree/ 'as soon as you go, tell [about it]!', from /yabə-/ 'to go', with the reflexive possessive suffix

/irxleerčin uulʒənə/ 'as soon as thou comest, [we] shall meet', from /ir-/ 'to come', with /čin/ 'thy'

(8) /-məgcə/ forms the so-called contemporal gerund, which denotes an action which is immediately joined by the action of the main verb. This gerund occurs with the possessive suffixes and the short genitive forms of the pronouns.

/čuluuŋ nom uŋšiməgcaa bɯxə yuməiig martədəg baeǰee/ 'Chuluun used to forget everything the moment he read the book', from /uŋši-/ 'to read', with the reflexive possessive suffix

/bi očiməgcoo čamdə ʒaxiaa bičinə/ 'I shall write thee a letter the moment I go', from /oči-/ 'to go away', with the reflexive possessive suffix

/duu exəlməgcəmin či dagəǰ duulaarae/ 'the moment I start singing, thou sing also!', lit. 'the moment I begin the song, thou sing following [me]!', from /exəl-/ 'to begin'

(9) /-təl/, in dialects also /-tər/, forms the so-called terminal gerund, which denotes an action until which that of the main verb lasts, or an action which is the measure of that of the main verb, or an action during which that of the main verb takes place. This gerund occurs with the possessive suffixes and the short genitive forms of the pronouns.

/namaeg irtəl xɯleeǰ bae/ 'wait until I come!'

/batə xinoo ɯʒətəlee xičeel dabtəǰ suuǰee/ 'Bata sat repeating his home work until he saw the movie', from /ɯʒə-/ 'to see', with the reflexive possessive suffix

/surguuli cuglətəl xədəə amərč baegaa/ 'he is resting in the countryside until school starts', from /cuglə-/ 'to assemble'

/xuurae modəiig xugərtəl ʒodood baeǰee/ 'they beat him so that the dry stick broke', from /xugər-/ 'to break'

/guaanʒəndə orood negə suudəl olood suutəl xool ʒəəgči irlee/ '[we] entered the restaurant and found a seat, and while [we] sat the waiter came', from /suu-/ 'to sit'

The terminal gerund with the ablative case has a concessive meaning.

/saeŋ xɯŋ baetəlaas sanaa ɯgɯi/ 'although [you] are a fine man, [you] are thoughtless'

(10) /-ŋgee/ forms a gerund which denotes an action performed in passing, so to speak, and requiring no special effort or time for its performance.

/čǐ xotə orəŋgoo manae dɯɯgiiŋxeer orood ireeree/ 'come [back] having called, on your way to town, on our younger brother!', lit. 'entering the town, come [back] having called on our younger brother!', from /or-/ 'to enter'

3.4341. In Colloquial Khalkha, and in some other dialects, the gerunds do not occur with the negative particles. Instead, special phrases are used which consist of the verb /bae-/ (in some cases /bol-/) in the gerund form in question preceded by a verbal noun (usually in /-xə/ or /-səŋ/) with the negative particle, e.g. /yabəxəgɯi baeǰi/ 'not going'.

Following are the gerunds and the corresponding negative forms:

(1) Modal /-ŋ/ : /yabəŋ/ 'walking' : /yabəlgɯi/ 'not walking'

(2) Imperfect /-ǰ/ : /yabəǰ/ 'walking' : /yabəxəgɯi baeǰ/ 'not walking'

(3) Perfect /-eed/ : /yabaad/ 'having walked' : /yabəxəgɯi baegaad/ 'having not walked'

(4) Conditional /-bəl/ : /yabəbəl/ 'if he goes' : /yabəxəgɯi bol/ 'if he does not go'

(5) Concessive /-bəč/ : /yabəbəč/ 'although he goes' : /yabəxəgɯi bolbəč/ 'although he does not go'

(6) Abtemporal /-seer/ : /yabəsaar/ 'since he went' : /yabəxəgɯi bolsoor/ 'since he did not go'

(7) Successive /-xleer/ : /yabəxlaar/ 'as soon as he went' : /yabəxəgɯi bolxəloor/ 'as soon as he did not go'

(8) Contemporal /-məgcə/ : /yabəməgcə/ 'the moment he went' : /yabəxəgɯi bolməgcə/ 'the moment he would not go'

(9) Terminal /-təl/ : /yabətəl/ 'until he went' :
/yabaxəgwi baetəl/ 'until he did not go'

(10) The gerund in /-ŋgee/ does not occur in negative phrases.

3.5. Select bibliography

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4. SYNTAX

4.1. Phrase-structure

4.10. Phrase

A phrase is a group of words which constitutes a part of a clause and functions as a given word-category. Thus, in the clause /xɯŋ bɯr saeŋ aǰilləxə xerəgtee/ 'everybody must work well' the word groups /xɯŋ bɯr/ 'everybody' (lit. 'every person'), /aǰilləxə xerəgtee/ 'must work' (lit. 'with the working necessity'), and /saeŋ aǰilləxə/ 'well working', are phrases.

The head of a phrase may be a single word or another phrase.

There are two types of phrases, namely, co-ordinate phrases and contrastive phrases.

4.101. Co-ordinate phrases

Co-ordinate phrases have two or more heads of like function. Declension suffixes are normally added only to the last head, e.g. /modə čuluugaar/ 'by means of wood and stone'. In cases in which the heads are compound nouns, a declension suffix is added to each head, e.g. /aabiǰiidee axədɯɯnərtee/ 'to his own parents (lit. 'father, mother') [and] to his own brothers (lit. 'to his own elder, younger brothers')'.

Co-ordinate phrases are of two types, namely, without conjunctions and with conjunctions.

4.1011. Co-ordinate phrases without conjunctions consist of two or more heads juxtaposed, e.g. /aǰilčiŋ oyuutəŋ bagšinər bɯgədeeree sanəl negətee demǰiǰ baenə/ 'the workers, the students, the teachers, all of them are helping unanimously'.

4.1012. Co-ordinate phrases with conjunctions are of two types.

(1) Phrases consisting of two or more heads, the last of which is preceded by a conjunction, e.g. /xoni ba yamaanəii noos/ 'wool of sheep and goats'; /albəŋ wiləbəriiŋ boləŋ xədəlmərčidiiŋ orəŋ baerəiiŋ ariuuŋ cebəriig saeǰiruulxə/ 'to improve the cleanness and tidiness of state-owned industrial buildings and of workers' living quarters'.

(2) Phrases consisting of two or more heads, the last of which is followed by a summarizing numeral indicating the total number of objects in question, the numeral also taking the declensional suffix, e.g. /xoni yamaa xoyər/ 'the sheep and the goat' (lit. 'sheep, goat, two'); /tuulae tələg čonə gurbəiig/ 'the hare, the lamb, and the wolf' (lit. 'the hare, lamb, wolf, three').

4.102. Contrastive phrases

Contrastive phrases consist of two heads, the second of which is preceded by a contrastive conjunction, e.g. /čonə biši xariŋ negə noxoe/ 'not a wolf but a dog'.

A contrastive conjunction may be omitted when the first head is followed by the negative particle /biši/, e.g. /saeŋ biši muu/ 'not good [but] bad'.

4.11. Nominal phrases

Nominal phrases have as their head a noun or any word that functions as a noun.

4.111. Attribute + head

(1) Nouns may act as attributes, either functioning as adjectives or denoting a measure. Proper names act as attributes of names of professions, rivers, cities, etc.

/xuuuxəŋ duuu/ 'younger sister': /xuuuxəŋ/ 'girl',
/duuu/ 'younger sibling'

/arbəŋ xəxuuur arxi/ 'ten wineskins of liquor':

/arbəŋ/ 'ten', /xəxɯɯr/ 'wineskin', /arxi/ 'alcohol or kind of vodka made of milk'

/ulaambaatər xotə/ 'the city of Ulan Bator'

/orxəŋ mərəŋ/ 'the Orkhon River'

/xɯŋ bɯgədə/ 'all people': /xɯŋ/ 'man, person', /bɯgədə/ 'total number'

An attribute in the genitive denotes the possessor of something or an object to which something belongs.

/bagšiiŋ nom/ 'the book of the teacher': /bagšiiŋ/ gen. of /bagši/ 'teacher'

/aabəiiŋ ger/ 'the yurt of the father': /aabəiiŋ/ gen. of /aabə/ 'father'

/gobiiŋ čonə/ 'a Gobi wolf': /gobiiŋ/ gen. of /gobi/ 'sandy steppe with sparse vegetation'

/tɯiməriiŋ utaa/ 'the smoke of the fire': /tɯiməriiŋ/ gen. of /tɯimər/ 'fire, conflagration'

/uliaastaeŋ gol/ 'the Uliasutai River'

/beejiŋgiiŋ xotə/ 'the city of Peking': /beejiŋ+/ 'Peking'

(2) The attribute is an adjective or a word functioning as an adjective. The adjective may be an interrogative adjective, a numeral, or an adjective denoting a quantity.

/yamər xɯŋ/ 'what kind of a person?': /yamər/ 'what, what kind of'

/saeŋ mori/ 'a good horse': /saeŋ/ 'good'

/gurbəŋ xɯŋ/ 'three persons': /gurbəŋ/ 'three'

/oləŋ xɯŋ/ 'many persons': /oləŋ/ 'many'

(3) The attribute is a demonstrative pronoun. A plural demonstrative pronoun may refer to a singular noun, in which event the noun has the meaning of a plural.

/edə nəxəd/ 'these comrades': /edə/ 'these'

/edəgeer nomәiig uŋšibə/ '[he] read these books': /edəgeer/ 'these', /nomәiig/ acc. of /nom/ 'book'

(4) The attribute may be a verbal noun which functions as an adjective.

/irəsəŋ xuŋ/ 'a person who has come'

/irəxə ǰil/ 'the coming year'

/uxəsəŋ xuŋ/ 'a dead person': /uxəsəŋ/ 'who has died', from /uxə-/ 'to die'

A. The verbal noun may be preceded by a gerund or a complement.

/uŋšiǰ suusəŋ xuŋ/ 'a person who was sitting and reading' (lit. 'a person who sat reading')

/xool beləḍxəsəŋ xuŋ/ 'a person who has prepared food': /beləḍxəsəŋ/, from /beləḍxə-/ 'to prepare'

/gertə orəsəŋ xuŋ/ 'a person who entered the yurt': /orəsəŋ/, from /orə-/ 'to enter'; /gertə/ dat. of /ger/ 'yurt'

B. The actor of a verbal noun of an intransitive verb is usually in the subject-direct object form.

/xuŋ suusəŋ gaẓər/ 'a place where a person sat' (lit. 'a person-having-sat place')

C. The actor of a verbal noun of a transitive verb is usually in the genitive form.

/bagšiiŋ biči səŋ ẓaxidal/ 'a letter written by the teacher'

/minii acərsəŋ nom/ 'a book brought by me': /acərsəŋ/ 'brought' from /acər-/ 'to bring'

D. A special case is an adjectival phrase consisting of a noun, usually with the possessive suffix of the third person, and an adjective (or verbal noun). Considered separately, the phrase is a clause in which the noun is the subject and the adjective (or verbal noun) is the predicate.

/deelən tos bolsəŋ xuŋ/ 'a man whose coat was soiled with grease' (lit. 'a his-coat-has-become-grease man')

4.112. Several attributes

A noun may have more than one attribute, in which case they occur in the following order:

(1) The adjective is closest to the head, the numeral preceding it, e.g. /gurbəŋ xarə mori/ 'three black horses'.

(2) A demonstrative pronoun usually precedes all the other attributes, e.g. /terə soniŋ nom/ 'that interesting book'.

(3) Words indicating permanent characteristics of an object are closest to the head, e.g. /xəgšiŋ xarə mori/ 'the old black horse'; /ulaaŋ modəŋ baešiŋ/ 'a red wooden house'; /ulaaŋ torgəŋ deel/ 'a red silken coat'.

(4) A genitive attribute usually precedes the other attributes, e.g. /aabəiiŋ šinə nom/ 'the new book of the father'; /aabəiiŋ gurbəŋ xarə mori/ 'three black horses of the father'.

(5) Sometimes a numeral may precede the genitive attribute even though it refers to the head, e.g. /tümən narnəii tuyaa/ 'ten thousands of sunbeams'.

4.12. Adjectival phrases

(1) The head is an adjective, and when substantivized has the possessive suffix of the third person. The attribute is a noun in the genitive. Such phrases function as superlatives.

/ünəgənii ulaaŋ/ 'the reddest of foxes' (lit. 'of the fox[es] red': /ünəgən+/ 'fox', /ulaaŋ/ 'red')

/eriiŋ saeŋ/ 'the best of the men': /eriiŋ/ gen. of /erə/ 'man', /saeŋ/ 'good'

/xamgiiŋ saenin/ 'the best of all': /xamgiiŋ/ gen. of /xaməg/ 'all', /saen+/ 'good', with the poss. suff.

(2) An adjective preceded by a noun in the ablative has the meaning of the comparative.

/temeenees ender/ 'higher than a camel': /temeenees/ abl. of /temeen+/ 'camel'

/altənaas ünətee/ 'more expensive than gold': /altənaas/ abl. of /altən+/ 'gold', /ünətee/ 'dear, expensive'

(3) An adjective may be preceded by the nominative form of a noun, which in its turn is preceded by a numeral.

/gurbəŋ aldə urtə/ 'three fathoms long': /aldə/ 'fathom', /urtə/ 'long'

(4) An adjective may be preceded by another adjective or a word which functions as an adjective. In such phrases the first adjective modifies the second adjective.

/ulaaŋ ʒeerdə/ 'red chestnut-colored': /ulaaŋ/ 'red', /ʒeerdə/ 'chestnut' (horse)

/xeer baraaŋ/ 'dark bay': /xeer/ 'bay', /baraan/ 'dark'

(5) An adjective may be preceded by an adverb or a word which functions adverbially.

/maši saeŋ/ 'very good'

/malaar bayəŋ/ 'rich in cattle': /malaar/ instr. of /mal/ 'cattle'

/moŋgəl xeləndə saeŋ/ 'good in the Mongolian language', i.e. knowing Mongolian well: /xeləndə/ dat. of /xelən+/ ~ /xel+/ 'language'

4.13. Adverbial phrases

A noun in a case form other than the subject-direct object form may function adverbially.

An adverb may function as attribute, and an adverb may also have an attribute.

(1) Adverb as attribute, e.g. /maši saeŋ/ 'very good'; /dendɯɯ xolə/ 'too far'.

(2) Adjective functioning adverbially, e.g. /yixə saeŋ/ 'very good': /yixə/ 'great, large', /saeŋ/ 'good'.

(3) Adverb with a pronoun as attribute, e.g. /manae endə/ 'here at us' (lit. 'our here').

4.14. Postpositional phrases

(1) A noun, pronoun, or another substantivized part of speech with a postposition, e.g. /ajilәiiŋ tul/ 'because of work'; /surguuliiŋ tuxae/ 'about the school'; /tɯɯnii tәlөө/ 'for the sake of that'; /irsənii tul/ 'because of coming', a verbal noun with a postposition.

(2) The same parts of speech followed by a noun functioning as a postposition, e.g. /geriiŋ xajuudə/ 'by the yurt': /xajuudə/ dat. of /xaj̆uu/ 'side'.

(3) An adverb followed by a postposition, e.g. /endə xɯrtəl/ 'until here'.

4.15. Verbal phrases

Verbal phrases consist of a verb preceded by one or more complements.

4.151. Equational complement

(1) The equational complement is a noun, pronoun, or adjective in the subject-direct object form, followed by a copula which may, however, be omitted.

The copula is a finite form of the verbs /bae-/ 'to be' and /bol-/ 'to become', or /yum/ 'is' or /mən/ 'is indeed' (in emphatic speech).

/enə nom soniŋ baenə/ 'this book is interesting'
/dorǰi bagši baesəŋ/ 'Dorji was a teacher'
/bi bagši baenə/ 'I am a teacher'
/manae xɯɯ bagši bolnə/ 'our son will become a teacher'
/enə xerəg xecɯɯ yum/ 'this affair is difficult'
/terə saeŋ yum+seŋ/ 'that was good'
/dorǰi manae erxələgči məŋ/ 'Dorji is indeed our manager'
/dorǰi saeŋ erxələgči məŋ/ 'Dorji is indeed a good manager'

(2) The equational complement is a noun or pronoun in the genitive. Such verbal phrases indicate that the subject belongs to what is denoted by the equational complement, e.g. /terə nom minii baenə/ 'that book is mine'.

4.152. Direct object complement

The direct object is a noun, pronoun, or any substantivized part of speech, including verbal nouns. The direct object complement indicates the goal of an action, i.e. an object directly affected by the action. The complement is either a subject-direct object form or an accusative form.

SYNTAX

(1) Pronouns, substantivized adjectives, numerals, verbal nouns, and phrases are always accusative forms (with or without a possessive suffix or a short genitive form of a personal pronoun).

/namaeg duudəsəŋ/ '[he] called me'

/xedəŋ saenəiig ɯldeed abči/ 'he spared several good ones and took [them]'

/arbəiig neməsəŋ/ '[he] added ten'

/gurbuuləiig duudəsəŋ/ 'he called all three of them'

/suuǰ baexəiig ɯʒəbə/ 'he saw the sitting one'

/tɯɯniig suuǰ baexəiig ɯʒəbə/ 'he saw him sit'

(2) Proper nouns and nouns denoting people always appear in the accusative, e.g. /dorǰiig duudə/ 'call Dorji!'; /bagšiig ʒaləbə/ 'he invited the teacher'.

(3) Nouns having a possessive attribute (genitive of a personal pronoun or noun denoting a person), nouns with a possessive suffix, or nouns followed by a short genitive form of a personal pronoun are always in the accusative form.

/moriičin unəlaa/ '[he] rode thy horse'

/bi axəiiŋxaa xaalgəiig ʒasəbə/ 'I have repaired my elder brother's gate'

/bi xaalgəiin ʒasəbə/ 'I have repaired his gate'

/bi činii moriig unəyaa/ 'let me ride thy horse'

(4) All other nouns appear in the subject-direct object form when immediately followed by the governing verb. When separated by other words from the verb, they appear in the accusative form.

/ʒurəg ʒurəbə/ '[he] painted a picture'

/ʒurəgiig urəŋ ʒurəgči čoedəg ʒurǰee/ 'the painter Choidog painted the picture'

/šinə barilgə baribə/ '[he] built a new building'

/šinə barilgəiig nutəgiiŋ arəduud baribə/ 'the local people built a new building'

4.153. Adverbial complement

Adverbs, adjectives, numerals, nouns and pronouns in various case forms (including the subject-direct object form), nouns or pronouns with a postposition, verbal noun phrases, gerunds, and gerundial phrases may act as adverbial complements.

(1) Adverb with or without a possessive suffix, e.g. /gentə toxiooldəbə/ '[it] happened suddenly'; /xugə coxibə/ '[he] broke [it] in two'; /urəgšaa yabəbə/ '[he] went forward': /urəgši/ 'forward', with the reflexive possessive suffix; /xoešin tabi/ 'put it in the back!': /xoeši/ 'backwards', with the possessive suffix of the third person.

(2) Adjective, e.g. /saeŋ medənə/ '[he] knows well'; /erteer bosəbə/ '[he] rose early': /erteer/ instr. of /ertə/ 'early'.

(3) Numeral, e.g. /gurbə balgəǰi/ '[he] gulped down three times': /gurbə/ 'three'.

(4) Noun or pronoun, e.g. /gurbəŋ udaa irəbə/ '[he] came three times'; /ta xotə ornuu/ 'will you enter town?'; /morioor irəbə/ '[he] came by horse'; /irxə ǰildə irənə/ '[he] will come next year'; /tɯɯgeer yɯɯxiixəbə/ 'what do [they] do with that?], instr. of /terə/ 'that'; /ta dorǰišig xičeelee dabtəǰ bae/ '(you) repeat your lesson like Dorji!'; /činii tul iim xerəg xiibə/ '[he] did such a thing because of thee'.

(5) Verbal noun phrase. The verbal noun usually takes a personal possessive suffix (when the actor of the phrase is different from the subject of the clause) or a reflexive possessive suffix (when the actor of the phrase is identical with the subject of the clause). When the actor of a verbal phrase is different from the subject of the clause, the word denoting the actor is usually in the genitive or the accusative.

/sɯndəryaagiiŋ yarixədə sɯrəŋ uləm bayərləŋ asuubə/ 'when Sunderyaa talked, Suren asked still more happily' (the actor is in the genitive); /sɯndəryaag xoninəiixoo xoenoos yabəxədə sɯrəŋ bucəǰee/ 'when Sunderyaa went after her sheep, Suren went back'

/arbəŋ modəiig sɯxeer coxixədə ʒuuŋ modə gaʒəraas urgənə/ 'when he cuts with the ax ten trees, [another] one hundred trees grow from the ground'

/morioo unaad dabxixədə manae cog ʒali sergənə/ 'when [we] gallop, riding our horses, our grandeur awakens'

(6) Gerund with or without a negative particle, e.g. /unšiǰ suunə/ '[he] sits reading'; /nisəŋ irəbə/ '[he] came flying'; /es medəǰ orəbə/ 'not knowing (or unknowingly), [he] entered'.

(7) Gerund with a preceding verbal noun and negative particle, e.g. /yabəxəgɯi baeǰ nileeŋ udəsəŋ/ 'not going, he lingered [there] considerably'.

(8) Gerundial phrases, except for the gerunds ending in /-ǰ/, /-ŋ/, and /-eed/, when the actor is different from the subject of the clause, have the actor in the accusative or genitive form. Some gerunds take the possessive suffixes and the short genitive forms of personal pronouns. When the actor of the gerundial phrase is identical with the subject of the clause, the gerund takes the reflexive possessive suffix. In cases in which the actor of the gerundial phrase is different from the subject of the clause, the gerund takes the personal possessive suffix of the third person or a short genitive form of a personal pronoun.

/tɯmən sɯrəg bilčiǰ aeluudəiiŋ gerees utaa manərnə/ 'ten thousands of herds grazing, smoke rises from the yurts of the neighborhood'

/xoosəŋ xubiŋgaa xaŋginuulsaar orǰ irəbə/ 'he entered while rattling his empty bucket'

/ecəgiini irətəl xɯleeǰ bolxgɯyɯɯ/ 'is it not possible to wait until his father comes?'

/čamaeg amidə yabəbəl negə učir bii/ 'there is a reason [for it] if you are [still] alive'

/yabəxlaaraa xeleeree/ 'tell [him] as soon as you go!'

/uŋšixlaarin sonsooroe/ 'listen the moment he starts reading!'

4.2. Clause-structure

4.20. Clause

A clause may consist of one or more words or phrases, e.g. /suu/ 'sit down!'; /saeŋ yabaarae/ 'bon voyage!' (lit. 'go well!'); /ta bagši mənɯɯ/ 'are you the teacher?'. Mongolian does not have compound clauses of the English type. Clauses are classified as full or minor.

4.21. Full clauses

Full clauses have as their basic element the predicate, which may or may not have a subject, e.g. /irəyee/ '[I] will come'; /xɯŋ irəsəŋ/ 'somebody has come' (lit. 'a person has come').

4.211. The predicate

The predicate has as its center any of the following word-categories.

(1) A verb or equivalent phrase.

/ertə urdə negə tomə ʒaaŋ baeǰi/ 'once upon a time (lit. 'early and formerly') [there] was a large elephant'

/manae dɯɯ surguulidə ornə/ 'our younger brother will enter school'

/bayərtə xičeelee dabtəǰ baebə/ 'Bayarta was repeating his lesson'

(2) A noun, adjective, pronoun, or verbal noun.

A. With a copula:

/manae bagši terə baenə/ 'our teacher is that one'

/enə nom soniŋ yum/ 'this book is interesting'

/bayəŋ boldəiiŋ nasəɲ dečeed baenə/ 'Bayan Bolod's age is approximately forty'

/egəči yabəčisəŋ baelaa/ 'the elder sister was gone'

B. Without a copula:

/manae xɯɯ bagši/ 'our son [is] a teacher'

/manae bagši terə/ 'our teacher [is] that one'

/saeŋ xɯndə nəxər oləŋ/ 'a good person has many friends' (lit. 'to a good person, the friends [are] many')

/ečigdəriiŋ temceendə tɯrɯɯlsəŋ xɯŋ terə/ 'the man who was the first in yesterday's competition [is] he'

/bars enə ǰil naemətae/ 'this year Bars [will be] eight'

/enə noməiig bi xedəŋ ǰiliiŋ urdə uŋšisəŋ/ 'I read this book several years ago'

4.2111. A predicate is modified by an adverb, adjective, or gerund. A verbal predicate, including a verbal noun, is modified by a gerund. A noun functioning as a predicate is modified by an adjective. An adjective functioning as a predicate is modified by an adverb.

/manae xɯɯ saeŋ bagši baenə/ 'our son is a good teacher'

/enə ɲom maši soniŋ/ 'this book [is] very interesting'

/terə xɯŋ yariǰi suunə/ 'that man sits talking'

4.212. The subject

The subject is either a noun, a pronoun, a substantivized adjective, a numeral, a verbal noun, or a phrase. A personal or demonstrative pronoun functioning as subject is always in the nominative. All the other word-categories are in the subject-direct object form.

There are also special subject indicators, i.e. words which serve to emphasize the subject. The pause (||) after the word functioning as subject also serves as a subject indicator.

4.2121. Subject indicators

A noun, pronoun, and any other part of speech mentioned in 4.212 may have a special subject indicator which emphasizes the subject; cf. English I, for my part, ...

The subject indicators are always followed by a pause (||). The subject indicators are not obligatory when the subject is a

noun or a personal pronoun; in these cases the pause alone is sufficient to point out the subject. They are, however, often indispensable when the subject is an adjective, a demonstrative pronoun, a numeral, or a verbal noun.

The following are subject indicators.

(1) /bolbəl/ or /bol/, e.g. /enə bol || nom baenə/ 'this is a book'.

(2) /gegči/, e.g. /arəd+tɯmən gegči || tɯməniig bɯteegči xɯči bilee/ 'the people's masses (/arəd+tɯmən/) are a force of thousandfold creativity' (lit. 'a force that creates ten thousand').

(3) The possessive suffix of the third person, here deprived of its original function because the object in question is no one's possession, e.g. /ənderni || gučiŋ aldə/ 'its depth [is] thirty fathoms'; /abxən || bəxiidəg, əgəxən || gediidəg/ 'the one who takes usually bends forwards, the one who gives usually bends backwards'; /xoyərni || daxətae, xoyərni || daxəgɯi/ 'two of them [are] with fur coats, two of them [are] without fur coats' (a riddle which means the ears and horns of the cow); /sursənin || dalae, suraagɯini || balae/ 'the one who has learned [is] a sea, the one who did not learn [is] blind'.

(4) Short genitive forms of the personal pronouns, e.g. /tərə moritoe irdəgčin || xeŋ bee/ 'who is that comer-of-thine with the horse?'; /oləŋ čonə aləsəŋ aŋčinčin || ali bee/ 'which is thy hunter who has killed many wolves?'.

4.2122. The pause

The pause (||) is in many cases an indispensable mark of the subject. It always follows the subject indicator; the pause alone is, however, a sufficient subject indicator.

(1) After a noun immediately followed by another noun which is not the subject, e.g. /altə | məngənəəs ɯnətee baenə/ 'gold is more expensive (or valuable) than silver' (without a pause: /altə məngənəəs ɯnətee baenə/ '[it] is more expensive than gold and/or silver'); /aŋči || xɯnees asuuǰee/ 'the hunter

asked the man' (without a pause: /aŋči xɯnees asuǰee/ '[he] asked the hunter', lit. 'the hunter man'); /togoo ‖ cae čaɲəbə/ 'Togoo (a man's name) boiled tea' (without a pause: /togoo cae čanəbə/ '[he] boiled a kettle of tea' -- /togoo/ 'kettle' is also a personal name).

(2) After a demonstrative pronoun, e.g. /enə ‖ nom/ 'this [is] a book' (without a pause: /enə nom/ 'this book').

(3) After a substantivized adjective, e.g. /tɯrgəŋ ‖ tɯɯxii, udaaŋ ‖ daamae/ 'fast [is] raw, slow [is] solid' (the meaning of this saying is that things done in a hurry are of poor quality whereas things done slowly are good); /xarə ‖ cagaaŋ biši/ 'black [is] not white'; /ulaaŋ ‖ šarə biši/ 'red is not yellow' (without a pause: /ulaaŋ šarə biši/ '[it] is not reddish-yellow').

(4) After a numeral, e.g. /tabəŋ tabə ‖ xoriŋ tabə/ 'five times five [is] twenty-five'.

(5) After a verbal noun, e.g. /sursəŋ ‖ dalae, suraagɯi ‖ balae/ 'he who has learned [is] a sea, he who has not learned [is] blind'.

4.21221. The pause may be very short or even completely lacking only in a few cases.

(1) When the clause is very short and the subject (a noun) is immediately followed by a verbal predicate, e.g. /temee bilčiǰ yabənə/ 'a camel is grazing' (lit. 'walks grazing'); /ʒurəgčiŋ irəǰee/ 'the photographer has come'.

(2) After a personal pronoun, especially in short clauses and in cases in which the pronoun is immediately followed by the verb or an adverb, e.g. /ta xeʒee irsəŋ yum/ 'when did you come?'.

4.213. Agreement between the subject and predicate

The Mongolian verb has no personal endings: there is only one form for all three persons. The only verbal forms which refer to particular persons are the imperative forms.

(1) Imperative forms.

A. When the subject is a pronoun of the first person singular or plural, the verb is in the voluntative form, e.g. /bi odoo yabəyaa/ 'I shall now go!'; /bidə tanaedə margaadar irəyee/ 'we shall come to you tomorrow!'.

B. When the subject is a pronoun of the second person singular or plural, the verb is in the imperative, benedictive, precative, or imperative of the future, e.g. /či irə/ 'you come!', /ta irəgtəŋ/ 'you come, please!', /či ireeč/ 'oh, come (thou) for heaven's sake!', /ta ireet/ 'oh, come (you) for heaven's sake!', /ireeree/ 'come later!'.

C. When the subject is a pronoun of the third person, or a noun, the verb is in the imperative of the third person, e.g. /terə irəg/ 'let him come!', /surəgčid irəg/ 'may the students come!'.

(2) Noun functioning as predicate.

A. Agreement in number occurs when the subject is a plural, and the predicate denotes some category of people (e.g. vocation), e.g. /minii dɯɯnər || saeŋ surəgčid baenə/ 'my younger brothers are good students'.

B. Agreement in number occurs when there are two or more subjects and the predicate denotes a certain category of people, e.g. /dorǰi damdiŋ xoyər || oncə saeŋ surəgčid yum/ 'Dorji and Damdin (lit. 'Dorji, Damdin, two') are excellent students' (lit. 'are exclusively good students'); /dorǰi damdiŋ xoyər || emčid baenə/ 'Dorji and Damdin are physicians'.

C. There is no necessary agreement in case between the subject and predicate. A noun or pronoun functioning as a predicate may be in the subject-direct object case (or nominative) or genitive, e.g. /manae xɯɯ || bagši baenə/ 'our son is teacher' (the predicate is a subject-direct object form); /enə nom || minii baenə/ 'this book is mine' (the predicate is a genitive); /enə nom || dorǰiiŋ/ 'this book is Dorji's' (the predicate is a genitive).

4.214. Types of intonation and clause-structure

There are three main types of clause intonation in accordance with which clauses are classified. The three types are the falling, rising, and level intonation.

Falling intonation (¯_) is characteristic of declarative clauses. Rising intonation (_¯) is characteristic of interrogative clauses. Level intonation is characteristic of exclamatory clauses.

4.2141. Declarative clauses

The intonation is either falling or falling-level.

(1) Falling intonation. The pitch is higher at the beginning of the clause, and falls, on the stressed syllables of the successive words, to a lower point on the stressed syllable of the last word of the clause. This type of intonation indicates that the clause is the last in the sentence. It may be called the "period intonation". It is rendered as /./ in phonemic transcription.

¯_ /bucəǰ xoešoo xarxədə bogdəiiŋ xɯree ilxəŋ./ 'when one
¯_ turns back and looks, Bogdiin Khuree (former name of
¯_ Ulaanbaatar) is distinct[ly seen]'

¯_ ./neg xaanəii xɯɯxəŋ bišɯɯ terčin./ 'she is a khan's
¯_ daughter' (lit. 'is she not a khan's daughter?', a
¯ rhetorical question)

(2) Falling-level intonation. The pitch is higher at the beginning of the clause and falls but remains level. This type indicates that a further clause is to follow in the sentence. It may be called the "comma-intonation" and is rendered as /,/ in phonemic transcription.

¯_____ /bogdəiiŋ əndər uuləndə budəŋtae xurə tatənə,/ 'on the high Bogdo Uula (a mountain near Ulaanbaatar), rain with fog envelopes [everything]'.

This clause is the first part of a stanza of a poem. Its continuation is the clause given under (1). The whole stanza displays the following intonation pattern:

¯_ _ _ _ _/,/ ¯_ _ _ _ _ _/./

4.21411. The normal order of words is subject + predicate, e.g. /gɯilsə bol || negə ʑɯil ǰimis məŋ/ 'the Siberian apricot (Armeniaca Sibirica L. Lam.) is a fruit'. In careless speech, this order may be reversed:

¯ _ /asuuǰee maŋgəs/ 'the Mangus (a fabulous monster) asked'

4.21412. In negative clauses the word order and intonation type are the same as in declarative clauses.

4.2142. Interrogative clauses

The intonation is either rising or rising-falling.

(1) Rising intonation is characteristic of clauses in which the question concerns the predicate. Here, the predicate always takes the interrogative particle /ɯɯ/. In negative interrogative clauses the predicate takes the negative particle /gɯi/, to which the interrogative particle /ɯɯ/ is added, both particles usually merging to /gɯyɯɯ/. The intonation is rising, with the high pitch on the last stressed syllable.

_¯/bagši irsənɯɯ/ 'has the teacher come?'; /bagši irsəŋgɯyɯɯ/ 'has the teacher not come?'

(2) Rising-falling intonation is characteristic of clauses which contain an interrogative word, e.g. /xeŋ/ 'who?', /xaanə/ 'where?', etc. In such clauses the question does not refer to the predicate. A non-verbal predicate, i.e. a predicate which is a noun or a verbal noun, and has no copula, takes the particle /be/ when the predicate ends in a consonant, or /b/ when the predicate ends in a vowel. When used emphatically, /be/ becomes /bee/. Actually this /be/ or /b/ acts as a copula. In such clauses the pitch is high on the stressed syllable of the interrogative word and falls towards the predicate.

_ ‾ _ /tanaedə xeŋ irsəŋ+be/ 'who has come to you?'

_ ‾ – _/dorǰi yamər nom absəŋ+be/ 'what book has Dorji taken?'

4.2143. Exclamatory clauses

The pitch remains level on all stressed syllables, and the stress is stronger than usual.

– – – /čǐ bitəgii yabə/ 'do not go!'

– – – /yaasəŋ xaluuŋ yum bee/ 'what heat!'

The normal order, complement + predicate, may be reversed in exclamatory clauses, the emphasis being on the elements at the beginning, e.g.:

– – /ir naašaa/ 'come here!' (in normal speech /naašaa ir/)

– – /ab tɯɯniig/ 'take it!' (in normal speech /tɯɯniig ab/)

4.22. Minor clauses

Minor (or fragmentary) clauses are characteristic of dialogues. Considered separately, they are often meaningless, but they supplement each other in the dialogue, e.g. /xɯɯxədiiŋ naer || ənəə bilɯɯ || geǰi gombəruugaa xarəbə, gombən || xaanaas daa, margaaši biǰšɯɯ./ 'Is the children's festival today?,' thus asking, he looked in Gombo's direction. Gombo [answered], 'Where (did you get this information)? [It's] tomorrow, is'nt it?'; /gombə irsənɯɯ? ɯgɯi. xeẓee irxəb? nəgəədər./ 'Has Gombo come?--No.--When will he come?--The day after tomorrow'.

4.23. Combination of clauses

There are two types: co-ordinate and subordinate clauses.

4.231. Co-ordination

Mongolian has only clauses with one syntactical predicate and one or several gerundial phrases, but no co-ordinate clauses of the English or Latin type. The gerunds in question are the imperfect gerund, the modal gerund, or the perfect gerund.

/asər udəlgwi || šənə xetəreed || altəŋ nar || ʒwwŋ ʒwgees mandəǰi || alibaag giigwwleed || margaaši bolnə/ 'very soon night will be over, the golden sun will rise in the east and illuminate everything, and it will be tomorrow' (lit. 'night having gone beyond the limits (/xetər-/ 'to go beyond the limits'), the golden sun, rising from the eastern side, having illuminated everything, tomorrow becomes')

/xarəŋxui šənə əŋgərči || xar wwltə teŋgər || xayaanaasaa gegeerəbə/ 'dark night ended and the sky covered with black clouds brightened on the horizon' (lit. 'dark night ending, the sky with the black clouds brightened from its edge')

/terə ʒam || ulaaŋ narnəii urgəǰi gardəg ʒwwŋ ʒwg || ʒaxə xiaʒəgaargwi alsədə wrgəlǰiləŋ || wwnees əərə ʒam baetəgae || ǰimč wl wʒəgdənə/ 'that road continues in the limitless distance in the eastern direction where the red sun rises, [and] not only no road other than this but not even a trail is to be seen' (lit. 'that road continuing in the distance without edge or limit in the eastern direction where the red sun always rises, not only no road other than this but not even a trail is seen')

/teŋgəriiŋ odə || očišig gialəlʒaad, uul nuruug bwrxəsəŋ xuŋgər casənəii xasəiiŋ engə || twwnii gerəldə alməsəiiŋ adil gialtəgənə/ 'a star in the sky started glittering like a spark, and the jade-like color of the snow-drifts which had covered the mountain range gleamed in its light like diamonds' (lit. 'a star of the sky, having glittered like a spark, the jade's color of the snow-drifts that had covered the mountain range gleamed in its light like diamonds')

4.2311. In the literary language, clauses are linked to each other by means of the conjunctions /bəgəəd/ and /xiigeed/, which are

borrowings from Script Mongolian. The predicate of the whole clause is a finite verb. The predicate of the preceding clause is a verbal noun, followed by /bəgəəd/ or /xiigeed/. These conjunctions are gerunds in origin, namely, /bəgəəd/ < *bügeed, perf. ger. of *bü- 'to be'; /xiigeed/ is the perf. ger. of /xii-/ 'to do'. Consequently, phrases like /irsəŋ bəgəəd/ are translated literally as 'having been one who came'. As for phrases like /irsəŋ xiigeed/, the literal translation is 'having done the past coming'; in other words, these are gerundial phrases.

/yamaanəii orilxə duu || uləm uləm xoldəsoor || čimee tasərsəŋ bəgəəd || naedəŋ araexiiŋ xoninəii emnə garči togtəbə/ 'the screams of the goat were becoming more and more distant, sounds stopped, and Naedan went, with difficulty, and stood in front of the sheep' (lit. 'while the screaming voice of the goat became continuously more and more distant, the sound stopped, and Naedan, with difficulty, coming out, stopped in front of the sheep')

/bɯgədə naerəmdəxə moŋgəl arəd ulsəiig tuŋxəgləsəŋ xiigeed || aŋxədəgaar ɯndəsəŋ xuuliig batəlsəŋ/ 'they proclaimed the Mongolian People's Republic, and ratified the first constitution (/ɯndəsəŋ xuuli/, lit. 'basic law')'

4.2312. In the literary language, the conjunction /ba/, borrowed from Script Mongolian, is also used.

/dɯgrəgni || usənəii oɛrə baexə ba, nəgəə gonʒəgoeni || tɯɯnees ǰaaxəŋ caanə || naluu xaǰuudə baenə/ 'the circle is near the water, and the other oval is a little farther behind it and on the sloping side'

4.2313. What the native Mongolian grammarians call "co-ordinate clauses without conjunctions" is simply a series of short clauses, each with its own subject and predicate. There is no reason for regarding such sentences as co-ordinate clauses.

/yabəxə zam || melciiŋ celgər saexəŋ, namərəiiŋ ɯyəs tul || əbəsnii tolgoe naegənə/ 'The road he walks is even, wide,

beautiful. Because it is autumn time, the tops of the grass swing.'

/bayəŋ bolədəiiŋ nasən || dečeed, nɯdən ulbər, ʒaŋni təb bolbəč || ʒalin yixə bolәltoe/ 'Bayan Bolod's age [is] approximately forty. His eyes [are] reddish. Although his character is calm, his slyness is probably great.'

4.232. Subordination

Mongolian does not have subordinate clauses but only subordinate phrases. These are the verbal noun phrases and the gerundial phrases; see 4.153(5,8).

4.2321. Quotation

(1) Direct quotation is usually inserted between the subject and the predicate of the whole clause. The predicate is a form of the verb /ge-/ 'to say, to speak'.

/ecəgən || xɯɯgiiŋ tolgoeg iləǰ || yixə sergələŋ uxaantae xɯɯxəd || erdəm nom saeŋ surnə gebə/ 'His father, stroking the son's head, said: "Very clever children study well!" (lit. 'children with a very keen intellect study science (/erdəm nom/) well')'

(2) In clauses in which the predicate is not a form of the verb /ge-/ but another verb, the quotation is linked to the predicate by means of the imperfect gerund of the verb /ge-/, i.e. /geǰi/ 'saying'.

/batə nadaas || či enə nomәiig uŋšisənuu geǰ asuubə/ 'Bata asked me: "Have you read this book?" (lit. 'asked me saying')'

(3) Indirect quotation differs from direct only in that the person addressed in the direct quotation appears in the accusative form.

/noyəŋ tɯɯniig ir geǰi ʒaxirsəŋ/ 'the prince ordered him to come (lit. 'The prince ordered, saying [about] him: "Come!")'

/batə namaeg enə noməiig uŋšisənuu geǰ asuubə/ 'Bata asked me whether I had read this book' (lit. 'Bata asked saying [about] me "Has he read this book?")'

4.3. Select Bibliography

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5. LITERATURE

Writing in the modern literary language based on the Khalkha dialect began in 1941. Until then, the old Written Mongolian (or Script Mongolian) language was used. Both the modern and the old literature show the influence of folklore, especially in the case of poetry.

5.1. Poetry

The characteristic features of Mongolian poetry are alliteration and parallelism. The typical Mongolian verse consists of a quatrain, i.e. a stanza of four lines, each of which consists of an equal number of syllables (usually seven or eight). Each line of a quatrain begins with the same syllable. The parallelism manifests itself in the repetition of the same idea, utilizing different expressions. These two principles underlie both the modern and the ancient poetry, the oldest specimens of which date from the thirteenth century. The following examples will illustrate the poetic forms described above:

A. Ancient poetry (Sayang Sečen, 1662):

arban nasutai dayaluγai bi
aliya mayui-ban ese uqaγdaluγai
arajan-dur dašiγuraγsan minu ünen bülüge
alus buruγu sanaγsan ügei bolai

qorin nasutai dayaluγai bi
qolčirqan mayu-ban ese medegdelügei
qorojan-dur dašiγuraγsan minu ünen bülüge
qoortu sedkil bariγsan ügei bolai

I followed [you] at the age of ten.
I have not been known [to play] any pranks.
It is true that I have become addicted to araǰa-liquor,
[However] I have had no far-reaching wrong ideas.

I followed [you] at the age of twenty.
I have not been known [to do] light-minded or evil things.
It is true that I have become addicted to qoroǰa-liquor,
[But] I have not conceived evil thoughts.

B. Modern poetry (Nacagdorǰ, 1923):

cènxèrlènxèn xaragdanaa xöö
cècèg navčtai uul bainaa xöö
čin zorigiig barival xöö
cèngèǰ bolmoor uul bainaa xöö

alaglanxan xaragdanaa xöö
alim žimstèi uul bainaa xöö
amrag xoyor ürtèigèè xöö
am'darč bolmoor uul bainaa xöö

It is seen light blue,
It is a mountain [grown over] with flowers and foliage.
If we make a strong decision,
It will be a mountain where one might be happy.

It is seen multi-colored,
It is a mountain [grown over] with apple trees and berries.
It is a mountain where we might be able
To make our living, together, with our beloved children.

Mongolian folklore is very extensive, and includes songs, riddles, proverbs, tales, and epic sagas. The sagas are particularly characteristic of Mongolian folklore, and are still found

in the Mongolian People's Republic, especially in the Northwest (inhabited by the Oirats). The Buriats also have very beautiful epics. The epic sagas (ülgèr) are comprised of stories about ancient heroes and their exploits and battles against enemies who are either foreign kings or many-headed monsters, the so-called mangas. The sagas always end happily. The hero may be defeated or even be killed by the enemy at the beginning, but later he is revived by a beautiful heavenly maiden and ultimately destroys his enemy and marries the maiden. The ülgèr sometimes reach the length of 20,000 verses (lines), each containing from five to eight syllables, with only each two adjacent lines alliterating, e.g.:

xèntèĭ xaanï coxioo baĭxad
xèrlèn tuulïg šalbaag baĭxad
dalaĭ lamïg bandi baĭxad
dayan xaanï balčir baĭxad
xangaĭn modïg zulzag baĭxad
xatan xarïg unag baĭxad

When [the mountain range] Khentei Khaan was a [single] cliff,
When [the rivers] Kherlen and Tuula were puddles,
When Dalai Lama was a novice,
When [the king] Dayan Khaan was an infant,
When the Khangai forest was a shoot,
When [the steed] Khatan Khara was a foal ...

The general significance of this excerpt is the depiction of the concept of "a long time ago," when one of the largest mountain ranges in Mongolia was still a single cliff, etc.

The folk songs can be roughly classified into love songs, songs about the beauty of nature, songs about horses, historical songs, and religious songs, both shamanist and Buddhist.

The riddles and proverbs reflect the life of the Buddhist nomad society.

LITERATURE

A. Riddles:

"Four people have come from the north. Two of them have fur coats, two of them have no coats." (Ears and horns of a cow.)

"You go there, I go here, and we shall meet at the prince's door." (A rope put around a nomad tent in order to prevent the felt cover from being blown off by the wind.)

"An elegantly dressed gentleman without tinderbox and tobacco." (Statue of Buddha.)

B. Proverbs:

"The more a man suffers, the more intelligent he becomes; the more a pearl is rubbed, the more splendor it acquires."

"A good man's word is food for a whole month; an evil man's word is an obstacle for a whole day."

"One cannot wear a coat that is without [thread made of] tendons; one cannot eat a soup that is without meat."

"The foremost wealth is virtue and knowledge; the medium wealth is youthfulness; the very last wealth is cattle."

"One does not throw water at his ongon (i.e. idol, image of a shamanist spirit); one does not curse his own clan."

5.2. The old literature

The oldest work of Mongolian literature is the so-called Secret History, which represents a semi-legendary history of Chingis Khan and his ancestors. It was probably written in 1240, although some scholars believe that it might have been compiled twenty-four years later. It was originally written in Script Mongolian and with the letters of the old alphabet, but later, in the fourteenth century, a text in phonetic transcription, with Chinese characters, was prepared which has been preserved,

although the original version has not survived. The Secret History is an important literary and historical work. Its text is interspersed with verses which are the oldest specimens of Mongolian poetry. The narration begins with an account of the legendary ancestors of Chingis Khan, the Grey Wolf and the Fair Doe, and proceeds to Chingis Khan's birth, and describes the hardships suffered by him in his childhood and youth, the organizing of his army, and the foundation of the Empire, and ends with the beginning of the reign of Chingis Khan's successor, his son Ögedei. The Secret History is an anonymous work, but some scholars believe that Chingis Khan's law-maker, Šiki Qutuγu, was the author.

Another specimen of the old literature is a song written on birch bark, which was found in 1930 during construction work in the Volga region in the USSR. It dates from the first half of the fourteenth century. The song represents a dialogue between a mother, who deplores the fact that her son has to leave and go to his lord, and her son, who tries to console her. To the same period also belong Buddhist verses carved on the walls of the Chü-yung-kuan Gate in China (1345). The verses praise the virtues of Emperor Khubilai (1259-1294), who "beautifully decorated the world with pagodas." This text, known as the Chü-yung-kuan Inscription, is written in the 'Phags-pa Script.

Historiography is the outstanding genre of old Mongolian literature. The oldest among the historical works is the Arban buyan-tu nom-un čaγan teüke (The White Chronicle of the Doctrine Endowed with Ten Meritorious Deeds), which goes back to the thirteenth century and represents, in part, a kind of state philosophy, in the center of which stands the theme of harmony between religion and worldly power.

A well-known historical work is the Erdeni-yin tobči (The Precious Button) by Saγang Sečen (1662), which is based on older Mongolian works, such as Šira tuγuǰi (The Yellow History), which, inter alia, contains genealogies. The author also used Chinese

and Tibetan sources. The chronicle begins with the creation of the world, gives a history of ancient India and Tibet and a short history of Buddhism, but the larger portion of the work is devoted to the history of the Mongols from the time of Chingis Khan's legendary ancestor, the Grey Wolf, to the middle of the seventeenth century. Another important historical work is Altan tobči (The Golden Button) by Lubsan Danǰin (written about 1655). It also begins with a brief history of Indian and Tibetan kings, and then proceeds to the history of the Mongols, from Chingis Khan's ancestors to the downfall of the Khan Legden and the Manchu conquest of Inner Mongolia in 1635. A work particularly important for the history of Khalkha is Erdeni-yin erike (The Precious Rosary) by Galdan, who was an aide to one of the Khalkha princes. It was written in the 1860's. The most recent among the historical works written in Script Mongolian is Mongγol-un teüke by Amur, which was published in Ulanbator in 1930. It is the first native history of Mongolia written in the manner of Western historiography. The author discusses the Huns, Sien-pi, Turks, and other predecessors of the Mongols and ends the book with the Yüan dynasty.

The old literature abounds in epic works. One that is widely known is "The Destroyer of the Roots of Ten Evils in Ten Regions, The Holy Geser Khan." Although of Tibetan origin, the Geser Khan sagas are spread among all Mongols, Buriats, and Oirats. The Script Mongolian version was published as a xylograph in Peking in 1716, and was set in type and reproduced in St. Petersburg in 1836 by I.J. Schmidt, who also made a German translation. This edition contains seven of the original fifteen sagas. The first saga is the story of Geser Khan's miraculous birth and his childhood pranks; the remaining six describe his heroic exploits. Another large epic work is Qan Qarangγui (Prince Kharangui) which is, in form, closer to the oral ülger sagas. The main character of a number of epics is Chingis Khan, e.g. "The Tale About the Two Horses of Chingis Khan," in which we learn that Chingis Khan did not pay much attention to his two

horses, who felt hurt and left him, but soon found out that separation from their lord and master was too high a price for freedom, and so they went back to him. Chingis Khan recognized them, and when he went hunting he rode one of these steeds, which drew great admiration from all people. The other steed was dedicated to the gods.

Some tales about Chingis Khan are gnomic in character. Such is the "Admonitions of Chingis Khan, for His Younger Brothers and Sons," in which Chingis Khan appears as a wise man, and asks his brothers and sons questions, such as: "What is the greatest happiness?" All their answers are wrong, e.g. that of Chaghatai: "The greatest happiness is to destroy the enemies, to vanquish a horseman, to separate two people engaged to each other, and to bring booty." Chingis Khan explains that this is childish happiness, the greatest happiness being bringing prosperity to the nation, keeping the affairs of state in good order, bringing peace to the people, particularly to the younger generation.

The old literature also contains many works translated from other languages. Thus, the Pañcatantra fables were translated from a Tibetan text, which was, in its turn, translated from Sanskrit. Similarly, the stories of King Vikramāditya, Kisana (Kṛṣṇa), and the "Tales of the Magic Vampire" are of Indic origin.

The vast Buddhist literature is also, to a great extent, of Indic origin. Such are the so-called Jātaka or birth-stories and tales about the previous lives of Buddha. The Buddhist philosophical and religious works go back to Sanskrit originals, although most of them were translated from Tibetan into Mongolian. The Buddhist canon, the so-called Tripitaka (in Sanskrit) or Kanjur (in Tibetan and Mongolian), which consists of 108 large volumes, was translated into Mongolian in the seventeenth century and published in xylograph in 1720. The Buddhist encyclopedia, the so-called Tanjur, in 225 volumes, was published in 1741.

Some literary works were translated from Chinese, such as novels and stories, e.g. the historical adventure novels, "The Tale of Three Nations," "Journey to the West," etc.

LITERATURE

The Mongols first became acquainted with Russian and European literature at the beginning of the present century. The Mongolian writer and scholar, Tseven Jamtsarano (1888-1940?) started, in 1911 in Urga (now Ulanbator), the newspaper Neyislel küriyen-ü sonin (News of the Capital) and the magazine Šine toli (The New Mirror), in which short stories translated from other languages and information about current world affairs appeared. He also translated the historical novel La bannière bleue (1877) by Léon Cahun, and a few minor writings of Leo Tolstoi.

After 1921, when the Mongolian Learned Committee (present Academy of Sciences) was founded, literary activities increased considerably.

5.3. The modern literature

The birth of modern poetry is connected with the name of Nacagdorǰ (1906-1937), who put new content into the traditional forms of Mongolian poetry. Preserving the alliteration, parallelism, and the quatrain, he devoted his verses to the new Mongolia. One of his poems is "The Song of the Pioneers [revolutionary boy scouts]." Other poems describe his travels ("From Ulanbator to Berlin") or are devoted to young people traveling abroad in order to study ("One Who Travels to Study Abroad"), to students ("Our Students"), or to working-people ("Woman-Servant"). Children are the subject of some poems ("May There Be Many Mongolian Children!"). He has also written lyric poems, such as "Spring," "Summer," "The Hindu Dancer," etc.

Nacagdorǰ also wrote plays and short stories. Modern prose was founded, however, by Damdinsüren (1908-), a prominent scholar, poet, and writer. His novel Gologdoson xüüxèn (The Rejected Girl) is the first native Mongolian work to deal with problems of real life. This novel is about a young girl, daughter of a poor family, who has no opportunity in her native place. She is given, against her will, in marriage to a rich man. One day she meets a woman from town who tells her about the rights of women in post-Revolutionary Mongolia. She leaves her home

and goes to Ulanbator, enters a school, and thus starts an independent life.

Damdinsüren is also known as the author of numerous short stories, and as the most outstanding poet of Mongolia at the present time.

Another well-known writer is Rinchen (1905-), who is also a well-known scholar. His most famous work is Üüriĭn tuyaa (The Beam of Dawn), a novel devoted to the struggle of the Mongols for liberation from foreign domination and for independence. It occupies in the history of Mongolian literature a place comparable to Leo Tolstoi's War and Peace. Another literary work of his is Zaan Zaluudaĭ, the story of a prehistorical man and his struggle for survival. An interesting and well-written account of his sojourn in Europe is his "Notes on Travel in the West, My Journey in Hungary."

Other popular writers are Biamba, Erdene, Baast, Darĭjaa, Nadmid, and Perlee. Lodoidamba is the author of several novels. The main characters of his novel "In the Altai Mountains" are geologists. His other novel, "The Clear Tamir River," is about paupers in ancient times and their tragic fates.

A psychological novel is Cag töriĭn üĭmeen (Upheaval), by Namdag. It depicts the inner conflict and spiritual awakening of a government official.

Well-known poets are Gaitav (1929-), and Yavuuxulan (1929-). Authors of plays are Čimid, Lodoidamba, Oidov, Oyuun, and Vangan.

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