STUDIES ON MONGOLIAN VERB MORPHOLOGY

by

Chuluu Ujiyediin

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Department of East Asian Studies University of Toronto

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Studies on Mongolian Verb Morphology
Chuluu Ujiyedüü
The degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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University of Toronto
1998

ABSTRACT

This dissertation studies Mongolian verb morphology on the basis of the Modern Mongolian (Inner Mongolia) materials. It is based on the descriptive and theoretical advances made in modern linguistics and provides extensive analysis of the key issues concerning verb morphology with regard to the Mongolian situation. The dissertation consists of seven chapters, but the main concern of the thesis is essentially twofold, the derivational and inflectional morphemes of the verbs.

The first section presents a discussion of verb derivation, focusing on the issue of the verb derived by suffixation. The second part is a discussion of the inflectional categories of the verb. In this section, we deal with several issues, such as converb, auxiliary, tense, aspect, mood, voice, and the causative. Converbs can be divided into contextual and specialized converbs by semantic criteria and each of these converbs expresses particular circumstantial meanings. The auxiliary in Mongolian is generally used either to place the situation described in the sentence with reference to time (tense), to ascribe a temporal contour to it (aspect), or to assess its reality (modality). The tense categories in Mongolian distinguish the non-past and past tenses. We examine in depth the meanings and functions of the various tense morphemes.

There is no salient inflectional morpheme for marking either the opposition of the perfective and imperfective aspects or the perfect in Mongolian, but there are several kinds
of single form or compound structure for signaling the sub-classes of imperfective and perfect. Mood and modality in Mongolian can be expressed in different ways, our discussion is, however, restricted to modality expressed through verbal morphology only and some auxiliary verbs which express mood. Voice includes active, passive, and reciprocal voices. In this section, we present some detailed description of the meanings and functions of voice suffixes. In the discussion of the causative construction, we reveal some characteristic features of the causative in terms of the relationship between the causer and causee.
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PREFACE

This is a study of Mongolian verb morphology on the basis of the modern language spoken in Inner Mongolia. The main concern of the dissertation are the verb-formation processes, i.e. the derivational and inflectional morphemes of the verbs. Our study, based on descriptive and theoretical advances made in modern linguistics, attempts a comprehensive survey of the existing literature and also covers a wide range issues concerning Mongolian verb morphology. It extends the analysis of the key areas of verb morphology by focusing on specific characteristics of some particular morphemes and supplying a broader range of data. Another goal of the dissertation is to take a critical view of the existing literature and to reveal important topics omitted from previous studies. Our analysis shows that previous studies are often either too narrow or too general and so fail to capture some important derivational or inflectional feature of the Mongolian verb. The study is divided into seven chapters.

Chapter one introduces the following issues. First, there is a brief introduction of the Mongolic languages and the dialect variations of Mongolian in which I present some of the problems existing in the previous studies classifying both the Mongolic languages and the Mongolian dialects. Secondly, I review the studies on the Mongolian verb system, focusing on the two issues: verb derivation and inflection. The previous studies on verbs differ in various ways but their major difference is the varied treatment of the voice and aspect suffixes among scholars. Third, I outline the theoretical frameworks for the dissertation, also by focusing on two issues: the basic morphological terms used in this dissertation and the basic principles for distinguishing derivation from inflection. In the final two subsections in this chapter, I give the outline of Mongolian morphology and the brief description of the data and the transliteration being used in the thesis.
Chapter two presents a discussion of verb derivation, focusing on the issue of the verb derived by suffixation. Suffixation is a productive way to form a new verb from various word-classes. By suffixation, a verb can be derived from a noun, adjective, verb, or adverb with various meanings. In this chapter I deal with several different classes of the suffixes, namely, suffixes that are added after nouns and adjectives, those that are added after verbs to form verbs, and those that are added across word-classes. There are also special suffixes to derive verbs from adverbs to form what are called sound imitating or onomatopoeic words.

Chapter three is a discussion of converbs, verbal nouns, and auxiliaries. Following Haspelmath (1995), we view converbs as a nonfinite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination. After separating converbs by their semantic meaning into contextual and specialized converbs, and further distinguishing them by their subject references into same-subject and varying-subject converbs, we will describe the general meanings and the special uses of each of the verb suffixes. The second section is a brief description of the verbal noun in Mongolian. We will only deal with the potential characteristic of verbal nouns and some general features, because many uses of verbal noun suffixes are revealed in other related parts in the thesis. Finally, the auxiliary verb is divided into two classes: the copular and quasi-auxiliary. Auxiliary verbs are mostly from regular verbs and retain their lexical properties to some extent and only function as an auxiliary when they follow another verb. Our examination will show that the auxiliary in Mongolian is generally used either to place the situation in reference to time (tense), to ascribe a temporal contour (aspect), or to assess its reality (modality).

Chapter four discusses tense in Mongolian. The first section introduces the definition of tense in the general theory of tense and aspect based on Comrie (1976, 1985) and Bybee et al. (1995). In our definition, tense indicates the time of an event in relation to some other particular time, which is typically the moment of speaking but may be some
other reference event. This is followed by the brief presentation of the formal account of
tense by Reichenbach (1947) and his followers and the relevance of Reichenbach’s tense
system in Mongolian. After this, we present the problems of making the distinction
between tense categories and propose here dividing tense into a two way split: non-past and
past tenses. The second section deals with the meanings and functions of the various tense
morphemes. In particular, the similarities and differences between the various past tense
morphemes is discussed in some detail.

Chapter five is a discussion of aspect and mood in Mongolian. In the first section
we observe that in Mongolian there is no salient inflectional morpheme for marking either
the opposition of perfective and imperfective or perfect aspects, but there are several kinds
of a single form or a compound structure that signal the subclasses of imperfective and
perfect. In this section, therefore, our main target is to explain single forms or compound
structures with aspectual meanings. In the second section, we see that mood and modality
in Mongolian can be expressed in different ways, but our discussion will be restricted to
modality expressed through verbal morphology only and some uses of auxiliary verbs.
Based on the classification of mood categories by Bybee (1994), we will classify the mood
that is expressed through verbal morphology into imperative, optative, hortative,
admonitive, and permissive. These mood categories essentially fall within what Palmer
(1988: 96) calls the deontic modality and what Bybee (1994: 179) calls the speaker-oriented
modality.

Chapter six is a discussion of voice and the causative. In the first section, we divide
voice into the following subclasses: active, passive, and reciprocal and present some
detailed description of the meanings and functions of the suffixes for expressing voice. In
the second section, we reveal some characteristic features of the causative in terms of the
relationship between the causer and causee.
Chapter seven concludes this dissertation and presents an overview of the previous six chapters by summarizing the statements made in the dissertation.

I owe gratitude to many people for their help in the completion of this dissertation as well as my study in the Department of East Asian Studies for the last several years and would like to thank all the people who helped me in many different ways during my studies in the department. Special thanks go to Professor Wayne Schlepp, who has been my friend and supervisor since my MA studies and has been helpful for both my studies in the department and the completion of this dissertation. Professor Schlepp read many drafts of this dissertation and in the process made numerous suggestions for improvement. Thanks also go to Professor Robert Binnick who read the last draft of the dissertation and provided many helpful comments for further improvement. Of course, neither of them is to be blamed for the remaining errors.

I express my devotion to my family back at home in Inner Mongolia for their support and kind wishes for the success of my studies as well as my well-being. Finally, I would like express my thanks to my wife, Ulaan, and daughter, Nomin, for standing by my side throughout my studies.
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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 The Mongols and their languages

1.1.1 The Mongols and related peoples

The Mongols or related peoples are spread over various regions of Central Asia. Politically, they belong to several states, mostly Mongolia, China and Russia, and ethnically they consist of various groups, such as Mongol, Kalmuck Mongol, Buryat Mongol, Dongxiang, Monguor, Dagur, Baoan, Shera Yogur, and Mogol. The majority of the Mongols reside within the borders of Mongolia and the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China and a certain number of the Mongols live in Liaoning, Jilin, Heilongjiang, Qinghai, and Gansu provinces and the Xinjiang Uighur and Ningxia Hui Autonomous regions of China. Kalmuck and Buryat Mongols live within the Russian Federation. Kalmuck Mongols are mostly settled in the Republic of Kalmykia in the Volka region and Buryat Mongols reside in the Republic of Buryatia as well as the Ust-Ordinsk and Aginsk Buryat Autonomous District of Chita and Irkutsk administrative provinces within the Russian Federation. A small number of Buryats are also dispersed in Xentii Aimag, Mongolia and Kölön-Boir Aimag, Inner Mongolia. The other Mongol related peoples, except for the Mogols, are all living within the border of China. Among them, the Dongxiang, with the largest population, mostly live in Gansu province of China and they are spread over Xinjiang, Ningxia, and Qinghai areas. The Monguor also constitute a large part of the population of these three areas. The Dagur reside in Inner Mongolia, Heilongjiang, and Xinjiang. Baoan and Shera Yogur live in Gansu and a small
number of Baoan also reside in Qinghai and Xinjiang. See the following table, for more details of the population and living areas of the Mongols and related people.

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Table 1.1 The populational figures and the major living areas of the Mongols

In terms of the languages, although they are classified as Mongolic languages within the Altaic group, these various peoples speak relatively different languages which are not mutually understandable, in particular, the language of the Mongols in Mongolia
and Inner Mongolia as opposed to those of the other groups. Therefore, in the field of Mongolian studies, it has been customary to divide the languages spoken by the Mongols into several distinct languages. Because of the complexity of the geo-political as well as linguistic situation of the Mongols, there has been a great deal of discussion, but there is still a lack of mutual agreement among scholars as to which languages should be considered independent or which languages are dialects of Mongolian. The terms, 'Mongolic languages' has been used as a general name for referring to the languages spoken by these various groups of the Mongols and the following nine, Mongolian, Kalmuck, Buryat, Dongxiang, Monguor, Dagur, Baoan, and Shera Yogur, are usually classified as separate languages.

1.1.2 The Mongolic languages

As we have just mentioned above, the languages spoken by the Mongols are commonly classified into different languages, but the way of classification has always been diverse. In the early period of Mongolian studies, it seems that Mongolists made a less clear distinction between dialects and independent languages and merely proposed to divide them into several dialects with various sub-dialects. This first step was to divide the Mongolic languages into two branches, east and west, with several different languages and dialects within each group. Vladimirov (1929: 8-14), for instance, after dividing east and west, splits the Mongolic languages into seven dialects with numerous sub-dialects. In the west branch, he lists Oirad and Mogol. In the east branch, he separates Buryat, Bargu Buryat, Dagur, Khalkha, and southern Mongol (Inner Mongolian) and he claims that, although the people speaking these languages belong to the different political territories and their languages display various distinctive features one from another, they are not separate languages but the different dialects of the same language. Since the 1950s, the distinction between independent language and dialects of the Mongolic languages has become relatively clear to scholars. Poppe (1955: 14-23), for example, splits the Mongolic
languages into the east and west groups as Vladimircov (1929) did, but he states quite definitely that except for Buryat,4 all languages under his consideration are separate. In the east group, Poppe (1955) includes Dagur, Monguor, east Mongolian (including Khalkha and the Inner Mongolian dialects), and Buryat. In the west group, he lists Mogol, Oirad, and Kalmuck.

Another way of classifying the Mongolic languages is that, without dividing the east and west branches, they are directly listed as independent Mongolic languages. In this category, Sanzheev (1953)5 is first to be mentioned. In his comparative grammar of the Mongolic languages, according to Mööömöö (1982), Sanzheev (1953) classifies the Mongolic languages into Mogol, Monguor, Dagur, Khalkha, Buryat, and Oirad, six different languages. To these six languages, Poppe (1965: 7-13) adds Santa (Dongxiang) and separates the Mongolic languages into seven, Santa (Dongxiang), Monguor, Dagur, Mogol, Oirad, Buryat, and Mongol. Later, Poppe (1970: 1) separates the Mongolic languages into Mongolian, Buryat, Dagur, Monguor, Santa (Dongxiang), Paongan (Baoan), Yellow Uighur (Shera Yoga), and Mogol, Oirad, and Kalmuck, ten different languages. During the late 1950s, there was a special project undertaken by Chinese scholars to investigate all minority languages within China’s borders. The Mongolic languages in China were investigated during 1955-56. Although the result of this study were published rather late,6 the brief outline of the studies was given in Chenggeltei (1957-58).7 In the article, Chenggeltei, the most prominent scholar on the subject in China, classified the Mongolic languages in China into six different languages: Mongolian (including Oirad and Buryat spoken in Inner Mongolia and Xinjiang), Dongxiang, Monguor, Dagur, Baoan, and Shera Yoga.8 This classification can be considered as a representative one among the scholars who are doing researches on the Mongolic languages in China. Later works published in China on Mongolic languages, such as, Junastu (1981a) and (1981b), Liu (1981), Böke (1982), Zhong (1982), and Dobu (1983), all
adopted such a classification and even today the researchers in Inner Mongolia, as far as we know, basically all agree upon this classification. During the early 1980s, a group of researchers and graduate students from the Institute for Mongolian language studies, Inner Mongolia University, headed by Chenggeltei and Choijinjab, made a field work study of the Mongolic languages and some dialects of Mongolian spoken in Inner Mongolia, Qinghai, Gansu, and Xinjiang areas of China. The result of this study, three books (grammar, sample sentences, and vocabulary list) on each language of the Mongolic languages and Bargu Buryat and Oirad dialects have been published in Inner Mongolia. In Mongolia, the classification of the Mongolic languages is very much like that of Chenggeltei (1957-58). Möömöö (1983), for example, also splits Mongolian into nine different languages: Mongolian (including Khalkha, Inner Mongolian dialects, and Oirad and Buryat speakers in both Mongolia and Inner Mongolia), Buryat, Kalmuck, Baoan, Dagur, Dongxiang, Monguor, Shera Yogur, and Mogol. Currently, such classification seems to be common practice in Inner Mongolia and Mongolia.

The above brief survey of the classification of the Mongolic languages shows that the number of the Mongolic languages vary from five to ten. It is also clear from the discussion that all sources seem to agree in listing Mongol, Dagur, Monguor, Buryat, and Mogol as separate languages, but they disagree on whether Oirad and Kalmuck are different languages and whether Baoan, Dongxiang, and Shera Yogur are separate languages from Monguor. For instance, Poppe (1955: 18-19) lists Oirad and Kalmuck as separate languages whereas Sanzheev (1955) and Poppe (1965: 10-11) list them as the same. While Sanzheev (1955) and Poppe (1955) only list Monguor, Poppe (1965) adds Santa (Dongxiang) to it and Chenggeltei (1957-58), Poppe (1970), and Möömöö (1983) separate what Sanzheev (1955) Poppe (1955: 17, 23) list under Monguor into Monguor, Shera Yogur, Baoan, and Dongxiang. Furthermore, Vladimirocov (1929), Sanzheev (1955), and Poppe (1955, 1965) classify the Oirad and Buryat dialects spoken within
Mongolia and China as dialects of Kalmuck and Buryat spoken in Russia, while Chenggeltei (1957-58) and Möömöö (1983) list them as dialects of Mongolian spoken in Inner Mongolia or Mongolia. Therefore, none of the above classifications of the Mongolic languages is readily acceptable as a standard classification, and the argument of the proper classification of the Mongolic languages continues to today.10

There are apparently several reasons for the difficulty of classifying the Mongolic languages. The living areas of several Mongol groups, such as, Dongxiang, Monguo, Baoan, Shera Yogur, are culturally and linguistically complex areas and they not only share many cultural and linguistic elements within themselves but also with the local people, like Tibetan, Hui Chinese, as well as the Turkic people. For instance, culturally, Dongxiang and Baoan closely resemble the local Hui Chinese people. Not only do they believe the same religion, Islam, but also their customs and clothing are similar to those of the Hui Chinese. In their languages, a heavy influence of the local Chinese is easily seen from the research materials done on these two languages.11 These complex social and cultural situations are hardly mentioned in previous studies. Moreover, the social and cultural situation of these people is in the process of rapid change because of the current cultural condition confronting them. It is, therefore, necessary to obtain the most recent data on these people for correctly classifying these languages. On the other hand, some researches carried out in China in the recent years have some problems in terms of their data collection and they seem to have limited their studies among small groups of people related to Mongols. For instance, Hu and Stuart (1994: 144) raise an interesting point that reveals the serious problem of what Chen (1986a and 1986b) calls Baoan language. Of China’s Baoan, 92% live in Gansu, and 96% of that population live in the small villages called Ganhetan, Dadun, and Gaolijia within the Jishishan Baoan, Dongxiang, and Salar Autonomous Counties, but the studies done by Chen above are carried out on the language spoken in the village called Nianduhu, Tongren County, Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous
Furthermore, after meeting with some of the informants, Hu and Stuart (1994) found that these informants interviewed by Chen do not consider themselves of Baoan nationality but Monguors. From this, Hu and Stuart (1994) conclude that what Chen labels ‘Baoan’ is indeed ‘Tongren region Monguor dialect.’ Therefore, the boundary between Baoan and Tongren Monguor has hardly been made clear. There is another troublesome situation concerning the Monguor language. Usually, Monguor is divided into three dialects, Huzhu, Minhe, and Tongren, based on the areas they dwell in. The majority of the materials on this language in China are based primarily on the Huzhu Monguor dialect and so the other two dialects are little known to the scholars. In addition to the dispute of whether the Tongren dialect belongs to Monguor or Baoan, Huzhu and Minhe dialects are, according to Junastu (1981:86-92) and Chenggeltei (1991: 7, 369-96), virtually not comprehensible to each other and they show a great variation in terms of their phonetic and grammatical structure and their vocabulary. Part of the reason for this is, as Hu and Stuart (1994: 143) briefly mentioned, that the Monguors live in five different areas in Qinghai and Gansu provinces and they have substantial differences among them in respect to both language and culture.

As the preceding shows, the previous studies on the Mongolic languages certainly have their shortcomings and more detailed studies of the Mongolic languages in terms of their number and linguistic distinctions, are necessary. Since the examination of the proper grouping of the Mongolic languages falls outside of the present study, we will not get into the subject of the classification of the Mongolic language any further, but will outline the situation of the Mongolian language in terms of its dialect variations and the other related issues in the next section.
1.1.3 Mongolian

Mongolian is the largest among the Mongolic languages and the speakers of Mongolian live in Mongolia and Inner Mongolia as well as other provinces of China. For the purpose of distinguishing Mongolian spoken in Mongolia and Inner Mongolia from the other Mongolic languages various names have been used, some of which are Mongolian, East Mongolian, Mongolian proper, Central Mongolian, and Khalkha. Similar forms of these names are used to refer to the various dialects spoken in Mongolia, Inner Mongolia, and other areas of north China. As mentioned before, we will adopt the term 'Mongolian' for the dialects spoken by the various Mongol groups in Mongolia and Inner Mongolia, since the other Mongolic languages are called by different names whether they are considered separate languages or dialects. Most of the Mongols living in Mongolia and Inner Mongolia speak Mongolian as their native language; Mongolian is an official state language of Mongolia and one of the official languages of Inner Mongolia. The total number of Mongols in Mongolia and Inner Mongolia is about 5,450,184 and the native speakers of Mongolian amount to at least 3.5 million from these two regions.

Although the speakers from various regions of Mongolia and Inner Mongolia understand each other's speech without much difficulty, their language differs in certain ways, so the Mongolian spoken in Mongolia or Inner Mongolia is separated into several small dialects. Similar to the classification of the Mongolic languages, the classification of the Mongolian dialects varies greatly from author to author and the classification of the dialects in Mongolian has never been clear in terms of their numbers of groups or their boundaries. For instance, Oirad in Xinjiang and Buryat in Inner Mongolia and Mongolia have been classified as either dialects or independent languages by different authors. One of the difficulties is that the scholars never studied the situation of Mongolian as a whole but studied the Mongolian spoken in the different states or regions separately and so it is natural that their classifications are varied and erratic.
The speech of the Mongols from the various regions differs to a certain degree in phonology, grammar, and lexicon and based on this several different ways of classifying the Mongolian dialects were proposed by the scholars of different periods. For instance, Vladimirocov (1929) and Poppe (1955) were two of the Mongolists who did the pioneering work on the Mongolian dialect distinctions while they were classifying the different Mongolic languages. They both include Mongolian in the east branch after dividing the Mongolic languages into two branches; east and west branches. Under Mongolian (Southern Mongolian in Vladimirocov’s case and East Mongolian in Poppe’s case), they separate several sub-dialects, for instance, Vladimirocov (1929),16 under eastern dialects, includes Buryat, Bargu Buryat, Dagur, Southern Mongolian (Inner Mongolian),17 and Khalkha, while Poppe (1955: 19-22) divides the east Mongolian into Khalkha, the Ulan Tsab, Urdus, Chakhar, Kharchin, and the Ju Uda, six dialects in all. This traditional classification of Mongolian is essentially employed by Todayeva (1957)18, Chenggeltei (1957-58)19, and Lobsangwandan (1959)20. After the dialect and language survey in China during the 1950s, Todayeva (1957) and Chenggeltei (1957-58) both wrote articles on the classification of the Mongolic languages and dialects, in which, they proposed to divide the Mongolian spoken in Inner Mongolia and other provinces of China into five different dialects; Bargu Buryat, Eastern, Central, Western dialects, and Oirad. Bargu Buryat dialect includes Buryat and Bargu Buryat within Kölön Boir, Inner Mongolia; the eastern dialect includes Aru-khorchin-Bagarin, Khorchin, and the Kharchin-Tümed sub-dialect in Juu Uda and Jirtüm Leagues of Inner Mongolia as well as the speech of the Mongols living in Liaoning, Heilongjiang, and Jilin provinces of China; the central dialect includes Silinggol, Chakhar, and the Ordos sub-dialects of Silinggol, Ulanchab, and Yeke Joo Leagues of Inner Mongolian; the western dialect includes Alsha, Ejine, and the Qinghai sub-dialects of Bayannagur and Alsha Leagues of Inner Mongolia and the Mongol regions of Qinghai and Gansu; Oirad includes the various dialects spoken by the few Oirad in Xinjiang. Similarly, Lubsangwandan (1959) divides the Mongolian into central, eastern,
western, and northern groups with small sub-groups under each group, but the distinction he claims is that he has taken into consideration all Mongolians regardless of the national boundaries and in addition he lists some intermediate dialects between each group as well. For example, he includes Khalkha, Chakhar, and Ordos in the central group; Khorchin and Kharchin in the eastern group; Xinjiang Oirad and Volka Oirad (Kalmuck) in the western group; Buryat in the northern group. In addition, he distinguishes several intermediate groups between the central and eastern groups, central and western groups, and central and northern groups (Möömöö 1982: 62-63). On the other hand, some scholars, like Chenggeltei (1979)21, Dobu (1964)22 and (1983), Möömöö (1982), and Sun (1985) all proposed different approaches from the above traditional classification. For instance, Dobu (1964) and (1983: 151) and Chenggeltei (1979) divided Mongolian spoken in various regions of China into three dialects, eastern, central, and western by which they refer to Buryat, Inner Mongolian and Oirad. Within the Inner Mongolian dialect, they list several sub-dialects, like Khorchin, Kharchin, Bagarin, Chakhar, Ordos, etc. On the basis of this classification, Sun (1985: 9-11) includes what Chenggeltei and Dobu call Buryat in the Inner Mongolian dialect and separates Mongolian spoken in China into two dialects: Inner Mongolian and Oirad. When making the classification of the Mongolic languages and dialects, Möömöö (1982) provides some detailed information on the dialect variants of the Mongolian spoken in Mongolia and he proposes to divide Mongolian into four dialects: Khalkha, Oirad, Buryat, and southern (Öbörlögchid), in which he includes the speech of the immigrants from the various regions of Inner Mongolia (p. 162). He also discusses the situation of several sub-dialects spoken in Inner Mongolia, for instance, Bagarin, Ordos, Kharchin, Khorchin, and Chakhar (pp. 216-36). Although he lists these Inner Mongolian dialects separately from the Khalkha dialect, elsewhere he mentions that these dialects can be considered as sub-dialects which he calls Mongolian together with the various small dialects within the Mongolian border (pp. 77-78).
It seems therefore that the several proposals for classifying the Mongolian dialects are mostly considerations restricted by historical and political factors. We still lack a comprehensive dialect survey for all Mongolian spoken in the various regions of Mongolia and Inner Mongolia. Although some of the researchers mentioned above provide the descriptions of how one dialect differs from the other in terms of the sounds and lexical items, detailed information of all important distinctions is little known to scholars. Especially, the distinction is that of the Inner Mongolian dialects opposed to those in Mongolia. Until a more extensive and detailed dialect survey comes out, this situation is unlikely to change. In our case, however, we may make some preliminary observations based on the studies mentioned above. As we have seen, although the scholars do not come to mutual agreement on whether Khalkha and Inner Mongolian dialects belong to one dialect, they seem to agree on classifying Oirad and Buryat in both Mongolia and China as separate dialects from either Khalkha or Inner Mongolian dialects. In terms of Mongolian in Mongolia and Inner Mongolia, they distinguish Khalkha, Ordos, Chakhar, Khorchin, Kharchin, etc., several small dialect groups within what they call Khalkha and Inner Mongolian dialects. Although the dialects, like Khalkha, Ordos, Chakhar, Khorchin, Kharchin, show certain differences, these distinctions are mainly phonological variants only and not too much in grammar and lexical items. Also from my personal experience with the Mongols from various regions, there is no a great obstacle for the people from the different dialect groups to understand and communicate with each other or at least one can see that they communicate easily after a very short time. Considering these facts as well as the work of various scholars just mentioned above, it may be possible to classify Mongolian in both Mongolia and Inner Mongolia into the following three groups: (1) Eastern dialect—Buryat, (2) Central dialects—Khalkha and Inner Mongolian, (3) Western dialects—Oirad and Mongolian in Qinghai. It is, however, necessary to point out that further researches are needed to answer the question of how to make a strict division of Mongolian dialects.
This discussion has been offered by way of indicating what dialect we are to consider in this dissertation when we examine the morphological features of the verb in Mongolian. The attempt here at a synchronic description of the Mongolian verb system is based on various sub-dialects in Inner Mongolia. By our classification, Inner Mongolian dialects belong in the same dialect group with Khalkha, but we leave Khalkha out of our discussion for the following several reasons. First, the traditional Mongolian script has been kept in use in Inner Mongolia and this allows us to transliterate Mongolian in a standard way since the particular morpheme is the same in the Mongolian script even though it may be pronounced rather differently in the different dialects. Secondly, the Cyrillic system has been used in Mongolian since the 1940s and it is based more or less only on the Khalkha dialect. This has certain limitations as far as the dialect variants are concerned, because some verb suffixes may be completely different in the dialects from what they are in Khalkha. Finally, I am from Inner Mongolia and familiar with the language situation there and the materials available to me at the moment are mostly on the dialects of Inner Mongolia. Therefore, throughout this dissertation, Mongolian is to be understood in this sense, Mongolian spoken in Inner Mongolia.

1.2 Studies on the Mongolian verb system

The literature on the Mongolian language varies greatly in the different periods of time and in the different languages. The investigation of Mongolian perhaps goes back to as early as 1831 when the first Mongolian grammar, Grammatik Mongolischen Sprache by I. J. Schmit, was published in German in St. Petersburg.23 Since that time, many grammars have appeared in the different languages, including Russian, German, French, English, Chinese, and the native Mongolian. However, we will not review all those books published in the past, but those which we consider the representative ones and which we consider relevant to the studies of this dissertation and are available to us at the moment.
The complexities of the Mongolian verb have caught the attention of many grammarians in the past. Although there has been no comprehensive study dealing exclusively with the verb system, general studies of Mongolian grammar as well as some special articles concerning the word-forming suffixes contain much valuable work on the Mongolian verb. These studies differ in various ways because scholars employ different methods and approaches. In this section, we will outline the previous research on the subject, focusing on the following two issues: verb derivation and inflection.

1.2.1 Studies on verb derivation

The principal means of verb derivation is through suffixation and most of the grammars available to us have some discussion of this. Although the number of suffixes included in their lists vary, almost all authors discuss verbs derived from verbs, nouns, adjectives, and adverbs and some include discussion of compound verbs as well. However, voice and aspect suffixes have been in dispute as to whether they are a verb-deriving or a verb-inflecting suffixes and it probably is the major contention in the discussion of verb derivation in most grammars, as shown in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Voice suffix</th>
<th>Aspect suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poppe (1954)</td>
<td>Derivational</td>
<td>Derivational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street (1962)</td>
<td>Derivational</td>
<td>Derivational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poppe (1970)</td>
<td>Derivational</td>
<td>Derivational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chenggeltei (1981)</td>
<td>Inflectional</td>
<td>Inflectional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dobu (1983)</td>
<td>Inflectional</td>
<td>Inflectional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun (1985)</td>
<td>Inflectional</td>
<td>Inflectional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batugerel (1995)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Derivational</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.2: The classification of voice and aspect suffix in past studies

As table 1.2 shows, the literature on verb morphology is clearly conflicting in terms of the status of these suffixes indicating voice and aspect. Poppe (1954, 1970) and Street
(1962) differ from the others in regarding these suffixes as verb-forming suffixes and they include them in verb derivation; the other authors differ somewhat among themselves in regard to their treatment of the suffixes. Chenggeltei (1981), Dobu (1983), Sun (1985) concur in recognizing voice and aspect categories as verb inflection, but they disagree on the treatment of the particular suffix. Sun (1985) views all suffixes that have the voice and aspect meanings as inflectional suffixes but Chenggeltei (1981: 334-36) and Dobu (1983: 45-48) do not regard them exclusively as inflectional suffixes, rather, they identify those suffixes with voice meaning and the suffix -čiqa-/čike- which has an aspectual meaning as an inflectional suffix and other aspect suffixes as verb-forming suffixes.

There are several suffixes for indicating voice in Mongolian, namely -gda-/gde- for passive voice, -γul-/gül-, -lya/-, and -ya-/ge- for causative, -ldu/-ldii- and -lča/-lče- for reciprocal. These suffixes, however, have always caused disagreement in regard to their place in the morphological system as shown in table 1.2 above. Except for Chenggeltei (1981: 334-35),24 however, no other author has given the reason for classifying the voice suffixes as either derivational or inflectional suffixes. The disagreement is perhaps caused by the nature of the suffixes, because there is some difficulty for classifying these suffixes as either derivational or inflectional. This problem is further discussed in section 1.3.2 below.

There are also certain suffixes added to verbs or adverbs which derive verbs with aspectual meanings, such as repetition (or recurrence) or momentary (or instantaneous) meanings. For example, the repetitive is expressed by -la/-le-, -lja-, -γalja/-gelje-, -balja/-belje-, -γana/-gene- and the momentary by -ski- . The former suffixes are all regarded as derivational suffixes in almost all grammars25 but they are considered as inflectional suffixes in Sun (1985: 145-46). The -ski- suffix is treated as an inflectional suffix in Chenggeltei (1981: 342) but considered an example of compounding in Street (1962: 82) and Poppe (1970: 114-115).26 The articles of Svantesson (1993) and Batugerel (1995),
published more recently on the subject, also disagree. For example, while Svantesson (1993: 198) lists the -čx- (-čqa/-čike-) as an intensive aspect suffix, Batugerel (1995: 41) says the suffix is derivational. In this dissertation, we treat the former suffixes as verb-forming suffixes and the latter as an inflectional suffix. See the section 1.3.2, for the further discussion.

From the literature on verb derivation, Önörbuyan (1988) deserves special mention because his article, based on language data from the Khalkha dialect, not only deals exclusively with the verb-forming suffixes but also offers a new approach and analysis to Mongolian verb structure by using structural, distributive, and statistical methods. By their structures and meanings, he makes several subclasses of the verb, verb root, as well as suffixes. For instance, the verbs are grouped into two sets: not-derived and derived and these two types of verbs are further grouped into transitive and intransitive verbs. He then divides the derived roots into free roots and bound roots. Free roots are the nominal and verbal bases to which the verb-deriving suffixes are attached to produce a new verb. Bound roots are the bases which have an adverbial origin and are subclassified into onomatopoeic (which include the adverbs depicting manner of action or event) and sound-imitating root (the adverbs depicting a wide variety of sounds and noises). The suffixes are also separated into two sets, formative and inflectional suffixes. Formative suffixes are further distinguished as those with formative meaning and those with both formative and grammatical meanings. Inflectional suffixes are identified as those with a grammatical meaning and those with both grammatical and formative meanings. Furthermore, Önörbuyan made a list of the homonymic suffixes on the basis of their distribution and meaning. He says these homonymic suffixes are allomorphs of the same suffix and are used across word-class boundaries (p. 312). A significant achievement of his article is his successful identification of the relationships between certain suffixes deriving verbs from verbs and adverbs, which he calls onomatopoeic and sound-imitating roots. For instance,
he says the suffixes like -l- (-lal-le), -r- (-ral-re), and -č- (-čal-če) are often used with roots depicting manner of action or event. The former two have non-recurrent meaning and the latter has a recurrent meaning. On the other hand, he claims the suffixes, -Ai (ii-), -sxii-(ski-), -lj- (-yālja-/gelje-), and -gAnA- (-yana-/gene-), are attached to bases depicting the shape and outward state of various bodies, and the color and character of a wide variety of sounds or noises. He defines the -Ai (ii-) suffix as non-recurrent durable, -sxii- (ski-) has the non-recurrent instantaneous, -lj- (-yālja-/gelje-) denotes the durable recurrent, and -gAnA- (-yana-/gene-) indicates recurrence for short time. In addition, the sound-imitating words often take suffixes like -xii- (-ki-), -gi- (-gi-), -gInA- (-yina-/gine-), -jignA- (-yīyana-/jigene-), and so on. These discoveries by Önörbuyan (1988) are a plausible solution for long disputed problem of identifying the correct meanings and uses of the suffixes for forming verbs from onomatopoeic and sound-imitating words.

1.2.2 Studies on verb inflection

The studies on verb inflection classify the inflectional categories into mood, tense, verbal noun, and converb etc. in basically the same ways. There is, nevertheless, a great deal of disagreement among the grammarians as to how many subclasses there are within a particular category and also especially what the exact meaning of the suffixes expressing tense and mood is. This is complicated by the different treatment of suffixes expressing voice and aspect, as we saw above.

Although mood is listed as a separate inflectional category of the Mongolian verb, the classification of mood, the number of mood suffixes, and the explanation of a specific suffix differ as well among scholars.

Mood is categorized as the imperative and optative in Poppe (1954: 89-91) and according to their meaning, the mood suffixes are further grouped into the imperative of the second and the third person, the prescriptive, the voluntaive, the optative, and dubitative.
Street (1962) and Poppe (1970) are both concerned with the Khalkha dialect but neither their classification of mood nor the explanation of the meaning of particular suffixes is the same. In Street (1962: 115-120), mood is classified into two groups, hortative and modal particles. The former covers suffixes like -aaraï (-yaraay/-gerei), -aâéč (-yâéč/-geéči), and -gtun (-yâtun/-gtûn) and the latter includes the suffixes -ya, -g, -aasai (-yasai/-gesei-), -sugai (-sûray/-sûgî), -tûgai (-tûray/-tûgî), -uuzai (-yûzai/gûjî), and -mz and each of these two groups is given a specific description as to meaning. On the other hand, Poppe (1970) does not set up the subclasses within mood suffixes but he uses the general name, imperative and voluntative, as he does in Poppe (1954), and he gives detailed explanations for the meaning of each of mood suffixes. The explanations are basically the same in Street (1962) and Poppe (1970) except for three suffixes; -sûray/-sûgî and -tûray/-tûgî are listed as uncommon in Poppe (1970) and -yaraay/-gerei which Street (1962) states is a sympathetic request or command, while Poppe (1970) claims it is an imperative of future, expressing an order or request which is to be fulfilled later.

Chenggeltei (1981: 288-94) divides the mood suffixes into first person, second person, and third person categories. He makes further distinctions between the different suffixes for each person by giving a detailed clarification to the meanings. Dobu (1983: 48-51) uses the name imperative form and separates mood suffixes into five different forms: imperative, voluntative, concessive, warning and prohibitive. Even though his classification of mood is similar to that of previous authors, Dobu (1983) discovers rather different meanings from that of the other scholars and adds as well meanings that some suffixes carry with them from Chakhar speech. For instance, in the imperative mood he lists -yaraay/-geteg which he says expresses second person polite requests and he finds two new suffixes, -bâl/-be and -yagui/-gegîi for indicating warning and prohibitive mood. Likewise, he (1983: 49) claims the voluntative form, -ya/-ye, expresses dissatisfaction in
addition to its voluntative meaning when used together with the modal particle, *daide* in the third person.

The tense category is usually named as an indicative form of verbs in the grammars\(^2\) and there is no disagreement on listing tense forms as an independent category of verb inflection. Nevertheless, the classification of tense categories and explanations of the particular tense forms vary greatly among the scholars. In particular, there is much discussion on the meanings of the different suffixes for the past tense.\(^2\) The names and classification of the tenses differ among the scholars as shown in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Poppe1</th>
<th>Poppe2</th>
<th>Binnick</th>
<th>Chenggeltei</th>
<th>Dobu</th>
<th>Sun</th>
<th>Svantesson(^3)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>non-past</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present-future</td>
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<td>Present Imperfect</td>
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<td>Present Perfect</td>
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<td>Past</td>
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<tr>
<td>Past Perfect</td>
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<tr>
<td>Past Imperfect</td>
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<tr>
<td>Imminent future</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.3 *The different classifications of the tense categories*

As shown in the table 1.3, except for Poppe (1970) and Binnick (1979), the classification of tense categories all differ. Some make two way splits into present (or non-past) and past tenses, while others make three way splits present-future, past, and imminent future or non-past, past, and past imperfect tenses. The reason for this diversified classification is partially due to the fact that the scholars disagree on what meaning the specific suffix expresses and partially that the different authors put more emphasis on one of the meanings expressed by a particular suffix. See the further discussion on the tense split in the chapter three, the section 3.2.1.
The different treatment of the suffixes indicating voice and aspect has been already mentioned in the section 1.2.1 above. It is indeed a focal point of disagreement in the literature. Unlike Poppe (1954, 1970) and Street (1962), who treat the suffixes for voice as a verb derivational process, the other authors analyze them as an inflectional process. See the section 1.3.2 below, for more discussion.

As for aspect, neither Poppe (1954 and 1970) nor Street (1962) has an aspectual category and list these suffixes as verb derivation; Chenggeltei (1981), Dobu (1983), Sun (1985), and Svantesson (1993), on the other hand, all agree that the Mongolian verb system does have aspect and they list these suffixes as verb inflection. This latter group, however, do not all agree on the division into further subclasses nor on the meaning of the particular suffixes nor number of the suffixes. As shown in the following table, for example, the number of categories vary from eleven in Chenggeltei (1981) to one in Dobu (1983).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Momentary</td>
<td>-ski</td>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>Perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Perfect</td>
<td>-čiqa-</td>
<td>Iterative</td>
<td>-la-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Completive</td>
<td>-γataqa</td>
<td>-ča-</td>
<td>-đag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Progressive</td>
<td>-ju + bayi-</td>
<td>-balγa-</td>
<td>Intensive -čiqa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Repetitive</td>
<td>-γad + bayi-</td>
<td>γana-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Resultative</td>
<td>-γad + bayi-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Continuous</td>
<td>-γsayar + bayi-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Long durative</td>
<td>-γsayar + γsayar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Short durative</td>
<td>-ju + -γad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Iterative</td>
<td>-γad + -γad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Frequentative</td>
<td>-n + -n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.4  The number of suffixes for expressing aspect
As we can see from the above table, except for -čiqa- and the sequence of the verb with -ju plus the auxiliary verb, bayi-, the writers all listed different items in their aspect categories. Chenggeltei (1981) views the repetition of some converbs before the main verb as expressing aspect, while the others do not.

Except for different names, converbs and verbal nouns appear as a special form of verb inflection in the literature we have consulted. Furthermore, converbs are divided into two groups according to their relationship with the subject of the main verb or three groups according to their inherent meanings (Chenggeltei 1981: 300-302). Verbal nouns are called participial particles in Street (1962), otherwise they are given the same name in all grammars. Again the numbers of converbs or verbal nouns and the explanation of the meaning differ, often because of the authors’ concern with the different dialects. For instance, the suffixes, like -narani-neren, -ngyutal-nggülde, -manjin/-menjin, -man/-men, which are common in the Inner Mongolian dialects, are listed in Chenggeltei (1981) but are excluded in the other grammars. Another dialectal variation of converb suffixes is found in Dobu (1983) who lists two suffixes, -laal-lee and -aal-xaa, from the Charkhar dialect, while the other authors do not have these two in their converb list. The number of verbal noun suffixes is basically the same but the explanations differ greatly. The -qul/-kii suffix is, for instance, explained as indicating ‘future action’ in Poppe (1970) and Chenggeltei (1981), ‘timeless or future meaning’ in Street (1962), and ‘non-past’ in Dobu (1983).

Auxiliary verbs are regarded as another special category of verbs in most grammars, but they are treated in the following two ways. First, although they make two groups of auxiliaries, Poppe (1954: 157) and Binnick (1979: 59-60) divide them according to copular and descriptive auxiliaries, while Chenggeltei (1981: 160) distinguishes auxiliaries used after converbs and those used after nouns and verbal nouns. Their terminology differs slightly, but they are concerned with the same items, e.g., what Chenggeltei (1981) calls the auxiliaries used after nouns and verbal nouns is equal to the
copular auxiliary in Poppe (1954) and Binnick (1979) and what Chenggeltei (1981) lists as auxiliaries that occur after converbs is the same as the descriptive verbs. Secondly, the dissimilarity is in the descriptive auxiliaries as the number of auxiliaries the authors discuss is not the same. Chenggeltei (1981), for instance, lists 19 auxiliaries, Street (1962) lists 16, and Poppe (1954) lists 7 and the former two authors give detailed explanation of the meaning of each of auxiliaries they have listed. We will adopt the two-way classification of auxiliary verbs in the previous studies and intend to provide more detailed description of the meaning and use of both copular and descriptive auxiliaries.

1.3 Theoretical Framework

Morphology is a distinct subdivision of linguistics and its objective is to study the structure of words, and the ways in which their structure reflects their relation to other words—relations both within some larger construction such as sentences and across the total vocabulary of the language (Anderson 1992: 7). Morphological study has been the foundation of structural linguistics and generative grammar. In the last two decades or so, there have been numerous developments in morphological studies under the influence of generative grammar. Word structures, including word derivation and inflection as well as the interaction between morphology with phonology and syntax have been investigated using a generative approach and many different hypotheses have developed.

After Aronoff (1976)’s Word Based Hypothesis, the generative theory of word formation has played a central role in morphological studies. A main thesis of his Word Based Hypothesis is:

All regular word-formation processes are word-based. A new word is formed by applying a regular rule to a single already existing word. Both the new word and the existing one are members of major lexical categories (Aronoff 1976: 21).
Later, in Aronoff (1994: 7), he redefines Word Based Hypothesis by saying that he means 'Lexeme-based'. He rejects the notion that he means the base or stem for a word-formation rule has to be a complete word or free form, but only that the base should be a lexeme and the stem some form of a lexeme.

As quoted above, a main thesis of Aronoff's lexeme-based hypothesis is that all regular word-formation processes are lexeme-based and the new lexeme and the existing one are members of major lexical categories. If we apply this hypothesis to Mongolian verb formation, all regular verb-formation processes in Mongolian are lexeme-based and a new verb is formed by attaching a verb-forming suffix to a single already existing lexeme which belongs to one of the major lexical categories, namely noun, adjective, verb, and adverb.

1.3.1 Some basic morphological terms

All the basic terms I will use are in their standard sense and I will follow the general conventions outlined in the theories of morphology. However, to avoid confusion, I will clarify my use of the basic morphological terms, such as lexeme, root, stem, base, suffix, morpheme, derivation, inflection, and compounding. My discussion of these terms is largely based on the definition of the recent introductory book on generative morphology by Katamba (1993).

A lexeme is an abstraction underlying the various realizations of a word, for instance, *see, sees, seeing, saw, seen* are different realizations of the lexeme "SEE" (a lexeme is customarily written in a small capital letters). Root, stem, and base are closely related but distinctive items. A root is the irreducible core of a word, with absolutely nothing else attached to it, a stem is the part of a word existing before any inflectional affixes are added, and a base is any unit to which derivational and inflectional affixes can be added. A suffix is an affix attached after a base. The Mongolian verb suffix is further
divided into two kinds: derivational and inflectional. Sometimes, I will use alternative terms like form, device, and marker for inflectional suffixes. This is, however, solely for the purpose of avoiding repetition. A morpheme is the smallest difference in the shape of a word that correlates with the smallest difference in word or sentence meaning or in grammatical structure. A compound consists of two independent words, for instance, the compound *White house* in English contains the bases *white* and *house* which can occur as words in their own right as in the noun phrase *the white house*, i.e. the house that is white.

Derivation and inflection are two principal word building processes. Derivation is a word building process to be used to create new words by changing the meaning of the base or the word-class to which it belongs; while inflection is a word-building process that makes no change to either meaning or word-class of the base but only modifies the form of a word so that it can be fit into a particular syntactic slot or perform a particular syntactic function.

1.3.2 The distinction between derivation and inflection

Derivation and inflection are considered as two major distinctive categories. However, some word building devices in many languages, including the Mongolian verb-forming suffixes, are not easily classified as either derivational or inflectional because of their complex word-building function. Although all morphologists agree there is a distinction between derivation and inflection, they disagree as to what the basic principles are for distinguishing them. The books on morphology we have consulted, like Matthews (1991: 43-54), Bybee (1985: 81-105), Scalise (1986: 101-118), Anderson (1992: 73-85), Spencer (1993: 9-12), and Katamba (1993: 47-54), all have extensive discussions on what distinguishes derivational and inflectional processes and what foundations one should take as a basis for establishing the difference between derivation and inflection. However, they lack a common understanding of what property should be considered as formal principles and some of the criteria they established are even contradictory. For instance, Scalise (1986: 114) presents productivity as one of his important criteria for distinguishing
inflection from derivation. Unfortunately, it is not always the case that inflectional processes are more productive than derivational ones because there is much evidence to demonstrate that while some derivational processes are very productive, some inflectional ones are less productive. Therefore, according to Katamba (1993: 206-208) and Anderson (1992: 77-78), although productivity is an important feature in the inflectional morphology, it is not a sufficient characteristic to separate inflection from derivation with certainty. A change of meaning is another property that is regarded as distinguishing inflection from derivation in both Scalise (1986: 105-107) and Katamba (1993: 47). The two concur that inflection does not change meaning, while derivation typically does. But, some authors disagree. Anderson (1992: 78-79), for instance, claims that it is the case in some languages that a derivational suffix makes no change in the meaning of the base to which it is attached and on the other hand, marking a noun as ‘plural’ does not leave meaning unaffected, because the meaning of dog and dogs is surely not the same, even though ‘plural’ is inflectional in English. The opinion varies from author to author but most seem to agree that much depends on the language in particular, so the same item may be derivational in one language and inflectional in another.

Disagreement in theoretical morphology regarding derivational and inflectional categories naturally causes some differences among those who are working on the morphology of a specific language. In the case of Mongolian verb morphology, the major difference found in the grammars is that the researchers have not agreed on how to treat suffixes which indicate voice and aspect. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, while some authors, like Poppe and Street, treat these suffixes as derivations, Chenggeltei treats them as dual functional suffixes and Dobu as inflections. The apparent reasons for different treatments of the voice and aspect suffixes in Mongolian are that different authors seem to use different standards for classifying the voice and aspect suffixes and to give different emphasis on the particular function of these suffixes. Therefore, before presenting the
problems for making the division between derivational and inflectional suffixes, it is necessary to address what criteria we will follow when dividing verb-forming suffixes. In our case, the problem of the status of voice and aspect suffixes in Mongolian is perhaps solved by using the criteria established in Katamba (1993: 47-51, 209) who introduces several criteria for differentiating derivation from inflection, which are particularly significant in the matter of Mongolian verb-forming suffixes.

According to Katamba (1993: 47-51), derivational morphemes form new words in the following two ways: (i) by changing the meaning of the base to which they are attached, e.g. *kind* vs. *un-kind*. (ii) by changing the word-class that a base belongs to, e.g., the addition of *-ly* to the adjectives *kind* and *simple* produces the adverbs *kind-ly* and *simply*. Inflectional morphemes, however, unlike derivational morphemes, do not change referential or cognitive meaning and do not alter the word-class of the base to which they are attached, but they are only capable of modifying the form of a word so that they can fit into a particular syntactic slot. Later, Katamba says inflectional morphology “deals with whatever information about word-structure that is relevant to the syntax. Inflectional properties of words are assigned by the syntax and depend on how a word interacts with other words in a phrase, clause or sentence” and he summarizes the difference in the terms ‘inflection’ and ‘derivation’ as simply indicating the degree of syntactic relevance. Prototypical inflectional morphemes are very strongly syntactically determined while prototypical derivational morphemes are very weakly syntactically determined (p. 209).

Voice and aspect suffixes can, according to this, be distinguished as to whether they mark verb-deriving or verb-inflecting processes. Although there is uncertainty with voice suffixes, it is possible to treat them as inflectional. First, there is almost no limitation for adding the suffixes to any verbs and it is a productive way of forming, from a verb, a verb with a voice meaning. Secondly, the attachment of these suffixes changes neither the
meaning nor the word-class of the bases, but they merely modify the form of a verb as shown by the examples below.

(1) a. bari- bari-ya- bari-ldu- bari-lča- ‘to grasp’
    mörgö- mörgö-gde- mörgö-ldü- mörgö-lče ‘to hit’

   b. üje- ‘to see’ üje-gü- ‘to cause to see’
    yari- ‘to speak’ yari-γul- ‘to let someone speak’
    bayu- ‘to get off’ bayu-ya- ‘to make get off’
    sayu- ‘to sit’ sayu-ya- ‘to let sit’

What these two sets of examples show is that none of these suffixes makes any change to the meaning of the base to which they are attached and neither do they alter the word-class of the base; they merely modify the form of a word, e.g., change regular verbs into verbs with passive or reciprocal voice meanings in (1a) and a causative meaning in (1b). Therefore, the use of these suffixes is something other than derivational and it is determined by the syntactic requirements of a sentence that shows the interaction of verbs with other words in a sentence. In the following examples, the various voice suffixes are assigned by the syntax and they show the interaction of verbs with the other words in the contexts.

(2) a. üker turyul-i mörgö-be ox calf-ACC butt-PST
    ‘The ox butted a calf (with its horn).’

   b. turyul üker-ți mörgö-gde-be calf ox-DAT butt-PSS-PST
    ‘A calf was butted by an ox.’

   c. üker turyul mörgö-ldü-ne ox calf butt-RCP-NPT
    ‘Ox and calf butt each other (with their horns).’

   d. üker turyul-uud mörgö-lče-ne ox calf-PL butt-RCP-NPT
    ‘Oxen and calves butt each other (with their horns).’
e. turyul-i üker-du mörgö-gül-ne  
calf-ACC ox-DAT butt-CAU-NPT  
'Someone causes a calf to be butted by an ox.'

The suffixes for indicating aspect, on the other hand, have a limited use. Since productivity is regarded as another criterion for separating inflection from derivation and since in most cases the inflectional morphemes are more productive than derivational ones, there are no great problems for the voice suffixes we just discussed above. They are not limited to particular verb groups but are fairly free to be attached to any types of verbs. The aspect suffixes are, however, not so productive and they are selectively used with only certain types of verbs that indicate a single action of short duration or verbs describing different states of motion. Therefore, they are only attached to verbs like those in (3a), but using them with the verbs in (3b) which lack a meaning of short duration results in ungrammatical words:

(3) a. tata- tata-lja- tata-balja- tata-yalja- 'to pull'  
tute- tute-lje- tute-belje- tute-gelje- 'to stop'  
b. üje- *üje-lje- *üje-belje- *üje-gelje- 'to see'  
ungsi- *ungsi-lja- *ungsi-balja- *ungsi-yalja- 'to read'  

The examples in (3) show contradictory features to inflection and the limitation of the suffixes to certain group of verbs. Therefore, we treat them as a derivational and analyze them accordingly.

Nevertheless, the nature of the voice suffixes causes problems for classifying them as purely inflection. One of the common criteria we mentioned above is that inflection makes no change to the meaning or the word-class of bases, but the derivation does. To follow this principle, if the suffixes under consideration here are inflectional, they are not supposed to change the meaning of bases. But, as exemplified below, some voice suffixes
change the meaning of the base verbs and the derived verbs can serve as a base for further derivation into nouns. This is not a feature of the inflectional process but clearly that of derivation. See the following examples.

(4) a. bayi- ‘to be’ bayi-γul- ‘to build’
debsi- ‘to rise’ debsi-γul- ‘to move, to honor’
angyai- ‘to open’ angyai-lya- ‘to open’
gedüi- ‘to bend backward’ gedüi-lge- ‘to make bend backward’
kele- ‘to say’ kele-lce- ‘to discuss’
tulu- ‘to stand’ tulu-lca- ‘to fight’
darya- ‘to follow’ dara-ldu- ‘to accompany, to comply with’
büri- ‘to cover’ büri-ldu- ‘to consist of’
b. kele-lce- ‘to discuss’ kele-lce-gen ‘discussion, treaty’
tulu-lca- ‘to fight’ tulu-lca-γan ‘war’
büri-ldu- ‘to be composed of’ büri-ldu-kün ‘composition’
bayi-γul- ‘to build’ bayi-γul-γe ‘builder, soldier’

These voice suffixes in (4) do not have the characteristics of the inflectional process but they are used to form a new verb from another verb by altering the original meaning of verbs. For instance, bayi- ‘to be’ and kele- ‘to say’, after the attachment of the voice suffixes, -γul- and -lce-, do not express the voice meaning, ‘to cause to be’ or ‘to say to each other’. On the contrary, the addition of -γul- to bayi- shifts the meaning, ‘to be’ into ‘to build’ (e.g., ger bayi-γul- ‘to build a house’) and attachment of -lce- to kele- alter the meaning, ‘to say’ into ‘to discuss or to talk’ (e.g., abu-tai-ban kele-lce- ‘to talk with one’s own father’). Their derivational features are furthermore shown by the examples in (4b). In these examples, some of the derived verbs after the addition of the voice suffixes serve as a further word-building base. This is because the attachment of the voice suffixes to the
verb bases has the word deriving function. Otherwise, it is unacceptable to add the derivational morpheme after the inflectional morpheme.

The preceding brief discussion shows that the nature of the voice and aspect suffixes is indeed problematic because they show the characteristics of both derivation and inflection. This is the reason why the previous studies are divided in their treatment of these suffixes. Perhaps further research is needed to clarify the exact nature of the suffixes in terms of the inflection and derivation. Nevertheless, despite their problematic features, we will regard the voice suffixes as inflectional suffixes and the aspect suffixes as derivational, since, by the criteria we follow, the former exhibits more characteristic of inflection and the latter displays more features of derivation (see the related parts in chapter five and six, for further discussions on these two sets of the suffixes).

1.4 Outline of Mongolian Morphology

Typologically, Mongolian falls into the class of agglutinative languages and so it shares many structural properties with the other Altaic languages, like Turkish or Manchu. Likewise, in the two major word-building processes, derivation and inflection, Mongolian uses suffixation mostly and so the other word forming methods, prefix, infix, and conversion, do not play a major role in Mongolian morphology. As illustrated in the following list, many different words can be formed continually by adding suffix after suffix to the root *bari-* ‘to hold, to catch, to seize, to arrest’ and the meanings of all derived words related to that of the root in one way or other. In the examples listed below, the suffixes are added to words in two ways: by adding the different suffixes to the base to form different words and by adding different suffixes to the resulting bases one after another to form new words with the various meanings.34
Besides the usual suffixation, as seen in the examples in (6), a phenomenon related to prefixation, the partial reduplication of a word initial CVC or VC or the full reduplication of the word and compounding do exist in Mongolian. However, the reduplication is mostly related to adjectives and nouns.35 Although there are phenomena of reduplicating verbal nouns and converbs, partially or fully, as exemplified in (6), the reduplication of verbal nouns is restricted to those examples I list here. The converb is problematic as reduplication. We will deal with this in the section on converb suffixes in the chapter four.

(6) a. töröksen 'relative' töb töröksen 'immediate relative'
    alčayışan 'to straddle' ab alčayışan 'to straddle more'
    kökeregđ 'to become blue' köb kökeregđ 'to become more blue'
    üjin 'to see' üjin üjin 'see again and again'
    yabu-ju 'to walk' yabu-ju yabu-ju 'to walk continuously'

Compounding plays a certain role in the Mongolian verb formation and there are some words as in (7) derived by compounding. However, it plays a role only in Mongolian verb stem formation and as this dissertation focuses on the verb formation by suffixation we shall not deal with it. Furthermore, the structure of compounds is in dispute both in general morphological theory and in Mongolian grammars.
1.5 Data and conventions of transcription

The data analyzed in this dissertation are from the following sources. In the section on verb derivation, I used the data called Ordos.words file as a base for my analysis. The Ordos.words file is a word list that was entered into database in 1981 by Prof. Schlepp and Binnick from Mostaert’s *Dictionnaire Ordos*. This word list contains 8962 words in which verbs comprise roughly 5264. Since verbs in the word list are all hyphenated, it is fairly easy to track down the verbs with a particular derivational suffix. In our analysis, we tried to locate all verbs with a particular suffix which we then compared with the verbs found in [Mongol Kitad toli], ‘Mongolian—Chinese Dictionary’36 and the other sources, such as Chenggeltei’s and Poppe’s grammars, which include a section on word formation in Mongolian as well. In the section on verb inflection, I rely upon my own speech while consulting as many publications on the subject as possible to facilitate my research.

To deal with Mongolian verbs, especially the morphological variants of the suffixes, it is preferable to transliterate Mongolian based on some sort of phonemic system. However, in order to avoid confusion with the differences in modern pronunciation, and to avoid dialect differences, except for special cases, I will not use the phonemic system to
transcribe Mongolian in this dissertation, but I will transliterate the Mongolian Script that is used to spell Modern Standard spoken and written Mongolian in Inner Mongolia. The transcriptions vary greatly in the different sources and by different authors. In this study, the transcription of the written script refers to A. Mostaert, *Dictionnaire Ordos*, pp. 769-809. The transcription system used in the Mostaert list uses the following symbols:

(8)  

Vowel Monographs: a, e, i, o, u, ö, ü  
Vowel Digraphs: ai, ei, ui, ua  
Vowel Trigraphs: ayi, eyi, oyi, uyi, öyi, üyi  
Consonants: n, b, q, γ, l, m, s, š, t, d, č, ţ, y, r, w

In the thesis, I do not indicate the separation of a final vowel written separately in the script, usually marked in other works with hyphens; instead I reserve the use of hyphens to set off the suffix from the stem regardless of whether there is a separate vowel or not.
Notes

1 More detailed information on Buryats in the Russian federation is found in Zhukovskaya (1995) and Darieva (1995).

2 The situation of the Mogols is somewhat peripheral to our interests and so we will not discuss them in this dissertation.

3 The figures of Buryat in Mongolia and inner Mongolia are from Darieva (1995) in which the year of the census was not given.

4 Poppe (1955: 22) says Buryat is a separate language of the east Mongolian branch. It is, however, unclear to me what the position of Buryat is in all Mongolic languages, e.g., in comparison with the west branch.


6 During the early 1980s, the result of the studies was published as six booklets in Chinese in Beijing.


8 In addition, Buryat, Kalmuck, and Mogol are listed as separate languages.

9 He list Argawa, San-chu’an, Santa (Dongxiang), Sera Yögor, and Shirongol as dialects of Monguor.

10 See Binnick (1987: 178-181) for more discussion.

11 According to Böke (1987), there are many different Chinese loan-words in the Dongxiang vocabulary system and even the Chinese particles with the various grammatical meanings are active in the Dongxiang language.

12 See Chen (1986: 6) and also note that he mentioned they also consulted the language spoken in the other small villages like Guomari, Gashairi, and Baoanxiazhuang.

13 A small example of Minhe dialect with a brief introduction to Minhe Monguor is found in Zhu et al. (1995).

14 East Mongolian is used by Vladimirrov (1929) and Poppe (1955: 19). Mongol is used by Poppe (1965: 13), Mongolian proper is used by Comrie (1981: 54) and Binnick (1987: 179), central Mongolian is used by Binnick (1987: 179), Khalkha is used by Sanzheev (1955) and Street (1961), and Mongolian is usually used by the scholars in Mongolia and Inner Mongolia.

15 According to the 1992 census, the total population of Mongolia is 2,305,516 and it estimates more than 90% (2,074,954) of which speak Mongolian as their native language. Although there are 3,375,230 Mongols in Inner Mongolia according to the census 1990, we don’t know the exact number of the native speakers of Mongolian because the census never includes this information. However, most of the Mongols in Inner Mongolia live in the countryside and the majority of them use Mongolian as their native language. From this we suppose at least half of the Mongol population of Inner Mongolia speak Mongolian as their native language.
16 Cited from Sun (1985: 4-5).

17 Under the southern Mongolian, he further divides East dialects, Kharchin, Chakhar, and Ordos dialects.


22 Dobu “蒙古语概況” 中国语文 3 (1964). No page number is available. See Sun (1985: 8), for details.

23 Cited from Poppe (1954)’s preface.

24 Chenggeltei (1981) states that although these suffixes for marking voice serve as word-forming bases, they mostly express a grammatical meaning and they can be added to a wide variety of verbs. Therefore, he claims these suffixes are inflectional.


26 Neither Dobu (1983) nor Sun (1985) includes this suffix.

27 By the suffixes with the formative and grammatical meanings, he means the voice and aspect suffixes. He claims that these two types of suffixes are dual functional, e.g., have both derivational and inflectional functions. To decide whether they are formative or inflectional suffixes, he considers their most typical peculiarities and he says that in the morphemes of voice, the formative character is predominant, while in the morphemes of aspect the inflectional character is of central significance. See Öörbayan (1988: 310-11), for the details.


29 There are numerous articles published on this subject in the recent years. For instance, Tümenchichig (1990), Binnick (1990), Svantesson (1991), Hashimoto (1993), and Wu (1996).


31 Converb is, for example, called gerund in Poppe (1970) and connective form, Lianjie xing in Chinese in Dobu (1983).

32 Although the number of suffixes in each group differs, Poppe (1954: 95), Binnick (1979: 59), and Schlepp (1991: 183) all divide converses into two groups and the first group are the converses with the
suffixes, -jul'-ču, -n, and -γad/-ged and the second group includes the rest. In Poppe’s case, he lists two more suffixes, -basu/-besü and -baču/-bečü in his first group.

33See Katamba (1993: 47-52), for more details.

34These examples are from the class notes taken in the course. Word-formation in Mongolian, taught by Prof. Sinetge during my MA studies (1984-87) at the Institute for Mongolian Language Studies, Inner Mongolia University.

35Some information of the reduplication of adjective and verbal noun may be found from Wu (1989: 122-126).

36The dictionary was compiled by the group of researchers in Mongolian Language Research Institute, Inner Mongolia University for a period of more than ten years. The dictionary is one of few existing Mongolian dictionaries and a highly respected one in Inner Mongolia. It is sometimes simply known as sira toli, ‘yellow dictionary’, because of the color of the cover page or as Sinedge-yin toli, ‘Sinedge’s dictionary’ because Sinedge, who is currently a Professor in Mongolian Language Research Institute, is believed to be a chief editor of the dictionary.
CHAPTER TWO

Verb Derivation

On the basis of internal structure and morphological operation, a verb can be classified into the following sub-classes: simple verb, derived verb, and compound verb. A simple verb is a word by itself with no other affix attached and will serve as a base for forming other words, including another verb. A derived verb consists of word, usually a noun, adjective or other verb, plus a verb forming suffix. A compound verb is from the combination of two words. In this chapter I deal with verb derivation by suffixation to noun, adjective, verb, and adverb only and leave out verb derivation from compounding.

Suffixation is a major morphological process in Mongolian verb derivation and it is a productive way to form a new verb from various word-classes. By suffixation, a verb can be derived from a noun, adjective, verb, or adverb with various meanings. In the following section, I will deal with several different classes of the suffixes, e.g., the suffixes that are added after nouns and adjectives, those that are added after verbs to form verbs, and those are added across word-classes. There are also special suffixes to derive verbs from adverbs to form what are called sound imitating or onomatopoeic words.

2.1 The suffixes used across word-classes

In this section, we will deal with three suffixes that are actively used with four different word-classes—noun, adjective, verb, and adverb—to form a large number of verbs. The behavior of the three is, in particular after noun, adjective, and adverb, very much similar in the way that they all change the base into verbs with a meaning related to that of the bases. Nevertheless, they are not homophonous suffixes, but they function differently and have their own peculiarities.
2.1.1 The suffix -la/-le-

A considerable number of verbs can be derived by attaching the -la/-le- suffix to nouns, adjectives, and verbs. The meaning of this suffix is not identical with the different word bases, but it may vary. See the following examples where the suffix is added to nouns in (1a), to adjectives in (1b), to verbs in (1c), and to adverbs in (1d). Also note that it has a variant, -l-, after adverbs.

(1) a. usu ‘water’ usu-la- ‘to water’
   aba ‘hunt’ aba-la- ‘to hunt’
   jegüdü ‘dream’ jegüdü-le- ‘to dream’
   b. ūyaŋ ‘thick’ ūya-ŋ-la- ‘to thicken’
   qayurai ‘dry’ qayurai-la- ‘to dry’
   dulaŋ ‘warm’ dulaŋ-la- ‘to warm’
   c. dusu- ‘to fall’ dusu-la- ‘to drop’
   daru- ‘to press’ daru-la- ‘to oppress’
   qudu- ‘to stir, mix’ qudu-la- ‘to mix’
   d. qaya ‘breaking’ qaya-la- ‘to break’
   qyuru ‘breaking’ qyuru-la- ‘to break’
   suryu ‘pulling’ suryu-la- ‘to pull out’

After nouns and adjectives it has the same function, i.e. simply to change the noun or adjective into a verb with a meaning closely associated with the original meaning of base word. It behaves somewhat like the conversion of a noun into a verb, e.g., water and to water, in English. See more examples below.

(2) a. qayira ‘love’ qayira-la- ‘to love’
   daguu ‘song’ dagu-la- ‘to sing’
   emegel ‘saddle’ emege-le- ‘to saddle’
Similarly, it alters adverbs into verbs and the meaning of the derived verb resembles that of the base adverb. See the examples below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bōbeı</td>
<td>bōbei-le-</td>
<td>‘to soothe with lullaby’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salkı</td>
<td>salki-la-</td>
<td>‘to be windy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dabqr</td>
<td>dabqr-la-</td>
<td>‘to double’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ariγun</td>
<td>ariγu-la-</td>
<td>‘to clean’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qayurai</td>
<td>qayurai-la-</td>
<td>‘to dry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qalayun</td>
<td>qalayu-la-</td>
<td>‘to heat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qataγu</td>
<td>qataγu-la-</td>
<td>‘to be neat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sira</td>
<td>sira-la-</td>
<td>‘to become yellow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terigün</td>
<td>terigü-le-</td>
<td>‘to lead’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) a. emte ‘notching’  emte-l- ‘to notch’
    ilja ‘rotting’  ilja-l- ‘to mush’
    nebte ‘through’  nebte-l- ‘to break through’
    niča ‘asunder’  niča-l- ‘to smash’
    balba ‘breaking’  balba-l- ‘to crush’

The addition to verbs derives a verb from another verb. It is, however, not free to be attached to any verbs, but it seems more likely associated with verbs with a meaning of a short duration inherently and derives a verb with a meaning of repeating an action within a given period of time. Consider the following examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Normal</th>
<th>Repetitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gisgi-</td>
<td>gisgi-le-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>debse-</td>
<td>debse-le-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musgi-</td>
<td>musgi-la-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dorgi-</td>
<td>dorgi-la-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to step’</td>
<td>‘to step repeatedly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to trample’</td>
<td>‘to trample repeatedly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to twist’</td>
<td>‘to twist repeatedly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to tremble’</td>
<td>‘to tremble repeatedly’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
čalgi- 'to splash' čalgi-la- 'to splash repeatedly'
čabči- 'to chop' čabči-la- 'to chop repeatedly'
čoki- 'to hit' čoki-la- 'to hit repeatedly'
emkü- 'to put into the mouth' emkü-la- 'to put into the mouth repeatedly'
kerči- 'to slice' kerči-le 'to slice repeatedly'
dorgi- 'to shock' dorgi-la- 'to shock repeatedly'

There is another suffix, -lkila-/lkile-, which is similar in function to -la/-le added to verbs. This suffix is not often identified as a verb forming suffix and when it is recognized, it is sometimes listed as a separate suffix from -la/-le (Nasunbayar 1983: 371) and sometimes, listed together with it (Chenggeltei 1981: 576). By following Chenggeltei (1981), here we put it together with -la/-le, because the suffix does not occur with too many verbs and its meaning is very similar to that of the -la/-le- suffix as shown in the following examples.

(5) bodo- bodo-lkila- 'to think'
γuyu- γuyu-lkila- 'to beg'
nuqu- nuqu-lkila- 'to mix'

The meaning of these two suffixes has been summarized differently in the sources. For example, Poppe (1954: 64) says it expresses repeated action, Street (1963: 83) and Poppe (1970: 112) use 'frequentative' for its meaning, but Poppe (1970) explains its meaning as to form "verbs denoting actions which are repeated without interruption." Chenggeltei (1981: 576), on the other hand, says they form verbs with the meaning of long repetition. However, although their basic meaning is to indicate repetitive action, not all verbs derived from it express that meaning. With some verbs it indicates rapidly repeated action within a short period of time as exemplified in (3) above but with some it has no more than a slightly different meaning from the plain verb. For example:
(6)  daru- 'to press'  daru-la- 'to oppress'
      dusu- 'to fall'  dusu-la- 'to drop'
      bodo- 'to think'  bodo-la- 'to consider'

Two kinds of truncations take place in the process of attaching this suffix to the bases. One is the deletion of the word final [n] as seen in (1b) and the other is the assimilation of -la/-le- with the word final nasal consonants, as can be seen from the list (7a) below. However, it is a free variance because the assimilated form -na- and -la- are interchangeable in most cases as shown in (7b) where both -na/-ne and -la/-le can be added to the same base and it is not necessarily that -la- always assimilates with the word-final nasal consonant, as in (7c) where it retains its original form in spite of the nasal consonant at the end of the bases.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(7)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>jam</td>
<td>road</td>
<td>jam-na-</td>
<td>*jam-la-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dayisun</td>
<td>enemy</td>
<td>dayisung-na-</td>
<td>*dayisung-la-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>eng</td>
<td>line</td>
<td>eng-ne-</td>
<td>*eng-le-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>sam</td>
<td>comb</td>
<td>sam-na-</td>
<td>sam-la-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gem</td>
<td>defect</td>
<td>gem-ne-</td>
<td>gem-le-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>em</td>
<td>medicine</td>
<td>em-ne</td>
<td>em-le-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ang</td>
<td>beast</td>
<td>ang-na-</td>
<td>ang-la-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dün̂g</td>
<td>result</td>
<td>dün̂g-ne-</td>
<td>dün̂g-le-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>šang</td>
<td>award</td>
<td>šang-na-</td>
<td>šang-la-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ŋang</td>
<td>temper</td>
<td>ŋang-na-</td>
<td>ŋang-la-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qošong</td>
<td>joke</td>
<td>qošong-na-</td>
<td>qošong-la-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>nom</td>
<td>book</td>
<td>nom-la-</td>
<td>*nom-na-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qurim</td>
<td>wedding</td>
<td>qurim-la-</td>
<td>*qurim-na-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qaram</td>
<td>greedy</td>
<td>qaram-la-</td>
<td>*qaram-na-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>olong</td>
<td>girth</td>
<td>olong-la-</td>
<td>*long-na-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.1.2 The -ra/-re- suffix

This is another suffix that is used across word-class to derive a large number of verbs from nouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs. Similar to -la/-le, the function of the suffix is to change noun, adjective, and adverb into verbs and transform a verb into another verb. The meaning of derived verbs basically reflects what the base words mean and all derived verbs are intransitive no matter what word-class they are from. See the following examples.

(8) a. tuyaya ‘beam’ tuyaya-ra- ‘to beam’
    segege ‘conscience’ segege-re- ‘to be conscious’
    uqayan ‘intelligence’ uqaya-ra- ‘to comprehend’
    medege ‘conscience’ medege-re- ‘to realize’
    endegü ‘fault’ endegür-re- ‘to be mistaken’

   b. jujayan ‘thick’ jujaya-ra- ‘to thicken’
    dulayan ‘warm’ dulaya-ra- ‘to warm’
    sula ‘loose’ sula-ra- ‘to loosen’

   c. yada- ‘to tire’ yada-ra- ‘to tire (oneself) out’
    mede- ‘to know’ mede-re- ‘to feel, to admit’
    bayu- ‘to get off’ bayu-ra- ‘to be weakened’

   d. tasu ‘cutting’ tasu-ra- ‘to tear’
    qoltu ‘peeling’ qoltu-ra- ‘to peel off’
    jılıya ‘scratching’ jılıya-ra- ‘to scratch’

2.1.3 The -ča/-če- suffix

This is a suffix used across word-class to form verbs from noun, adjective, adverb, and verb. When attached to a noun or adjective the suffix derives a verb with the meaning of ‘to do something that is expressed by the base’. See the following examples.
When added to a verb base, it produces another verb that may or may not have a different meaning. For example:

(10) a. bar-i-  ‘to hold’  bari-ča-  ‘to compare’
ergi-  ‘to turn’  ergi-če-  ‘to hesitate’
ji-ri-  ‘to miss’  jöri-če-  ‘to violate’
nöökü-  ‘to patch’  nöökü-če-  ‘to be friend’
siqa-  ‘to squeeze’  siqa-ča-  ‘to crowd’
mörgü-  ‘to butt, to collide’  mörgü-če-  ‘to counter’
b. joki-  ‘to fit’  joki-ča-  ‘to match’
solbi-  ‘to cross’  solbi-ča-  ‘to cross, to intersect’
soli-  ‘to change’  soli-ča-  ‘to exchange’
üime-  ‘to bustle’  üime-če-  ‘to bustle’
After some verbs and adverbs, it has a variant -či- which expresses repetition, i.e. the given action is repeated intensively within a certain period of time as shown by the following examples.

(11) a. ebde- 'to break' ebde-či- 'to destroy'
    nuqu- 'to mix' nuqu-či- 'to crumple'
    ergi- 'to turn' ergi-če- 'to falter'

b. balba 'completely' balba-či- 'to smash'
    qaγa 'breaking' qaγa-či- 'to break'
    tasu 'sudden cut' tasu-či- 'to tear apart'
    delbe 'explosively' delbe-či- 'to crush'

2.1.4 The difference between these suffixes

The three suffixes we have examined above, especially the former two, behave somewhat similarly in that they are all attached to words of different classes to form verbs. But they have a fundamental difference. A distinction between -la/-le- and -ra/-re- can be drawn in terms of the transitivity and intransitivity of the derived verb. The derived verbs from -la/-le- are transitive and those from -ra/-re- are intransitive and this difference can be demonstrated by the attachment of two suffixes to the same base. With nouns, the distinction between -ra/-re- and -la/-le- is not so clear but it appears that the attachment of -ra/-re- always derives an intransitive verb while we cannot be as certain of -la/-le-. To many noun bases, these two suffixes can be attached simultaneously and the derived verb is transitive with -la/-le- and intransitive with -ra/-re-. See the following examples.

(12) egče 'straight' egče-le- 'to straighten' egče-re- 'to be straight'
    ilyal 'distinction' ilyal-la- 'to distinguish' ilya-ra- 'to differ'
    bögem 'bunch' bögem-le- 'to cluster' bögem-re- 'to gather'
    tuyγa 'beam' tuyγa-la- 'to beam' tuyγa-ra- 'to shine'
elige ‘liver’  elig-le- ‘to lie on stomach’  elig-re- ‘to care’
modo ‘tree’  modo-la- ‘perch on tree’  modo-ra- ‘to become woody’
dabusu ‘salt’  dabusu-la- ‘to salt’  dabusu-ra- ‘to be salty’
uqayam ‘intellect’  uqaysa-la- ‘to cogitate’  uqaysa-ra- ‘to perceive’
qayaya ‘edge’  qayaya-la- ‘to move aside’  qayaya-ra- ‘to dawn’

The transitive and intransitive difference between these two suffixes is shown more clearly when they attach to the same adjectives, adverbs, and verbs. When they are both attached to the same adjective base, it is straightforward that -la/-le- derives the transitive verb and -ra/-re- forms the intransitive one as in (13) below. Compare the following examples.

(13) kündü ‘heavy’  kündü-le- ‘to respect’  kündü-re- ‘to be heavy’
sula ‘loose’  sula-la- ‘to loosen’  sula-ra- ‘to be loose’
ondoo ‘different’  ondoo-la- ‘to distinguish’  ondoo-ra- ‘to be different’
qoyoson ‘empty’  qoyoson-la- ‘to empty’  qoyoson-ra- ‘to be empty’
todo ‘clear’  todo-la- ‘to clarify’  todo-ra- ‘to emerge’
tusakai ‘special’  tusakai-la- ‘to specialize’  tusakai-ra- ‘to be specific’
dolayan ‘warm’  dolaya-la- ‘to warm’  dolaya-ra- ‘to be warm’

From the samples we collected, we cannot find too many examples of verbs to which these two suffixes are added simultaneously. The examples we found, however, still show the transitive and intransitive distinction as exemplified in (14a). With adverbs, these two suffixes shows explicitly the transitive and intransitive distinction as in (14b) below.

(14) a. saçu- ‘to spray’  saçu-la- ‘to scatter’  saçu-ra- ‘to sprinkle’
ebde- ‘to destroy’  ebde-le- ‘to destroy’  ebde-re- ‘to break down’
aldan- ‘to lose’  alda-la- ‘to release’  alda-ra ‘to come off’
b. qayə ‘breaking’ qayə-l- ‘to break’ qayə-ra- ‘to fall apart’
quru ‘breaking’ quru-l- ‘to break’ quru-ra- ‘to be broken’
suru ‘pulling’ suru-l- ‘to pull out’ suru-ra- ‘to slip out’
emte ‘notching’ emte-l- ‘to notch’ emte-re- ‘to chip off’
ilja ‘rotting’ ilja-l- ‘to mush’ ilja-ra- ‘to rot’
nabte ‘through’ nabte-l- ‘to break through’ nabte-re- ‘to pass through’
nicə ‘asunder’ nicə-l- ‘to smash’ nicə-ra- ‘to be smashed’
balba ‘breaking’ balba-l- ‘to crush’ balba-ra- ‘to crumble’

In addition to the above transitive and intransitive opposition, these two suffixes also show other minor differences. Although there is no regular pattern, it seems that they are productive with different groups of nouns or adjectives. For instance, as shown in the following list, to some bases -ra-/re- is not allowed to be added but only -la/-le-.

(15) a. asig ‘benefit’ asig-la- *asig-re- ‘to make use of’
toloyai ‘head’ tolojai-la- *toloyai-ra- ‘to lead’
meke ‘deceit’ meke-le- *meke-re- ‘to cheat’
salki ‘wind’ salki-la- *salki-ra- ‘to be windy’
emči ‘doctor’ emči-le- *emči-re- ‘to be doctor’
sejig ‘suspicion’ sejig-le- *sejig-re- ‘to distrust’

b. taryun ‘fat’ taryu-la- *taryu-ra- ‘to gain weight’
dabqur ‘double’ dabqur-la- *dabqur-ra- ‘to double’
derkim ‘honorable’ erkim-le- *erkim-re- ‘to honor’
öndör ‘high’ öndör-le- *öndör-re- ‘to raise’
narin ‘thin’ nari-la- *nari-ra- ‘to do carefully’
buryu ‘opposite’ buryu-la- *buryu-ra- ‘to turn way’
qayurai ‘dry’ qayurai-la- *qayurai-ra- ‘to dry’
qurdu ‘fast’ qurdu-la- *qurdu-ra- ‘to speed up’
On the other hand, to some bases, -la/-le- is not allowed to be attached but only -ra/-re- is allowed. See the following examples.

(16) a. tōkōge ‘mind’ tōkōge-re- *tōkōge-le ‘to understand’
    segege ‘conscious’ segege-re- *segege-le- ‘to become conscious’
    tasiya ‘error’ tasiya-ra- *tasiya-la- ‘to be mistaken’
    endegüü ‘mistake’ endegü-re- *endegü-le- ‘to be mistaken’

b. köke ‘blue’ köke-re- *köke-le- ‘to be blue’
    kūyiten ‘cold’ kūyite-re- *kūyite-le- ‘to become chilly’
    egdegüü ‘fault’ egdegü-re- *egdegü-le- ‘to be mistaken’
    kečegüü ‘difficult’ kečegü-re- *kečegü-le- ‘to be difficult’
    kögsin ‘old’ kögsi-re- *kögsi-le ‘to get old’
    günjėgei ‘profound’ günjėgei-re- *günjėgei-le- ‘to be profound’
    samayun ‘disorganized’ samayu-ra- *samayu-la- ‘to be disorganized’

Another difference shown between -la/-le- and -ra/-re- is that they are sensitive to different meanings of the same base. This is illustrated by the following examples where the two suffixes express the different meanings of the same bases when forming the verbs.

(17) oboya ‘pile’ oboya-la- ‘to pile up’
    ‘gathering’ oboya-ra- ‘to gather’
    soyoya ‘tusk’ soyoya-la- ‘to grow tusks’
    ‘sprout’ soyoya-ra- ‘to sprout’

The -ča/-če- suffix is another productive way of deriving verbs from the different type of word-classes and in particular, it is more productive with verbs than the other two suffixes and it is used extensively to form verbs from adverbs depicting the manner of action.
In the data we collected, unlike with the former two suffixes, this suffix appears to be less commonly used with nouns and adjectives to form verbs and only those examples listed in (9) are found. To many of the bases to which -la/-le- and -ra/-re- are attached to form verbs, -ca/-če- is not applicable, but many of the bases to which -ca/-če- are attached, either -la/-le- or -ra/-re- can be attached. In the examples we listed, although the verb derived by -ca/-če- has a similar meaning with that of the verb derived by -la/-le- or -ra/-re-, they differ slightly. Of the examples (18), those in (a) are verbs derived solely from -ca/-če-, those in (b) are verbs derived from -ca/-če- and -la/-le-, and those in (c) are verbs derived from all three suffixes. Note that there are not too many examples of the verbs derived by -ca/-če- and -ra/-re- simultaneously.

(18) a. meljije 'bet' meljije-če- 'to bet'
esergü 'opposite' esergü-če- 'to go against'
serigün 'cool' serigün-če- 'to feel cool, to cool off'
selgün 'free' selgün-če- 'to rest'

b. arya 'method' arya-ca- 'to cope with' arya-la- 'to handle'
toya 'number' toya-ca- 'to treat as' toya-la- 'to count'
qariyu 'answer' qariyu-ca- 'to resist' qariyu-la- 'to answer'
jerge 'degree' jerge-če- 'to be equal' jerge-le- 'to make a line'
dabqur 'double' dabqu-ca- 'to duplicate' dabqu-la- 'to double'
eriyen 'colored' eriyen-če- 'to scribble' eriyen-le- 'to make colorful'

c. qalayun 'hot' dulayən 'warm'
qalayu-ca- 'to feel hot' dulayə-ca- 'to feel warm'
qalayu-la- 'to heat' dulayə-la- 'to warm'
qalayu-ra- 'to have a fever' dulayə-ra- 'to become warm'

Their distinction is perhaps shown more clearly by the following examples, since the verb in each of the examples is not interchangeable.
(19) a. bi qalγu-ča-ju bayi-na
   I heat-CONV be-NPT
   ‘I am warming up myself.’

b. bi qoyola qalγu-la-ju bayi-na
   I meal heat-CONV be-NPT
   ‘I am heating my meal.’

c. bi qalγu-ra-ju bayi-na
   I heat-CONV be-NPT
   ‘I am getting a fever.’

(20) a. bi dulγa-ča-ju bayi-na
   I warm-CONV be-NPT
   ‘I am warming up myself.’

b. ger-ben dulγa-la-ju bayi-na
   house-REF meal heat-CONV be-NPT
   ‘(I) am warming my house.’

c. tegri dulγa-ra-ju bayi-na
   it warm-CONV be-NPT
   ‘It is getting warm.’

This suffix is never attached to the same verb base to which -la/-le- or -ra/-re- are attached and vice versa. After some verbs, it has a variant -či- which expresses repetition as shown by the examples in (11) above.

Although their meanings differ slightly, these three suffixes are extensively added to adverbs forming transitive verbs depicting the manner of action. In Mongolian, there are a good number of adverbs which, placed before a verb in the sentence, indicate the manner of action or event. In most cases, the adverbs are placed alone before the verb but they can be duplicated. For instance, all adverbs occurring before the verb čoki- ‘to strike, to break’ express the manner in which čoki- can be done; the duplication of the adverb expresses repetition or intensity of that action.

(21) Normal Repetitive or intensive

qaya čoki- qaya qaya čoki- ‘to break’
tasu čoki- dasu dasu čoki- ‘to tear apart’
kemke čoki- kemke kemke čoki- ‘to smash into pieces’
balba čoki- balba balba čoki- ‘to smash’
quyu čoki- quyu quyu čoki- ‘to break into pieces’
To many of these adverbs three suffixes, -l-, -či-, and -ra-/re-, can be freely attached to derive verbs with the different meanings. This is one of the more productive ways to form verbs in Mongolian. The -l- and -či- suffixes create a transitive verb and the -ra-/re- suffix an intransitive. This distinction is clear in the grammar books, however, the difference between the -l- and -či- suffixes has been explained in various ways. For instance, while Poppe (1954: 66) remarks the -či- suffix expresses “actions performed energetically or with strength” and -l- forms verbs “expressing destructive actions,” Street (1963: 87) claims the former has frequentative meaning and the latter has frequentative or intensive meaning. Önörbayan (1988: 315), on the contrary, explains that -l- refers to non-recurrent action and -či- refers to repeated (or recurrent) actions. The two suffixes, it seems clear, form verbs with the same meaning but the -či- suffix refers to action repeated frequently for a certain period of time and -l- lacks this meaning.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Unmarked</th>
<th>Repetitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>balba</td>
<td>balba-l-</td>
<td>balba-či-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaγa</td>
<td>qaγa-l-</td>
<td>qaγa-či-</td>
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<tr>
<td>tasu</td>
<td>tasu-l-</td>
<td>tasu-či-</td>
</tr>
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<td>delbe</td>
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<td>delbe-či-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kemke</td>
<td>kemke-l-</td>
<td>kemke-či-</td>
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<td>qoltu</td>
<td>qoltu-l-</td>
<td>qoltu-či-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quγu</td>
<td>quγu-l-</td>
<td>quγu-či-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suγu</td>
<td>suγu-l-</td>
<td>suγu-či-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salba</td>
<td>salba-l-</td>
<td>salba-či-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the -l- and -či- suffixes can be attached to the same words, the -l- suffix is used more frequently than the -či- suffix. For instance, in the examples listed below, the -či- suffix is not possible but the -l- suffix is.
(23)  julya  ‘scratching’  julya-l-  ‘to scratch’
kelte  ‘chipping’  kelte-l-  ‘to chip off’
multi  ‘tearing’  multi-l-  ‘to tear off’
mölțü  ‘dislocating’  mölțü-l-  ‘to dislocate’
sete  ‘notching’  sete-l-  ‘to notch’
sibtu  ‘passing’  sibtu-l-  ‘to pass through’
tesüt  ‘bursting’  tesüt-l-  ‘to break apart’

2.2 The suffix used after noun and adjective

There are the following ten suffixes that are attached to both noun and adjective to form verbs, most of which commonly used to derive verbs from these two word-classes.

2.2.1 The -da/-de- suffix

This is one of the most productive verb forming suffixes as it can be added to almost any noun and adjective to form verbs with various meanings. When attached to a noun, it expresses a meaning of ‘to use ... to do something’ and when attached to an adjective, it has a meaning of ‘to be... or to be more ...’. See the following examples and compare the examples in (24a) and (24b).

(24) a. alaya  ‘palm’  alaya-da-  ‘to slap with the hand’
sidam  ‘short stick’  sidam-da-  ‘to beat with the stick’
küjügü  ‘neck’  küjügü-de-  ‘to seize by the neck’
čabau  ‘glue’  čabau-da-  ‘to glue’
tosu  ‘oil’  tos-u-da-  ‘to oil’
tulγaryuri  ‘pillar’  tulγaryuri-da-  ‘to support’
alba  ‘compulsion’  alba-da-  ‘to force’
arga  ‘method’  arga-da-  ‘to persuade’
This suffix has several variants, -du/-dū-,-ta/-te-, and -tu/-tū-, depending upon the vowel or the last segment of base. For example.

(25) a. ḫa‘ ‘free’ ḫa‘-du- ‘to forestall’
aliya ‘naughty’ aliya-du- ‘to be naughty’
nayiral ‘accord’ nayiral-du- ‘to be in accord’
tokiyal ‘chance’ tokiyal-du- ‘to coincide’
temčel ‘competition’ temčel-du- ‘to compete’
b. doroyi ‘weak’ doroyi-ta- ‘to decay’
namuy ‘swamp’ namuy-ta- ‘to become swamp’
c. bulanggir ‘turbid’ bulanggir-tu- ‘to be turbid’
buğar ‘dirty’ buğar-tu- ‘to be dirty’
oyira ‘near’ oyira-tu- ‘to approach’
budang ‘fog’ budang-tu- ‘to be foggy’
gem ‘sin’ gem-tü- ‘to be injured’
ünür ‘smell’ ünür-tü- ‘to smell’
keyi ‘air’ keyi-tü- ‘to be excited’

Sometimes, the -da/-de- suffix is confused with -d/-s-, 1 because of their similar forms and the meaning they express. But they are not the same suffix. Compare the following examples in (26) where the -da/-de- suffix and -d- express dissimilar meanings even though they are attached to the same adjective. The -da/-de- suffix expresses ‘to be too ...’, while the latter express the meaning ‘to become...’.

(26) a. mayu ‘bad’ mayu-da- ‘to be too bad’ mayu-d- ‘to become bad’
ürgen ‘wide’ urge-de- ‘to be too wide’ urge-d- ‘to become wide’
qalayun ‘hot’ qalayu-da- ‘to feel too hot’ qalayu-d- ‘to become hot’
erte ‘early’ erte-de- ‘to be early’ erte-d- ‘to become early’
ilęgüü ‘extra’ ilegü-de- ‘to be extra’ ilegü-d- ‘to exceed’

b. baya ‘small’ baya-da- ‘to be too small’ baya-d-/s- ‘to become small’
narin ‘thin’ nari-da- ‘to be too thin’ nari-d-/s- ‘to become thin’
yeke ‘big’ yeke-de- ‘to be too big’ yeke-d-/s- ‘to become big’
juğayan ‘thick’ juğa-da- ‘to be too thick’ juğa-d-/s- ‘to become thick’
qurdun ‘fast’ qurdun-du- ‘to be too fast’ qurdun-d-/s- ‘to become fast’

Similar to the -d/-s- suffix, the other alterations of -da/-de- also make the difference of ‘to be too...’ and ‘to be...’ as listed in (27) below. However, not all examples of -du/-dü-, -tu/-tü- exemplified in (24) have the counterparts to which -da/-de- is attached and in this case, -du/-dü-, -tu/-tü-, or the others simply express the same
meaning as the -da-/de- suffix (see the above).

(27) öndör ‘tall’ öndör-de- ‘to be too tall’ öndör-dü- ‘to be tall’
oyira ‘close’ oyira-da- ‘to be too close’ oyira-tu- ‘to be closer’
oryi ‘late’ oryi-ta- ‘to be late’ oryi-to- ‘to be late’
ayuğim ‘slow’ ayuğim-da- ‘to be too slow’ ayuğim-du- ‘to be slow’

2.2.2 The -bėila/-bėile- suffix

The suffix is added to the adjective and derives verbs with the meaning ‘to act in a certain way’ from the meaning of the primary adjective. It is also added to the noun (two examples in our data) to form verbs.

(28) yayara ‘busy’ yayara-bėila- ‘to hurry’
yeke ‘big, large’ yeke-bėile- ‘to treat roughly’
büdüğün ‘large’ büdüğü-bėile ‘to act crudely’
qurdun ‘fast’ qurdu-bėila- ‘to act quickly, to speed up’
türgen ‘quick’ türge-bėile- ‘to act quickly’
könggen ‘light’ köngge-bėile- ‘to make lighter’
narin ‘narrow’ nari-bėila- ‘to study thoroughly’
salaya ‘branch’ salaya-bėila ‘to branch out’

In many of the examples, the suffix is attached to the bases to which -la-/le is also connected and in some cases, their meanings are inseparable. For instance, some of the examples in (29) also take the -la-/le- suffix but the distinction between the verbs derived with -bėila/-bėile- and the verbs derived with -la-/le- is not entirely clear. The only difference is that the former has the meaning of ‘to act in a certain way’ and the latter ‘to act quickly in a certain way’. See the following examples.
This suffix, however, is not freely used with any adjective but is restricted to relatively few adjectives as exemplified in the above list. For instance, it is hardly used with the adjectives like qara 'black' and dạyan 'white,' sayin 'good' and mayu 'bad,' and udyan 'slow' and ayajim 'gradual.' In such cases, the -bêla-/bêle- suffix is contrastive with the -jira-/jire- and -sira-/sire- suffixes in that they are never attached to the same adjectives (see the sections 2.2.5 and 2.2.7 later).

Since the structure of the -bêla-/bêle- suffix is the exactly same as the noun forming suffix -bê- combined with the verb forming suffix -la-/le-, it is sometimes analyzed as -bê- and -la-/le-, two separate suffixes. Even though both structure and meaning have a certain similarity, they cannot be regarded as the same. The -bêla-/bêle- suffix and the -bê- and -la-/le- suffixes form verbs with completely different meanings. The former, as the examples in (28) show, not only forms verbs with a meaning of 'to act in a certain manner' but also indicates 'to do something quickly,' while the latter is clearly the combination of two suffixes. One is the noun forming suffix -bê- from noun and adjective and the other is a verb forming suffix -la-/le- from noun and it merely functions as the verb forming suffix from nouns that are formed from adding the -bê- suffix to noun or adjective. Compare the following examples with those in (28).

(30) dalda 'hidden' dalda-bê 'shelter' dalda-bê-la- 'to hide'
alaya 'palm' alaya-bê 'cuffs' alaya-bê-la- 'to cuff'
amayayi 'bit' amayayi-bê 'bridle' amayayi-bê-la- 'to bridle'
küjügü 'neck' küjügü-bči 'necklace' küjügü-bči-le- 'to put something around one’s neck'
qalqa 'shield' qalqa-bči 'shelter' qalqa-bči-la- 'to shield'
sara 'moon' sara-bči 'roof' sara-bči-la- 'to look shielding the eyes with the hand'
surγu 'armpit' surγu-bči 'armhole' surγu-bči-la- 'to carry under the arm'

2.2.3 The -čila-/čile- suffix

This suffix forms verbs, meaning ‘to treat as...’ or ‘to act as...’ when added to a noun referring to humans (mostly relatives) and ‘to make into, to rendered into’ after an adjective and other nouns.

(31) a. eke 'mother' eke-čile- 'to treat as mother'
ečige 'father' ečige-čile- 'to treat as father'
küü 'son' küü-čile- 'to treat as one’s own son'
köbegün 'son' köbegün-čile- 'to treat as one’s own son'
degüü 'younger brother' degüü-čile- 'to act as a younger brother'
üre 'descendant' üre-čile- 'to take as one’s own child'
beri 'daughter in-law' beri-čile- 'to act as a daughter-in-law'
boyol 'slave' boyol-čile- 'to treat as a slave'
sedgil 'feeling' sedgil-čile- 'to act according to one’s own thought'
yosu 'rule' yosu-čile- 'to act according to rule'
b. kitad 'Chinese' kitad-čila- 'to translate into Chinese'
mongγol 'Mongolian' mongγol-čila- 'to translate into Mongolian'
kümün 'human' kümün-čile- 'to humanize'
odoki 'modern' odoki-čile- 'to modernize'
Just as with the -bčila/-bčile- suffix, since the structure of this suffix is the same as the combination of the noun forming suffix -či- followed by the verb forming suffix -la/-le-, the distinction of the two is not always clearly made in the grammars. For instance, the verbs, derived by the addition of the -la/-le- suffix to noun or adjective with the -či/čin suffix, are often treated as examples of verbs formed by attaching the -čila/-čile- suffix to a noun.2 The fact is that the verbs like those in (32a) are not verbs derived by attaching -čila/-čile- to noun or adjective, but verbs derived by the addition of -la/-le- to noun or adjective with the -či/čin suffix. The -či/čin suffix is noun or adjective forming from a noun and the -la/-le- suffix is a suffix deriving verbs from noun or adjective (see more discussion on this above the section 2.1.1). Consider the following examples where the suffix -la/-le- in (32a) functions in exactly the same way that it does when attached to nouns ending with -či/čin in (32b). In both cases, -la/-le- forms verbs from noun or adjective with a meaning of ‘to do or to be whatever the noun indicates’. On the contrary, in the examples given in (31) above, the -čila/-čile- suffix is inseparable. Compare the following examples with those in (31).

(32) a. ayil ‘family’ ayil-či ‘visitor’ ayil-či-la- ‘to travel’
    dayin ‘war’ dayi-či ‘warlike’ dayi-či-la- ‘to arouse’
    ɣajar ‘place’ ɣajar-či ‘guide’ ɣajar-či-la- ‘to be guide’
    dem ‘skill’ dem-či ‘midwife’ dem-či-le- ‘to be midwife’
    eme ‘drug’ eme-či ‘doctor’ eme-či-le- ‘to heal’
2.2.4 The -ji- suffix

The -ji- suffix derives verbs from nouns and adjectives. The derived verb has a meaning related to that of the primary words, but it is hard to summarize. In some case, it has a meaning of 'to be...' and sometimes, it expresses entry into a state, i.e. 'to become like...'. See the following examples.

(33) a. nasu 'age' nasu-ji- 'to age'

jorig 'courage' jorig-ji- 'to be encouraged'

mal 'animal' mal-ji- 'to herd'

üre 'descendant' üre-ji- 'to increase'

dam 'indirect' dam-ji- 'to pass'

dem 'help' dem-ji- 'to help'

qabur 'spring' qabur-ji- 'to pass the spring'

b. sübegči 'picky' sübegči-le- 'to trace'

tobči 'button' tobči-la- 'to button'

sarabči 'porch, visor' sarabči-la- 'to look shielding the eyes'

qoči 'humor' qoči-la- 'to make fun of'

ömrči 'property' ömrči-le- 'to own'

bildauči 'flatterer' bildauči-la- 'to flatter, to fawn'

gerči 'evidence' gerči-le- 'to give testimony'

yuyirinči 'beggar' yuyirinči-la- 'to beg'

kóbči 'whole' kóbči-le- 'to cover'

ači 'benefit' ači-la- 'to benefit'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>γuu</td>
<td>'ditch'</td>
<td>γuu-ji-</td>
<td>'to molt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kem</td>
<td>'measure'</td>
<td>kem-ji-</td>
<td>'to measure'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qam</td>
<td>'togetherness'</td>
<td>qam-ji-</td>
<td>'to help'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jalayu</td>
<td>'young'</td>
<td>jalayu-ji-</td>
<td>'to be young'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arbin</td>
<td>'plenty'</td>
<td>arbi-ji-</td>
<td>'to increase'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qatayu</td>
<td>'hard'</td>
<td>qatayu-ji-</td>
<td>'to be strong'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bayan</td>
<td>'rich'</td>
<td>baya-ji-</td>
<td>'to get rich'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>örgen</td>
<td>'wide'</td>
<td>örge-ji-</td>
<td>'to widen'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.5 The -jra-/jire- suffix

The meaning of this suffix is similar with that of the -ji- suffix but the use is limited to certain adjectives and it rarely occurs with nouns (the only examples being anggi 'separate' and qay 'dust'). Although -jra-/jire- is similar in meaning to -ji-, it hardly ever occurs with adjectives to which the -ji- suffix may be attached or vice versa. Compare the following examples with those in (33).

(34) anggi  'separate'  anggi-jira-  'to separate'
qay  'dirt, dust'  qoy-jira-  'to fall off'
sayin  'good'  sayin-jira-  'to improve'
mayu  'bad'  mayu-jira-  'to be worse'
ayuu  'spacious'  ayu-jira-  'to become spacious, to be relieved'
dury  'calm, deep'  dury-jira-  'to take a nap'
dayamai  'strength'  dayam-jira-  'to become serious, to worsen'

2.2.6 The -si- suffix

This suffix is added to nouns and sometimes to adjectives. It has the meaning, 'to become...' or 'to start to be...' and the resulting verb is always intransitive. For example:
(35) a. aldar 'fame' aldar-si- 'to become famous'
amta 'taste' amta-si- 'to habituate'
atar 'uncultivated' atar-si- 'to be uncultivated'
buyul 'mildew' buyul-si- 'to mildew'
egüle 'cloud' egüle-si- 'to become cloudy'
boroya 'rain' boroya-si- 'to be rainy'
onon 'location' onon-si- 'to settle'
b. mergen 'smart' mergen-si- 'to be skilled'
ünem 'truth' ünem-si- 'to trust'
eğen 'ruler' eğen-si- 'to master'
bayatur 'brave' bayatur-si- 'to be brave'
alay 'spotted' alay-si- 'to be spotted'
çuqay 'rare' çuqay-si- 'to become rare'
anggir 'yellow' anggir-si- 'to become yellow'

The forms and meaning of -ji- and -si- are not quite the same, but there are samples to show that these two can be added to the same base and express the same meaning in most cases as shown in (36a). Their difference is, however, shown clearly by examples in (36b) where the two suffixes are attached to nouns referring to the seasons and -si- expresses 'for ... to approach' and -ji- has a meaning of 'to pass...'.

(36) a. namuy 'swamp' namuy-si- namuy-ji- 'to become swamp'
nutuy 'native place' nutuy-si- nutuy-ji- 'to be used to the place'
onon 'place' onon-si- onon-ji- 'to settle down'
atar 'uncultivated' atar-si- atar-ji- 'to become virgin land'
elbeg 'plenty' elbeg-si- elbeg-ji- 'to be abundant'
kilbar 'easy' kilbar-si- kilbar-ji- 'to be easy'
qobor 'rare' qobor-si- qobor-ji- 'to become rare'
mergen ‘smart’ merge-si- merge-jī- ‘to be expert’
b. namur ‘Autumn’ namur-si- ‘for Autumn to approach’ namur-jī- ‘to pass the Autumn’
qabur ‘Spring’ qabur-si- ‘for Spring to approach’ qabur-jī- ‘to pass the Spring’

2.2.7 The -sira/-sire- suffix

This suffix is attached to a limited number of nouns and adjectives to derive intransitive verbs. Its meaning is hard to describe but it means ‘to become...’ or to turn into...’ in some cases. See the following examples.

(37) sanāya ‘thought’ sanāya-sira- ‘to worry’
qala ‘hardship’ qala-sira- ‘to be tired of’
اجر ‘direction’ ğur-sire- ‘to be in order’
olan ‘many’ ola-sira- ‘to multiply’
čayan ‘white’ čayan-sira- ‘to whiten’
udayan ‘slow’ udayan-sira- ‘to slow down’
qatayu ‘hard, firm’ qatayu-sira- ‘to strengthen’
ay ‘tight’ ay-sira- ‘to thicken’

As mentioned earlier, when attached to adjectives, the meaning of -jīra/-jīre- is similar with that of -sira/-sire- and -bēila/-bēile-. However, they are hardly ever used with the same adjective. The meaning of the three suffixes is roughly the same after adjectives but apparently they are not added to the same bases. Let’s look at several examples below.

(38) a. qurdun ‘fast’ qurdu-bēila- *qurdu-sira- *qurdu-jīra-
yayarau ‘busy’ yawara-bēila- *yawara-sira- *yawara-jīra-
türgen ‘quick’ türge-bēile- *türge-sile- *türge-jīre-
b. čayən 'white' čayə-sira- *čayə-bčila- *čayə-ji ra-
udayən 'slow' udayə-sira- *udayə-bčila- *udayə-ji ra-
qatayə 'hard' qatayə-sira- *qatayə-bčila- *qatayə-ji ra-
c. sayin 'good' sayin-ji ra- *sayin-bčila- *sayin-sira-
mayu 'bad' mayu-ji ra- *mayu-bčila- *mayu-sira-
ayu 'spacious' ayu-ji ra- *ayu-bčila- *ayu-sira-

The selective use of three suffixes is shown by these examples in (38) and it appears that the limitation of each suffix has something to with the inherent meaning of the adjective they attach to. The -bčila/-bčile- suffix is added to adjectives describing motion, the -sira/-sire- suffix is added to adjectives describing color or quality, and the -ji ra/-ji re- suffix is attached to adjectives describing quality and it is limited to these adjectives exemplified above.

2.2.8 The -siya/-siye- suffix

Added to nouns and adjectives this forms transitive verbs with the meaning of ‘to do ... or to make...’ For example:

(39) sayin 'good' sayi-siya- 'to praise'
buruyu 'mistake' buruyu-siya- 'to criticize'
erke 'might' erke-siye- 'to dominate'
elige 'liver' elige-siye- 'to love'
berke 'difficulty' berke-siye- 'to fear'
kereg 'need' kereg-siye- 'to need'
mayu 'bad' mayu-siya- 'to disgrace'
orō 'heart' orō-siye- 'to forgive'
töbeg 'obstacle' töbeg-siye- 'to consider difficult'
adali 'same' adali-siya- 'to compare'
baruy  'similar'  baruy-siya-  'to be similar'
qani  'companion'  qani-siya-  'to search friend'
yadaýur  'outside'  yadaýur-siya-  'to alienate'
doora  'below'  doora-siya-  'to look down upon'
dura  'desire'  dura-siya-  'to take interest in'
keçegüü  'tough'  keçegü-siye-  'to regard as difficult'
kündü  'heavy'  kündü-siye-  'to regard as heavy'

2.2.9 The -rqa/-rke suffix

This suffix produces verbs with the meaning 'to behave in a certain way or to act as...' and it has a variant, -ka/-lke-. When the word ends with 'n, l, r, g' these consonants are dropped. Consider the following examples.

(40) a. ataya  'envy'  ataya-rqa  'to envy'
    aliya  'naughty'  aliya-rqa-  'to be naughty'
    čilege  'tiresome'  čilege-rke-  'to tire'
    kümü  'strength'  kümü-rke-  'to use force'
    ösiye  'hostility'  ösiye-rke-  'to take revenge'
    tala  'favor'  tala-rqa-  'to be thankful'
    yeke  'big'  yeke-rke-  'to be large'
    üne  'price'  üne-rke-  'to overestimate'
    nere  'name'  nere-lke  'to be pretentious'
    b. ere  'male'  ere-lke-  'to boast'
    eğin  'ruler'  eğin-rke-  'to rule'
    c. sayin  'good'  sayin-rqa-  'to improve'
    noyan  'master'  noyan-rqa-  'to lord over'
    sonin  'strange'  sonin-rqa-  'to be curious'
Sometimes, the -rqa-/-rke suffix can be connected to the same base to which -ra/-re- or -la/-le is also attached. However, when attached to the same base, the meaning of -rqa/-rke contrasts with that of -ra/-re- and -la/-le-. The distinction between -rqa/-rke and -ra/-re- is that the former derives verbs with a meaning of 'to pretend to be' or 'to act like' and the latter simply derives intransitive verbs with a meaning closely associated to the original meaning of the bases. See the following examples.

(41) mede- ‘to know’ mede-re- ‘to realize’ mede-rke- ‘to pretend to know’
önocin ‘orphan’ önoci-re- ‘to feel lonely’ önoci-rke- ‘to act like orphan’
qayucin ‘old’ qayuci-ra- ‘to wear off’ qayuci-rqa- ‘to appear to be old’
søyogu ‘drunk’ soyogu-ra- ‘to feel dizzy’ soyogu-rqa- ‘to act like as if drunk’
tomoya ‘sense’ tomoya-ra- ‘to understand’ tomoya-rqa- ‘to pretend to be sedate’
doysin ‘wild’ doysi-ra- ‘to rage’ doysi-rqa- ‘to display wildness’
baqa ‘interest’ baqa-ra- ‘to adore’ baqa-rqa- ‘to admire’
aliya ‘naughty’ aliya-ra- ‘to be naughty’ aliya-rqa- ‘to be naughty’

The -rqa/-rke and -la/-le- suffixes derive verbs having a meaning related to the meaning of the base, but their difference is that the former derives the intransitive verb and the latter forms the transitive verb. Compare the following examples.

(42) geićin ‘guest’ geić-le- ‘to visit’ geić-rke- ‘to be too polite’
beye ‘body’ beye-le- ‘to accomplish’ beye-rke- ‘to show off’
nayiji ‘friend’ nayiji-la- ‘to be friend with’ nayiji-rqa- ‘to be friendly with’
yadayur ‘outside’ yadayur-la- ‘to act as stranger’ yadayur-rqa- ‘to act as an outsider’
noyan ‘lord’ noya-la- ‘to control’ noya-rqa- ‘to lord over’
eğin ‘ruler’ eği-le- ‘to conquer’ egi-rke ‘to rule’
omay ‘pride’ omay-la ‘to be arrogant’ omay-rqa- ‘to act arrogantly’
oşiye ‘hostility’ oşiye-le- ‘to hate’ oşiye-rke- ‘to take revenge’
üne ‘price’ üne-le- ‘to price’ üne-rke- ‘to bargain’
nere ‘name’ nere-le- ‘to name’ nere-lke ‘to be pretentious’
bayatur ‘brave’ bayatur-la- ‘to be brave’ bayatu-rqa ‘to act courageously’
ünenc‘ ‘loyal’ ünenc-le- ‘to be loyal’ ünenc-rke- ‘to boast of one’s loyalty’

The examples listed in (41) and (42) above show another interesting contrast. That is, to the bases, to which -rqa/-rke- and -ra/-re- are attached in (41), the -la/-le suffix is not allowed to be added, whereas to the bases, to which -rqa/-rke- and -la/-le- are attached, -ra/-re- is not allowed to attached. On the other hand, to some bases, neither -la/-le- nor -ra/-re- is permitted to attach but -rqa/-rke- is permitted as in (43a). Furthermore -la/-le- and -rqa/-rke- generate different meanings from the same base, as in (43b).

(43) a. ataya ‘envy’ ataya-rqa *ataya-ra-* *ataya-la-* ‘to envy’
    ere ‘strength’ ere-lke *ere-re- *ere-le- ‘to boast’
    tala ‘favor’ tala-rqa- *tala-ra-* *tala-la-* ‘to be thankful’
    sayin ‘good’ sayin-rqa- *sayin-ra-* *sayin-la-* ‘to boast’
    soyol ‘culture’ soyol-rqa-*soyol-ra-* *soyol-la-* ‘to enlighten’
    čilege ‘tiresome’ čilege-rke-*čilege-re-* *čilege-le- ‘to tire’
    yeke ‘big’ yeke-rke-*yeke-re-* *yeke-le- ‘to be arrogant’
    sonin ‘strange’ sonin-rqa-*sonin-ra-* *sonin-la- ‘to be curious’
    yabiya ‘merit’ yabiya-rqa-*yabiya-ra-* *yabiya-la-* ‘to boast of one’s merit’
b. beye ‘body’ beye-le-*beye-le-* ‘to accomplish’
    ‘strength’ beye-rke-*beye-rke-* ‘to show off’
    küčü ‘strength’ küčü-le-*küčü-le-* ‘to make an effort’
    ‘power’ küčü-rke-*küčü-rke-* ‘to force’
üye ‘joint’ üye-le- ‘to disjoint’
‘the same age’ üye-rke- ‘to associate with people of one’s own age’

2.2.10 The -sa/-se- suffix

This suffix is used only with a limited number of nouns and it derives verbs with a meaning, ‘to have the property expressed by noun’. See the following examples.

(44) miqa ‘meat’ miqa-sa- ‘to crave meat’
ayur ‘anger’ ayur-sa- ‘to be angry’
am ‘mouth’ ama-sa- ‘to taste’
kereg ‘use’ kereg-se- ‘to use’
noyir ‘sleep’ noyir-su- ‘to be sleepy’
ayil ‘village’ ayil-sa- ‘to be a neighbor’
alay ‘spotted’ alay-sa- ‘to be multicolored’
qani ‘friend’ qani-sa- ‘to be a friend’
ebx ‘peace’ eb-se- ‘to make peace with’
eye ‘friendship’ eye-se- ‘to be friendly’
üge ‘word’ üge-se- ‘to conspire’

2.3 The suffixes used after adverb, adjective, and verb

The two groups of the suffixes considered in this section are a common way of creating verbs for describing the action and event more picturesquely and vividly. Within each group, there are several different, but closely related suffixes and both groups are more extensively used with adverbs, though the first group may be attached to a limited number of adjectives and verbs.
2.3.1 The -i-, -lja/-lje-, -balja/-belje-, -yalja/-gelje-, and -yana/-gene- suffixes

These are a group of closely related suffixes that are mostly added to adverbs depicting manner or mode of the action to produce a large amount of verbs. Some of these suffixes are also attached to adjectives or verbs to form verbs but this is limited. The meaning of the suffixes is basically the same. Except for the -i- suffix, they all derive verbs with either a repetitive or durative sense and the most peculiar feature of the suffixes is that they describe the action and event more picturesquely and vividly. In what follows, I will discuss their attachment to adverbs first and then verbs and adjectives.

In Mongolian, there is a wide variety of adverbs that end usually in one or two of the consonants, /ng/, /g/, /s/, /r/. The adverbs ending in /ng/ and /g/ are the most frequent forms of the verb forming base. In most cases, these adverbs are used in the reduplicated form before verbs and describe the manner or mode of the action and event expressed by that verb. For example, in the following lists, they describe the different ways or manners of walking in (45a), the various ways of something fluttering in the wind (45b), and the different ways of something shining in the light in (45c).

(45) a. dayibang dayibang alqu-qu b. darbas darbas keyis-kü
    kelbeng kelbeng alqu-qu derbeng derbeng keyis-kü
    alčang alčang alqu-qu c. gilas gilas gerelte-kü
    kegseg kegseg alqu-qu dulas dulas gerelte-kü

Sometimes, these adverbs take a slightly different form by changing the vowels in the word. For instance, kelbeng, kegseg, and darbas in (45) have different forms, qalbang, qaysag, and derbes with slightly different meanings. By the suffixation of -i-, lja/-lje-, balja/-belje-, yalja/-gelje-, and yana/-gene- to these adverbs a variety of verbs is derived. See the examples below:
Different explanations have been given to the meaning of each of these suffixes. Poppe (1954: 64, 1970: 112), for instance, says that -lja/-lje- indicates rhythmic motion, while -balja/-belje- expresses a lasting action or uninterrupted action. Chenggeltei (1981: 574-5), on the other hand, claims the meanings of -lja/-lje-, -balja/-belje-, -yalja/-gelje- indicate long lasting repetitive action and the meaning of -yana/-gene- expresses reoccurrence of action. These explanations are partially correct since they point out some of the common meanings associated with these suffixes, but they seem unable to capture the whole meaning of the suffixes. At this point, we have to admit that it is very difficult to draw a clear division between these suffixes, especially between -lja/-lje-, -balja/-belje-, and -yalja/-gelje-, because of the perplexing meanings of the suffixes themselves and the variety of bases to which they are attached. In this study, we explain the meanings of the suffixes as somewhat similar to the explanation given in Önorbayan (1988), but we consider that the meaning of the derived verbs are essentially the same though it may differ in aspectual sense. For instance, -i- forms a verb with regular meaning, -lja/-lje-, -balja/-belje-, -yalja/-gelje- derive a verb with a long durative repetition, -yana/-gene- expresses a short durative repetition. See the following examples.
As in (47) above, all these suffixes are capable of being attached to these adverbial bases. However, from the data we collected, -i-, -lja-/-lje-, and -yana-/gene- are more productive and can be added to any of the adverbs mentioned above. In fact, this is one of highly productive ways of deriving verbs in Mongolian. The suffix -balja-/belje- and especially -yalja/-gelje-, on the other hand, are used with only a limited number of bases and they appear to be a variation of -lja/-lje- since they do not occur with too many words and their meanings are basically the same as that of -lja/-lje-. With the examples in (48) below, neither of -balja-/belje- and -yalja/-gelje- occurs but -i-, -lja/-lje-, and -yana-/gene- occur and as remarked previously, -i- has a regular meaning and the other two express repetitive meaning.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Normal</th>
<th>Long repetitive</th>
<th>Short repetitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irjang</td>
<td>irjag</td>
<td>irja-</td>
<td>irja-lja-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>serteng</td>
<td>serteg</td>
<td>serte-</td>
<td>serte-lje-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuljing</td>
<td>yuljig</td>
<td>yulji-</td>
<td>yulji-lja-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gilang</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>gila-</td>
<td>gila-lja-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aning</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ani-</td>
<td>ani-lja-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gedeng</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>gede-</td>
<td>gede-lje-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>nabsag</td>
<td>nabsa-</td>
<td>nabsa-lja-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nabtag</td>
<td>nabtag</td>
<td>nabta-</td>
<td>nabta-yalja-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(48) Base | Normal | Long repetitive | Short repetitive
| a. dayibing | dayibig | dayibi- | dayibi-lja- | dayibi-yana- | ‘to totter’ |
| dalbing | dalbig | dalbi- | dalbi-lja- | dalbi-yana- | ‘to be awry’ |
| qayibang | qayibag | qayiba- | qayiba-lja- | qayiba-yana- | ‘to sway’ |
| kegseng | kegseg | kegse- | kegse-lje- | kegse-gene- | ‘to be haughty’ |
| kelbeng | kelbeg | kelbe- | kelbe-lje- | kelbe-gene- | ‘to deviate’ |
| sartang | sartag | sarta- | sarta-lja- | sarta-yana- | ‘to stick out’ |
To many of the bases, as listed in (48), all three of the -i-, -lja-/lje-, and -yana/-gene- suffixes are equally attached to derive verbs but there are cases where the use of these suffixes is uneven. In some cases, -i- and -lja-/lje- are not present and in some cases, -lja-/lje- and -yana/-gene- are not present. Instead, either -balja/-belje- or -yalja/-gelje- is used with these bases as shown in the following examples. Note that the first three examples do not have a verb formed with -i-.

(49) ́joysung ́joysu- — ́joysu-yalja- ́joysu-yana- 'to stop'
     tata- — tata-balja/-tata-yalja- tata-yana- 'to pull'
     sirbang sirba- — sirba-balja- sirba-yana- 'to wag the tail'
     čayibang — čayiba-i- čayiba-balja- — 'to be whitish'

Although added mostly to adverbs for deriving verbs, some of these suffixes derive verbs from verb and adjective bases and the meaning derived is similar to that of the base. Of these suffixes, -lja-/lje-, -balja/-belje-, -yalja/-gelje- can derive verbs from a small number of verbs. The difference between the base and the derived verb is hard to describe but the meaning of the derived verb is however more picturesque and vivid than that of the
base and also has a durative sense in comparison with that of the bases. See the following examples.

(50) yangqu- ‘to sway’ yangqu-lja ‘to sway’ (tree or tree branch)  
čyi- ‘to pale’ čyi-balja- ‘to pale’  
sana- ‘to miss’ sana-γaľa- ‘to miss constantly’  
qara- ‘to stare’ qara-γaľa- ‘to look after, to take care of’  
kuli- ‘to tie up’ kuli-gelje- ‘to wait momentarily’  
tüde- ‘to stop temporarily’ tüde-gelje- ‘to hesitate’

The attachment to adjectives is also limited to a certain number of words and these base adjectives mostly end in -γar/-ger/-γir and this final segment of the bases is dropped though in some cases, only the final segment /r/ is lost instead of the entire suffix. The meanings of these adjectives is related to the description of a shape or mode of the object and the meaning of the derived verbs closely reflects that of the original bases. From these suffixes, -i-, -lja-/lje-, and -γana/-gene- can be attached to the same base and -i- derives verbs with a normal meaning and the latter two derive verbs with a meaning of repetition. The distinction between the latter two is that -lja-/lje- has a meaning of a long durative repetition and -γana/-gene- has a meaning of a short durative repetition. Compare the following examples where many bases take suffixation of all three suffixes but some others cannot derive verbs from either -i- or -γana/-gene-.

(51) base Normal Long durative Short durative  
dengker ‘tall’ dengke-i- dengke-lje- dengke-gene- ‘to wiggle’  
dendege ‘warped’ dende-i- dende-lje- dende-gene- ‘to wriggle’  
denji ‘unstable’ denji-i- denji-lje- denji-gene ‘to be sway’  
nabsiyar ‘worn’ nabsi-i- nabsi-lja- nabsi-γana- ‘to be ragged’  
sembeger ‘light’ sembe-i- sembe-lje- sembe-gene- ‘to sway’
The treatment of these suffixes and the explanations given differ greatly in the previous studies. Even though most of the suffixes are treated as verb forming suffixes in the majority of the grammar books, they are treated as inflectional suffixes as well. For instance, Poppe (1954) and (1970) list -lja/-lje- and -balja/-belje- as derivational suffixes deriving verbs from verbs. Similarly, Street (1963) lists the -lja/-lje- suffix and regards it as a derivational suffix as well. Chenggeltei (1981) includes, on the other hand, all of the suffixes except -i-. He regards the -lja/-lje-, -balja/-belje-, and -yana/-gene- suffixes as verb forming suffixes and -ski- as an inflectional suffix. Önörbuyan (1988) makes the list of -i-, -lja/-lje-, and -ski- and regards them as verb deriving suffixes from onomatopoeic words. In contrast with the above three authors, Nasunbayar (1984: 357-71) lists the suffixes as verb inflection with formation functions and classifies them as bifunctional.

There are several problems in the previous analysis of these suffixes. First, it is troublesome to regard the -ski- suffix as a verb forming suffix from adverbs. At first glance, one can analyze the structure of the verb, sarba-ski-, as we do with the verbs, sarba-i-, sarba-lja-, sarba-yana-, as a verb derived by the suffixation of -ski- to the adverb, sarbang. But, if we look at more examples, the problem arises that many of the verbs with the -ski- suffix have the adverb bases ending in not only /ng/ and /g/ but also /l/. In our analysis, therefore a verb like sarba-ski- is not formed from the suffixation of -ski- to sarbang but from the suffixation of -ki- to sarbas and the meaning of sarbas-ki- is momentary in comparison with the verbs derived from the other suffixes. Consider more examples of this below.
(52) irbang  irbag  irbas  irba-i-  irba-lja-  irba-yan-  irbas-ki-  ‘to wrinkle’
irjang  irjag  irjas  irja-i-  irja-lja-  irja-yan-  irjas-ki-  ‘to simper’
arjang  arjag  arjas  arja-i-  arja-lja-  arja-yan-  arjas-ki-  ‘to grin’
arjang  arjyar  aryas  arya-i-  arya-lja-  arya-yan-  aryas-ki-  ‘to shrivel’
serbeng  serbeg  serbes  serbe-i-  serbe-lje-  serbe-yan-  serbes-ki-  ‘to wiggle’
naking  nakiyar  nakis  naki-i-  naki-lja-  naki-yan-  nakis-ki-  ‘to tremble’
gilang  —  gilas  gila-i-  gila-lja-  gila-yan-  gilas-ki-  ‘to shine’

Secondly, the authors fail to make a distinction between the verbs derived by these suffixes from verbs and those derived from adverbs and adjectives. Many cases of verbs formed from adverbs and adjectives or verbs derived from verbs are ignored (e.g., Önörbuyan 1988). Chenggeltei (1981) has given examples of verbs from adverbs but he overlooks the structure of the bases and the suffixes. He regards -lja/-lje-,-balj/-belje-, and -yan/-gene- as suffixes for deriving verbs from verbs by attaching to verbs with the -i- suffix instead of deriving verbs from adverbs ending with /ng/ or /g/ directly (Chenggeltei 1981: 574-5). By this explanation, the structure of sarba-lja- is that -lja- is attached to the verb, sarba-i- which is formed by adding the -i- suffix to the adverb sarbang, but lost the verb forming suffix. There are, however, several problems with this analysis. First of all, there are some examples that show the attachment of these suffixes directly to adverbs or adjectives to form verbs and it is ungrammatical to add -i- to these words to derive verbs as shown in the following examples.

(53) melmes  ‘overflowing’  melme-lje-  melme-gene-  ‘to overflow’
börög  ‘dark’  börö-lje-  —  ‘to be gloomy’
qomuqai  ‘greedy’  qomuqa-lja-  —  ‘to be greedy’
tangki  ‘fastidious’  tangki-lja-  —  ‘to be fastidious’
derdeger  ‘thin and tall’  derde-lje-  derde-gene-  ‘to wiggle’
Another problem is that it is contradictory to the facts to analyze the verbs with the -lja/-lje-, -balja/-belje-, -yalja/-gelje-, -yana/-gene- suffixes as derived from verbs with the -i- suffix, because in the case of (54a) below, it is not clear whether the verbs with the -lja/-lje- - yana/-gene- suffixes are derived from the verbs with no -i- suffix or from the verbs with the -i- suffix and clearly, it is impossible to say whether the verbs with those suffixes in (54b) are derived from the verbs with the -i- suffix since it is ungrammatical to form verbs by the suffixation of -i- to those bases. We consider these verbs derived by the suffixation of the suffixes, -lja/-lje-, -balja/-belje-, -yalja/-gelje-, -yana/-gene- to be neither from the verbs with the -i- suffix nor from the verbs with no -i- suffix, but rather they are verbs derived by attaching those suffixes directly to adverb bases.

(54) a. unjig unji- unji-lja- unji-yana- 'to hang down'
    gilbang gilba- gilba-lja- gilba-yana- 'to flash'
    derbeng derbe- derbe-lje- derbe-gene- 'to flatter'
    dalbang dalba- dalba-lja- dalba-yana- 'to wave'(flag)
    dokig doki- doki-i doki-lja- doki-yana 'to beckon'

b. nayiyug nayiyu- *nayiyu-i- nayiyu-lja- — 'to flutter'(tree)
    joysung joysu- *joysu-i- joysu-yalja- joysu-yana- 'to stop'
    tatag tata- *tata-i- tata-balja- tata-yana- 'to pull'
    sirbang sirba- *sirba-i- sirba-balja- sirba-yana- 'to wag'(tail)

Finally, although the suffixes do indicate some sort of aspectual meaning, such as durative and repetitive, it is inadequate to treat these suffixes as inflectional because, as we have seen earlier, in most cases, the suffixes are used to form verbs from adverbs and adjectives. Even though they are used with the verb bases, their attachment is limited to certain verbs and their meanings also include additional elements, like describing the action more vividly, in addition to aspectual meanings. More importantly, we argue that what the others call verbs derived from verbs are in fact verbs derived after attaching these suffixes
to adverbs, not verbs.

2.3.2 The -gi-, -gina-/gine-, -čigina-/čigine-, and -kira-/kire- suffixes

This group of suffixes is associated mostly with the onomatopoeic words that are sound imitating words. By attaching them to sound imitating words, these suffixes derive verbs indicating the act of making sounds. In addition, these suffixes also express a continuous aspectual meaning. The meanings of the suffixes differ slightly one from the other and their distribution also differs depending on the final component of the base.

The -gi- suffix is added to the onomatopoeic bound morphemes to form verbs and the -gira-/gire- and -gila-/gile- suffixes are also added to some of these bases to form verbs with similar meanings to the -gi- suffix. See the following examples.

(54) ša-gi- ‘to pour’ (describing the sound of a downpour)
čor-gi- ‘to drill’
čuu-gi- ‘to shout’
or-gi- ‘to gush’ or-gila- ‘to bubble’
bor-gi- ‘to rise’ bor-gira- ‘to swirl’
šuu-gi- ‘to whistle’ šuu-gira- ‘to hiss’
čal-gi- ‘to splash’ čal-gira- ‘to splash’ čal-gila- ‘to splash’
dar-gi- ‘to roar’ dar-gira- ‘to seethe’ dar-gila- ‘to run noisily’
qal-gi- ‘to spill’ qal-gira- ‘to pour out’ qal-gila- ‘to float’

The -gina-/gine- suffix is added to sound imitating words ending in the /ng/ consonant. See the examples listed below.

(55) a. čang čang-gina- ‘to reverberate’
dang dang-gina- ‘to ring’
düng düng-gine- ‘to make a hollow sound’
The -čigina-/čigine- suffix occurs with sound imitating words ending with the consonant /r/. In (56b) are examples of a variant with -jigina/-jigine-. See the following examples.

(56) a. tar ‌tar-čigina-  ‘to rustle’
    dar ‌dar-čigina-  ‘to rattle’
    tür ‌tür-čigine-  ‘to rumble’
    qar ‌qar-čigina-  ‘to make crackling noises’
    qor ‌qor-čigina-  ‘to grumble’
    kür ‌kür-čigine-  ‘to purr’
    sar ‌sar-čigina-  ‘to creak’
    tor ‌tor-čigina-  ‘to crackle’

b. qar ‌qar-jigina-  ‘to make crackling sounds’
    qor ‌qor-jigina-  ‘to grumble’
    šar ‌šar-jigina-  ‘to make swishing sounds’
    šor ‌šor-jigina-  ‘to make the sound of pouring water’

The -kira/-kire- suffix is attached to several bound morphemes to form verbs indicating sounds by animals or human-beings. The suffix also has the free variant -gira/-gire-, as shown in the following examples.
or-gira-  'to roar, bawl'
kür      kür-gire-  'to growl'
dür      dür-kire-  'to be noisy'
ar       ar-kira-   'to grunt'
bar      bar-kira-  'to scream'
čar      čar-gira-  'to feel pain'
čur      čur-kira-  'to howl'
qas      qas-kira-  'to shout'
bur      bur-kira-  'to curl upward'

Notes

1 For example, in Chenggeltei (1981: 568), they are treated as the same suffix.

2 For example, Chenggeltei (1981: 569) listed ailtila- as a verb derived from the noun ail with the -čile- suffix. Also see Nasunbayar (1984: 366).

3 Street (1963: 84) gives only the -lja- -lje- suffix and his explanation on the meaning is similar to that of Poppe (1954).

4 Nasunbayar (1984: 371) also lists the -lja- -lje- , -balja/-belje- , -γαλλα/-γελλε- suffixes, but as a separate suffixes.

5 According to his claims, -i- and -ski- have a non-recurrent meaning and the distinction between these two is that the former has a durative meaning and the latter has a instantaneous meaning. -lja- -lje- and -γαλλα/-gene- have a recurrent meaning and their difference is that the former refers to the durably recurrent and the latter refers to the recurrent of a short time. For the details, see Önörboyan (1988: 317).
CHAPTER THREE

Converb, Verbal Noun, and Auxiliary

This chapter is concerned with three different non-finite forms of verbs which play an important role in the inflectional properties of verbs that we are going to discuss in the next several chapters. In the first section, we are concerned with converbs. After outlining the general feature of converbs based on previous studies in Mongolian and in other similar languages, we divide converbs into two types: contextual and specialized converbs or same-subject and varying subject converbs. Under the contextual category, we include four different converb suffixes. In addition to describing the general meaning of these converb suffixes, we compare the similarities and differences among some of these suffixes. The specialized converbs are varying-subject converbs and they express the particular circumstantial meanings related to such meanings as anteriority, posteriority, condition, concessive, successive, and purpose etc.

In the section on verbal nouns, we will discuss five verbal noun suffixes. Since we will consider the finite use of some verbal noun suffixes and their periphrastic uses in the following chapters, the basic characteristics of these verbal nouns is our concern in this section.

Auxiliary verbs are presented in the last section of this chapter. In Mongolian, some verbs, while retaining their full lexical properties in some circumstances, function as an auxiliary under certain conditions and they express mostly the meanings associated with tense, aspect, and mood. Two types, copular auxiliary and quasi-auxiliary, we consider in this discussion are from a full verb and the grammatical meanings they express closely resemble that of the original full verb. In our discussion, we intend to
cover the potential use of these two types of auxiliaries in relation to the inflectional categories that will be discussed later in the dissertation.

3.1 Converb

The converb is defined in Haspelmath (1995a: 3) as “a nonfinite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination.” Converbs in Mongolian basically fall within this definition, although it is hard to generalize about their meaning and function. The notable feature of the Mongolian converb is that it cannot normally be used in independent sentences; it depends on a superordinate verb for mood and tense interpretation and often for the reference of its subject (cf. Haspelmath 1995a: 23). The major function of converbs is perhaps, as Poppe (1979: 135) puts it, to indicate “actions which accompany the action of the main verb, or the circumstance under which the action of the finite verb takes place” or as Binnick (1979: 62) observes, “to form adverbial or gerundial subordinate clauses.”

The converb or ‘converbal’ in Mongolian is sometimes called ‘gerund’ (Poppe 1970) or the ‘connective form’ (lian jie xing in Chinese) (Dobu 1983: 53). Previous studies are somewhat diversified as to the classification of converbs, the identification of the numbers of converb suffixes, and the interpretation of the particular converb suffix. By the coreferentiality of its subject with that of the main verb or its relationship (connection) with the main verb, converbs are divided into two or three groups. For instance, based on the coreferential feature of converb subject with that of the main verb, Poppe (1954: 95), Binnick (1979: 59), and Schlepp (1991: 183) all divide the converbs into two groups, except the former author differs from the latter two by including different numbers of converbs in his two group classifications.¹ Chenggeltei (1981: 304) and Dobu (1983: 53), on the other hand, divide converbs into three groups according to their relationship with the main verb. Their first two groups are roughly the same as
those of the previous three authors, but they set up a special category for the converb with the -γəγər/-gəgər suffix because they insist that this converb covers the function of both first and second group converbs. Other studies do not set up any groups for converbs, rather put emphasis on the meaning of individual converbs. These include Street (1961) and Poppe (1970). Street, for instance, discusses converbs in terms of whether or not they can be followed by the possessive suffixes or expanded by addition of a subject nominal. The main focus of his discussion is the semantic meaning of each converb in connection with the main verb (pp. 219-20). Similarly, Poppe does not divide converbs into any groups by semantic differences; he says that 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 (p.135).” From this major use of converbs, he describes the meaning of the individual converb in terms of what kind of relationship it has with the main verb, e.g., manner in which the main action is done, situation simultaneous with or proceeding the main verb, or in terms of what circumstances it brings to the main verb (pp. 135-41).

The variation in classifications of converbs is caused, on one hand, by the basic analyses which the particular authors employ; on the other hand, by the different emphases given to the particular converb functions. Even though these classifications did point out the peculiar features of converbs, such as the subject coreferentiality of converbs with the main verb, some of the meanings and uses associated with converbs are overlooked. Because the semantic meanings and the syntactic functions of converbs are much more complex, they exhibit a wide variety of properties and expressions.

The recent literature on converbs, including works on the cross-linguistic works and works on Altaic languages, propose a rather different approach to the classification of converbs in the various languages. Among others, V. P. Nedjalkov (1995), Haspelmath
By subject reference, V. P. Nedjalkov (1995: 110) divides converbs into three types: *the same-subject converbs* whose subject is coreferential with that of the superordinate clause, *the different-subject converbs* whose subject is never coreferential with that of the superordinate clause, and *the varying-subject converbs* whose subject may or may not be coreferential with that of superordinate clause. As we have discussed earlier, converbs in Mongolian are also grouped into two classes in terms of their subject reference with that of the main verb. For example, Schlepp (1991: 183-85) divides converbs into A-type and B-type converbs in terms of the subject change in the extended sentences and he claims “the clause marked with an A-type converb will normally be followed by a clause whose subject is the same” and “The clause with a B-type converb or a final predicate poses no restrictions on the choice of subject in the clause that follows.” Although his concern is the literary Mongolian, the classification of Schlepp (1991) is applicable to converbs in modern Mongolian, because, by their subject reference, converbs in Modern Mongolian can be classified into two groups: the same-subject converbs and the varying-subject converbs. The same-subject converbs are converbs whose subject is coreferential with that of the following verbs (in the superordinate clause or coordinate clause) and the varying-subject converbs are converbs whose subject may or may not be the same with that of the following verbs. See the following examples where converbs in (a-b) are from the same-subject converbs and those in (c-d) are from the varying-subject converbs.

(1) a. tede nom-un sang-du iči-ju kedün nom jigele-ne
    they library-DAT go-CONV several book borrow-NPT
    ‘They will go to the library and borrow several books.’
b. tegün-ü ire-kü-yi sonoso-yad bide yeke bayarla-ba  
   his come-VRN hear-CONV we very glad-PST  
   ‘We were very happy after hearing of his visit.’  

c. tegün-i ire-megče bide morda-ya  
   his come-CONV we leave-MOD  
   ‘Let’s leave as soon as he arrives.’  

d. tere ire-megče nom ungsi-ju ekile-be  
   he come-CONV book read-CONV start-PST  
   ‘He started to read a book as soon as he arrived.’ (same subj.)

On the basis of semantic criteria, converbs are also classified into different groups. By following V. P. Nedjalkov (1995), König (1995: 58), for instance, distinguishes three types of converbs, “(i) specialized converbs are associated with only one or two circumstantial interpretations regardless of the context; (ii) contextual converbs may have a wide variety of circumstantial interpretations depending on the context and (iii) narrative converbs merely express a ‘coordinative connection’, typically between more than two events, such that the plot is advanced.” Both V. P. Nedjalkov (1995) and König (1995) regard these types as “ideal types” and point out there are varying degrees of approximation to these types and more than one type may be found in a specific language. Of the three semantic types of converbs, only two types, specialized and contextual converbs will be used here because converbs in Mongolian express either a special circumstantial relationship or an open variety of circumstantial relationships between clauses. These two types of semantic distinction coincide with two types of the subject reference classifications. For instance, as seen in the following table, the same-subject converbs are contextual converbs and the varying-subject converbs are the specialized converbs.
The meaning of the converbs is said to be vague and unspecific and thus the interpretation of a converb in a specific utterance is the result of an interaction between a basic vague meaning of the converb and a wide variety of syntactic, semantic and contextual factors (König 1995: 58-9). According to König, in the analysis of the meaning of converbial constructions, the notional domain, namely the domain of circumstantial relations, provides the target for the interpretation of these constructions. The circumstantial relations are expressed by appositions, conjunctions, or conjunctonal adverbs. For instance, in English, they are expressed by in spite of (preposition), although (conjunction), meanwhile (conjunctonal adverb) (p. 64). He asserts further that specialized converbs have a meaning directly expressible in terms of one of these connectives and that contextual converbs, by contrast, may have an interpretation which may be the result of an interaction of several factors. Some specialized converbs in Mongolian are explainable in terms of one of these circumstantial connectives and their functions are similar to what Haspelmath (1995a: 38) calls verb-derived conjunction or conjunctonal expressions. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contextual</th>
<th>Specialized</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Same-subject</td>
<td>-n + -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-jü/-jü</td>
<td>+ -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-γad/-ged</td>
<td>+ -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-γsayar/-gseger</td>
<td>+ +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varying-subject</td>
<td>-bal/-bel + -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-baču/-bečü</td>
<td>- +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-qular/-küler</td>
<td>- +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-margal/-megče</td>
<td>- +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tala/-tela</td>
<td>- +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-qar/-ker</td>
<td>- +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-majin/-menjin</td>
<td>- +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ngyuta/-nggüte</td>
<td>- +</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1  *The classification of the converbs*
(2) a. ta oči-bal bi basa oči-na  
    you go-CONV I also go-NPT  
    ‘If you go, I will go.’

   b. ta oči-baču bi oči-qu ügei  
    you go-CONV I go-VRN NEG  
    ‘In spite of your departure, I will not go.’

c. ajil-ača-ban bayu-yad nayad-qu-bar yabu-ba  
    work-ABL-REF be off-CONV play-VRN-INST go-PST  
    ‘After quitting work, (he) went out to play.’

d. teγün-i ir-megče bide yabu-na  
    his-ACC come-CONV we go-NPT  
    ‘After his arrival, we will leave immediately.’

As shown in the above examples, these converb forms have a function similar to 
that of subordinating conjunctions in English. In fact, as will be seen in the following 
discussions, this is one of the major functions of specialized converbs in Mongolian.

3.1.1 Contextual converb

As seen earlier, contextual converbs, depending on the contexts, can have an 
extensive variety of circumstantial interpretations that cover temporal meanings like 
simultaneity, anteriority, and posteriority and non-temporal meanings including manner, 
concession, condition, goal, and accompanying circumstance (cf. V. P. Nedjalkov 1995: 107). In Mongolian, there are four different contextual converbs formed from the 
suffixes, -ju/-ču, -n, -γad/-ged, and -γsar/-gsege, respectively and each of the converbs 
with these suffixes has a meaning associated with one or two circumstantial meanings 
mentioned above.

All four contextual converbs express anteriority in the subordinate clause and the 
converbs formed by the former three suffixes also express non-temporal meanings such 
as a situation that is subordinate to and takes place simultaneously with the main clause 
situation or a situation indicating a manner in which the main clause situation takes place.
The contextual converbs may occur in different positions in the sentence, i.e. either in the position immediately preceding the main verb or separated from the main verb by other words. For example:

(3) a. tere \(~\{\text{üşür-} \text{ju} \} \)} bos-ba  
b. tere degere \(~\{\text{üşür-} \text{ged} \} \)} ora-ača-ban bos-ba

he jump-CONV rise-PST  
he high jump-CONV seat-ABL-REF rise-PST

‘He jumped up.’  
‘He jumped up, rising up from his seat.’

We will view the position of converbs in sentence (a) as the preverb position and that in sentence (b) as the subordinate clause position. Furthermore, as shown in the pairs of examples in (4), a subordinate clause with the converb may occur either inside or outside its superordinate clause and its relation with the superordinate clause is further complicated when the superordinate clause involves the direct object as in (5).

(4) a. nutury-dayan \(~\{\text{qari-} \text{ju} \} \)} tere bəysi bol-ba  
home-DAT-REF return-CONV he teacher become-PST

‘He returned to his hometown and became a teacher.’

b. tere nutury-dayan \(~\{\text{qari-} \text{ju} \} \)} bəysi bol-ba  
he home-DAT-REF return-CONV teacher become-PST

‘He returned his hometown and became a teacher.’

(5) a. tere mori-ban \(~\{\text{una-} \text{ju} \} \)} Dorji-yi köge-ne  
he horse-REF ride-CONV Dorji-ACC trace-NPT

‘He chased DORJI on horseback.’
b. tere Dorji-yi  mori-ban  \{una-ju  una-yad  *una-n\}  köge-ne  

he  Dorji-ACC  horse-REF  ride-CONV  trace-NPT

'He chased Dorji ON HORSEBACK.'

c.  Dorji-yi  tere  mori  \{una-ju  una-yad  *una-n\}  köge-ne  

Dorji-ACC  he  horse  ride-CONV  trace-NPT

'As for Dorji, he chased him on horseback.'

d.  mori-ban  \{una-ju  una-yad  *una-n\}  tere  Dorjyi-yi  köge-ne  

horse-REF  ride-CONV  he  Dorji-ACC  trace-NPT

'On horseback he chased DORJI.'

In (4), sentences (a) and (b) are the same except the converbal clause in (a) appears outside its superordinate clause and in (b), it occurs inside its superordinate clause. In the examples (5), the different word orders may show that emphasis is given to the different elements in the sentence (the capital letter shows the emphasis), but they display two types of the arrangement of the converbal clause, i.e. it appears inside the superordinate clause in (5a-c) and outside in (5d). In the case of the sentences, (a), (b), and (c), although the converbal clause occurs inside its superordinate clause, the word order is such that the direct object appears after the converbal clause in (a), and before its clause in (b), and in (c) it is at the beginning of the sentence.

Although the major use of the contextual converses we have observed so far is to express a situation that is subordinate to the main clause situation, occasionally these converses express a situation that is not really subordinate to the main clause situation.
They are often used in the narrative sense, i.e. in the certain contexts, they are interpreted as expressing a "coordinative connection" between more than two events in the narration.

(6) a. minu nayi ji mori  \(\{\text{una-ju} \quad \text{una-yad} \} \) bi nisgel-iyer yabu-na

my friend horse ride-CONV I airplane-INST leave-NPT

"My friend will leave by horse and I will leave by airplane."

b. egule  \(\{\text{yar-ču} \quad \text{yaru-yad} \} \) boro yan oro-ba

cloud rise-CONV rain fall-PST

"It became cloudy and rained."

c. bi nidunun qota-du  \(\{\text{yabu-ju} \quad \text{yabu-yad} \} \) ire-be

I last year city-DAT go-CONV come-PST

"Last year, I made a trip to the city." (lit.: I visited the city and came back.)

3.1.1.1 Converbs in -ju/-jʊ or -ču/-čʊ

The converb deriving from the -ju/-jʊ or -ču/-čʊ suffix mainly expresses a simultaneous situation that accompanies the main clause situation. For example:

(7) a. bi da γu u sonos-ču kebde-ne

I song listen-CONV lie-NPT

b. keük ed da γu u da γu l-ju nayad-na

children song sing-CONV play-NPT

I am lying and listening to a song." "Children are singing as they play."

c. tere qola-yi qara-ju da γu ügei sayu-na

he far-ACC stare-CONV sound NEG sit-NPT

"He looks far away and sits quietly."
Although the main use of converbs in -ju/-jü or -ču/-čü expresses simultaneity as shown in (7) above, it is by no means its only function; it also shows complex varieties in different contexts. See the following examples.

(8) a. bide bömböge kedün čay naņad-ču yeke yadar-jai
   we ball several hour play-CONV very tire-PST
   ‘We are all very tired after playing the ball several hours.’

b. boroyan arila-ju nara yar-ba
   rain disappear-CONV sun rise-PST
   ‘It stopped raining and became sunny.’

c. modon seguder oči-ju nom ungsi-na
   tree shadow go-CONV book read-NPT
   ‘(He) goes under the tree and reads a book.’

In the above examples, converbs in -ju/-jü or -ču/-čü do not really have a meaning of simultaneity, but they express anteriority, i.e. a situation taking place before that of the superordinate clause. On the other hand, in the examples like those in (9) below, the converbs express neither simultaneity nor anteriority, but refer to a manner in which the situation of the superordinate clause takes place. In this case, converbs in -ju/-ču function in the same way as converbs in -n which will be discussed next. See the following examples.

(9) a. abu-čini mori una-ju yabu-ba
   father-POS horse ride-CONV go-PST
   ‘Your father went by horse.’

b. ene yabudal-i tere naribčil-ju bodo-na
   this event-ACC he study-CONV think-NPT
   ‘He is considering this carefully.’
c. tede ende-eče negú-ju yabu-na
   they here-ABL move-CONV go-NPT
   ‘They will move away from here.’

d. asuyudal-i labla-ju üje-ne
   problem-ACC study-CONV see-NPT
   ‘He will study the problem carefully.’

In some cases, however, it is often hard to distinguish the meaning of this converb as expressing either simultaneity or manner. And so, the examples like the sentences (a) and (b) below may have two different interpretations, but the two are relatively clear in the given contexts.

(10) a. Temür üstür-čü bos-ba
   Temur jump-CONV get up-PST
   ‘Temur jumped up.’

b. Batu malayai-ban abu-ču tegün-i uyta-ba
   Batu hat-REF take off-CONV him-ACC greet-PST
   ‘Batu took off his hat and greeted him.’

c. Temür degere üstür-čü ora-ača-ban bos-ba
   Temur high jump-CONV seat-ABL-REF get up-PST
   ‘Temur jumped up, rising up from his seat.’

b. tegün-i Batu malayai-ban abu-ču uyta-ba
   him-ACC Batu hat-REF take off-CONV greet-PST
   ‘Batu took off his hat while greeting him.’

In the examples such as sentences (a) and (b) above, it is hard to distinguish whether the converbs express the situation that takes place simultaneously with the main clause situation or indicate the manner in which the main clause situation takes place.
Both interpretations are possible. The case of the last two examples is less ambiguous because in sentence (c), as is clear from the given context, the situation expressed by the converb is taking place simultaneously with that of the main clause. In sentence (d), the converb expresses the manner in which the main clause situation takes place because it describes Batu greeting someone by taking off his hat.

3.1.1.2 Converbs in -n

The converb in -n has been described as a modal converb for indicating the manner in which the main action is performed and has been said to occur less frequently in the spoken language. In fact its meaning is not simply limited to describing manner only, but it varies depending upon how it is connected to the main verb, so that simultaneity, anteriority, and the like are some of the meanings expressed by it. For instance, in some of the examples we listed in the preceding section, converbs with the -ju/-çu suffix can be replaced by the converb with -n without changing the meaning or structures of the original sentences.

(11) a. tere qola-yi qara-n dayu ügei sayu-na
   he far-ACC stare-CONV sound NEG sit-NPT
   'He looks far away and sits quietly.'

b. boroyan arila-n nara yar-ba
   rain disappear-CONV sun rise-PST
   'It stopped raining and became sunny.'

c. ene yabudal-i tere naribcil-n bodo-na
   this event-ACC he study-CONV think-NPT
   'He is considering this carefully.'
In the above examples, similar to the -ju/-ču suffix, the converb with -n expresses simultaneity in (a), anteriority in (b), and manner in (c-d). Anteriority is not usually expressed by converses in -n, simultaneity and manner seem more common. Observe the examples below. In the sentences (a) and (b), the situations expressed by converb and finite verb take place simultaneously, i.e. ‘drinking and sitting’ in (a) and ‘writing and staying’ in (b). In the sentences (c) and (d) we have examples of how this converb denotes the manner in which the action of the main verb is performed.

(12) a. tere čai uuγu-n ūγer saγu-na
    he tea drink-CONV in vain sit-NPT
    ‘He sits idly while drinking tea.’

b. jakidal biči-n yayaraltai bayi-na
    letter write-CONV busy stay-NPT
    ‘(He) is busy writing a letter.’

c. keuked-ben arγala-n saγatugul-na d. nara sačura-n mandu-la
    children-REF console-CONV soothe-NPT sun shine-CONV rise-PST
    ‘(He) comforts his children.’ ‘The sun rose with shining light.’

Another use of this converb worth mentioning is that in the following examples, it has a slightly different meaning than those in the previous examples. In these two examples, the converb and finite verbs express actions that are not happening at exactly the same time, rather the situation of the converb is followed immediately by that of the main verb."
(14) a. tere úje-n kele-be  d. tere abu-n tutya-jài
   he see-CONV say-PST  he take-CONV escape-PST
   'He spoke as soon as he looked at it.'  'He escaped as soon as he got it.'

3.1.1.3 Converbs in -yad/-ged

Converbs in -yad/-ged show a wide variety of functions in different contexts. They may express temporal meanings like anteriority or simultaneity and non-temporal meanings like manner in which the situation of superordinate clause takes place. See the following examples where the anterior reading is illustrated by (15) and the simultaneous reading is demonstrated by (16) and a non-temporal reading is shown by (17).

(15) a. bide bomboğe kedün čay na-yad-yad yeke yadar-yadai
    we ball several hour play-CONV very tire-PST
    'We are all very tired after playing ball several hours.'

b. boroyan arila-yad nara yar-ba
    rain disappear-CONV sun rise-PST
    'It stopped raining and became sunny.'

c. tere modon següder oçi-yad nom ungsi-na
    he tree shadow go-CONV book read-NPT
    'He went under the tree and read a book.'

(16) a. tere modon següder-tü saγu-yad nom ungsi-na
    he tree shadow go-CONV book read-NPT
    'He is sitting under the tree, reading a book.'

b. tere qola-yi qara-yad dayu ügei saγu-na
    he far-ACC stare-CONV sound no sit-NPT
    'He sat quietly looking into the distance.'
In the previous studies, converbs in -\textit{yad}/-\textit{ged} are defined as solely perfective converbs for signaling action completed before that of the main verb\(^9\) or actions preceding another in time.\(^{10}\) Despite the fact that the basic meaning of this converb is perhaps to indicate anteriority, its meaning cannot be singled out as anteriority only but its simultaneous and non-temporal (manner) readings exemplified by (16) and (17) are as common as its anterior reading.

### 3.1.1.4 Discussion of contextual converbs

From the above discussion, it is clear that these three types of converbs have various interpretations in various contexts and all three are equally capable of indicating anteriority, simultaneity, and a manner in which the situation of the superordinate clause takes place. The question is: are they all the same converbs or are they different converbs? Compare the three converb forms in the following examples where they assume a position immediately preceding the main verb.

\[(18) \text{a. } \text{kütü-ni } \text{abu-ban} \begin{cases} \text{daya-\textit{ju}} \\ \text{daya-\textit{n}} \\ \text{daya-\textit{yad}} \end{cases} \text{yabu-na} \]

\text{son-REF father-REF follow-CONV go-NPT}
Except for tense of the main verb and word order, the two sentences (a) and (b) in (18) are exactly the same. Each of these two sentences can form three different sentences respectively with the three different converbs suffixes, -ju, -n, and -yad. In each of the three sentences, the situation expressed by the different converb suffixes has a different temporal or circumstantial relationship with that of the main verb. For example, in the sentences (a) and (b), the converbs in -ju/-ču express a simultaneous situation that accompanies the main clause situation and they can be translated as “The son is/was following his father” (lit. Son is following and walking with his father) in English. The converbs in -n express a manner in which the situation of the main verb take place and they are translated as “The son is/was walking with his father by following him.” The distinction between converbs in -ju/-ču and -n is that the former indicates the simultaneous temporal relation between the converb situation and the main verb situation, whereas the latter does not indicate the temporal relationship between two situations but puts more emphasis on how the main clause situation is carried out, i.e. the manner of the
situation expressed by the main verb which is the usual way it is seen in almost all grammatical accounts. On the other hand, the converb in -γad/-ged is somewhat different from the former two. In the sentence (b), similar to the converb in -n, the converb in -γad/-ged also expresses the manner of how the main action is carried out. In sentence (a), it has a similar meaning to that of the converb in -n, but it refers to the manner of a situation that is to be carried out in the near future, while the converb in -n refers to the manner of a situation that is being carried out at the present moment. The sentences (c) and (d) in (18) are, except for the extra elements qurdun and kōdege, basically the same as the previous two sentences. The relationship between the converbal and the main clauses in (c) is the same with that of (a), but in the sentence (d), all three converbs express simultaneous situation.

Even though it is possible to use the converbs in -ju/-ču, -n, and -γad/-ged simultaneously in the same construction as in (18) above, it is not always the case that all three occur in every construction. In the sentences like those below, the converb in -γad/-ged is not allowed.

(19) a. tere ene kečiyel-i \{qayul-ju
qayul-n
*qayul-γad\}

he this lesson-ACC copy-CONV write-NPT

‘He will copy this lesson.’ (lit.: he will write this lesson by copying)

b. tere ene kečiyel-i \{qayul-ju
qayul-n
*qayul-γad\}

he this lesson-ACC copy-CONV write-PST

‘He has copied this lesson.’ (lit.: he has written this lesson by copying)
c. bi ene üğülebüri-yi  
\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{sonos-ču} \\
\text{sonos-n} \\
\text{*sonos-yad} 
\end{align*} \] 
biči-ne

\[ \text{I this sentence-ACC hear-CONV write-NPT} \]

'I will write this sentence from dictation.'

(lit.: I will write this sentence by hearing)

d. bi ene üğülebüri-yi  
\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{sonos-ju} \\
\text{sonos-n} \\
\text{*sonos-yad} 
\end{align*} \] 
biči-be

\[ \text{I this sentence-ACC hear-CONV write-PST} \]

'I have written this sentence from dictation.'

(lit.: I have written this sentence by hearing)

Aside from the tense form, (a) and (b) are the same sentence and (c) and (d) are the same sentence. These sentences are concerned with the manner in which the event is carried out, e.g., to write in the manner of copying and to write in the manner of hearing. Although, as we saw above, -yad/-ged expresses a somewhat similar situation as -n, in the case of (19), the converb construction with the -yad/-ged suffix is ungrammatical. Both converb constructions with -ju/-ču and -n are acceptable and they can both be interpreted as indicating the manner of writing. However, the converb in -ju/-ču is ambiguous as to whether it expresses a situation simultaneous with that of the main verb or the manner of carrying out the main situation, even though the preference may be given to the interpretation of expressing the manner. Their differences are shown more clearly in the following examples.

\begin{align*} 
\text{(20) a. nara } & \begin{cases} 
\text{sačura-n} \\
*\text{sačura-ju} \\
*\text{sačura-yad} 
\end{cases} \text{ mandu-la} \\
\text{sun shine-CONV rise-PST} \\
\text{b. olan kümuş } & \begin{cases} 
\text{sandura-n} \\
*\text{sandur-ju} \\
*\text{sandur-yad} 
\end{cases} \text{ guyu-ne} \\
\text{many people hurry-CONV run-NPT} \\
\text{'The sun rose with shining light.'} & \text{ 'Many people run in a hurry.'} 
\end{align*}
It is hard to regard the above examples as strong evidence accounting for their differences, but it reveals the distinctive use of the three contextual converbs in the same context. At least, we can say that the distinction between -ju/-ču and -n is relatively clear in that the former indicates simultaneous situation that accompanies the main clause, while the latter expresses a kind of manner for carrying out the main clause event. Meanwhile, even though it has a similar meaning with -n in (18), -γad/-ged shows no clear distinction and thus further research is needed for determining what difference it has from the former two in this case.

As can be seen from comparing the following corresponding examples in (21) and (22), the use of the contextual verb in the subordinate clause differs from that of the preverb position. Compare the use of the three contextual converbs in the following two pairs of examples. Again, the distinction between (21) and (22) is a tense suffix.

(21) a. nom \{ungsi-ju
*ungsi-n
ungsi-γad\} dayuu sonos-na
book read-CONV song listen-NPT

'(He) is listening to music while reading a book.'

b. tende \{oči-ju
*oči-n
oči-γad\}, nayiji-tai-ban ayulja-na
there go-CONV friend-COM-REF meet-NPT

'(I) go there and then meet my friend.'

c. oran-dayan \{kebte-ju
kebte-n
kebte-γed\} nom ungsi-na
bed- REF lie-CONV book read-NPT

'(He) reads a book lying on his bed.'
(22) a. nom \( \{ \text{ungsi-}j\text{u} \} \) dayuu sonos-ba  
book read-CONV song listen-PST

‘(He) was listening a music while reading a book.’

b. tende \( \{ \text{o}\text{çi-}j\text{u} \} \), nayi\text{ji}-tai-ban ayulja-ba  
there go-CONV friend-COM-REF meet-PST

‘(I) went there and then met my friend.’

c. oran-dayan \( \{ \text{kebte-}j\text{u} \} \) nom ungsi-ba  
bed- REF lie-CONV book read-PST

‘(He) read a book lying on his bed.’

By comparing the uses of the contextual converbs in the above two sets of examples, we can see that the distinction between them is relatively clearer than that in (18) and (19). When the contextual converbs express simultaneity in the subordinate clause as in (21a) and (22a), not converbs in -n but converbs in -ju/-çu and -yad/-ged are used. When anteriority is expressed in the subordinate clause as in (21b) and (22b), converbs in -ju/-çu and -yad/-ged are a typical choice and converbs in -n are not allowed though they express a different meaning in this circumstance, i.e. the manner for carrying out the main clause situation. When the manner of the main clause situation is expressed in the subordinate clause as in (21c) and (22c), any of the three converbs can be chosen. However, converbs in -ju/-çu and -yad/-ged are ambiguous because the former can be considered as indicating simultaneity and the latter can be regarded as signaling anteriority in the different contexts.
Although the contextual converbs in Mongolian can be used with similar meanings in the same context as discussed earlier, they basically differ from each other as analyzed above. As a result, in the preverb position, converbs in -\text{j}u/-\text{c}u express simultaneity, while the other two signal manner and in the subordinate clause, on the other hand, whereas converbs in -n expresses manner, the other two indicate either simultaneity or anteriority.

As we mentioned before, sometimes these converbs are used in the narrative sense in which they can be interpreted as indicating coordinative connection, instead of subordinate situation. In this case, the three converbs show no particular distinction yet they are used interchangeably in the same sentence as shown by the following two examples. (Also see the example (6) above.)

(23) a. öögedür bi qota or-\text{j}u, kedün nom abu-\text{y}ad, ger-tegen ire-\text{g}sen
  yesterday I city enter-CONV several book buy-CONV home-REF come-PST
  ‘Yesterday, I went to the city and bought several books and came back home.’

  b. darya ya\text{r}a\text{y} bide abu-\text{y}in-iyar dayari-n, egzi-\text{y}in-degen
  next week we father-GEN-INST pass-MODV elder sister-GEN-REF
  o\text{c}i-\text{j}u, kedün cay amur-\text{y}ad, aqa-\text{y}in-dayan kür-\text{c}u
  go-CONV several hour rest-CONV elder brother-REF arrive-CONV
  naiji-tai-ban ayulja-na
  friend-COM-REF meet-NPT
  ‘Next week, we go to visit elder sister via father’s place and after resting several hours there, we go to elder brother’s place and there we will meet our friend.’

Another special use that is common to all three converbs is that they can be used in a fully reduplicated form and in some cases, such as the sentence (d) below, two different converbs can be used. See the following examples.
(24) a. tere ende sayu-ju sayu-ju yabu-ysan
    he here sit-CONV sit-CONV leave-PST
    ‘He left after having sat here for a long time.

b. labla-n labla-n asyu-na
    assert-CONV assert-CONV ask-NPT
    ‘To kept asking assurance.’

c. tere kele-gsen-iyen kele-ged kele-ged bara-qu ügei
    he say-VRN-REF say-CONV say-CONV finish-VRN NEG
    ‘He kept repeating what he said’ (lit.: He never stopped saying what he said.)

d. tere ende sayu-ju sayu-yad yabu-ysan
    he here sit-CONV sit-CONV leave-PST
    ‘He left after having sat here for a long time.

The exact meaning of the reduplicated form of these converbs is yet to be determined, but the basic meaning is similar to that of their single form, that is, they express simultaneity and anteriority in relation to the situation expressed by the main verb or they express the manner of the main event. The difference is that they express durative or repeated action. The sentences (a) and (d), for instance, have the same meaning and they express a long-lasting anterior situation having taken place before the main verb situation took place. The sentences (b) and (c) have a sense of expressing the manner in which the main verb event takes place.

3.1.1.5 Converbs in -γayar/-gseger

The converb formed with -γayar/-gseger expresses several meanings depending on the context. Its major function is to indicate a gradually developing situation that causes the next situation to happen or to indicate the immediate anterior situation that is a condition for carrying out the next situation. See the following examples.
In the gradual development meaning, cf. (25a-b), converses with this suffix are often repeated to emphasize the durative or persistent situation.

Haspelmath (1995a: 43) points out that a common feature of the converb is its use as a form of the main verb in aspectual periphrastic constructions. In Mongolian, the contextual converb forms are, except for -n, often used to form the converb plus auxiliary constructions which express the various aspectual categories (see examples of this construction in the section 1 of chapter 5).
3.1.2 Specialized converbs

Specialized converbs in Mongolian are basically associated with a particular circumstantial meaning and they are varying-subject verb. In general, specialized converbs express such meanings as anteriority, posteriority, condition, concessive, successive, purpose, etc.

3.1.2.1 Converbs in -bal/-bel and -baçu/-becü

Converbs in -bal/-bel and -baçu/-becü not only resemble each other in their shapes but also express closely related meaning. In the past, these two converbs were called, respectively, the conditional, which expressed the condition for another action, and concessive, expressing an action in spite of which another action takes place or does not take place. However, from the data we will analyze, we can see these two converbs are essentially the same because both express the condition, although the former expresses the hypothetical condition and the latter concessive condition. Here we consider them under a single category because of their similarities; the differences are also discussed in this context. First, look at the following examples.

(27) a. tere yabu-bal bi oči-na
he go-CONV I go-NPT

b. čič asayu-bal tere kele-jü ögü-ne
you ask-CONV he tell-CONV AUX-NPT

‘If he goes, I will go.’

‘He will tell you if you ask.’

c. tere yabu-baçu bi oči-qu ügei
he go-CONV I go-VRN NEG

‘Even though he goes, I will not go.’

d. čič asayu-baçu tere kele-jü ögü-ku ügei
you ask-CONV he tell-CONV AUX-VRN NEG

‘Even though you ask him, he will not tell you.’
As can be seen from the examples in (a) vs (c) and (b) vs (d) above, conversbs in -bal/-bel and -baču/-bečū in the subordinate clauses both have a meaning of condition, though the latter is used with a negative in the main clause. The conversbs in -baču/-bečū in (c) an (d) express the opposite meaning of what is expressed by conversbs in -bal/-bel in (a) and (b). On the other hand, as can be seen from comparing the following with the corresponding sentences in (27), when the main clause is negative, although the distinction is shown by English translation “if” and “even though”, conversbs in -bal/-bel and -baču/-bečū still express a similar meaning. See the examples.

(28) a. tere yabu-bal bi oči-qu ügei  
   he go-CON I go-VRN NEG  
   ‘If he goes, I will not go.’

b. či asayu-bal tere kele-jü ögü-kü ügei  
   you ask-CON he tell-CONV AUX-VRN NEG  
   ‘He will not tell you if you ask.’

c. tere yabu-baču bi oči-qu ügei  
   he go-CONV I go-VRN NEG  
   ‘Even though he goes, I will not go.’

d. či asayu-baču tere kele-jü ögü-kü ügei  
   you ask-CONV he tell-CONV AUX-VRN NEG  
   ‘Even though you ask him, he will not tell you.’

Nevertheless, these two conversbs differ in some sense according to some grammar books. For instance, the relation between the situations is that one controls the other, e.g., the situation expressed by -bal/-bel serves as the necessary condition for that of the main clause being carried out. But the relationship between the situation expressed by -baču/-bečū and that of the main clause is contrastive so that the situation of the main verb will/will not take place in spite of that fact the situation of the concessive converb will/will not take place. In English, it can be translated into ‘although.’ For example:
Another obvious distinction is that with converbs in -bal/-bel, the main clause tense must be non-past, not past, while converbs in -baču/-bečü seem to pose no such restriction. See the following examples.

(30) a. *tere ire-bel bi yabu-jai b. tere ire-gsen bol-baču bi yabu-γsan ügei
he come-CONV I go-PST he come-CONV be-CONV I go-PST NEG
‘I left if/when he came.’ ‘Although he came, I did not go.’

Notice that in the case of the sentence (b), the suffix is attached to the auxiliary verb instead of the regular verb.

The limitations of -bal/-bel with regard to past contexts may suggest that the meaning of this suffix is in principle related to the future tense because of its hypothetical function.

(31) a. tere ire-bel ire-g b. či kele-bel kel
he come-CONV come-MOD you say-CONV say-MOD
‘Let him come, if he wants to.’ ‘Say it, if you want.’

Similar to -bal/-bel, there are two other suffixes, -manjin/-menjin or -man/-men, which express the conditional. These two suffixes were perhaps first reported in Chenggeltei (1981: 307) and from my own experience are more regularly used in the eastern part of Inner Mongolia. Chenggeltei (1981: 107) claims converbs in these two
suffixes indicate that the former action is regarded as a necessary condition for carrying out the next action. This use is in fact the basic meaning of the suffixes. It differs from the hypothetical meaning of the -bal/-bel suffix, as it expresses a mandatory condition. See the following examples in comparison with the -bal/-bel suffix.

(32) a. tede ire-menjin bide yabu-na
    they come-CONV we go-NPT
    ‘We can leave only after they come.’

b. tede ire-bel bide yabu-na
    they come-CONV we go-NPT
    ‘We will leave if they come.’

c. ajal-ban dayusqa-man yabu
    job-REF finish-CONV go
    ‘You can leave only after you finish your job.’

d. ajal-ban dayusqa-bal yabu
    job-REF finish-CONV go
    ‘You can leave if you finish your job.’

3.1.2.2 Converbs in -qular/-küler, -qula/-küle, and -maγczeń/-megče

Converbs formed with the -qular/-küler, -qula/-küle, and -maγչen/-megče suffixes do not have exactly the same meaning but they express an anterior situation that immediately precedes the main clause situation. Converbs in -qular/-küler and -qula/-küle express a situation that precedes another situation immediately and are regarded as the starting point or the preceding condition for the performance of the following situation, or are otherwise closely connected to and performed almost simultaneously with the following situation. Converbs in -maγչen/-megče, on the other hand, denote a preceding situation that is immediately followed by another situation expressed by the main clause and they stress the turning point at the juncture between the preceding and following situations; this contrasts with -qular/-küler and -qula/-küle which put more stress on the closeness of two situations. See the following examples.
(33) a. tere kele-küler sayi mede-le he say-CONV just know-PST
    b. či yabu-qula-ban tegün-i dayuda you leave-CONV-REF him-ACC call-MOD
    ‘(I) only realized when he told me.’ ‘Call him when you leave.’

c. güyi-ged oči-qula yayu ču ügei run-CONV go-CONV what PTL NEG
    ‘When I ran up, nothing was there.’

d. tegün-i dayuda-qular yaru-yad yabu-la
    him-ACC call-CONV out-CONV leave-PST
    ‘As soon as someone called him, he went out.’

(34) a. tede bosa-mayča-ban yabu-jai they get up-CONV-REF leave-PST
    b. tere kebte-megče-ben unta-ba he lie-CONV-REF sleep-PST
    ‘They left upon getting up.’ ‘He fell sleep as soon as he lay down.’

c. teden-i ir-megče bide yabu-ya
    they-ACC come-CONV we go-MOD
    ‘Let’s leave as soon as they arrive.’

d. tere ajil-ača-ban bayu-mayča suryayuli-du oči-ba
    he work-REF off-CONV school-DAT go-PST
    ‘He went to school as soon as he quit work.’

In addition to the -mayča/-megče suffix, there are two more suffixes, -ngyuta/-nggüte and -naran/-neren, to express the anterior situation which is immediately followed by the main clause situation or is the turning point of juncture between the two situations. In the following, which are the examples of the -mayča/-megče suffix in (34), the use of -ngyuta/-nggüte or -naran/-neren does not change the meaning.
(35) a. tede bosa-ngyuta-ban yabu-jaib. tere kebte-nggüte-ben unta-ba
they get up-CONV-REF leave-PST he lie-CONV-REF sleep-PST
‘They left upon getting up.’ ‘He fell sleep as soon as he lay down.’

b. teden-i ir-neren bide yabu-ya
they-ACC come-CONV we go-MOD
‘Let’s leave as soon as they arrive.’

c. tere ajil-ban bayu-naran suryayuli-du oći-ba
he work-REF off-CONV school-DAT go-PST
‘He went to school as soon as he quit work.’

In addition to their other similarities, these two converbs share the common feature of taking a reflexive-possessive marker to indicate the two situations are not only closely related but also that the actions are carried out by the same subject as that of the main clause. Contrast the following two examples.

(36) a. či yabu-ngyuta-ban man-u-du ire-gerei
you leave-CONV-REF my place come-MOD
‘Please visit my place on your way.’

b. bāysi ire-megče namayi dayuda
teacher come-CONV me call-MOD
‘Call me as soon as the teacher arrives.’

3.1.2.3 Converbs in -tala/-tele

The verb in -tala/-tele indicates a posterior situation until which the main clause situation lasts or takes place or a posterior situation that lasts until the main clause situation starts. Also, it marks the limitation of the main situation. The limitation can be either time or the capacity to which something can be reached.
(37) a. tere yisün čag bol-tala surulča-jai (Posterior situation)
    he 9 o’clock be-CONV study-PST
    ‘He has studied until 9 o’clock.’

b. bi tegün-i nara yar-tala küliye-gsen
    I him-ACC sun rise-CONV wait-PST
    ‘I have waited for him until sun rise.’

c. bi tan-i ire-tele ende küli-ye
    I you-ACC come-TER here wait-MOD
    ‘I will wait until you arrive.’

d. bagsi-nar moqu-tala-ban guyi-be (Limitation)
    teacher-PL exhaust-TER-REF run-PST
    ‘The teachers ran until they were exhausted.’

e. ger degür-tele kümün sayú-na
    room full-TER people sit-NPT
    ‘There is a room full of people.’

3.1.2.4 Converbs in -qar/-ker

The converb formed with -qar/-ker indicates a situation that is the purpose of the main action. It is necessary to point out that the suffix -qar/-ker is considered to originate in the combination of the future verbal noun suffix -qu/-kü with the instrumental case suffix -bar/-ber because the structure and function resemble each other closely. Compare the following two sets of examples where the sentences (38a) and (39a) or (38b) and (39b) have the same meaning.

(38) a. nom üje-ker ire-jai
    book read-CONV come-PST
    ‘(He) came to read a book.’

(39) a. nom üje-kü-ber ire-jai
    book read-VRN-INST come-PST
    ‘(He) came to read a book.’
b. mori onu-qar yabu-na
horse ride-CONV go-NPT
'(He) went to ride a horse.'

b. mori onu-qu-bar yabu-na
horse ride-FIN-INST go-NPT
'(He) went to ride a horse.'

3.2 Verbal Noun

The verbal noun is a special form of verb that comprises the characteristics of both verb and noun. In the past, several different names, such as participle, verbal nominal, and adjectival verb, have been proposed for naming the verbal noun. Here, we use 'verbal noun' to designate this form.

Since it bears many properties of verb and noun, the verbal noun can function as subject, modifier, and predicate with or without an auxiliary verb. In addition, it freely takes case and plural suffixes as a noun does. In the following section, I will discuss the potential characteristics of each suffix first and then I will summarize their general features. The various verbal noun suffixes and their basic semantic features are presented in the following table using *bari- 'to hold' and *üje- 'to see' as examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VRN</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>bari- 'to hold'</th>
<th>üje- 'to see'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>-γsan/-gsen</td>
<td>bari-γsan</td>
<td>üje-gsen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective</td>
<td>-qu/-kü</td>
<td>bari-qu</td>
<td>üje-kü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitual</td>
<td>-day/-deg</td>
<td>bari-day</td>
<td>üje-deg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuous</td>
<td>-γa/-ge</td>
<td>bari-γa</td>
<td>üje-ge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prospective</td>
<td>-mar/-mer</td>
<td>bari-mar</td>
<td>üje-mer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2 The verbal noun suffixes
3.2.1 Verbal noun in -γsan/-gsen

The -γsan/-gsen suffix is freely added to verbs to form verbal nouns expressing a past event or action. Consider the following examples, where the suffix functions differently in each example.

(40) a. mede-gsen-ni kele  
     know-VRN-POS say  
     'Those who know, speak out.'

b. mede-gsen kümün  
     know-VRN person  
     'The person who knew...'

c. bi mede-gsen  
     I know-VRN  
     'I knew it.'

d. bi mede-gsen bayi-na  
     I know-VRN be-NPT  
     'I have known it.'

As in (40), the verbal noun with the -γsan/-gsen suffix can serve as subject, attribute, and predicate. As in (40c) and (40d), with or without the auxiliary verb, the suffix can be used with a main verb to serve as a past tense marker. This function is frequent in interrogative and negative sentences since the other past tense suffixes are hardly used in them (see section 4.1.3.4).

3.2.2 The -qu/-kü suffix

This suffix indicates action that will happen in future. The verb with this suffix can also be used as subject, attribute, and predicate with auxiliary verbs. See the following examples.

(41) a. mede-kü-ni kele  
     know-VRN-POS say  
     'Those who know, speak out.'

b. mede-kü kümün  
     know-VRN person  
     'The person who knows...'
c. *bi mede-kü
   I know-VRN
   ‘I know it.’

d. bi mede-kü bayi-na
   I know-VRN be-NPT
   ‘I know it.’

As in (41c), the sentence is ungrammatical, but if one adds a particle or negative, the result is a normal sentence in the non-past tense. For example,

(42) a. ene edür boroyan oro-quitma'ad
      this day rain fall-VRN PTL
      ‘It will probably rain today.’

b. ene edür boroyan oro-qui yom
      this day rain fall-VRN PTL
      ‘It will rain today.’

c. ene edür boroyan oro-qui ügei
      this day rain fall-VRN NEG
      ‘It will not rain today.’

3.2.3 The -day/-deg suffix

This suffix forms a verbal noun with habitual aspectual meaning. See the following examples.

(43) a. mede-deg-ni kele
      know-VRN-POS say
      ‘Those who know, speak out.’

b. mede-deg kümün
      know-VRN person
      ‘The person who knows...’

c. bi mede-deg
      I know-VRN
      ‘I know it.’

d. bi mede-deg bayi-na
      I know-VRN be-NPT
      ‘I know it.’
3.2.4 The -γa/-ge suffix

Unlike the suffixes mentioned previously, this suffix is basically used with negative words to indicate something still incomplete or unaccomplished. See the following examples.

(44) a. dayusu-γa ügei üile
    finish-VRN NEG event
    ‘Unfinished event...’

b. mede-ge ügei kümün
    know-VRN NEG person
    ‘The person who still does not know...’

c. bi mede-ge ügei
    I know-VRN NEG
    ‘I still do not know it.’

d. bi mede-ge ügei bayi-na
    I know-VRN NEG be-NPT
    ‘I still do not know it.’

e. mede-ge ügei-ni nasi-ban ir
    know-VRN NEG-REF here-POS come-MOD
    ‘Those who still don’t know come here.’

3.2.5 The -mar/-mer suffix

This suffix forms verbal nouns indicating an event likely to take place in future. Unlike the verbal noun suffixes discussed earlier, this suffix is used mainly as an attributive and rarely as subject or by itself as a predicate of a main clause. See the following examples.

(45) a. ide-mer yayum-a
    eat-VRN thing
    ‘edible thing’

b. mede-mer kümün
    know-VRN person
    ‘The person who is likely know.’

c. bi mede-mer bayi-na
    I know-VRN be-NPT
    ‘I will likely know it.’

d. *bi mede-mer
    I know-VRN
    ‘I will likely know it.’
As discussed previously, there is a slight difference among verbal nouns. In general, most verbal nouns function equally as modifier, subject, and predicate in the sentence and, except for the -mar/-mer suffix, all verbal noun suffixes, with a reflective-possessive suffix, can occur in the subject position as in (46) below.

    come-CONV-POS who QU     come-VRN-POS come-PST
    ‘Who are those who have come?’  Those to come have arrived.’

b. ire-ge ügei-ni ken bui?  d. ire-deg-ni ire-jei
    come-VRN NEG-POS who QU     come-HAB-POS come-PST
    ‘Who are those who haven’t come?’  ‘Those who usually come arrived.’

It is common to verbal nouns that they are all used as a predicate, usually with auxiliary verbs, and express tense or aspect. As exemplified in (40-46), most verbal nouns indicate tense or aspect with the auxiliary, bayi-, and as mentioned earlier, the -γsan/-gsen and -day/-deg suffixes are used to mark past tense and habitual aspect respectively. See more examples below (see more discussion on this use of verbal noun in the related parts in the next several chapters).

(47) a. bi erte bos-γsan b. bi erte bos-day
    I early get up-PST I early get up-HAB
    ‘I got up early.’  ‘I always get up early.’

c. tere nom ungsi-γsan d. tere nom ungsi-day
    he book read-PST he book read-HAB
    ‘He read a book.’  ‘He is always reading.’
3.3 Auxiliary Verb

The auxiliary, according to Heine (1993: 22), "is verb-like to some extent and is used either to place the situation described in the sentence with reference to (tense), to ascribe a temporal contour to it (aspect), or to assess its reality (modality)." Auxiliary verbs in Mongolian basically fit into Heine's (1993) criteria. In most cases, they retain their full lexical properties and function as a full verb and only under certain conditions do they function as an auxiliary to indicate the grammatical meanings associated with tense, aspect, and mood. There are two kinds of auxiliary verbs in Mongolian. One has a much broader use and often follows nouns or nonfinite verbs (including verbal nouns and converbs) to express tense or modality and the other one has a relatively restricted use and occurs after converbs to convey aspect and modality. These two types of auxiliaries may be called the copular auxiliary and quasi-auxiliary.14 In what follows, I will discuss the copular auxiliary first and then the quasi-auxiliary. We will give a brief description of a full verb meaning first and then discuss the auxiliary verb meaning in association with such nonfinite verbal forms as verbal noun and converbal suffixes. Since the tense, aspect, and mood meanings of the nonfinite verb form plus auxiliary constructions will be dealt with in more detail later in the related chapters, I will make only a general statement on these subjects here.

3.3.1 The Copular Auxiliary

The copular auxiliary verb is often used after either a noun or a verb which is in a non-finite form to mark the tense, aspect, or mood meaning. Its grammatical meanings are mostly explained by looking at a tense suffix attached to it or the meaning of the nonfinite form in the preceding position.

bayi- is perhaps the most common auxiliary verb in Mongolian, but it still retains many of its original lexical meanings as shown in the following list. A list of common
lexical meanings of bayi- as a full verb is as follows: ‘to exist’, ‘to stay’, or ‘to stop’\textsuperscript{15}. See the examples:

(48) a. nada-du dolo\={y}an qoni bayi-na
   me-DAT seven sheep exist-NPT
   ‘I have seven sheep.’

b. tende mori bayi-na
   there horse exist-NPT
   ‘There is a horse.’

c. qabur bol-tal ende bayi-na
   spring be-TER here be-NPT
   ‘(l) will be here until the spring.’

d. Batu ir-ki\={u}-ben bayi-ba
   Batu come-CONV-REF stop-PST
   ‘Batu stopped coming.’

One of the major uses of bayi- is to occur with three converbal suffixes shown in the table 3.3 below and the combination with which expresses meanings including the progressive, durative, iterative, continuous, and perfective aspects. Some common meanings are shown in the following table and refer to the more detailed discussions in the chapter 5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONV Suffix</th>
<th>-\textasciitilde{ju}/-\textasciitilde{ju}</th>
<th>-ya\textasciitilde{d}/-ged</th>
<th>-ya\textasciitilde{y}/-gage\textasciitilde{r}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Progressive</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durative</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iterative</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuous</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.3  \textit{The combinations of the converb suffix and bayi-}

Another function of bayi- is to indicate tense or aspect in sequence with a verbal noun. Some of the basic meanings of combination of bayi- and verbal noun are shown in table 3.4 below and the details of such expressions will be dealt with in chapters 4 and 5.
Verbal noun  bayi- with non-  bayi- with past suffixes  past tense suffix  tense suffix
-ysan/-gsen  past  relative past
-qu/-kü  future  past future
-day/-deg  habitual  past habitual
-mar/-mer  imminent future  past future

Table 3.4  The combinations of the verbal noun and bayi-

In comparison with bayi-, the auxiliary verb bol- is used relatively less frequently. The original lexical meaning of this verb varies depending upon the context, but the basic meaning is, perhaps, to indicate a change of state, such as ‘be, become’. See the examples.

(49) a. küü-nil emči bol-jaï  b. bi bayši bolo-na
    son-REF doctor be-PST  I teacher be-NPT
    ‘(His) son became a doctor.’  ‘I will be a teacher.’

   c. odo tabun čary bol-jaï  d. ebül yeke juð bol-ba
    now5 o’clock be-PST  winter big snow be-PST
    ‘It is five o’clock now.’  ‘There was a big snow in the winter.’

  e. teresanaïa bol-ju bayi-na  f. minu boroyu-ača bol-la
    he thought be-CONV be-NPT  my fault-ABL be-PST
    ‘He is depressed.’  ‘It is because of my fault.’

Unlike bayi-, bol- is used only with the imperfective converb, -ju/-çu, and their combination basically expresses modality (see section 5.2 in the chapter 5 for more discussion). Used with verbal noun suffixes, the major function of bol- is to mark tense and its temporal meaning is mainly designated by the tense form attached to it. The possible sequences of verbal noun and bol- and their meanings are given in table 3.5 below.
### Table 3.5  The combinations of the verbal noun and bol-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal Noun suffix</th>
<th>bol- with non-past tense</th>
<th>bol- with past tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-qu/-kū</td>
<td>future</td>
<td>past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-day/-deg</td>
<td>present</td>
<td>past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mar/-mer</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>past</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.2 The Quasi-auxiliary

Quasi-auxiliaries are characterized as verbs that in most cases behave like full verbs but tend to assume a grammatical function when governing nonfinite verbs (Heine 1993: 15). Some verbs in Mongolian are often used after the converb to serve as auxiliaries and to indicate a grammatical meaning. In most respects, although the auxiliary verbs originate in regular verbs, they lose their original lexical meanings and assist nonfinite verbs in the sentence to indicate the aspect or mood meanings.

The number and type of the quasi-auxiliary verbs vary in previous studies. Here I have listed 17 verbs as quasi-auxiliaries and given their lexical meanings and auxiliary uses shown in the table 3.6 below. For the sake of convenience, we have divided these 17 quasi-auxiliaries into two groups according to certain similarities. Those in the first group are auxiliaries expressing tense and aspectual meanings and those in the second group are auxiliaries expressing mood or modality. However, by no means is this classification exhaustive because the meaning of each of the auxiliaries varies frequently with context.
Since we will discuss tense, aspectual, and mood expressions of these auxiliaries in more detail in the next several chapters, our main concern here is the basic lexical meanings of these verbs. For determining their auxiliary function, we will give examples reflecting their auxiliary use in comparison with the lexical meaning.

The first group is the quasi-auxiliary with tense and aspectual meanings and the following 12 auxiliaries fall under this category.

*Ekile-*, ‘to start, to begin’, and *oro-*, ‘to enter, to get into’, when used as auxiliaries, have a meaning of ‘to start to do something’. In the following examples, the
sentences (a) and (c) show the regular meaning and the sentences (b) and (d) show the auxiliary use of the verb.

(50) a. kečiyel ekilé-be
    class start-PST
    'The class is started.'
b. bi yisün čag-ača kečiyel oro-ju ekilé-be
    I 9 o’clock-ABL class enter-CONV AUX-PST
    'I started to have a class from 9 o’clock.'
c. tere ger-tu oro-žai
    he house-DAT enter-PST
    'He went into the house.'
d. tede namai boroyusi-γad oro-la
    they me criticize-CONV AUX-PST
    'They all started to criticize me.'

Oči-, ‘to go’, has a meaning of ‘to be close to’ when used as auxiliary verb. See the following examples where its lexical meaning is shown in the sentence (a) and the auxiliary use is shown in the example (b).

(51) a. bi suryayuli-du oči-na
    I school-DAT go-NPT
    'I will go to school.'
b. tan-u kele-gsen-čini tayar-ju oči-ba
    your say-CONV-POS correct-CONV AUX-PST
    'What you said is almost correct.'

Bara-, ‘to exhaust, to terminate’, and dayusa-, ‘to finish or stop’, when used as auxiliaries, indicate ‘to finish or stop doing something.’ See the examples below.

(52) a. tegún abu nidunun nasu bara-ba
    his father last year age die-PST
    'His father passed away last year.'
b. bid ger-iyen čeberle-ju bara-žai
    we house-REF clean-CONV AUX-PST
    'We have cleaned our house.'
c. bid ger-iyen čeberle-ju dayus-žai
    we house-REF clean-CONV AUX-PST
    'We have cleaned our house.'
d. bi ügulel-iyen daraγaγarag biči-ju dayus-na

I thesis-REF next week write AUX-NPT

‘I will have written my thesis by next week.’

Ire- ‘to come’, as auxiliary verb means “up to now/then” or “since then” and it emphasizes the durative meaning of the situation lasting up until the present moment since a certain time point in the past (Street 1963: 145). Consider the following examples in which ire- is used in its regular sense in (a) and as auxiliary in (b).

(53) a. bi öögedür ire-jei b. bide baγ-ača yabu-lča-ju ire-jei

I yesterday come-PST we little-ača go-REC-CONV AUX-PST

‘I arrived yesterday.’ ‘We have known each other from childhood.’

Yabu- regularly means ‘to go, to walk’ and saγu- means ‘to sit, to reside’ and as auxiliaries they mean someone continually doing something. Observe the following examples.

(54) a. bi surγayuli-du yabu-na b. bide olan ulus-iyar toγuri-ju yabu-γsan

I school-DAT go-NPT we many country-INST travel-CONV AUX-PST

‘I will go to school.’ ‘We have traveled around many countries.’

c. bi qota-du saγu-na d. bi čamai ire-tele küliye-ju saγu-ya

I city-DAT live-NPT I you come-CONV wait-CONV AUX-MOD

‘I am living in the city.’ ‘I will wait until you arrive.’

Orki-, ‘to abandon’, has a meaning of doing something thoroughly when used as auxiliary verb and ab-, ‘to take’, has a meaning of doing or obtaining something completely. The examples of their regular use and auxiliary use are shown in the following.
(55) a. boyču-ban ter ger-degen orki-ba
   bag-REF he home-REF abandon-PST
   ‘He left his bag at home.’

b. bi ӧčögedür yawu ki-gsen-iyen marta-yad orki-ba
   I yesterday what do-CONV-REF forget-CONV AUX-PST
   ‘I have forgotten what I did yesterday.’

c. bi qoyar nom abu-ba
d. bi qoyar nom ol-ju abu-ba
   I two book take-PST I two book find-CONV AUX-PST
   ‘I bought two books.’
   ‘I found two books.’

ög-, ‘to give’, has a meaning of ‘do a favor for someone’ when it is used as an auxiliary verb. Consider the following examples.

(56) a. nadadu qoyar nom ög
d. tere tan-du kele-ӄü öggü-ne
   me two book give-MOD he you-DAT tell-CONV AUX-NPT
   ‘He give me two books.’
   ‘He will tell you.’

The second group of auxiliaries has a meaning of mood and modality and the following verbs are included in this category.

ӧida-, ‘to be full’ or ‘to be able’, has a meaning of ‘to be able to do something’ and this verb is mostly used as an auxiliary verb. See the following examples.

(57) a. tere ӧida-tala-ban ide-ʃei
d. bi mongγol-bar yari-ʃu ӧida-na
   he to be full-CONV-REF eat-PST I Mongolian-INST talk-CONV AUX-NPT
   ‘He ate until he is full.’
   ‘I can speak Mongolian.’

Similarly, ol-, ‘to obtain’, and ӄar-, ‘to go out’, both have a meaning of ‘to be able’ when it is used as auxiliary verb. Note that, unlike the other auxiliaries, when used
as auxiliary, ol- often precedes the main verb rather than follows it and it is often used in the negative sentence. See the following examples.

(58) a. toyan-u silyalta-da\yan dalan qobi ol-ba
    math-GEN exam-DAT-REF 70 score get-PST
    ‘He got 70 in his math exam.’

b. tegun-\u y\a\u kele-gsen-i bi ol-\u sonoso-\ysan \ugei
    his-GEN what say-VRN-ACC I AUX-CONV hear-VRN NEG
    ‘I didn’t get to hear what he said.’

c. ger-\e\e \yar-na

d. bi mong\yol \u\stug ungsi-\u \yar-na
    house-ABL go out-NPT I Mongolian script read-CONV AUX-NPT
    ‘(He) goes out of the house.’ ‘I am able to read Mongolian script.’

Yada-, ‘to tire’, has exactly an opposite meaning of \ida-, i.e. refers to the situation one is unable to do.

(59) a. bi yeke yadara-\u bayi-na
    I very tire-CONV be-NPT
    ‘I am very tired.’

b. bi tan-du kele-\u yada-na
    I you-DAT say-CONV AUX-NPT
    ‘I could not tell you this.’

Mede-, ‘to know’, as auxiliary indicates possibility. When used as auxiliary verb, it only follows the imperfective converb suffix, -ju/-\u, and it most often occurs together with the verb, bayi-. Consider the following examples.

(60) a. bi mede-k\u \ugei
    I know-CONV NEG
    ‘I don’t know.’

b. tere ger-tegen bayi-\u mede-ne
    he home-DAT-REF be-CONV AUX-NPT
    ‘He is probably at his home.’

i\u- has the lexical meaning of ‘to see’ and it denotes one’s willingness to try to do something. See the following examples.
(61) a. bide nayadam üje-ne
we game see-NPT

b. ta abu-daɣan kele-jü üje
you father-DAT-REF tell-CONV see

'We are going to see the game.'
'You try to tell your father.'
Notes

1 For example, while Binnick (1979) and Schlepp (1991) identify the imperfect, modal, and perfect converb as the first type of converb, Poppe (1954), in this group, includes conditional and concessive in addition to imperfective, modal, and perfective converbs.

2 Similarly, Haspelmath (1995: 9-10) claims the converb subject is often coreferential with the subject of the superordinate clause, so that it can be left implicit. On this parameter, he distinguishes (i) Implicit-subject converbs whose subject may not be expressed explicitly; (ii) Explicit-subject converbs whose subject is expressed explicitly; (iii) Free-subject converbs whose subject may but need not be expressed explicitly. His implicit-subject, explicit-subject, and free-subject are respectively similar to V. P. Nedjałkov (1995)'s same-subject, different-subject, and varying-subject.

3 This classification is basically the same with that of V. P. Nedjakov (1995: 106) who separates converbs into "(1) specialized converbs have one or two meanings of the adverbial type; (2) contextual converbs have three or more adverbial meanings that are realized under certain conditions; (3) narrative converbs express a coordinative connection that advances the narration."

4 For further discussion, see König (1995: 64) and for subordinating conjunction, see Haspelmath (1995: 38-39).

5 This use of converb has been received much emphasis in grammars.


8 This function of the modal converb has been noticed briefly in Chenggeltei (1981: 304) with one example but it is worth emphasizing this use of the modal verb is no less frequent than that indicating the action taking place simultaneously with the main verb.


12 The -qualar/-küler and -quila/-küle suffixes have a dialect variant -quar/-künär that is recorded in Chenggeltei (1981: 306). Again this suffix is common in the dialects spoken in the eastern part of Inner Mongolia.

13 Participle is used by Street (1963: 205), verbal nominal is used by Binnick (1979: 64, 83), and adjectival verb is used by Chenggeltei (1981: 314).

14 These two kinds of auxiliaries were named in Poppe (1954: 157) as copular and descriptive verbs (cf. 1979: 59-60). See also Chenggeltei (1981: 360).

15 See also Street (1963: 142) and Chenggeltei (1981: 360).

CHAPTER FOUR

Tense

In this and the following chapters, we will address the issue of inflectional categories of Mongolian verbs in an attempt to propose a more unified account of tense, aspect, mood, and voice. In this chapter, I shall focus on the tense categories in Mongolian but before doing this I will outline the theoretical framework we will use.

4.1 Tense System

Tense and aspect are closely related but distinctive temporal expressions. Tense indicates the time of an event in relation to some other particular time, which is typically the moment of speaking but may be some other reference event. Aspect, on the other hand, refers to the different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation.¹

Reichenbach (1947) formalized the relationship between event time and the use of tense in terms of three points of time: the speech act (S) is the time at which the utterance takes place; the event (E) is a time corresponding to any one of a large set of times at which an event may take place; and reference (R) consists of alternative points of reference in time which mediate the relationship between S and E (cf. Hornstein 1990: 12). The way in which these three time points interrelate is exemplified in a sentence such as ‘Peter had gone’. In this example, the time of the event is the time at which Peter went; the point of reference is a time between the time of the event and the time of the speech act (Reichenbach 1947: 288). Reichenbach claims these time points are all necessary for defining the tense. In his system, therefore, nine different tense categories can be identified depending upon the relationships holding between S, E, and R.
(Reichenbach 1947: 297). Not all tenses in Reichenbach’s sense are formally distinguished in every language as separate grammatical categories. The following three are relevant to our case because Mongolian only has two tenses—past and non-past, with the non-past tense regarded as including present and future times. Three tenses relevant to the present studies are illustrated in (1), where dashes indicate an interval of time and commas indicate simultaneity.

(1) Structure Examples Names
E, R — S I saw Peter Past
S, R, E I see Peter Present
S — R, E I will see Peter Future

Reichenbach’s tense system is controversial (see Binnick 1991: 111-16). In our case, we need to clarify the position of the reference time (R) to determine the tenses of Mongolian. Though the interpretive effect of the R-point is invisible in some tenses in which R is simultaneous with another point of time, Hornstein (1990) argues it is useful in the interpretation of more complex tenses which contain time adverbials, as exemplified in (2) (from Hornstein 1990: 12-13).

(2) a. John will have left at 3 o’clock.
   b. At 3 P.M., John had left the office.

John’s leaving (E) is located relative to two time points, i.e. the moment of speech (S) and reference time (R). In case of (2a), E is some time in the future relative to the moment of speech but before 3 o’clock (S—E,R), while in case of (2b), E is located before 3 P.M., which is also before the moment of speech (E,R—S). Therefore, in both cases, the temporal specification of E relies on the temporal specification of R. With the same situation in Mongolian, however, the temporal interpretation of R does not make any difference in the structure whether it has an explicit time adverbial or not. Let us
look at the Mongolian counterparts of the English examples (2) in comparison to sentences with no the time adverbials.

(3) a. John 3 čay-tu yabu-na  (4) a. John 3 čay-tu yabu-jai
    John 3 o’clock-DAT leave-NPT  John 3 o’clock-DAT leave-PST
    ‘John will leave at 3 o’clock.’  ‘At 3 P.M., John left.’

b. John 3 čay-ača emüne yabu-na  b. John 3 čay-ača emüne yabu-jai
    John 3 o’clock-ABL before leave-NPT  John 3 o’clock-ABL before leave-PST
    ‘John will have left at 3 o’clock.’  ‘At 3 P.M., John had left.’

The tense structures of the Mongolian sentences in (3) and (4) can be represented as (5) and (6) below, in which we have clear cases distinguishing E taken to be simultaneous with R or preceding it in time.

    b. S — E — R  b. E — R — S

In terms of the tense morpheme, however, Mongolian makes a distinction between the relationship of E and R in neither the structures of S — E, R and S — E — R nor the structures of E, R — S and E — R — S, because in the case of the former, both structures are marked by -na/-ne and in case of the latter, they are marked by -čai/-jai. Because of this, we will not make use of R-point in this study and thus, the tense structures in (1) are modified as in (7) below.

(7) Structure  Examples  Names
    E — S  I saw Peter  Past
    S, E  I see Peter  Present
    S — E  I will see Peter  Future

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Based on the structures shown in (7), our definition is that tense locates the time of the event relative to the time of the speech act. An event occurring before the speech act is in the past tense; during the speech act is in present tense and after the speech act is in future tense. The distinction between past, present, and future tenses is normally determined through the different forms of verb as shown by the English examples in (7) above. In the Mongolian case, there is a problem for making a contrast between present and future tense because there is no separate morpheme for these two tenses. For instance, the present and future tenses in the English examples in (7) take the following forms in Mongolian:

(8)  a. bi Peter-tai ayulja-na     b. bi Peter-tai maryasi ayulja-na
    I Peter-COM see-NPT    I Peter-COM tomorrow see-NPT
    ‘I see Peter.’ [am seeing ... (now)]  ‘I will see Peter tomorrow.’

Except for the time adverbial, ‘tomorrow’, there is no difference between the two sentences in (8). In other words, if there is no time adverbial in (8b), it can be both interpreted as locating E (seeing Peter) either simultaneous with or after the moment of the speech act. Therefore, in this dissertation, we consider the Mongolian tense system to be divided into past and non-past. Non-past tense refers to the time of the event located either simultaneous with speech time or after it. This does not mean that there is no distinction between present and future time in Mongolian, but rather that Mongolian does not have a distinctive morpheme for these two time concepts in the inflectional categories. Their distinction is, sometimes, clarified by the linguistic or extralinguistic context in which the sentence is uttered or by the modifiers such as the time adverbials as in (8b) above.

Because of the function of -na/-ne for indicating both present and future tenses, there has always been a problem in making the proper distinction between present and
future tenses. Although the subject of how to classify Mongolian tense categories is not addressed explicitly in the previous studies on Mongolian tense, the diverse views on the subject can be seen from the different number of tenses included in the tense categories that are proposed. As we have mentioned briefly in Chapter 2, while some authors set up two categories, present and past tenses (Poppe 1954), some include past, present-future, and imminent future (Chenggeltei 1981), still others list non-past and past (Wu 1992, 1996, and Svantesson 1993). This is partially caused by the dual function of -na/-ne for indicating both present and future tenses. The -na/-ne suffix, for instance, has been called the present-future tense suffix, the present of the imperfective tense suffix, and the non-past tense marker.

In deciding how to split up the tense categories in Mongolian, it is crucial to consider the distinction between the notions of tense and the morphemes for marking tense. In the examples below, the distinction between past, present, and future tense categories is certainly made clear with the assistance of the time adverbials.

(9) a. öögedür boroyan oro-ba
    yesterday rain fall-PST
    'It rained yesterday.'

b. odo boroyan oro-na
    now rain fall-NPT
    'It rains now.'

c. maryasi boroyan oro-na
    tomorrow rain fall-NPT
    'It will rain tomorrow.'

As shown by the examples in (9), the contrast between past, present, and future tenses can be expressed in Mongolian. Although both present and future tenses are expressed by the same suffix in (9b) and (9c), their distinction can be observed by looking at the time adverbials ‘now’ and ‘tomorrow’. Therefore, we consider in Mongolian, non-past covers both the time of event simultaneous with and following the
time of speech act and the distinction between them is sometimes derived from context as is evident from the examples in (9) above. In the following sections, we will focus on the past and non-past tenses in Mongolian and the morphemes for marking these two tenses. Furthermore, we will discuss the extra meanings associated with some of the tense morphemes in addition to their regular tense meanings.

4.2 Tense

Tense in Mongolian, as we pointed out, is divided into two categories, non-past tense and past tense, and they are usually marked by either a single morpheme or a compound form. In this chapter, we will examine the general features of these two tense categories and the various morphemes used for indicating tense. As mentioned in Chapter 2, there are many different opinions both of how many tense categories Mongolian has and what kind of suffixes are used to mark them. This is especially true of past tense morphemes since there are several different morphemes for indicating past tense in simultaneous use. According to studies, each of the past tense morphemes may have other meanings in addition to its tense meaning. Many explanations have been offered in the literature but there is still a lack of a general conclusion. We intend to discuss in detail a wider range of possible uses of each suffix and to arrive at some generalization about past tense forms.

4.2.1 The non-past tense

The non-past tense, as defined above, refers to events that occur either simultaneously with or after the speech time. It is marked by two morphemes, -na/-ne and -qu/-kü in Mongolian. As seen in the following examples, -na/-ne is the suffix used in declarative sentences in the positive.
The meaning of the -na/-ne morpheme is, in general, considered as referring to the event either taking place at the present or taking place in the future; we don't know which is expressed without considering things other than the suffix itself. The ambiguity, however, is sometimes resolved by looking at the inherent semantic meaning of the verb (the relationship between the inherent semantic meaning of the verb and the meaning of the suffix will be discussed in detail in the section 4.2.3). In this case, the verb in (10a) is stative and thus the suffix has the present tense meaning, whereas the verb in (10b) is active and thus the suffix has the future tense meaning.

As already noted before, the present or future meaning of -na/-ne is sometimes clarified by the time adverbials. See more examples of this below.

(11) a. bide odo nom ungsi-na   b. bide marjasi nom ungsi-na
      we now book read-NPT we tomorrow book read-NPT
      ‘We read (are reading) books now.’   ‘We are going to read books tomorrow.’

By its origin, the -qu/-kü suffix is a future verbal noun suffix but it is regularly used in interrogative or negative sentences to mark the non-past tense since the -na/-ne suffix is rarely used either in sentences which include the interrogative pronoun (WH-word) or in negation. Consider the following examples.

(12) a. *bi mede-ne ügei   b. *tere kejiy-e yabu-na bui?
      I know-NPT NEG he when leave-NPT QU
      ‘I don’t know.’   ‘When will he leave?’
c.  bi mede-kü ügei  d.  tere keği-y-e yabu-qu bui?
I know-IMPF NEG he when leave-IMPF QU
'I don’t know.'          ‘When will he leave?’

The examples in (12c-d) are a typical case of the replacement in the negative and interrogative sentences of the -na/-ne suffix by -qu/-kü. Considering the use of -qu/-kü in negatives and questions, including WH-word questions, and considering the absence of -na/-ne in these structures, we regard the -qu/-kü suffix as a non-past tense marker and such use of the suffix is easily identifiable as presented above. However, both -na/-ne and -qu/-kü are equally used in non-WH-word questions as shown by the examples in (13) below.

(13) a.  ta marýasi yabu-na uu?  b.  ta marýasi yabu-qu uu?
you tomorrow go-NPT QU       you tomorrow go-IMPF QU
‘Are you going to leave tomorrow?’ ‘Are you going to leave tomorrow?’

c.  ta tegün-i mede-ne üü?  d.  ta tegün-i mede-qu üü?
you him-ACC know-NPT QU       you him-ACC know-IMPF QU
‘Do you know him?’            ‘Do you know him?’

Another important feature of -qu/-kü is to form the periphrastic construction with the copular auxiliaries, bayí- and bol-. The combination of the -qu/-kü suffix and bayí-refers to future time and when the suffix added to bayí- is non-past, it means something is going to happen in the future and implies the speaker is making the prediction about that event. When the suffix added to bayí- is past, it refers to something that should have taken place in the past and implies the speaker regrets that the thing he predicted did not happen. See the following examples.
(14) a. tede nom ungsi-qu bayi-na
   they book read-VRN AUX-NPT
   'I believe they will read the books.'

   b. tede nom ungsi-qu bayi-jai
   they book read-VRN AUX-NPT
   'They should have read the books.'

c. tere qota-du oči-qu bayi-na
   he city-DAT go-VRN AUX-NPT
   'He will go the city.'

d. tere qota-du oči-qu bayi-la
   he city-DAT go-VRN AUX-PST
   'He should have gone the city.'

The construction of the -qu/-kü suffix plus the auxiliary, bol-, also marks a tense category and it is a future tense when bol- takes the non-past suffix and a past tense when bol- is followed by the past tense suffix as in the following examples.

(15) a. tede marýasi yabu-qu bolu-na
   they tomorrow go-VRN AUX-NPT
   'They are going to leave tomorrow.'

   b. bide nutug-ača-ban salu-ju qola yaţar oči-qu bolu-na
   we home-ABL-REF depart-CONV far place go-VRN AUX-NPT
   'We will leave our hometown and go to a place far away.'

c. nidunun-eče minu niru yan ebed-kü bol-jai
   last year-ABL my back pain-VRN AUX-PST
   'From the last year, I had a back pain.'

d. kečiyel ekile-kü bol-ba
   class start-VRN AUX-PST
   'It is already the time for starting the class.'

In comparison with the -qu/-kü and bayi- construction, a sequence of -qu/-kü plus bol- not only expresses the future tense but also involves the speaker's attitude towards what he is saying. i.e. the speaker is confident that what he says is true. Thus, as shown by the examples below, the latter is used when the speaker is positive what he is saying is
going to take place, while the former when no such attitude is implied. Compare the following examples.

(16) a. bi kedün edür daraγa yabu-qu bayi-na
    I several day after go-VRN be-NPT
    ‘I will likely leave after several days.’

       b. bi γurban edür daraγa zabu-qu bol-na
    I three day after go-VRN be-NPT
    ‘I will certainly leave after three days.’

Comrie (1985a: 37-39) and Bybee et al. (1995: 126) both identify morphemes referring to the present in many languages that cover various types of imperfective situations, including ongoing activities and habitual and gnomic situations. Although Comrie (1985a: 38) emphasizes these uses of the present tense as an implicature by saying “the situation referred to by the verb in the present tense is simply a situation holding literally at the present moment; whether or not this situation is part of a larger situation extending into the past or the future is an implicature ....,” Bybee et al. (1995: 126) disagrees with Comrie (1985a) and finds it is difficult to view the present tense as a tense, having to do primarily with deictic temporal reference, since it often includes various types of imperfective situations in which the moment of speech is the reference point. The basic meaning of the non-past tense form in Mongolian can be recognized as indicating the non-past tense, closer examination reveals that the meaning of the -na/-ne suffix is not restricted to the present and future only, but it can refer to situations described by Comrie (1985a) and Bybee et al. (1995) above. In many cases, the suffix refers to an event taking place in a much wider time range than just present and future times. In addition to its non-past meaning, we can identify non-specific time, gnomic situation, and the habituative. The following examples show these uses.
The \textit{-na/-ne} suffix is not used solely as a signal that the event takes place in the present or future relative to the time of speech. In (17a), the \textit{-na/-ne} suffix refers to timeless facts, i.e. what we call non-specific time. This means that the situation referred to by \textit{bi tegün-i tani-na} ‘I know him’ is not merely simultaneous with the present moment of speech time, but may extend beyond the present moment, including time before or after speech time. Therefore, it is less a matter of presenting the time of the event in relation to speech time than stating a condition or state. It is not an action and does not involve specific reference to time.\footnote{The \textit{-na/-ne} suffix in sentence (17b) refers to general truth, e.g. a gnomic situation, ‘day follows night.’ In sentence (17c), the suffix refers to events that occur regularly, e.g. habitual meaning.}

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4.2.2 The past tense

The past tense typically indicates a situation which occurs prior to the moment of the speech time.\footnote{This meaning may be expressed by several different morphemes in Mongolian, namely \textit{-ba/-be, -jai/-čai, -la/-le, -γsan/-gsen}. The former three are well documented suffixes in the grammars; the latter one is originally a verbal noun suffix expressing the perfective meaning and now is frequently used, particularly in questions and negation, as a past tense marker. If one does not consider for the moment other meanings associated with these suffixes, all are equally capable of marking the past tense, i.e. they locate the situation in the past relative to the moment of the speech. As}
illustrated by the examples in the following list, the past tense sentence, "We all read-PST this book" in English is expressed with any of the different past tense forms in Mongolian.

\[(18) \text{ene nom-i bide bür} \begin{cases} \text{ungsi-ba} \\ \text{ungsi-ignant} \\ \text{ungsi-la} \\ \text{ungsi-ysan} \end{cases} \]

this book-ACC we all read-PST

‘We all read this book.’

From the examples given above, it is clear that any of the four morphemes can be chosen by the speaker to indicate the past tense and the choice of suffix is perhaps up to the speaker. There is no doubt that they can be all regarded as past tense markers, the question is, however, why Mongolian has four different morphemes for the same past tense. There are at least a half dozen articles on this subject and they have numerous explanations on how the suffixes differ one from another, in particular, there are extensive discussions on the difference between -jai/-cja and -la/-le. It has been generally concluded that these morphemes are distinct in certain ways but attempts to establish clear and reliable criteria for distinguishing them are not conclusive. From our preliminary observations, the question is not easily answered but since each of these morphemes is used to express the past tense, as exemplified above, the most likely explanation is that instead of having one core meaning, they may have meanings that vary in different contexts. In the following section, we will, therefore, explore all the possible meanings expressed by the four morphemes.

In order to give an understandable account of the various past tense forms, it might be useful to demonstrate their different usages one by one, and then to summarize their differences in terms of their meanings and uses in the language.
4.2.2.1 The -ba/-be suffix

This form occurs less frequently in spoken Mongolian in comparison with other past tense markers and it is said to be used mostly in the written language. The use of the suffix in the spoken Mongolian, however, cannot be ignored, because in the question in spoken Mongolian it is no less frequent than the other past tense markers. See the following examples.

(19) a. tere ire-be
    he come-PST
    ‘He came.’

b. tere ire-be üü?
    he come-PST QU
    ‘Did he come?’

c. bi tegün-tai öögedür aγulja-ba
    I him-COM yesterday meet-PST
    ‘I met him yesterday.’

d. ta tegün-tai öögedür aγulja-ba uu?
    you him-COM yesterday meet-PST QU
    ‘Did you meet him yesterday?’

Although the -ba/-be suffix is not frequently used to form statements in the past tense, it does occur as shown in the examples in (19) and since it is regularly used this way in the spoken Mongolian, it is not correct to limit it to the written language, as most grammars do. The frequent use of this morpheme in the question is pointed out by both Chenggeltei (1981: 294) and Poppe (1970: 131) and in fact it has been named the “Interrogative past” by Sun (1985: 150). However, it is necessary to point out the additional meaning which the suffix carries in questions, i.e. the -ba/-be suffix sometimes sounds politer than its counterpart. Compare the following two sets of examples.

(20) a. ta sayin {sayu-ba
    you good stay-PST QU
    ‘Did you keep well?’

b. ta nom-iyen {ungsi-ba
    you book-REF read-PST QU
    ‘Did you read your book?’
Notice that in each of the above examples two past tense suffixes, -ba/-be and -ysan/-gsen, are attached to exactly the same verbs in the same sentences and both of them refer to something that happened in the past. They are, however, different in the sense that the former implies certain attitudes or intentions of the speaker toward what he is asking. For instance, in (20a), the -ba/-be suffix hints that a speaker is trying to be polite or wishing somebody well, while the -ysan/-gsen suffix lacks such implication and it is simply an inquiry into what happened in the past. Another implication is that -ba/-be indicates that the speaker is mainly concerned with whether or not the event is accomplished and it also indicates that he knows, or at least supposes, that it may have been done. Therefore, in (20b), -ba/-be suggests the speaker is concerned with whether or not you have finished reading your book which you are supposed to be reading, and it also implies that you are supposed to have finished reading it and, by implication, questions why you haven’t, etc. Similar to the implication in (20a), the speaker’s concern about whether or not the event in the question has been accomplished is the major focus of the sentence. On the contrary, the sentence with the -ysan/-gsen suffix lacks such implicit meaning (see more discussion on this in the section 4.2.2.4). This use of -ba/-be, expressing the concern of the speaker, is perhaps an indication of its peculiar use in addition to tense meaning and so the characteristic feature of the suffix is not only to locate the time of the event in the past relevant to the speech time but also to imply the speaker’s concern about what he saying.

In relation with the above use, the -ba/-be form has the function of referring to a future event in which it also signals the speaker’s concern about what might possibly happen. Sometimes, especially in the dialect variations, the -ba/-be form functions to indicate that, unless prevented, something may happen, i.e. the inductive prediction, what Poppe (1955: 266) calls “a form of warning” and what Dobu (1983: 50) calls “the dubitative form”. This use of the suffix is only associated with the second person
subject and it cannot be used with the first and third persons. See the following examples.

(21) a. ta mori-ača-ban qaya-γda-ba aa!
    you horse-ABL-REF throw-PSS-PST PTL
    ‘Be careful, you might fall down from the horse!’

b. kičiyel-eče-ben qočor-ba aa!
    class-ABL-REF late-PST PTL
    ‘Be careful, you’ll be late for class!’

The -ba/-be suffix used in the above two sentences cannot be called past tense, as it does not refer to a past event but something that may happen in the future. In this case, the particle ‘aa’ may play a certain role, but it is plausible to say that the -ba/-be suffix has the future meaning because the verbs marked by it refer to something that may happen in future unless prevented. The question is how the past tense suffix -ba/-be can express the future. To answer this question, in my article, Wu (1996: 72-73), I made the assumption, according to Ramstedt’s (1981: 162-63) observations, that there is a certain relationship between -ba/-be and the admonitive form, -γuγai/-güγei and the conditional converb suffix, -basu/-besü. Ramstedt observed that the original form of -guγai/-güγei in Mongolian is *-ba-ža or *-wa-ža which also comes from the past tense form -ba or -wa and the particle -ža or -že. Furthermore, he also noticed that there is a relationship between -ba/-be and the conditional converb suffix -ba-la/-ba-su(<-ba asu) (-bal/-bel in modern Mongolian) which consists of a combination of past tense form -ba/-be and particles su or sū. From this, we assume that the -ba/-be suffix has the same origin as -ba/-wa in the *-ba-ža/*-wa-ža and -ba-la/-ba-su forms and though the -ba/-be form in the modern Mongolian is not directly used to refer to future tense anymore, it occurs in reference to a future event as a form expressing the dubitative meaning which is normally expressed in -γuγai/-güγei. 
Another special use of the -ba/-be morpheme worth mentioning is that the suffix is more frequent than the other past tense markers in the narrative past. Such use of the suffix in the narrative is mentioned in both Street (1961: 122) and Chenggeltei (1981: 294) without making further clarification. Its use in the narrative sentence seems have something to do with the first person subject, i.e. when someone makes a statement about what he has done in the past, he tends to choose the -ba/-be suffix instead of the others. Although this use is perhaps not a distinctive characteristic of the suffix, according to my own speech, preference is in fact for the -ba/-be suffix when narrating something I have done in the past. The following examples (22a-b) illustrate the above point, involving the first personal subject.

(22) a. bi doloyan čag-tu nom-un sang-du oči-be
   b. bi tabun nom jigele-be
   I 7 o'clock library-DAT go-PST I 5 book borrow-PST
   ‘I went to the library at 7 o'clock.’ ‘I borrowed five books.’

On the other hand, if one changes the first personal subject in (22) into the second or third personal subject as in (23), the preference is perhaps for one of the other past tense suffixes. However, the choice between -ba/-be and the other past tense suffixes is just a matter of preference, not an explicit distinction of the suffixes.

(23) a. ta doloyan čag-tu nom-un sang-du oči-jai
    b. Dorji tabun nom jigele-gsen
    you 7 o'clock library-DAT go-PST Dorji 5 book borrow-PST
    ‘You went to the library at 7 o'clock.’ ‘Dorji borrowed five books.’

4.2.2.2 The -jai/-čai suffix

The -jai/-jei or -čai/-čei suffix is another morpheme used to indicate the time of an event that occurs before speech time. Aside from expressing meanings other than time,
as outlined in previous studies, the -jai/-jei or -cai/-cei morphemes most frequently indicate an event that happened in the past. Consider the following examples.

(24) a. bi tegün-i tani-jai
    I him-ACC know-PST
    ‘I knew him.’

b. tere yabu-jai
    he leave-PST
    ‘He left.’

c. tede nom ungsi-jai
    they book read-PST
    ‘They read a book.’
d. Batu oros kele suru-jei
    Batu Russian learn-PST
    ‘Batu learned Russian.’

Notice that in the above sentences, just as the -ba/-be form in the previous section, all verbs in the -jai/-cai form refer to past time. In differentiating the use of one past tense marker from another, the -jai/-cai suffix in particular has had many different explanations, especially in comparison with the -la/-le suffix. As examined in Wu (1995: 86-94), many of the explanations fail to capture all possible meanings and uses of the suffix and are only a partial reflection of them. The result of our studies (Wu 1992 and 1995) reveals the suffix does not differ greatly from the other past tense suffixes as far as the tense meaning is concerned; it finds also that it is inappropriate to apply one core meaning to this suffix since it is especially possible for it to have different meanings under several conditions. This is precisely the reason why this suffix has been called by so many different names in the past.

Among the numerous meanings of -jai/-cai, the following three are perhaps most common. First it is taken to indicate an event or action completed some time ago in the past (Nasunbayar 1982: 308). Second it indicates suddenly acquired knowledge of a past or unexpected event (Binnick 1979a: 6; Poppe 1954: 165). This second meaning is usually taken in contrast to -la/-le which is used to indicate a well known past event ( -la/-
le will be discussed in the next section). A third meaning puts emphasis on the result of the past event. 12

It is possible for the -jai/-cai suffix to be used in certain contexts to refer to something that happened a long time before the moment of speech time. In the following examples, the suffix is regarded as indicating the remote or distant past. See these examples.

(25) a. bide arban jil-ün emüne tani-lča-jaí
    we 10 year-GEN before know-RECP-PST
    ‘We were acquainted with each other ten years ago.’

b. minü degüü nidunun yeke suryaγuli-ača tegüs-čeí
    my younger brother last year university-ABL graduate-PST
    ‘My younger brother graduated from University last year.’

(26) a. bide tani-lča-jaí
    we know-RECP-PST
    ‘We were acquainted with each other.’

b. minü degüü yeke suryaγuli-ača tegüs-čeí
    my younger brother university-ABL graduate-PST
    ‘My younger brother graduated from University.’

In the examples in (25), it is obvious that the suffix refers to the situation that is quite distant from the present as the events took place “ten years” before and “last year.” However, it is doubtful to say the remoteness is expressed by only the suffix itself, because these two sentences include time adverbials that play the major role in expressing remoteness. This is exactly the reason that without the time adverbials, the -jai/-cai suffix merely indicates something that took place before the present moment without saying whether it was a long time ago or fairly recently, as exemplified in (26). Thus, if there is
no context indicating the remote sense, the remote meaning is not a necessary meaning of -jai/-čai and it cannot be considered as a distinctive feature of the suffix. This can also be confirmed, on one hand, because the replacement of -jai/-čai in (25) by any other past tense markers will make no significant change to the degree of remoteness (as exemplified in (27)). On the other hand, there is a possibility for -jai/-čai, like the other past tense markers, to be used with an adverbial signifying an event occurring in the recent past as in the examples in (28).

(27) a. bide arban ğil-ûn emûne \{ tani-lča-ba  \\
               tani-lča-la  \\
               tani-lča-γsan \}  

    we  10 year-GEN before  know-RECP-PST

    'We were acquainted with each other ten years ago.'

(28) a. bi sayiqan tegün-taï \{ ayalja-jai  \\
                             ayalja-la  \\
                             ayalja-ba  \\
                             ayalja-γsan \}  

    I just him-COM meet-PST

    'I just met him.'

From the examples in (27) and (28), we know that any of those past tense morphemes may refer to a situation that took place a long time ago or just moment ago, i.e. in the remote past or recent past. In this regard, it is worth mentioning the findings of scholars that contradict the idea of remote past. Some authors have determined that -jai/-čai has "the meaning of recent past" (Street 1963: 122), or it refers to "the action that commenced in the past, and which is prolonged or repeated in the present,"\(^{13}\) or which may continue into the future (Street 1963: 122). Even though further studies are needed to determine the truth of this,\(^{14}\) we know at least that the suffix is certainly capable of indicating the recent past, as we showed earlier. It is certain from the above discussion that -jai/-čai indicates both distant past and a recent event and that it is compatible with
the other past markers as indicated by examples with time adverbials. Therefore, it is more likely that degree of remoteness is derived from context and that the past tense marker does not by itself distinguish it. To distinguish these past tense morphemes by the degree of the remoteness is a problematic solution, since none of the past tense markers in Mongolian distinguish recent or remote past without the help of a certain context.

However, the -jai/-čai suffix also occurs in sentences like those in (29), where it signifies something that happened some time ago and the person who is speaking recalls that thing. This may be one of the reasons for calling -jai/-čai a distant past, but it has also been defined as “the speaker recalling something or someone.” (Galsang 1981: 13) without considering whether the event is remote or recent. The examples include:

(29) a. bi saqilaya ügei keüked bayi-jai
    I discipline NEG child be-PST
    ‘I used to be an undisciplined child.’

b. baya bayiqu-dayan bi kögjim-dü yeke duratai bayi-jai
    small be-REF I music-DAT very like be-PST
    ‘I really liked music when I was a child.’

If the adult says the above sentences and recalls what he was like in his childhood, the event time expressed in the sentences is certainly quite distant from the time of the speech act. From Galsang’s interpretation, however, the emphasis of the sentence is not on presenting the distant event but the speaker’s recalling it. Again, the use of -jai/-čai is probably a matter of preference because the replacement of -jai/-čai by other past tense markers seems not to make any difference in terms of the remoteness or of someone’s recalling a past event. See the following examples.
(30) a. bi saqilaya ügi keüked bayi-ba
    discipline NEG child be-PST
    ‘I used to be an undisciplined child.’

b.  baya bayiqu-dayan bi kögümüz-dü yeke duratai bayi-ysan
    small be-REF I music-DAT very like be-PST
    ‘I really liked music when I was a child.’

The meaning of suddenly acquired knowledge of a past or unexpected past event, is partially correct for the -jai/-cai suffix because there is some evidence to be found in modern Mongolian to show that -jai/-cai “expresses an action which took place in the past and of which the speaker has now become aware” (Hangin 1968: 114) or “to express an event which the speaker has just realized” (Binnick 1990: 52). Although those meanings are certainly evident in the -jai/-cai form, they are perhaps better described as “an action that took place without being known by anybody or an event that has been done mistakenly.” (Galsang 1981: 13). Consider the following examples.16

(31) a.  čegeji-ber bičig biči-ged bi tabu alda-jai
    heard-INST writing write-CONV I 5 lost-PST
    ‘I did five mistakes when doing a dictation.’

b.  nom abu-yad yabu-ysan kümün Dorji bayi-jai
c.  Dorji ire-jei
    book take-CONV go-CONV person Dorj be-PST  Dorj come-PST
    ‘The person who took away a book was Dorj.’
    ‘Dorj came.’

By Galsang’s explanation, (31a) is used when the speaker has not realized how many mistakes he made or when the mistakes that he made were unknown and he only now finds out; (31b) is used when nobody knows who took away a book and that the speaker has finally found out; (31c) is used when Dorj’s coming was not known or is news to the speaker. This is probably the main reason that some scholars explain the
meaning of -ja/-čai as a sudden occurrence or unexpected action. Even though -ja/-čai does express such meaning, it is not the only function that it has but a part of its various functions.

Some observers claim the -ja/-čai suffix "emphasizes the present result of a past action" (Street 1963: 122) or has an inferential or quotational meaning (Svantesson 1991: 193). Although the wording here differs, we suppose they both concern the result of a past situation. For instance, based on the speech of a Khalkha Mongol informant, Svantesson (1991: 193) concludes that the speaker prefers to use the -ja/-čai suffix when he speaks of a past situation which he has not personally experienced but has witnessed its consequences and infers what has occurred, or has heard about it from someone else. Ultimately, Svantesson’s explanation has something to do with the result of a past action. Once again, emphasizing the present result or referring to the indirect past is, we suspect, a dialectal variant or even personal preference. The Street (1963) and Svantesson (1991) studies are based on Khalkha Mongol data. Furthermore, although he distinguishes the past tense morphemes, as indirect past (-ja/-čai), direct (-la/-le), and the plain (-y lantern/-gsen), Svantesson (1991: 193) notices that the use of indirect and direct past forms are not obligatory, and the plain form is a possible alternative in most contexts, depending on whether or not the speaker wants to stress how he obtained his knowledge of the situation. Quite to the contrary, after analyzing the classical Mongolian data, Poppe (1954: 93) remarks this suffix is used when the speaker indeed claims to have witnessed the action and the use in this sense is still found in some dialects of modern Mongolian. For instance, Wu (1996: 19) analyzed two sentences in which the speaker has direct knowledge of past situation. See the following examples.

(32) a. tere urğınun yeke suryayuli-du oro-ja

he 2 years university-DAT enter-PST

‘He entered university year before last.’
b. batu-yin aqa-ni öögedür ire-jei

Batu-GEN elder brother-POS yesterday come-PST

‘Batu’s elder brother arrived yesterday.’

In the above examples, the -jai/-cai suffix is not used to indicate a past situation inferred from the present result of a past action, but it is the direct knowledge of the speaker derived from his past experience and thus the suffix expresses the meaning of the direct past.

Scholars have also proposed to distinguish the -jai/-cai marker from others by relating it to person. Poppe (1951: 80) and Hangin (1968: 114), for instance, claim the suffix usually occurs with the third person (cf. Binnick 1979: 4), Poppe (1954: 93) mentions it is usually used with reference to the second and third person, and Binnick (1990: 50) observes that, except in questions, the suffix is rarely used in the second person and even more rarely in the first person. The above observations seem to imply that -jai/-cai is mostly used with the third person. Let’s look at several examples and see how the suffix is related to the person.

(33) a. bi öögedür ire-jei
   I yesterday come-PST
   ‘I came yesterday.’

b. *či öögedür ire-jei
   you yesterday come-PST
   ‘You came yesterday.’

c. tere öögedür ire-jei
   he yesterday come-PST
   ‘He came yesterday.’

(34) a. bid nom ungsi-jaï
   we book read-PST
   ‘We read a book.’

b. *ta nom ungsi-jaï
   you book read-PST
   ‘You read a book.’

c. tede nom ungsi-jaï
   they book read-PST
   ‘They read a book.’
In both examples (33) and (34), the -jai/-cai suffix in the sentences in the first and third personal subject are normal, but the sentences with the second personal subject are not acceptable; therefore as suggested by others, probably the -jai/-cai marker is inappropriate with a second person subject. However, in some dialects it is quite often used in the interrogative sentence. Consider the following example in comparison with other past tense makers:

(35) a. ta öögedür \{ire-\text{j}i^{18}\\ *ire-le\\ ire-be\\ ire-gsen\} üü?  
b. ta ger-teen \{qari-\text{j}i\\ *qari-la\\ qari-ba\\ qari-\text{ys}an\} uu?  

you yesterday come-PST PTL  
you home-REF return-PST PTL  

'Did you come yesterday?'  

'Did you return home?'

In (35), except for -la/-le, all past tense markers may be used with second person in the interrogative sentence. As correctly suggested by others, -jai/-cai is restricted in regard to the second person in affirmative sentences, but this cannot be considered the distinctive feature of the -jai/-cai marker, since the other past tense markers are also usually restricted in the same way, as we see in (36). There is also evidence to show that, under some special circumstances, all past tense markers may be used with the second person, as in the answer to a question; see (37).

(36) *ta öögedür \{ire-le\\ ire-be\\ ire-gsen\}  

you yesterday come-PST  

'You came yesterday.'

(37) a. bi öögedür yayu ki-gsen ta mede-ne üü?  
b. ta nom \{ungsi-\text{jai}\\ ungsi-la\\ ungsi-ba\\ ungsi-\text{ys}an\}  

I yesterday what do-PST you know QU  
you book read-PST  

'Do you know what I did yesterday?'  

'You read a book.'
So far we have compared several different explanations with respect to the meaning and use of the -jai/-čai form. From this it may be clear enough to say that each definition determined by the various scholars is only one of the several possible uses of the suffix; some meanings are only expressed under special conditions or with time adverbials, thus they cannot be a general description of the suffix. We have also seen that the various past tense markers are freely interchangeable in most cases without showing any significant difference therefore there is obviously a certain similarity among them. It is thus not correct to attempt to give a simple definition of the meaning of -jai/-čai, since it does not have a single characteristic, but rather will have several different meanings and uses in the different contexts, as previously discussed.

4.2.2.3 The -la/-le suffix

Similar to the past tense morphemes in the two previous sections, this suffix is also used to locate the situation before the present moment of speech. Any of the verbs with the -jai/-čai or -ba/-be suffix can be replaced by the -la/-le suffix without causing any change to their past tense meaning. See the following examples.

(38) a. bi tegún-i tani-la
    1 him-ACC know-PST
    ‘I knew him.’

b. tere yabu-la
    he leave-PST
    ‘He left.’

c. tede nom ungsi-la
    they book read-PST
    ‘They read a book.’

d. Batu oros kele suru-la
    Batu Russian learn-PST
    ‘Batu learned Russian.’

The -la/-le suffix is, however, most complicated in terms of its meaning and use. There have been many attempts to define the general meaning of the suffix but we still lack a comprehensive explanation. The common views in the literature are that this suffix refers to uncompleted past, recent or immediate past, past-future, past tense of a
deliberate and known action, evidential past, and direct past. Of these various definitions, the most typical ones are immediate past and evidential past.

The -la/-le suffix is taken to denote the immediate or recent past because under certain circumstances, the suffix is used to refer to an event that occurred just a short while ago. For example.

(39) a. tan-u amur-i asayuqu-bar tus ǰakidal-i biči-le
   your-GET health-ACC ask-INST this letter-ACC write-PST
   ‘(I) have just written this letter to ask about your well-being.’

b. ene nom-i sayiqan ungsi-ǰu dayusqa-la
   this book-ACC just read-IMF finish-PST
   ‘(I) just finished reading this book.’

In the examples in (39), the suffix does refer to the recent past because the speaker is talking about what he has done just before the present moment of speech. However, this use is not unique nor the sole feature of the suffix, but it is one of many uses the suffix expresses as pointed out by Chenggeltei (1981: 298) and there are cases in which “it can be used for situations that occurred a long time ago, if the speaker remembers them clearly” (Svantesson 1991: 193). For instance, in the following examples, the speaker uses the -la/-le suffix to express this sense.

(40) a. ene nom-i bi baya-un üye-degen ungsi-la
   this book-ACC I childhood-REF read-PST
   ‘I read this book during my childhood.’

b. tus ügülel-i arban ǰil-un emüne biči-le
   this article-ACC 10 year-GEN before write-PST
   ‘(I) wrote this article ten years ago.’
The most well-known and widely spread interpretation in the literature is that the -la/-le suffix refers to a past situation that is witnessed by the speaker or is a commonly known fact, e.g. the evidential past or direct past. This explanation has a long history in Mongolian language studies and it goes back to grammar studies written in an earlier time. Ramstedt (1903: 17), for instance, observes that the suffix indicates not only a definite point of time, but also the certainty of the statement. Rudnev (1905) claims in a similar way that the suffix is a decisive form which is used when speaking of already known facts. Later, Poppe (1954: 165) states that the suffix expresses an action that is regarded as “a fact well known to everyone or witnessed by someone and, therefore, beyond doubt.” Similarly, Street (1963: 121) concurs that -la/-le is used mainly “when the speaker or writer has first-hand knowledge of an event or state described, or when he is otherwise willing to vouch for the accuracy of a statement.” This is revised in Binnick (1979: 5-6) to state that the suffix is used, “if the event is something the speaker is vouching for, or is information which is well-known and stated not to convey new information but for another purpose.” Recently, it is called “evidential past” (Binnick 1990: 53) and “indirect past” and defined as showing that the speaker has witnessed the situation himself (Svantesson 1991: 193).

In modern Mongolian, according to my own observation, we are unable to find a simple example to confirm that the -la/-le form refers to a well-known past event or direct past. On the contrary, as analyzed in the examples (31), the -čai/-jai suffix is used to refer to the direct knowledge of the speaker derived from his past experience and according to Wu (1995: 96-7), there are examples to show that the -la/-le suffix expresses a degree of uncertainty in the speaker. See the following examples from Wu (1995: 96).

(41) a. bi tan-u aqa-yi ger-tegen ire-le gejü sonus-čai
    I your elder brother-GEN home-REF come-PST say hear-PST
    ‘I heard that your elder brother came back home.’
b. tan-yi Kökeqota-du yabu-la gejü surugči-nar kele-ǰu bayi-γsan
   you-ACC Huhhot-DAT go-PST say students-PL say-IMPF be-PST
   ‘The students said that you had gone to Huhhot.’

c. tere yadaradu-du yar-la gejü čalči-ju bayi-γsan
   he abroad-DAT go out-PST say boast-IMPF be-PST
   ‘He boasted he had been abroad.’

In all three sentences in (41), the verbs in the -la/-le form are in an indirect quotation where they refer to an event stated not as the speaker’s first-hand knowledge but which is acquired either through somebody else or through other means and about which he is uncertain. For example, in (41a), the speaker heard that your elder brother came back home, but he is not sure it is true; (41b) implies that the speaker heard from students that you had gone to Huhhot and he wonders why you are still here; (41c) implies that the speaker is in doubt about what someone has said. Note that the suffixes -ba/-be, -jai/-cai and -γsan/-gsen cannot replace -la/-le in the above examples. If they did so, the sentences would lose the uncertainty which is implied by -la/-le.

On the other hand, some authors do not restrict the meaning of -la/-le to the recent past or well-known facts but regard it as a special suffix capable of having various meanings in various contexts. Chenggeltei (1981: 298), for example, summarized its use as “(a) the moment when an action is about to start; (b) the moment when an action just started; (c) the moment when an action is about to finish; (d) the moment when an action is just finished or has already finished.” Furthermore, he suggests that the meaning of the suffix may vary depending upon the semantic meaning of verb or the context and he concludes that it is primarily used to refer to either the moment of entering into a state or the moment of just having entered into a state (Chenggeltei 1981: 298-300). See the following examples.
(42) a. nom-čini una-la  b. Batu γaru-yad yabu-la
book-POS fall down-PST Batu go out-CONV go-PST  

('Your book is about to fall down.')  
('Batu is about to go out.')  

c. čirig ire-le  d. tere sayiqan Kökeqota-a& ire-le
soldier come-PST he just Huhhot-ABL come-PST

('The soldier is just now coming.')  
('He just arrived from Huhhot.')

Here, the verbs in the -la/-le suffix are interpreted as referring to either the imminent future or the recent past. For instance, (42a) is concerned not with the fact that the book has fallen but rather with the fact that it is in an unstable state which implies falling. In (42d), -le occurs in a context clearly in the recent past but which concerns the fact that the subject is here, as opposed to not yet having arrived. The same is true for (42c) where the soldier may not yet have arrived but is recognized now as being on his way; i.e. in a state of coming as opposed to not coming or, more correctly, that the state of the speaker's mind has changed from not knowing whether the soldier is on his way to knowing that he is. In (42b), the verb in -la together with the preceding verb in -yad refers to the state of Batu's being about to go out or just having gone out. This last form is discussed in more detail below.

Again this complexity of meanings in different contexts is one of the major reasons that -la/-le has been given numerous names. Moreover, as Chenggeltei (1981) suggested, similar to the non-past suffix, -na/-ne, the meaning of -la/-le has a close relationship with the meaning of the verb to which it is attached and its meaning sometimes can be explained by looking at that. In the section 4.2.3, therefore, we will look at the relationship between the inherent meaning of verbs and the Mongolian tense morphemes in more detail.
4.2.2.4 The -γsan/-gsen suffix

The -γsan/-gsen suffix is originally a verbal noun suffix but it is often used as a past tense marker of finite verbs in modern Mongolian and it seems to be frequent in the question and negation. See the following examples:

(43) a. bi tegün-i tani-γsan
    I him-ACC know-PST
    'I knew him.'

b. tere yabu-γsan
    he leave-PST
    'He is about to leave.'

c. tede nom ungsı-γsan
    they book read-PST
    'They read a book.'

d. Batu oros kele suru-γsan
    Batu Russian learn-PST
    'Batu learned Russian.'

Its use in negative and interrogative sentences for indicating the past is a distinctive characteristic of the -γsan/-gsen suffix. As shown in the following examples, in negation and in questions, including those with a WH-word, -γsan/-gsen is the most often used of the past tense morphemes.

(44) a. bi tegün-i tani-γsan ŭgei
    I him-ACC knew-PST NEG
    'I did not recognize him.'

b. tere oögedür ire-gsen ŭgei
    he yesterday come-PST NEG
    'He did not come yesterday.'

c. ta keşiye ire-gsen bui?
    you when come-PST QU
    'When did you come?'

d. tere oögedür ire-gsen üü?
    he yesterday come-PST QU
    'Did he come yesterday?'

As in (44), of all the past tense suffixes, only -γsan/-gsen is used in negative sentences in Modern Mongolian. The -ba/-be suffix is used in the interrogative sentence as mentioned earlier. Its meaning is, however, slightly different from that of the -γsan/-gsen suffix (see the previous section).
In addition to its special use in negation and questions, it is necessary to point out another feature of -ysan/-gsen, namely, that similar to -la/-le, the suffix is used when the speaker shows the uncertainty of some past situation. See the following examples.

(45)  a. tende nige mori bayi-ysan  (46)  a. aqa čini yabu-ysan
     b. tende nige mori bayi-jai                  b. aqa čini yabu-jai
     c. tende nige mori bayi-ba                  c. aqa čini yabu-ba
     d. tende nige mori bayi-la                  d. aqa čini yabu-la
     there one horse exist-PST                   brother your leave-PST
     ‘There was a horse.’                        ‘Your brother left.’

The above two sets of examples all are concerned with an event that took place at some time in the past but in sentences (45a) and (45d) the speaker is calling attention to the fact that a horse exists there, or he might even be implying that some animal is there that might be a horse. In (45b) and (45c), however, the speaker confirms a fact he knows to the listener, namely that there was a horse there.

In (46) the relationship is much the same except that (46a) indicates only the fact of the brother’s having gone and (46b) and (46c) involve both that fact and other considerations. This means that in (46a) even if one includes information such as time or destination, our concern is still with the action; the specific time or destination are secondary. In (46b) or (46c), it is the other elements, rather than the action, that become the most important information. The statement in (46d), on the other hand, is most likely understood as referring to a future event because of the inherent meaning of verb (see more on this in the next section). Otherwise, the examples in (46a-c), as they stand, appear to be the same with regard to time but they may differ as to how appropriate they are in sentences which focus on elements other than the action itself.
4.2.3 The semantics of the verb and Mongolian tense suffixes

By their inherent semantic features, verbs are classified into certain groups. In Comrie (1976a: 41-51) and Brinton (1988: 23-27) these are seen as binary distinctions, including stative vs. non-stative (dynamic), punctual vs. durative, and telic vs. atelic; in Vendler (1967: 102-7), they make up a four-way distinction, namely, states, activities, accomplishments, and achievements. It has been observed, in general, that there are interactions between verb semantics and aspectual meanings. The English perfect, for instance, as Brinton (1988: 43-45) points out, interacts with the semantics of verbs and may result in different readings; e.g. with punctual verbs, it has a continuative reading, while with atelic verbs, it lacks such a reading. Similarly, in the Mongolian tense morphemes, the -na/-ne and -la/-le suffixes show a close interaction with the inherent meaning of verb and they seem to have different readings with the different verb classes.

According to Brinton’s (1988: 28) explanation of Vendler’s four aspectual types, states are situations which endure for an indefinite period of time with no necessary endpoint; they cannot be brought about voluntarily and they do not involve change or development; activities are durative situations which go on for an indefinite period with no inherent goal and they involve some change, and they may be voluntary or non-voluntary; accomplishments are durative situations which go on in time but have a necessary goal, and achievements are punctual situations taking place at a specific point in time. The -na/-ne and -la/-le suffixes have a close relationship with the static and active verbs and their meanings contrast sharply with these two types.

Because states refer to a situation which endures for “an indefinite period of time”, the -na/-ne suffix usually indicates the present tense, or more correctly indefinite time, and the -la/-le suffix indicates the regular past tense. Consider the following examples of stative verbs, where both suffixes are used with the same verb.
When the -na/-ne and -la/-le suffixes are attached to certain active verbs, the meaning differs from that of the present and past tense readings, as the former indicates the future and the latter signals the imminent future. This future meaning of the suffixes is particularly clear when they are attached to motion verbs, like yabu- 'to go'. Consider the examples in (49) and (50) where both suffixes are added to the same verb but their meanings are distinguished easily because of the inherent meanings of the verbs.

(49) a. čirig ire-ne  
soldier come-NPT  
‘The soldier will come.’

b. tere yar-na  
he go out-NPT  
‘He will go out.’

c. tere oći-na  
he go-NPT  
‘He will go.’ (lit.: He goes.)

d. Dorji mori-bar yabu-na  
Dorji horse-INS go-NPT  
‘Dorji will go by horse.’
(50) a. čirig ire-le
soldier come-PST
‘The soldier is coming.’ (walking in the speaker’s direction)
b. tere yar-la
he go out-PST
‘He is about to go out.’ (at the point of going out of the house)
c. tere oči-la
he go-PST
‘He is about to go.’ (at the point of going)
d. Dorji mori-bar yabu-la
Dorji horse-INS come-PST
‘Dorji is about to leave by horse.’ (at the stage of leaving)

In the above discussions, we claim that the -na/-ne morpheme does not express the event taking place at the present time with either stative or active verbs. Instead, it indicates indefinite time with a stative verb and a future time with an active verb. Because of this interaction between -na/-ne and the inherent semantic content of verbs, an event that occurs simultaneously with the speech act is usually represented by the construction -ju/-ču plus the auxiliary bayi- plus -na/-ne, which is the progressive form. Compare the following two sets of the examples:

(51) a. bide egün-i mede-ne
we this-ACC know-NPT
‘We know this.’

(52) a. bide egün-i mede-jü bayi-na
we this-ACC know-CONV be-NPT
‘We know this.’ (lit.: We are knowing this.)
b. bi ger-iyen sana-na
I home-REF miss-NPT
‘I miss my family.’

(53) b. bi ger-iyen sana-ju bayi-na
I home-REF miss-CONV be-NPT
‘I miss my home.’ (lit.: I am missing my home.)
c. bide tegün-i itege-ne  
   c. bide tegün-i itege-ju bayi-na  
   we him-ACC believe-NPT  
   we him-ACC believe-CONV be-NPT  
   'We believe him.'  
   'We believe him.' (lit.: We are believing him.)

d. tende mori bayi-na  
   d. *tende mori bayi-ju bayi-na  
   they horse exist-NPT  
   they horse exist-CONV be-NPT  
   'There is a horse'  
   'There is a horse.'

Except for (52d), the progressive form can be applied to all stative verbs to which -na/-ne is attached. The meaning of two forms is, however, different. As explained earlier, although the event time coincides with that of the speech act, the time range indicated by -na/-ne extends much beyond that. Likewise, the focus of the sentences in (51) is not concerned with indicating that the time of the event coincides with the time of speech but with the general state of events. Also the speaker is much more confident about what he is saying than with the sentences with the progressive form. Therefore, if the emphasis is given to the present state of events, the progressive form is used as in (52). Usually, the progressive form with this type of stative verb is interpreted as expressing the present tense, but the progressive meaning is still strong in these sentences. In addition, in comparison with the non-past form, the progressive form has a sense of a speaker less confident about his statements, i.e. the speaker states what is the present state of the event and beyond this he is not sure (see the section 5.2.2, for more discussion).

With non-stative verbs, e.g. active verbs, aside from the motion verbs exemplified in (49), it is not clear whether the meaning of -na/-ne expresses the present or future tenses as in (53). In this case, it is a true non-past tense form because the present and future meaning of the suffix completely depends on the context situation.
The ambiguity is, however, solved by contexts like the following. In the case of (54), if they are answers to a question like *ta yaŋu ki-ŋu bayi-qu bui? 'What are you doing?*', they can all be understood as the present tense. If they include the time adverbial ‘tomorrow’ as in (55), they are interpreted as the future tense.

(53) a. bi ḋakidal bići-ne
   I letter write-NPT
   ‘I write a letter.’ or
   ‘I will write a letter.’

 b. tere nom ungsi-na
   he book read-NPT
   ‘He reads a book.’ or
   ‘He will read a book.’

c. bide kićiyl oro-na
   we class enter-NPT
   ‘We attend a class.’ or
   ‘We will attend a class.’

d. tede bömbože nayad-na
   they ball play-NPT
   ‘They play basketball.’

(54) a. bi ḋakidal bići-ne
   I letter write-NPT
   ‘I write a letter.’

 b. tere nom ungsi-na
   he book read-NPT
   ‘He reads a book.’

 c. bide kićiyl oro-na
   we class enter-NPT
   ‘We attend class.’

d. tede bömbože nayad-na
   they ball play-NPT
   ‘They play basketball.’

(55) a. bi marỳasi ḋakidal bići-ne
   I tomorrow letter write-NPT
   ‘I will write a letter tomorrow.’

 b. tere marỳasi nom ungsi-na
   he tomorrow book read-NPT
   ‘He will read a book tomorrow.’

c. bide marỳasi kićiyl oro-na
   we tomorrow class enter-NPT
   ‘We will attend a class tomorrow.’

d. tede marỳasi bömbože nayad-na
   they tomorrow ball play-NPT
   ‘They will play basketball.’
If the emphasis is given to the present ongoing nature of the event, the progressive form is used in the answer to the question “What are you doing?” instead of -na/-ne, as in the following examples (see the section 5.2.2, for more discussion).

(56) a. bi ḥakidal biči-ju bayi-na
   I letter write-CONV be-NPT
   ‘I am writing a letter.’

b. tere nom ungsi-ju bayi-na
   he book read-CONV be-NPT
   ‘He is reading a book.’

c. bide kičiyeł oro-ju bayi-na
   we class enter-CONV be-NPT
   ‘We are having a class.’

d. tede bömböge naγad-ju bayi-na
   they ball play-CONV be-NPT
   ‘They are playing basketball.’

4.2.4 The difference between the past tense morphemes

In grammars of Mongolian and works on the Mongolian tense categories, the distinctions among the various past tense morphemes have been the focus of attention and the meaning of these morphemes has been explained in diverse ways and no single definition of the forms has come to be accepted. In the most general sense, many of the past studies have come to the conclusion that -ba/-be is a simple past or colorless in comparison with the others; -jai/-cai is an unexpected past or indirect past, and -la/-le is a well-known past or direct past. On the other hand, -γsan/-gsen is simply taken as a variation of -ba/-be. As argued earlier in this section, all of these explanations appear to be restricted in the data they analyzed and none of them is regarded as an adequate description. Binnick (1990: 49) points out that it is questionable to make any semantic distinction among these forms since they are essentially the same in terms of past tense meaning. However, one may question why Mongolian has the different forms for the same past tense? Is there any kind of difference among these suffixes besides their past tense meanings? In this regard, Binnick (1990) observes that these suffixes are essentially the same in terms of tense, but differ in the pragmatic conditions of their use.
In addition to his analysis, the following explanations, based on the discussion presented in the section 4.2.2, can be given to describe their uses.

In the section 4.2.2, we examined the numerous explanations on the meanings of the past tense morphemes in the previous studies and pointed out many of these discussions are incomplete in one way or another. Meanwhile, we have made an attempt to reveal certain peculiarities of these morphemes in terms of their extra-tense meanings. Our previous discussions show that all past tense morphemes function equally as past tense marker and they have no clear difference in terms of tense. However, as noted briefly before, not all of them can occur with equal regularity in the negative sentence nor in the interrogative sentence, especially those which contain an interrogative pronoun. Out of the four suffixes, only -bal/-be and -γsan/-gsen occur in questions and they differ one from another in certain ways. In negative sentences, on the other hand, only -γsan/-gsen occurs. In addition, some of the past tense morphemes exhibit definite tendencies aside from their regular past tense meaning and in some cases, they are selectively chosen for the different purposes of the utterance, for instance, expressing the speaker's concern or seeking particular information. These are not merely for the purpose of presenting the time of an event located prior to the time of the speech act, but emphasis is given to something other than the time at which the event took place. From these extra meanings, it is possible to draw a distinction between these past tense morphemes.

Modern Mongolian interrogative sentences which refer to a past situation are formed in three ways: a) a sentence including a WH-word and the interrogative particle bui, b) a WH-word only in the sentence, or c) the sentence is followed by the particle uu. In the first type of question, only -γsan/-gsen occurs, all other forms are restricted as the examples in (57) show. In the second type of the question, the -jai/-čai and -la/-le suffixes are not allowed, only -ba/-be and -γsan/-gsen occur, as in (58).
(57) a. *ta kejiye ire-gsen bui?  c. *ta kejiye ire-jei bui?
you when come-PST QU  you when come-PST QU
‘When did you come?’  ‘When did you come?’
b. *ta kejiye ire-be bui?  d. *ta kejiye ire-le bui?
you when come-PST QU  you when come-PST QU
‘When did you come?’  ‘When did you come?’

(58) a. tere qamiya oči-ysan?  c. *tere qamiya oči-ţai?
he where go-PST  he where go-PST
‘Where did he go?’  ‘Where did he go?’
b. tere qamiya oči-ba?  d. *tere qamiya oči-la?
he where go-PST  he where go-PST
‘Where did he go?’  ‘Where did he go?’

In the interrogative sentence which does not include the WH-word, some past tense markers have wider distribution. In this case all forms, except -la/-le, can be used. Compare the following examples.

(59) a. ta očögedür ir-be ūu?  c. *ta očögedür ire-le ūu?
you yesterday come-PST QU  you yesterday come-PST QU
‘You came yesterday, didn’t you?’  ‘Did you come yesterday?’
b. ta očögedür ire-jei ūu?  d. ta očögedür ire-gsen ūu?
you yesterday come-PST QU  you yesterday come-PST QU
‘Did you come yesterday?’  ‘Did you come yesterday?’

From the examples in (57), (58), and (59), we can see, all past tense morphemes, except -la/-le, obviously can be used in certain types of interrogative sentences in one way or another. On the other hand, we saw that the examples in (57b-c-d), (58c-d), and (59c), are unacceptable and the example in (59b) only occurs in spoken Mongolian or
may be even a dialectal variation. This suggests that the past tense markers cannot occur freely in some types of interrogative sentences. In the first two types of questions, the speaker’s concern is not what happened in the past, but rather the specific information, e.g. the specific time and place in which the situation took place. In the third type of question, the speaker is perhaps more concerned about whether the situation happened rather than the specific time or place in which it happened. From this, it can be concluded that -ba/-be and -γsan/-gsen differ from the other two by the specific information which they seek in the question. This leads us to ask what is the distinction between -ba/-be and -γsan/-gsen?

As mentioned in the section 4.2.2.1, although -ba/-be and -γsan/-gsen can be used in similar circumstances in the question, the implications differ in several ways. First, -ba/-be sounds politer than its counterpart and implies certain attitudes or intentions of the speaker toward what he is asking (see the examples in (20)). Secondly, -ba/-be implies the speaker has some knowledge of what he is asking, while -γsan/-gsen lacks this implication, but merely conveys a neutral attitude in asking the question. See the following examples.

(60) a. ta öögedür \{irez-be \\irez-gsen\} üü? b. tere Kökqota-du \{oći-ba \\oći-γsan\} uu?

you yesterday come-PST QU he Huhhot-DAT go-PST QU

‘Did you come yesterday?’ ‘Did he go Huhhot?’

These two sets of examples are both regarded as referring to the same event which took place in the past, but the sentence with the -ba/-be suffix suggests that the speaker already knows the fact and wants to make sure it is correct and that with -γsan/-gsen merely asks for the information without having any prior notions about it.
In terms of the past tense meaning, all of the past tense morphemes are capable of indicating that something took place before the speech time and if one does not consider their implications, they are all normal past tense markers (for instance, see the examples listed in (19), (24), (38), and (43)). Hence, they are not distinguished in their marking the different past tenses, e.g. direct past and indirect past, recent past and remote past, or well-known fact and indirect knowledge. But rather, they differ only by their other implications, that is, they imply the speaker’s attitude or other specific information in addition to their past tense meanings.

As far as implication is concerned, -ba/-be implies the speaker’s concern about what he is saying, while the other past tense morphemes lack such an implication. See more examples below.

(61) a. ta sayin yabu-ba uu? b. ger-tegen qari-ba uu?

you well go-PST QU home-REF return-PST QU

‘How was your journey?’ ‘Did you visit your home?’

b. tergen-dü dayari-yda-ba aa

car-DAT hit-PSS-PST PTL

‘Be careful about being hit accidentally by a car.’

As we saw previously, in (61a), the speaker is not only concerned with what happened in the past but also with how the event is accomplished and meantime, it includes the speaker’s intention of being polite or wishing someone has a good journey. And so another way of translating the sentence is that ‘I am sure you had a good trip.’ Similarly, in (61b), the speaker is not only concerned that something took place in the past but he is also concerned with whether it is accomplished and in (61c), the speaker expresses his concern that something might happen in the future. Ultimately, in all three sentences, the speaker’s concern is emphasized besides asking about something that took
place in the past and warning that something might happen in the future. This is a major distinction of -ba/-be from the rest of the past tense morphemes.

The -jai/-cai suffix, on the other hand, implies neither the speaker’s concern nor the attitude towards what he is saying, but it is often used to indicate an event that took place in a particular time in the past. It is, therefore, more preferred in the following examples in comparison to the other past tense morphemes.

(62) a. bide doloyan cay-du  bos-cai
b. ?bide doloyan cay-du  bos-ba
b. ?bi öögedür ire-be
b. ?bi öögedür ire-jei

c. ?bide doloyan cay-du  bos-γsan
b. ?bi öögedür ire-gsen
c. ?bi öögedür ire-γsan

d. *bide doloyan cay-du  bos-la
b. *bi öögedür ire-le

de seven o’clock-DAT rise-PST  I yesterday come-PST
We seven o’clock-DAT rise-PST I yesterday come-PST
‘We got up at 7 o’clock.’
 ‘I arrived yesterday.’

(63) a. bi öögedür ire-jei
b. ?bi öögedür ire-be
b. ?bi öögedür ire-jei

(64) a. tede nara γar-qu  emüne yabu-jai
b. ?tede nara γar-qu  emüne yabu-γsan
b. ?tere nidunun yabu-γsan

c. ?tede nara γar-qu  emüne yabu-γsan
b. ?tere nidunun yabu-γsan

d. *tede nara γar-qu  emüne yabu-la
b. *tere nidunun yabu-la

they sun rise-CONV before go-PST  he last year leave-PST
They sun rise-CONV before go-PST  he last year leave-PST
‘They left before the sun rose.’
 ‘He left last year.’

(65) a. tere nidunun yabu-jai
b. ?tere nidunun yabu-γsan
b. ?tere nidunun yabu-γsan

c. ?tere nidunun yabu-γsan
b. ?tere nidunun yabu-γsan

d. *tere nidunun yabu-la
b. *tere nidunun yabu-la

def instead of rest-PST  he last year leave-PST
def instead of rest-PST  he last year leave-PST
‘They left last year.’
 ‘He left last year.’

The sentences in (62-65) are all concerned with events that took place at a specific time in the past. Except for sentence (a), all sentences have a problem. As in (d), -la/-le rarely occurs in this type of sentence and the (b-c) sentences are questionable, because -ba/-be and -γsan/-gsen are not suitable, the preference being more likely given to the -jai/-cai suffix. Moreover, -ba/-be and -γsan/-gsen are likely used in the following examples where the focus of the utterance is not on the particular time of event but
merely on something having happened in the past without specifying exactly when it took place. See the following examples.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(66) } & \text{ bi mori-bar } \{ \text{ire-be} \\
& \quad \text{ire-gsen} \\
& \quad \text{?ire-jei} \\
& \quad \text{?ire-le} \} \\
\text{(67) } & \text{ bide erte } \{ \text{bos-ba} \\
& \quad \text{bos-\text{\textasciitilde{g}san}} \\
& \quad \text{?bos-\text{\textasciitilde{c}ai}} \\
& \quad \text{?bos-la} \}\end{align*}
\]

I horse-INF come-PST we early rise-PST

'I arrived by horse.' ‘We got up early.'

In the above examples, the time of the events 'come' and 'get up' is presented as sometime before the speech time but the exact point of time the event took place is unclear or irrelevant so that -ba/-be or -\text{\textasciitilde{g}san}/-gsen is preferred. This can be considered as the feature of the two suffixes which distinguishes them from the other past morphemes, particularly with -\text{\textasciitilde{c}ai}, in that they are used to show only that the time of the event is before the speech act; they do not show how long before or at which point of time the event occurred.

-\text{\textasciitilde{c}ai} is questionable in sentences like those in (66-67) since the major focus of the sentences is not upon the specific time at which the event took place but merely that it is sometime before the speech time. However, if the aim of the sentence is to seek specific information, e.g. how the speaker arrived and when he got up, -\text{\textasciitilde{c}ai} is appropriate. In fact, in sentences like those below, -\text{\textasciitilde{c}ai} is more common than the others.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(68) a. } & \text{ ta y\text{\textasciitilde{y}u-bar} ire-gsen bui? } \\
\text{(69) a. } & \text{ ta ked\text{\textasciitilde{u}-du boso-\text{\textasciitilde{g}san} bui} }
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{you what-INF come-PST QU} \\
\text{you what-DAT rise-PST QU}
\end{align*}
\]

‘By what (how) did you arrive?’ ‘When did you get up?’
The questions in (68-70) are all sentences seeking specific information, i.e. how the addressee arrived in (68), when did the addressee get up in (69), and what did the addressee do in (70). In the answer to questions like these, -jai/-cai is preferred to the other past tense morphemes. In the given contexts, -ba/-be and -ysan/-gsen are doubtful and -la/-le is inappropriate.

The -la/-le suffix is more complicated because of its close relationship with the semantic classes of verbs. As exemplified in (39) earlier in the section 4.2.2, when used as the past tense marker, -la/-le refers to the recent past, i.e. it indicates a time of event relatively close to the time of the speech act. Although it is possible for -la/-le to be used for an event that occurred a long time ago, its function of indicating something that happened just before the time of the speech act cannot be overlooked. Furthermore only -la/-le among the various past tense morphemes is capable of indicating certain meanings such as those in the following examples, where only -la/-le is used for a situation that
occurred just before the moment of speech, while the rest lack such implication, or at least it seems as though the time of event indicated by -la/-le is closer to the moment of speech than the events of the other suffixes. See the examples.

(71) bi mori-bar \{ire-le
?ire-jei
?ire-be
?ire-gsen\} (72) bi nom \{ungsi-la
?ungsi-jai
?ungsi-ba
?ungsi-γsan\}

I horse-INST arrive-PST I book read-PST
‘I just arrived by a horse.’ ‘I just read a book a moment ago.’

In connection with the function of its expressing the recent past, -la/-le is also commonly used in the examples like those below to indicate a recently accomplished event with a certain purpose. The examples include:

(73) tere nom ungsi-qu-bar \{yabu-la
*yabu-ba
*yabu-γai
*yabu-γsan\}

he book read-CONV-INST go-PST
‘He just went to read a book.’

(74) bi mongyol kele sur-qu-bar \{ire-le
*ire-be
?ire-jei
?ire-gsen\}

I Mongolian learn-CONV-INST come-PST
‘I just now came to study Mongolian.’

Except for the sentences with -la/-le, all the past tense morphemes are unsuitable in this context. -ba/-be and -γsan/-gsen sound unnatural as shown in the examples and -jai/-jei is acceptable but it lacks what is implied by -la/-le so that -la/-le is preferred for indicating an event recently accomplished for a certain purpose.
In consideration of what we have said so far about the meanings and uses of the past tense morphemes, namely that some of them either have special uses in the interrogative sentence or they carry extra meanings in addition to their past tense functions, it is possible to make the following distinctions.

The -ba/-be suffix is not used as often as the others in spoken language, but it is more frequent in narratives with the first person subject and in the question. In questions, it contrasts with the others by implying the speaker’s intention of being polite or the speaker’s knowledge about what he is asking. In addition, it has an extra use for indicating something may happen in the future and thus it indicates the speaker’s feeling of doubt or apprehension.

The ğai/-čai suffix is most frequently used to refer to the past in the declarative sentence and it is usually not used in questions and negation. In terms of extra meanings, -ģai/-čai is less active but it is used for referring to specific information about the past event. Sometimes, it can suggest an event that happened some time ago, which comes to the realization of speaker at the moment of speech.

The -la/-le suffix has a close relationship with the inherent semantic content of the verb to which it is attached; with stative verbs it expresses a past, while with active verbs, it has a future meaning. It is, sometimes, used for expressing the recent past and a past event just accomplished for a certain purpose.

The -γsan/-gSEN suffix is originally a verbal noun suffix and is becoming more and more frequent in present-day Mongolian for referring to a past event. The major use of the suffix is in the interrogative and negative sentences and in the statement. It differs from the other past tense markers by indicating some uncertainty about the past situation.
The above discussion is only a tentative analysis of certain differences between the various past tense morphemes. In practice, the distinction between these past tense morphemes is vague and difficult to apply with any degree of precision, and does not lead to clearly distinct categories. The real problem with the use of the morphemes, moreover, is not just that there is great variation in meaning in contexts, but that they have no clear basic or core feature.
Notes

1 For a more specific definition of tense, please refer to Reichenbach (1947: 287-88) and Comrie (1985a: 7-18). For the definition of aspect, see Comrie (1976a: 3) and for different definitions of aspect, refer to Binnick (1991: 207-214).

2 See the verbal noun section, for more detailed discussion of the meaning of this suffix.

3 Please note that -na/-ne does occur in the negation historically. For instance, bi ese mede-ne ‘I don’t know.’

4 This example is from Chenggeltei (1981: 96).

5 Although this use of -na/ne is not stated explicitly, it has been illustrated quite well in the literature. For example, Street (1963: 120) claims that this suffix may be in effect timeless: “It marks the general validity of a statement. More specifically, it may refer to an action that occurs whenever certain conditions are met, or to a state of affairs that is true over an indefinite period including the moment of speech.” Chenggeltei (1981: 295) also presents a similar claim saying: “It indicates the extended present tense in the sentence which has a gnomic meaning (usage).”


7 For a more detailed discussion on the points made in the various articles, refer to Binnick (1979b) and (1990), Tümenschichig (1990), Svantesson (1991), Hashimoto (1993), and Wu (1995) and (1996).

8 Chenggeltei (1981: 294) claims the suffix is less frequently used in the spoken language and Poppe (1970: 129) claims it is not often used in the statement in the colloquial language.

9 Poppe (1955: 266-67) mentioned that the semantical development of the past into a future tense is common in Mongolian languages and he lists the examples from Kalmuck and Ordos dialects where the past tense form -wa is used as the form of warning after combining with a particle. Dobu (1983: 50) also finds the variation of the -ba/-be suffix, -baa/-be/-ba/-bo, in the Chakhar dialect of Inner Mongolia is used as a warning form to refer to something that might happen sometime in the future.

10 For more discussion on this use of the suffix and the other uses, please refer to Wu (1995: 101-103).

11 For instance, it has been given many different names, such as, “Recent past” used by Street (1963), Bosson (1964) and Poppe (1951). “Remote past” is used in Nasunbayar et al. (1984). “Past imperfective and past tense of imperfective” are used by Hangin (1968) and Poppe (1970). “Unexpected event” is used by Sazhheyev (1988), Poppe (1955) and Bosson (1964). “Sudden occurrence” and “suddenly acquired knowledge” are used by Bosson (1964) and Binnick (1979b). “An event which is witnessed by the speaker” and “objective existence” are used by Poppe (1951) and Nasunurtu (1990). “Distant past” is used by Schlepp (1983) and Baek (1986). “Complete past” is used by Sun (1985). “Referential” is used in Binnick (1979b). “Indirect past” is used in Svantesson (1991).

12 Poppe (1954: 93) remarks “the speaker claims to have witnessed the action and to have been surprised when making the discovery of the action as a fait accompli.” Street (1963: 122) claims the suffix “emphasizes the present result of a past action.” Similarly, Svantesson (1991: 193) calls this suffix the indirect past and claims that by using this suffix, “the speaker shows that he has not personally experienced the situation, but has witnessed its consequences and inferred that has occurred (‘inferential’), or has heard about it form someone else (‘quotational’).”

14 Wu (1995: 90) assumes it may have some connection with the non-finite suffix used in the sentence.

15 These examples are from Galsang (1981: 13).

16 The examples are the transliteration of the sentences written in Cyrillic script from Galsang (1981: 13).

17 Svantesson (1991: 193) claims by using the indirect past, the speaker shows that he has not personally experienced the situation, but has witnessed its consequences and inferred that it has occurred, or has heard about it from someone else. The direct past shows that the speaker has witnessed the situation himself.

18 This is a spoken form of -jai/-cai, see Chenggeltei (1981: 294-95), for further details.

19 Uncompleted past is used in Dobu (1983: 53), recent or immediate past are used in Nasunbayar et al. (1984: 310) and Hangin (1968: 99), past-future is used by Sun (1985: 149), past tense of a deliberate and known action is used in Sanzhuev (1988: 113), evidential past is used in Binnick (1990: 53), and direct past is used in Svantesson (1991: 193).

CHAPTER FIVE

Aspect and Mood

In the preceding chapter, we discussed the category of tense in Mongolian and now we turn to the categories of aspect and mood. The first part of this chapter deals with aspect which is concerned with a different perspective on temporal meaning. After presenting a brief discussion of aspect theory relevant to our studies, we will consider several different aspectual expressions, with focus on those that are particularly important for understanding aspect in Mongolian. In particular, we attempt to give a detailed description of each of these aspectual expressions. The second part of the chapter is concerned with mood and modality expressed by the verb morphology of Mongolian. In this section, after addressing the basic issue of what mood and modality are, we discuss briefly examples of modality other than those which verbal morphology in Mongolian gives rise to. Then we outline the problem of the classification of mood categories and give our classification used in this study. After this, we will discuss the five categories in Mongolian and their expression and provide detailed examples.

5.1 Aspect

In general, aspect is understood as a means of describing the internal temporal constituency of a situation as opposed to tense, which relates the time of the situation to some other time, e.g., the moment of speech (Comrie 1976a: 1-3). A prototypical aspect system marks the opposition between perfective and imperfective. The perfective indicates that a situation is viewed as a single whole (Comrie 1976a: 16) or as bounded temporally (Bybee et al. 1995: 54), and imperfective is, on the contrary, to view a situation from within, with explicit reference to the internal temporal structure of a
situation (Comrie 1976a 24) or in more recent terms, "an imperfective situation may be one viewed as in progress at a particular reference point, either in the past or present, or one viewed as characteristic of a period of time that includes the reference time, that is, a habitual situation" (Bybee et al. 1995: 125). Comrie maintains that it is important to grasp the difference between perfective and imperfective when discussing aspect. He emphasizes that the perfective presents the situation as a single unanalyzable whole, with beginning, middle, and end rolled into one; no attempt is made to divide this situation up into the various individual phases. The imperfective does not function in this way, but rather makes explicit reference to the internal temporal constituency, e.g., there is no explicit reference to the beginning or the end of the situation (pp. 3-4). He also says, "another way of explaining the difference between perfective and imperfective is to say that the perfective looks at the situation from the outside, without necessarily distinguishing any of internal structure of the situation, whereas the imperfective looks at the situation from the inside, and as such is crucially concerned with the internal structure of the situation (p. 4)."

Although Comrie's study did not posit any particular categories as universal, he chose these two aspects as general categories and from the viewpoint of general linguistics, he presented in detail a survey of semantic distinctions between perfective and imperfective found in a variety of languages and language families. He observed that the perfective indicates not only the completive, punctual and momentary but also resultative, durative and even ingressive as well; the imperfective is divided into the habitual, progressive and continuous subcategories.¹ Binnick (1990: 156) also provides a similar observation on the distinction of these two aspects: "That the opposition of perfective and imperfective is not merely an accident of morphology but captures some truth about the semantics of aspect is shown by the fact that the same, or a very similar, bundle of uses for each of the aspects is found in each of those languages which share this opposition.
The imperfect(ive) has continual, habitual, and generic uses in many languages, while the perfect(ive) has punctual, iterative, and resultative uses.”

From these two authors’ observations, it appears that, although the ideal type of aspect system is, in some languages, based explicitly on the opposition of perfective and imperfective, aspect in other languages rather accounts for a number of other values which are characteristics of the perfective and imperfective. Mongolian may fall under the second type of languages, since there is no salient device in Mongolian to mark the opposition of the perfective and imperfective. In other words, the Mongolian aspect system does not show explicitly the opposition of perfective and imperfective. Instead, we find there several different expressions that include a number of other values which are also characteristic of perfective and imperfective as mentioned above. There are, for instance, several kinds of single forms or a nonfinite verbal constructions for signaling progressive, habitual, and continuative aspectual values. In the following section, we will discuss the subdivisions of perfective and imperfective that exist in Mongolian and show that they are either marked by a single morpheme or a combined construction that involves the nonfinite verbal suffixes (verbal noun or converb suffixes) followed by the auxiliary verb bayi- ‘to be’. In addition, some auxiliary verbs express aspectual meaning when they occur after the main verb in the sentence.

5.2 Aspectual expressions in Mongolian

5.2.1 Perfect

The perfect is, according to Comrie (1976a), a special kind of aspect because it is, unlike aspect, not concerned with different ways of representing the internal temporal constitution of a situation, but rather relates some state to a preceding situation (p. 52). He says “One way in which the perfect differs from the other aspects that we have examined is that it expresses a relation between two time-points, on the one hand the time
of the state resulting from a prior situation, and on the other the time of that prior situation (p. 52).” Similarly, although Bybee et al. (1995) does not mention in particular what difference the perfect has from other aspects, she says there has been some terminological confusion since the terms perfect and perfective resemble each other and so she creates a new name, anterior, for perfect (p. 55). Based on other studies, she claims the perfective and perfect differ in that the former is the aspect used for narrating sequences of discrete events in which the situation is reported for its own sake, independent of its relevance to other situations, while the perfect would not be marked on several verbs in succession that are reporting a sequence of events but would only be used to show that some action is prior to the others in the narrative (p. 54).

These two authors, along with others, also point out that there are several other senses often associated with the perfect in addition to its basic meaning. Comrie (1976a: 56-60), for instance, classifies the perfect into the perfect of result, the experiential perfect, the perfect of persistent situation, and the perfect of recent past. The markers for the perfect in Mongolian, as will be noted, have a meaning related to the types of perfect mentioned above.

The perfect is expressed by either the suffix -čiajai/-čikejui or the sequence of -yad/-ged or -γsan/-gsen and the auxiliary bayi- ‘to be’ plus the tense forms. See the following examples.

(1) a. bi qoyola-ban ide-čikejui  I meal-REF eat-PEF  ‘I have eaten my meal.’
    (2) c. bi qoyola-ban ide-ged bayi-na  I meal-REF eat-CONV AUX-NPT  ‘I have eaten my meal.’
    b. tere ger-tegen qari-čiajai  he home-REF return-PEF  ‘He has returned to his home.’
    d. tere ger-tegen qari-yad bayi-jai  he home-REF return-CONV AUX-PST  ‘He had returned to his home.’
All examples in (1), (2), and (3) have the meaning of the perfect, e.g., they indicate that a situation has occurred before, and is relevant to the situation at reference time (cf. Bybee et al. 1995: 54). However, these perfect forms may differ one from another in the certain ways. For instance, in comparison with the sequence -γsan/-gsen plus bayi- ‘to be’, the -čiqajài/-čikejëi suffix is more commonly used under normal circumstances. The combinations of -γad/-ged or -γsan/-gsen plus bayi- ‘to be’, on the other hand are likely found in more formal style. Furthermore, the meaning of these three forms differs slightly. The construction -γad/-ged plus bayi-, for instance, has a resultative meaning, i.e. what Comrie (1976a: 56) calls perfect of result and the -čiqajài/-čikejëi suffix has something to do with the resultative and completive meanings. The construction -γsan/-gsen plus bayi-, on the other hand, lacks these meanings and it can be regarded as a regular perfect. Observe the following examples.

(4) a. tere ire-ged bayi-na  
\[\text{he come-CONV AUX-NPT}\]  
‘He has arrived.’

b. tere Kökeqota-du oči-yad bayi-na  
\[\text{he Huhhot-DAT go-CONV AUX-NPT}\]  
‘He has gone to Huhhot.’

(5) a. tere ire-gsen bayi-na  
\[\text{he come-CONV AUX-NPT}\]  
‘He has come.’

b. tere Kökeqota-du oči-γsan bayi-na  
\[\text{he Huhhot-DAT go-CONV AUX-NPT}\]  
‘He has gone to Huhhot.’

The perfect form in the above signals resultatives, e.g., states that exist as a result of a past action (Bybee et al. 1995: 54). For instance, the example in (5a) shows that he is not somewhere else as a result of the fact that he came here and the example in (5b) shows that he is in Huhhot and not here as a result of his going to Huhhot etc. Sentences
like (4a) and (4b) typically refer to a state resulting from a past action. If we change 
-yad/-ged to -γsan/-gsen, the resultative meaning disappears and the speaker merely says 
that someone has came here or has gone to Huhhot but as to the person’s present
whereabouts, he is not remarking on that.

The resultative may also be expressed by -cqaja/-čikejei as well. This suffix is also often used to signal a state that resulted from a past action and its resultative sense is much stronger than that of the -yad/-ged plus bayi- structure. See the following examples.

(6) a. tere yabu-cqaja
he leave-PEF

b. bi čai-ban uyu-cqaja
I tea-REF drink-PEF

‘He has left already.’
‘I have had my tea already.’

The sentence in (6a) has the meaning of his already having left with the result that he is not here anymore and (6b) expresses the meaning “I don’t need to have tea as the result of my having tea earlier.” Moreover, this suffix may express the completive, that is “to do something thoroughly and completely” (Bybee et al. 1995: 57). For example.

(7) a. be kičiyel oro-qu-ban marta-cqaja
I class enter-VRN-REF forgot-PEF

‘I have completely forgotten to attend the class.’

b. bi ügulel-ben biči-čikejei
I thesis-REF write-PEF

‘I have written up my thesis.’

Bybee et al. (1995: 57) also remarks that the morpheme (“gram” in her terms) signaling an action, performed completely and thoroughly, often has other semantic nuances, one of which is that the completive sometimes indicates ‘the action is reported
with some emphasis or surprise value'. In accordance with Bybee’s remarks, -čiqajai/-čikej in Mongolian conveys completive action with emphasis or surprise value. Also note that the -čiqajai/-čikej suffix is further analyzable on the basis of its structure. It consists of the combination of the -čiqa/-čike suffix and the past tense marker -jai/-čei. The former has sometimes been regarded as the suffix for denoting the completive or intensive aspect.\(^2\) See the examples of this below.

(8) a. Temür ger-tegen yabu-čiqajai
   Temür home-POS leave-PEF
   ‘He has already returned to his home.’

b. ta kičiyel oro-qu-ban yabuq-čiqaysan bui?
   you class enter-VRN-REF why forgot-PEF QU
   ‘How come you have completely forgotten to attend the class?’

In the two sentences in (8a) the speaker emphasizes Temür’s having already returned home and the information is unknown or a surprise to the addressee. In (8b) the speaker is questioning the addressee’s forgetting to attend class and he is surprised and does not believe what has happened.

Although it is true that it signals completive or intensive meaning, when used by itself, it more likely involves a modal meaning rather than a pure aspect. For instance, as in the following examples, the suffix expresses the urgent request or command that the addressee accomplish a given task completely or without any delay, e.g., something like ‘go and do it!’ in English.

(9) a. či qurdun yabu-čiqa
   you fast walk-MOD
   ‘Would you please walk faster.’

b. ta ene jakidal yabu-γul-čiqa
   you this letter go-CAU-MOD
   ‘Please mail this letter for me.’
Because they occur together frequently, there is sometimes confusion between the -čiqá/-čike suffix and the past tense marker -jai/-čei and the former is often cited as an example of the -čai/-jai suffix. In fact the former is a resultative aspectual suffix, while the latter is a past tense marker. Compare the following examples:

(10) a. tere ger-tegen qari-čiqájai
   he home-REF return-PEF
   ‘He has returned to his home.’

b. tere ger-tegen qari-jai
   he home-REF return-PST
   ‘He was back at his home.’

In (10a) the verb in -čiqájai refers to the event which is completed at some time in the past but at the same time it implies that resulting from his return we cannot see him anymore or he will not be here anymore etc., which is an aspectual meaning; (10b) refers to an event which is simply located prior to the present moment without carrying any further implications.

In sum, the -čiqájai/-čikejai and the -γad/-ged plus bayi- constructions carry with them the resultative and completive meanings whereas the -γsan/-gsen plus bayi- construction has neither of these meanings, but rather refers to the regular perfect and merely signals a past situation relevant to a reference time. See these examples.

(11) a. tere ḳakidal biči-gsen bayi-na
   he letter write-PST AUX-NPT
   ‘He has written a letter.’

b. ürlüge tan-i bos-qu-ača emüne bi čai-ban uuru-γsan bayi-jai
   morning you-ACC get up-VRN-ABL before I tea-REF drink-PST AUX-PST
   ‘I had had my tea before you got up this morning.’

The emphasis in the above examples is given to the past action that has current relevance, not to the result of the past action. However, it could be argued that all
perfects involve resultative meaning but in Mongolian there are forms which emphasize it sufficiently to make a contrast with the regular perfect.

Bybee et al. (1995: 62) mentions various senses associated with the perfect ("anterior" in her terms) and one of them is the perfect continuing, or what Comrie (1976a) calls perfect of persistent situation, "a situation that started in the past but continues into the present." (p. 60) This kind of perfect is expressed by the construction that is made up of the converbal suffix -γαγαγα/-gseger and bayi- ‘to be’ plus an added tense form. See the following examples.

(12) a. bide tegün-i kūliye-gseger bayi-na
   we him-ACC wait-CONV AUX-NPT
   ‘We have been waiting for him.’

b. času oro-γαγαγα bayi-na
   snow fall-CONV AUX-NPT
   ‘It has been snowing.’

c. bide tegün-i kūliye-gseger bayi-jai
   we him-ACC wait-CONV AUX-PST
   ‘We had been waiting for him.’

d. času oro-γαγαγα bayi-jai
   snow fall-CONV AUX-PST
   ‘It had been snowing.’

Even though all the above sentences can be interpreted as referring to the persistent aspect, a difference arises between (12a-b) and (12c-d) owing to the use of different tense forms. The former, in the present tense, refers to an event which started in the past but continues into the present and which may also continue into the future; the latter, in the past tense, refers to a situation started at some time in the past that continues up to some specific reference point in the past, the crucial distinction being that the event described cannot continue into the future. For example, (12c) presents the event as continuing until the third person’s arriving or the particular point which is indicated by the time adverbials or subordinate clauses. Hence, we can transform these sentences as follows:
(13) a. tegün-i ire-tel bide küliye-gseger bayi-ǰai
   him-ACC come-CONV we wait-CONV AUX-PST
   ‘We had been waited for him until he arrived.’

b. öögedür bol-tal časú oro-γaráy bayi-ǰai
   yesterday be-CONV snow fall-CONV AUX-PST
   ‘Until yesterday, it had been snowing.’

5.2.2 Progressive

The progressive aspect, being expressed by the construction of -ǰu/-ču and bayi-, refers to an on-going action and event, as in the following examples.

(14) a. tegün-ű abu aduyu qariγul-ǰu bayi-na b. qongqa duγar-ču bayin-na
   his father horses hear-CONV AUX-NPT bell ring-CONV AUX-NPT
   ‘His father is herding the horses.’
   ‘The bell is ringing.’

c. tere čai uuγu-ǰu bayi-na d. tere qoyula-ban ide-ǰu bayi-ǰai
   he tea drink-CONV AUX-NPT he meal-REF eat-CONV AUX-NPT
   ‘He is drinking tea.’
   ‘He was having his meal.’

The progressive meaning of bayi- is probably related to its lexical meaning, ‘to stay or to be at’, because, according to Heine (1993: 32), the verb expressing location, as ‘X is at Y’, is commonly used to develop the progressive aspect in many languages. In Mongolian, the verbs expressing location, like bayi- and saγu- ‘to sit, to stay’ often have the similar pattern for indicating progressive meaning when they used after the -ǰu/-ču suffix. In the following examples, for instance, both verbs can be used interchangeably to express progressive meaning.
(15) a. tede nom ongsi-ju \{sayu-na\}  
    they book read-CONV AUX-NPT  
    ‘They are reading books.’  

   b. tede qoyar yarilha-ju \{sayu-ja\}  
    they two talk-CONV AUX-NPT  
    ‘The two of them were talking.’  

Even though it is possible to interpret the sentences with *sayu-* as ‘They are reading a book in the sitting position’ or ‘They are talking in the sitting position’, such sentences are rarely taken in that sense. Instead, such meaning is expressed in the examples like the sentences (a) and (b) below and the progressive meaning of *sayu-* is more clearly shown by the sentence (c) below (see more discussion on this next).

(16) a. tede nam sayu-ju nom ongsi-na  
    they quiet sit-CONV book read-NPT  
    ‘They are sitting quietly and reading books.’  

   b. tede qoyar ger-tegen sayu-ju yarilha-ja\i  
    they two home-DAT-REF sit-CONV talk-NPT  
    ‘They two were sitting at home and talking.’  

   c. ta edur-tegen yahu ki-ju sayu-qu bui?  
    you day-REF what do-CONV sit-VRN QU  
    ‘What are you doing every day?’  

When used after the -ju/-ču suffix, *bayi-* is in fact pronounced as a reduced form, -ðæ:n, together with -ju/-ču. In this case, it can be regarded as a suffix for indicating the progressive aspect more than anything else. For instance, the following examples are the spoken pronunciation of the examples in (15) above.
(17) a.  ted nom oksi-dga:n
they book
b. ted qoyir yauriltj-dga:n
they two talk-

‘They are reading books.’   ‘The two of them were talking.’

Sometimes, the combination of -ju/-çu and bayi- conveys the durative meaning rather than the progressive. The examples in the following list, for instance, do not really refer to an on-going event at the present moment of speech but something prolonged for some time.

(18) a. suryayuli-du bičig üje-çu bayi-na
school-DAT book watch-CONV AUX-NPT

‘(He) goes to school every day.’

b. bi bai-si-bar ajil-ju bayi-çsan
I teacher-INST work-CONV AUX-PST

‘I used to be a teacher.’

In general linguistics, the progressive aspect is usually described with respect to the non-stative verb. Comrie (1976a: 35), for instance, defines the progressive aspect as “the combination of progressive meaning and nonstative meaning” and Bybee et al. (1995: 126) also mentions the progressive applies typically to dynamic predicates and not to stative ones. In some languages, it is inappropriate to add the progressive form to the stative verb; however, Comrie (1976a: 35) also claims that “different languages in fact have different rules for determining when explicitly progressive form can be used” and in some languages, to use the progressive form with the stative verb is acceptable. Mongolian belongs to the second type and the Mongolian progressive form can be attached to both stative and non-stative verb.
As demonstrated in the above examples, typical stative verbs can take the progressive form in Mongolian and as shown by English translations, sometimes, the progressive forms in these sentences may be interpreted as the present tense rather than the progressive aspect. This does mean the progressive form expresses the present tense but it still has a strong sense of the progressive in Mongolian. As we saw in the section 3.2.4, when the non-past form, -na/-ne, expresses indefinite time it is because of the semantic meaning of the verb. For example, if we replace progressive forms with -na/-ne in (19), the meanings of the sentences are not exactly restricted to the situation that occurs at the present moment of speech. In this case, because the time range of the -na/-ne form is much wider than the present moment, it implies that the speaker is more confident about what he is talking. Observe the following examples.

(20) a. bi mede-ne  c. tere tan-u kele-kü-yi sonos-ču ügei
    I know-NPT  he your say-VRN-ACC hear-VRN NEG
    'I know.'  'He does not hear what you say.'

b. bi čamayi itege-ne  d. ta oilya-na uu?
    I you believe-NPT you understand-NPT QU
    'I believe you.'  'Do you understand?'
In comparison with the non-past form, the progressive form implies that the speaker is less confident about what he is saying and puts more emphasis on the present stage of the event. For instance, (19b) and (20b) are both concerned with whether the speaker believes the addressee, but the latter has a sense of 'I believed you' in the past, 'I am believing you' now, 'I will believe you' forever, and the like, and so the speaker has more general concern regarding the event. The former, although it is not explicit, implies that the speaker perhaps did not believe the addressee in the past and he is not sure whether he will believe him in the future, but he believes the addressee in the present moment of the speech time, i.e. the speaker is more concerned with the present stage of the event. This distinction is more clearly shown by the following examples where the question is concerned with something that happened in the past. In neither case is the progressive form acceptable but the non-past form is.

(21) a. tegün-ü kejiye yabu-ysan-i ta mede-ne uu?
   his-GEN when leave-VRN-ACC you know-NPT QU
   'Do you know when he left?'
   
   b. bi mede-ne
   I know-NPT
   c. *bi mede-ţü bayi-na
   I know-CONV AUX-NPT
   'I know.'
   'I am knowing.'

(22) a. tegün-ü kele-gsen-i ta itege-ne uu?
   his-GEN leave-VRN-ACC you know-NPT QU
   'Do you believe what he said?'
   
   b. bi itege-ne
   I believe-NPT
   c. *bi itege-ţü bayi-na
   I believe-CONV AUX-NPT
   'I believe it.'
   'I am believing it.'

On the other hand, with active verbs, -na/-ne expresses the future tense (see the
section, 4.2.4) and the progressive form expresses a typical ongoing action at the present moment of the speech time.

(23) a. tere ǰakidal biči-ǰu bayi-na 
   he letter write-CONV AUX-NPT
   ‘He is writing a letter.’

b. bi nom ongsi-ǰu bayi-na
   I book read-CONV AUX-NPT
   ‘I am reading a book.’

5.2.3 Habitual

The habitual is expressed by the morpheme, -daγ/-deg or the structure made up of the -daγ/-deg suffix and the auxiliary verb bayi- ‘to be’ with tense forms. Consider the examples below.

(24) a. tere erte bos-daγ 
   he early get up-HAB
   ‘He gets up early regularly.’

b. tere erte bos-daγ bayi-na
   he early get up-HAB AUX-NPT
   ‘He gets up early regularly.’

Either of the constructions, a plain -daγ/-deg form or -daγ/-deg followed by an auxiliary, expresses the typical habitual meaning, i.e. they refer to a situation characteristic of an extended period of time. As shown in the examples, a plain -daγ/-deg form and the combination of -daγ/-deg and auxiliary bayi- with the non-past form -na/-ne do not differ in meaning but the structure of -daγ/-deg and bayi- with a past tense form differs from the former two in that it refers to the past habitual. See more examples of the combination of -daγ/-deg and bayi-, in which the tense suffix attached to bayi- marks past and non-past tense oppositions.
(25) a. tede nom ongsi-day bayi-na
   they book read-VRN AUX-NPT
   ‘I usually read books.’

b. tede nom ongsi-qu bayi-jai
   they book read-VRN AUX-NPT
   ‘They used to read books.’

c. tere qota-du oči-day bayi-na
   he city-DAT go-VRN AUX-NPT
   ‘He regularly goes to the city.’

d. tere qota-du oči-day bayi-la
   he city-DAT go-VN AUX-PST
   ‘He used to go to the city regularly.’

Similarly, -day/-deg followed by the auxiliary, bol- indicates a habitual aspect that
is either the past habitual when the suffix followed bol- is the past tense suffix or the
future habitual when the suffix after bol- is the non-past tense suffix. See the following
examples.

(26) a. bi mongyol ulus-tu qoyar jil sayu-bal, mongyol-bar yari-ju
   I Mongolia-DAT two year live-CONV Mongolian-INST speak-CONV
   čida-day bo-lo-na
   be able-HAB AUX-NPT
   ‘If I live in Mongolia for two years, I will be able to speak Mongolian.’

b. nidunun-eče minu niru-ju ebüd-deg bol-jai
   last year-ABL my back pain-CONV AUX-PST
   ‘From the last year, I had constant back pain.’

c. bi mongyol ulus-tu qoyar jil sayu-əd, mongyol-bar yari-ju
   I Mongolia-DAT two year live-CONV Mongolian-INST speak-CONV
   čida-day bolo-ba
   be able-HAB AUX-NPT
   ‘After I had lived in Mongolia for two years, I was able to speak Mongolian.’

The suffix -day/-deg is a verbal noun suffix indicating a habitual or frequently
performed action. It functions as nominalization, attribute and predicative (see the chapter
three for more details). However, it becomes a regular suffix for expressing the habitual in modern Mongolian, especially in spoken Mongolian. Observe the following examples.

(27) a. tere edür buri nom ongsi-day he every day book read-HAB
b. tere tamaki tata-day tugei he cigarette smoke-HAB NEG
‘He usually reads a book every day.’ ‘He never smoked cigarettes.’
c. manu kichi-vel yisun chay-tu ekil-day our class nine o’clock start-HAB
‘Our class starts at 9 o’clock (every day).’

In (27a) and (27b) we have examples of the verbal noun use of -day/-deg; the rest are all aspectual uses of the suffix.

5.2.4 Continuative

The continuative is an ongoing dynamic situation and has the meaning of “keep on doing” (Bybee et al. 1995: 127). This type of meaning is expressed by the combined structure of -yad/-ged and the auxiliary verb bayi- ‘to be’ with the tense forms. Observe the following examples.

(28) a. tere kele-gsen-iyen kele-ged bayi-na
he say-VRN-REF say-CONV AUX-NPT
‘He keeps saying what he said.’
b. tere edur-tegen unta-yad bayi-jai
he day-REF sleep-CONV AUX-PST
‘He kept sleeping everyday.’

Bybee et al. (1995: 127) also mentioned that in addition to the ongoing situation, the continuative specifies that the agent of the action deliberately keeps the action going. The examples in (28) strongly confirm this. (28a), for instance, not only expresses that
he is continually saying what he said but also implies that he keeps saying it deliberately even though someone told him not to or it is, in the view of others, unnecessary to carry on with it. Similarly, (28b) implies that the agent is deliberately persisting in the action although told not to or it meets with the disapproval of others. The deliberate meaning of continuatives is demonstrated more clearly by the following examples.

(29) a. tegün-i bitegei duuɣar gesen čü yari-ɣad bayi-na
   him-ACC NEG say say PTL speak-CONV AUX-NPT
   'Although (I) told him to stop, he keeps talking.'

   b. beye-ni maɣu bayi-tala-ban tere tamaki tata-ɣad bayi-na
   body-POS bad be-CONV-REF he cigarette smoke-CONV AUX-NPT
   'Even though he knows he has bad health, he keeps on smoking.'

As noted before, the perfect is also shown by the combination of the -ɣad/-ged suffix and the auxiliary, bayi-. The distinction between perfect and continuative meanings is, however, derived from the contexts as shown in the above examples and also, as Chenggeltei (1981: 363) noted, the pronunciation of this form differs in spoken Mongolian when it refers to the perfect as opposed to the continuative. Compare the examples in (30) and (31) below.

(30) a. a:b-ʃiŋ gəɾ-tə:n ir-ɛ:d bæ:-n
   father-POS home-POS come-CONV AUX-NPT
   'Your father has arrived home.'

   b. ku:-ʃiŋ surgu:lda:n ɔj-ɛ:d bæ:-n
   son-POS school-POS go-CONV AUX-NPT
   'Your son has already been to his school.'
(31) a. ab-ʧin gər-tən ir-ədae:n b. ku-ʧin surgu:l-da:n ʧif-ədae:n
   father-POS home-POS come-ITE som-POS school-POS go-ITE
   'Your father keeps coming back home.'  'Your son keeps going to his school.'

As shown in examples (30) and (31), the perfect is indicated by pronouncing the
perfect converb and the auxiliary 'əd bæ:n' separately; the continuative is shown by
pronouncing them together as 'ədən'. Furthermore, the contrast between perfect and
continuative seems clear with certain types of verb. See the following examples.

(32) a. nara yaru-ya b. boro'yan oro-ya bayi-na
   sun rise-CONV AUX-NPT rain fall-CONV AUX-NPT
   'The sun has already risen.'  'It keeps raining.'

Sometimes, the distinction between perfect and continuative is made clear by the
context. For instance, in the sentence (33a), it has a perfect meaning because of "when I
arrived" and it has a continuative meaning in the sentence (33b) because of the particle,
la, used between the converb and auxiliary.

(33) a. namayi ʧi-ʧu-du tere ire-ged bayi-ja
   me go-VRN-DAT he come-CONV AUX-PST
   'He had already arrived when I arrived there.'

   b. tere nige yəγuma yari-ya la bayi-ja
   he one thing say-CONV PTL AUX-PST
   'He kept talking about something.'

In addition to its persistent perfect meaning, the sequence -yəyar/-gseger plus
auxiliary verb bayi- has continuative meaning and in some cases, something supposed to
terminate but still continuing. Consider the following examples. It has a continuous
meaning in (a-b) and it expresses a continuing event that is supposed to terminate in (c-d).
In the case of the examples like those in (34), the auxiliary after the suffix is sometimes omitted and in such a case, the suffix functions as a single form for marking aspect. See the following and their corresponding examples in (34).

The sentences in (35) may be a dialectal or colloquial variant of sentences (34). This use of the suffix, moreover, is becoming increasingly common in modern Mongolian.\(^3\)

However, the continuative meaning of -gseger is incompatible with certain types of verb, namely motion verbs. For instance, in the following examples, the continuative meaning is only expressed by -ged. Compare the following examples.

(36) a. abu-čini ger-tegen \{ ire-ged
                   ∗ire-gseger \} bayi-na

   father-POS home-POS come-CONV AUX-NPT

   ‘Your father keeps coming back home.’
These examples would indicate that, although both -γad/-ged and -γsayar/-gseger plus auxiliary verb express the continuative aspect, they differ slightly in that -γad/-ged expresses continuity in the sense of repetition, e.g., continually repeating over a long period of time, while -γsayar/-gseger lacks the repetitive sense and it refers to an action or event that continues over a long period of time without any interruption. For example,

(37) a. tere nom ongsi-γad bayi-na
    he book read-CONV AUX-NPT
    ‘He reads repeatedly.’

    b. boroyan oro-γad bayi-na
    rain fall-CONV AUX-NPT
    ‘It keeps raining repeatedly.’

    c. tere kele-gsen-iyen kele-gsepr bayi-na
    he say-VRN-REF say-CON AUX-NPT
    ‘He keeps saying repeatedly what he said.’

(38) a. tere nom ongsi-γsayar bayi-na
    he book read-CONV AUX-NPT
    ‘He has been reading continually.’

    b. boroyan oro-γsayar bayi-na
    rain fall-CONV AUX-NPT
    ‘It has been raining continually.’

    c. tere kele-gsen-iyen kele-gseger bayi-na
    he say-VRN-REF say-CON AUX-NPT
    ‘He has been continually saying what he said.’
5.2.5 Inceptive

The inceptive aspect is described as indicating the beginning of a situation, or entrance into a state. It is marked by the construction of -mar/-mer plus auxiliary verb bayi- 'to be'. The mar/-mer ending is a verbal noun suffix indicating the clear possibility of action. After combining with bayi-, it expresses the inceptive aspect, as shown in the following examples:

(39) a. boroyan oro-mar bayi-jai
    rain fall-VRN AUX-NPT
    ‘It was about to rain.’

b. toloyan čag bolo-mar bayi-na
    seven o’clock be-VRN AUX-NPT
    ‘It is almost seven o’clock.’

c. tere ügülle-iyen biči-jü bara-mar bayi-na
    he thesis-REF write-CONV finish-VRN AUX-NPT
    ‘He is about to finish writing his thesis.’

The construction of the -mar/-mer suffix and bol- is less common in comparison with bayi- and the structure of -mar/-mer plus bol- is not allowed with the non-past but only with the past tense suffix and their combination means that the speaker makes a predication about something likely to happen in the near future. See the following examples.

(40) a. bi ügüllel-ben dayusa-mar bolu-γsan
    I thesis-REF finish-VRN AUX-PST
    ‘I am almost finished writing my thesis.’
    or ‘I think I will finish my thesis soon.’

b. tan-u ger-čini una-mar bol-jai
    your house-POS fall-VRN AUX-PST
    ‘Your house is almost falling down.’
    or ‘I think your house is going to fall down.’
As discussed in section 3.2.4, the past tense morpheme, -la/-le, signals the imminent future with active verbs, and in this sense it is similar to what the construction of -mar/-mer and bayi- means. But, the difference is that -la/-le expresses an event either coming to an end in the near future or a state just started, while the -mar/-mer and bayi-construction expresses only the beginning of a situation. Compare the following examples.

(41) a. borŏyan oro-la
     rain fall-PST
     ‘It is about to rain/ just started to rain.’

b. čirig ire-le
    soldier come-PST
    ‘The soldier is coming/ just arrived.’

(42) a. borŏyan oro-mar bayi-na
     rain fall-VRN AUX-NPT
     ‘It is beginning to rain.’

b. čirig ire-mer bayi-na
    soldier come-VRN AUX-NPT
    ‘The soldier is about to arrive.’

5.2.6 The aspectual expression of quasi-auxiliary verbs

There is a wide variety of quasi-auxiliary verbs that function as aspectual markers and they constitute an important system of aspectual expression in Mongolian. Most of these auxiliaries retain their lexical meanings to a certain extent, but they often lose them partially or completely when they appear after the nonfinite verbal forms, such as converbs, and they mark aspectual distinctions. The aspectual meanings of these auxiliary verbs is, however, closely associated with the lexical meanings of such verbs. We have outlined the relationship between the lexical meanings and the auxiliary uses of these verbs in the section 3.3.2 on page 114. The preliminary concern of this section is, therefore, the aspectual expression of these auxiliary verbs.

There seems to be a general pattern among those auxiliaries in terms of their lexical and aspectual meanings and they fall into a certain category. One group of them, including ekile-, ‘to start’, oći-, ‘to go’, and oro-, ‘to enter’, have a meaning related to the
starting point of a situation and they denote the inceptive or ingressive aspect. *ekile-*, ‘to start’, for instance, expresses the initiation of a situation and so it may be regarded as marking the inceptive aspect. See the examples below.

(43)  a. tere nom-ban ongsi-ju ekil-ne  b. bi üğülel-ben biči-ged ekile-be
    he book-REF read-CONV AUX-NPT  I thesis-REF write-CONV AUX-PST
    ‘He is going to read his book.’  ‘I have started to write my thesis.’

*Oči-*, ‘to go’, and *oro-*, ‘to enter’, have a meaning of ‘to come close to’ or ‘to start’ when they are used as aspectual marker. Consider the following examples.

(44)  a. tan-u kele-gsen-chin tar-ču oči-ba
    your say-CONV-POS correct-CONV AUX-PST
    ‘What you said is almost correct.’
  b. ene qoyar jam tende neile-ged oči-na
    this two road there connect-CONV AUX-NPT
    ‘These two roads will connect together over there.’
  c. tede bögödeger namayi boroyusiya-yad oro-la
    they all me criticize-CONV AUX-PST
    ‘They all started to criticize me.’

The second group include the verbs, *saryu-*, ‘to sit’, *yabu-*, ‘to walk’, and *ire-*, ‘to come’ and they have a meaning of indicating the continuation of a situation and thus, the meanings are mostly the continuative and durative aspects. *saryu-*, ‘to sit, to reside’, and *yabu-*, ‘to walk’, for instance, have a meaning of ‘keep on doing’ or ‘continually to do’ when used as auxiliary verbs and they can be explained as referring to the continuous past. See following examples.
(45) a. bi čamayi ire-tele kūliye-ţi sayu-ya
   I you come-CONV wait-CONV AUX-MOD
   'I will keep on waiting until you arrive.'

   b. ta yanya-du iniy-e-ţi sayu-qu bui?
you what-DAT laugh-CONV AUX-CONV QU
   'Why do you keep on laughing?'

   c. bide olan ulus-iyar toyri-ţi yabu-ysan
we many country-INST travel-CONV AUX-PST
   'We have traveled around many countries.'

   d. tere erdem medelge suru-qi-bar čarmar-ţi yabu-na
he knowledge skill learn-CONV-INST endeavor AUX-NPT
   'He has always endeavored to learn something.'

Ire-, 'to come', means 'to keep on doing something up to now/then' and it emphasizes the durative meaning of the situation lasting up until the present moment since a certain time point in the past (cf. Street 1963: 145). Consider the following examples in which ire- refers to situations that have lasted from a particular reference point in time and may continue into the future.

(46) a. bide baya-ča yabu-lča-ţi ire-jei
   we little-ABL go-RECP-CONV AUX-PST
   'We have known each other since childhood.'

   b. minu aţil nidunun-ča nemegde-ţi ire-jei
my work last year-ABL increase-CONV AUX-PST
   'Since last year, my work has been increasing.'

The third set of the auxiliaries, including bara-, 'to exhaust, to terminate', dayusa-, 'to finish or stop', orki-, 'to abandon', and ab-, 'to take', indicate the endpoint
of a situation. *bara*- and *dayusa*- have a meaning of “to finish or stop doing something” and thus they denote the perfect or terminative aspect. See the examples.

(47) a. bide ger-iyen čeberle-jü bar-jai  
    we house-REF clean-CONV AUX-PST  
    ‘We have cleaned our house.’

d. bi ügülle-iyan daraŋa yarag biči-jü bar-na  
    I thesis-REF next week write AUX-NPT  
    ‘I will have written my thesis next week.’

b. bide ger-iyen čeberle-jü dayus-jai  
    we house-REF clean-CONV AUX-PST  
    ‘We have cleaned our house.’

c. bi ügülle-iyan daraŋa yarag biči-jü dayus-na  
    I thesis-REF next week write AUX-NPT  
    ‘I will have written my thesis next week.’

*Orki*- and *ab*- have a meaning of doing or obtaining something completely and denote the perfect. See the following examples.

(48) a. bi öçögedür yąŋu ki-gsen-iyan marta-yad orki-ba  
    I yesterday what do-CONV-REF forget-CONV AUX-PST  
    ‘I have forgotten what I did yesterday.’

b. tan-u yąŋu kele-gsen-i bi marta-ju orki-san  
    your what say-CONV-ACC I forgot-CONV AUX-PST  
    ‘I have forgotten what you said.’

c. bi qoyar nom ol-ju abu-ba  
    I two book find-CONV AUX-PST  
    ‘I found two books.’

d. tan-u nere-yi biči-ju abu-yə  
    your name-ACC write-CONV AUX-MOD  
    ‘Let me write down your name.’
5.3 Mood and Modality

Mood and modality are closely related but are distinctive concepts and as Palmer (1988: 21) insists, their distinction is similar to that of tense and time. The basic concept of modality is, as Palmer defines it, the grammaticization of speakers’ (subjective) attitudes and opinions (p. 16). Mood is a modality expressed by verbal morphology and it is a morphosyntactic category of the verb like tense and aspect, while modality is not restricted to verbal morphology only but is expressed by modal verbs or by particles which are separate from the verb (p. 21). This broader sense may be applied to modality in Mongolian which is certainly not restricted to verbal morphology only for there are also many different modal particles and auxiliaries that are used for expressing an opinion or attitude of the speaker. For instance, Chenggeltei (1981: 416-19) lists what he calls modal words and he asserts that these words mostly express the speaker’s attitude toward what he says. In fact, many on his lists are modal particles and they express the subclasses of what Palmer (1988) calls epistemic modality and deontic modality as illustrated below:

(49) a. tere marγasi yabu-qu keregtei  he tomorrow go-IMPF MODP  ‘He must leave tomorrow.’
   b. tere marγasi yabu-qu mayad  he tomorrow go-IMPF MODP  ‘He will probably leave tomorrow.’
   c. tere marγasi yabu-qu mayγayai  he tomorrow go-IMPF MODP  ‘It seems he will leave tomorrow.’

(50) a. tere marγasi lab yabu-na  he tomorrow MODP go-NPT  ‘He will certainly leave tomorrow.’
   b. tere baruy marγasi yabu-na  he MODP tomorrow go-NPT  ‘He will probably leave tomorrow.’
   c. tere marγasi yabu-qu bololtai  he tomorrow go-IMPF MODP  ‘It seems he will leave tomorrow.’

The modal particles in the above examples are all related to epistemic modality,
showing the status of the speaker's understanding or knowledge and including both his own judgments and the kind of warrant he has for what he says (Palmer 1988: 51). The modal particles in (49a) and (50a) are a strong judgment, i.e. the speaker knows what he is saying is necessarily true and (49b) and (50b) are a weak judgment, i.e. the speaker knows what he is saying is probably true. The modal particles in (49c) and (50c) are, on the other hand, an evidential judgment, i.e. the speaker makes the assumption from certain evidence that what he is saying is likely true.

Some of auxiliary verbs can be used to express modality and they express the meanings related to what Bybee et al. (1995) calls the speaker-oriented modality, epistemic modality, and the agent-oriented modality. See the following examples.

(51) a. tere yabu-ju bolo-na
   he go-IMPF AUX-NPT
   'He may leave now.' (to give permission) ‘He will probably leave.’ (possibility)

b. tere yabu-ju mede-ne
   he go-IMPF AUX-NPT
   'I can speak Mongolian.' (ability)

c. bi mongyol-iyar yari-ju čida-na
   I Mongolian-DAT speak-IMPF AUX-NPT
   ‘I can speak Mongolian.’ (ability)

All three sentences in (51) above show the use of the auxiliary expressing modality. In sentence (a), the speaker is granting permission to the addressee, while sentence (b) indicates the speaker asserts what he is saying is possibly true. The sentence (c) differs from the former two examples because it does not involve anything related to the speaker's subjective attitudes and opinions which are, as mentioned above, considered as a key component of the modality definition. However, it indicates ability which is considered by Bybee et al. (1995) as a sub-category of the agent-oriented modality and which reports the existence of internal enabling conditions in the agent with respect to the predicate action (p. 177). The sentence (c) is, therefore, understood as meaning the
ability of the speaker to speak Mongolian. Probably, this modal use of čida- can be more clearly expressed with the assistance of adverbials as shown in the following examples.

(52) a. bi mongyol-iyar yeke sayin yari-ju čida-na
   1 Mongolian-DAT very good speak-IMPF AUX-NPT
   ‘I can speak Mongolian quite well.’

   b. bi mongyol-iyar demei yari-ju čida-qu ügei
   1 Mongolian-DAT too speak-IMPF AUX-VRN NEG
   ‘I can’t speak Mongolian too well.’

This is a brief outline of modality expressed by the modal particles and the auxiliaries in Mongolian and it clearly shows that modality is not restricted to verbal morphology only. It appears that many of the modalities discussed in Palmer (1988) are in fact mostly indicated by this kind of modal particle in Mongolian. In this dissertation, however, we will not deal with this aspect of Mongolian modality but, in this section, will limit our discussion to modality expressed only in the verbal morphology and some aspects of the modality expressed through the use of auxiliaries.

In Mongolian verb morphology, there are several different morphemes that have the function of marking modality. Although these suffixes are all identified as mood marking devices, the classification and explanation of the suffixes are diverse in previous studies. For instance, the -yasai/-gesei7 suffix is identified as a mood suffix in Street (1963), Poppe (1970), and Chenggeltei (1981), but their explanations on the subject differ. Both Street (1963: 119) and Chenggeltei (1981: 291) apply this suffix to third person subject, but Poppe (1970: 129) insists that although the suffix mainly refers to the third person in Khalkha dialect, it may refer to the first or second person in other dialects. The meaning of the suffix is also explained differently. In Street (1963), it is regarded as expressing ‘a wish on the part of the speaker for some future event or state (often an
unlikely one), in Poppe (1970), it is explained as indicating 'a strong but vain wish for something to happen, a longing for something that is unlikely to happen', and in Chenggeltei (1981), it is simply labeled as signaling a wish to someone. The view of the -suyai/-stügei and -yuźai/-güjei suffixes is diverse as well. Street (1963) and Chenggeltei (1981), for example, both identify these two suffixes as a regular mood suffix in modern Mongolian, whereas Poppe (1970: 129-30) maintains that these two are only used under the influence of written Mongolian and are alien to the colloquial language. As to the meaning of the suffix, the explanation is basically the same. For instance, Poppe (1954: 91) regards -yuźai/-güjei as a dubitative mood suffix expressing 'the fear that someone might perform an action, which is considered as undesirable', but Street (1963: 119) says the suffix 'expresses the hope or wish of the speaker that some undesired action will not take place' and Chenggeltei (1981: 291) says that the suffix has a meaning of caution.

These diverse accounts reveal some important features of mood suffixes but probably due to the lack of a common theoretical framework or a limited understanding of the meanings of these morphemes, some important features of these suffixes have been missed. In this study, based on the classification of mood categories by Bybee et al. (1995), it is possible to separate mood expressed in Mongolian verbal morphology into imperative, optative, hortative, admonitive, and permissive, which essentially fall within what Palmer (1988: 96) calls the deontic modality and what Bybee et al. (1995: 179) calls speaker-oriented modality. Those auxiliaries expressing modality do not entirely fall into the above categories but most of them express a meaning related to agent-oriented modality or epistemic modality which are identified by Bybee et al. (1995: 177-80).

5.3.1 Imperative mood

The imperative mood is closely related to the second person and marks a direct command to a second person. A direct command or request to a second person in
Mongolian is expressed by the verb stem without adding any suffix, i.e., zero morpheme. Examples are as follows.

(53) a. nom-ban üje-jü sayu b. či yabu
    book-REF watch-IMPF sit-IMPT   you go-IMPT
    ‘(You) sit and read your book!’   ‘You go!’

c. ta marjasi oči d. čai uγγu
    you tomorrow go-IMPT   tea drink-IMPT
    ‘You go tomorrow.’   ‘Drink some tea.’

However, as many of the grammars, for instance, Street (1963: 116), point out, when used with words with polite sense, this suffix does not express a direct command but a polite request or simple order. See (53c) and the following examples with the polite form of the second person pronoun.

(54) a. ta nasi-ban sayu b. ta gen-tůr
    you here-REF sit-IMPT   you house-DAT enter-IMPT
    ‘Please sit over here.’   ‘Please come on in.’

There is one more suffix, -γdun/-gdûn, used for polite and formal requests of a second person, but this suffix is not used often in normal speech but rather in literary Mongolian.9

5.3.2 Optative mood

The optative mood is a wish or hope of the speaker. In Mongolian it is mostly related to the first and third persons. The first person is signaled by the -ya/-ye suffix or -suyai/-suγei, -su/-sû. The latter two are rarely used in spoken Mongolian and occur in a more literary style. In addition to expressing a wish or hope, the -ya/-ye suffix also indicates that the agent of the action is first person, and an important factor is that the
A pronoun is often left unexpressed. See the following examples.

(55) a. nom-ban üje-jü sayu-ya  
book-REF watch-IMPF sit-OPT  
'I want to sit and read my book.'

b. bide yabu-ya  
we go-OPT  
'Let's go!'

c. tan-u-du marγasi oči-ya  
you-GEN-DAT tomorrow go-OPT  
'Let me visit your place tomorrow.'

d. čai uryu-ya  
tea drink-OPT  
'Let me have some tea.'

All verbs with the -ya/-ye suffix in the above list express a personal wish or polite request. One can see they are related to the first person subject; however, by implication the addressee (second person) is involved as well. For instance, by saying čai uugu-ya, the speaker not only expresses his wish or request but also asks permission from the listener: “May I have permission to have a cup of tea?” or “Do you mind if I have a cup of tea?” and the like.

The suffixes, -suyai/-sügei, -su/-sü, occur in formal speech or letters written in formal style. The examples in (56) are from Chenggeltei (1981: 289).

(56) a. bi čima-dur nige arγa jaja-ju og-sügei  
you-DAT one method teach-IMPF give-OPT  
'I want to tell you something.'

b. bi üje-sü  
I see-OPT  
'Let me see it.'

The optative mood of the third person is signaled by the suffixes, -turγai/-tügei and -yasai/-gesei. The meanings of these two suffixes are basically wishes or hopes pertaining to a third personal subject. The -yasai/-gesei suffix expresses the speaker’s wish for what he hopes to see accomplished in future and -turγai/-tügei is used in literary Mongolian to express the speaker’s wish for the well-being of someone or something. Consider the following examples.
5.3.3 Hortative mood

In the hortative mood, the speaker encourages or incites someone to action. The hortative is basically related to the second person in Mongolian and it has the suffixes, -yaal/-gerei and -yači/-geči. -yaal/-gerei is mostly used to express a polite request or wish to the second person and -yači/-geči is simply used to indicate a request made of the second person. For example:

(58) a. man-u-du ire-gerei
    our-GEN-DAT come-HORT
    ‘Please visit our place.’

b. sayin yabu-yaal
    good go-HORT
    ‘May you have a good trip.’

c. qurdun yabu-yači
    fast go-HORT
def. nasi-ban ire-geči
to here-REF come-HORT
    ‘Go faster please.’
    ‘Please come here.’

5.3.4 Permissive mood

The permission granted a third person may be expressed by the -γ/g suffix. With this suffix the first person advises or commands a second person to let a third person go
ahead and do something or gives permission to the third person to act in certain way. In addition, it hints that even though he gives permission, the speaker disapproves of what the third person is doing. See the following examples.

(59) a. tere yabu-bal, yabu-γ b. tere kele-bel kele-g
    he leave-CON leave-PER he say-CON say-PER
    'If he wants to leave, let him do it.'  'Let him say what he wants to say.'

5.3.5 Admonitive mood

In the admonitive mood, the speaker issues a warning to the addressee through use of the suffix, -γuľai/-guľei. It can include a suggestion to the addressee to be cautious of unexpected events in the future. See the following examples.

(60) a. ta morin-aća-ban qaya-γda-γuľai
    you horse-ABL-REF fall-PAS-ADM
    'Be careful, don’t fall down from your horse.'
    or ‘Be careful of being thrown from your horse.’

b. kečiyel-eče-ben qočor-γuľai
    class-ABL-REF late-ADM
    'Be careful, don’t be late for your class.' or ‘You might be late for class.’

The past tense form, -ba/-be, is sometimes used to indicate the admonitive mood; see the examples in (21) on page 136 for further discussion.

5.3.6 The quasi-auxiliaries expressing mood and modality

As we have briefly set out in the beginning of this section, there are several auxiliary verbs in Mongolian used in the sense of modality. These auxiliaries mostly belong to what we called the quasi-auxiliary and so their modality meanings have a close
tie with their original lexical meanings. Similar to those expressing aspectual meaning, the auxiliaries with the mood and modality meanings seem to fall into certain groups which have similar meanings. A common feature of these auxiliaries is that they appear to occur with the converbal suffix, -ju/-ţu-, in most cases.

The set of these auxiliaries, including ĉida-, ‘to be able’, ol-, ‘to obtain’, yar-, ‘to go out’, and yada-, ‘to tire’, signal the agent-oriented modality, ability. The former three are commonly used to indicate one’s ability to do something or to perform certain actions. See the following examples.

(61) a. bi mori una-ju ĉida-na
   I horse ride-CONV AUX-NPT
   ‘I can ride a horse.’

b. bi maryaşi yabu-ju ĉida-qu ügei
   I tomorrow go-CONV AUX-CONV NEG
   ‘I cannot leave tomorrow.’

c. bi ĝaĝedur yagu ki-gsen-iyen bodo-ju ol-qu ügei
   I yesterday what do-CONV-REF think-CONV AUX-CONV NEG
   ‘I cannot think of what I did yesterday.’

d. tan-u yagu kele-gsen-i ol-ju sonos-uysan ügei
   your what say-CONV-ACC AUX-CONV hear-PST NEG
   ‘I did not hear what you said.’

e. bi mongol ŭsûg ongi-ju yaru-na
   I Mongolian script read-CONV AUX-NPT
   ‘I am able to read Mongolian script.’

f. yamar burūyû bolu-uysan-i bi ŭje-ju yar-qu ügei
   what mistake become-VRN-ACC I see-CONV AUX-CONV NEG
   ‘I cannot see what is wrong.’

Note that the verb, ĉida-, is mostly used as an auxiliary verb and ol-, unlike the other auxiliaries, often precedes the main verb rather than follow it and it is often used in
negative sentences.

In contrast, yada- has exactly the opposite meaning of the rest of the auxiliaries mentioned above and it refers to a situation one is unable to do. See the examples.

(62) a. bi tan-du kele-ju yada-na
   I you-DAT say-CONV AUX-NPT
   ‘I could not tell you this.’

b. minü niruyu ebed-ged tes-ţu yada-na
   my back pain-CONV stand-CONV AUX-NPT
   ‘I cannot stand any more for my back pain.’

Mede-, ‘to know’, as auxiliary indicates possibility. It always occurs after verbs in the imperfective converb, -ju/-ţu, and it most often occurs together with the copular auxiliary, bayi-. Consider the following examples.

(63) a. bi tegün-i tani-qu ügei bayi-ju mede-ne
   I him-ACC know-CONV NEG be-CONV AUX-NPT
   ‘I probably don’t know him.’

b. abu-ći̱ ni daraya ya ra yar ire-ţu mede-ne
   father-POS next week come-CONV AUX-NPT
   ‘You father will probably come next week.’

Uje- has the lexical meaning of ‘to see’ and it denotes one’s willingness to try to do something. See the following examples.

(64) a. bi tegün-eče jam asuyu-ju üje-ye
   I him-ABL road ask-CONV AUX-MOD
   ‘Let me try to ask him about the direction.’
b. bide ene asuγudal-i qamtu-dayan yarilča-ǰu üje-ye
   we this issue-ACC together-REF talk-CONV AUX-MOD
   ‘Let’s discuss this issue together.’

Unlike bayi-, bol- is used only with the imperfective converb, -ǰu/-ču, and their combination basically expresses modality, that is, the speaker either gives permission to someone else to do something or asks permission from someone else to do a certain thing. See the following examples.

(65) a. ene edür abala-ǰu bolo-na
    this day hunt-CONV AUX-NPT
    ‘Today is good for hunting.’

b. ta sanaya-bar-ban yari-ǰu bolo-na
    you mind-INST-REF speak-CONV AUX-NPT
    ‘You can say whatever you want.’

c. bide yabu-ǰu bolo-na uu?
    we leave-CONV AUX-NPT QU
    ‘May we leave?’

d. ta dura-bar-ban aγasila-ǰu bolo-qu ügei
    you wish-INST-REF act-CONV AUX-VRN NEG
    ‘You can’t do it whatever way you want.’
Note

1See Comrie (1976a), pp.16-40, for further discussion.


3See also Chenggeltei (1981: 311).

4Bybee et al. (1995: 181) concurs with this by saying "modality is the conceptual domain, and mood is its inflectional expression" based on discussions of modality in her earlier work, Bybee (1985).

5Palmer claims epistemic modality and deontic modality are distinctive. For instance, based on Lyons (1977), Palmer (1988: 18) defines epistemic modality as concerned with matters of knowledge, belief or opinion rather than fact and deontic modality as concerned with the necessity or possibility of acts performed by morally responsible agents.

6In discussion of the modality, Bybee (1995) suggests, it is useful to distinguish four types of modality—agent-oriented, speaker-oriented, epistemic, and subordinating. Agent-oriented modality, she defines, reports "the existence of internal external conditions on an agent with respect to the completion of the action expressed in the main predicate" (p. 177). Speaker-oriented modality does not report the existence of conditions on the agent, but it allows the speaker to impose such conditions as commands, requests, warnings, recommendations, and permission to the addressee. Epistemic modality "applies to assertions and indicates the extent to which the speaker is committed to the truth of the proposition" (p.179).

7This suffix is recorded as -aasai in Street (1963) and as -eeseee-øøseee/-aasae/-oosoe in Poppe (1970).

8The definition of imperative mood and mood discussed below are given according to Bybee et al. (1995: 170, 179).

9For more details, see Chenggeltei (1981: 290) and Street (1963: 117).

10See also Chenggeltei (1981: 288). He says these suffixes are ancient Mongolian suffixes and are only used in the old style literary language.
CHAPTER SIX

Voice and Causative

In the previous chapters, we considered three of the inflectional categories of the Mongolian verb, tense, aspect, and mood. In this chapter, therefore, we will deal with the issues of voice and causative. After discussing briefly the issue of prototypical voice and its subclasses, we examine how Mongolian voice fits into the prototypical voice system. And then, we will look at two marked voices, passive and reciprocal, in contrast with their active voice counterparts in Mongolian. In the section on the passive voice, we will address the following two issues: the restriction of the passive construction in terms of how much control the agent has and two special uses of the passive, such as its use in the agentless clause and its use for expressing spontaneous occurrence. In the section on the reciprocal voice, we will consider a common meaning of three reciprocal suffixes and their differences. The second part of this section is a discussion on the causative construction. The causative is not formally identified as a voice category, but we consider it together with voice because voice and causative generally concern special or altered functions of the agent or the agent and patient. The focus of our studies is on examining the causative construction in terms of the relationship between causing element and affected element and also its conjunction with the transitivity and intransitivity of verbs.

6.1 Voice

Voice is “a mechanism that selects a grammatically prominent syntactic constituent—subject—from the underlying semantic functions (case or thematic roles) of a class” (Shibatani 1988: 3) and, according to him, in the basic voice strategy it selects an
agent as a subject in the unmarked (active) voice, while it denies the agent the subject role but makes a patient assume the subject role in the marked (passive) voice. He says that in the prototypical active form an agent is in the subject role, and in the prototypical passive form a patient functions as a subject and an agent is syntactically unencoded. A semantic contrast of the typical active-passive opposition is that in the active form, the subject acts upon others or affects others, while in the passive form, the subject is affected or undergoes some effect. On the basis of this semantic contrast, he also identifies the contrast between the active voice and the middle voice which is similar to the passive voice, and expresses a situation in which the subject is affected (pp. 3-4).

In Mongolian verb morphology, there are several verbal suffixes to mark not only the opposition between active and passive voices, but also that of active voice and reciprocal voice which is similar to what Shibatani calls the middle voice above. In their straightforward senses, three voices, active, passive, and reciprocal in Mongolian express the semantic contrast described by Shibatani above. In the active voice, an agent plays the subject role and it acts upon others; in the passive voice, a patient plays the subject role and it undergoes some effect; and in the reciprocal voice, the subject is affected. However, as we will see below, in Mongolian, the use of the passive voice is restricted in some way and the reciprocal voice is not exactly the same as the middle voice identified by Shibatani above but it resembles more or less what Kemmer (1993: 95-96) calls the reciprocal situation types, in particular, what she calls the reciprocal proper.

In Kemmer (1993), although the reciprocal situation type is treated as related semantic domains of the middle voice, she claims the prototypical reciprocal situation type relates to the middle through the situation type of naturally reciprocal events (pp. 95-97). Based on Lichtenberk (1985), she says "the prototypical reciprocal context is a simple event frame expressing a two-participant event in which there are two relations; each participant serves in the role of Initiator in one of those relations and Endpoint in the
"other." (pp. 96-97) The meaning of the reciprocal voice in Mongolian resembles closely that of Kemmer's definition above and it expresses mutual action being carried out by two or more agents, i.e., the two or more participants and all participants are affected by the actions.

The cross-language studies of Lichtenberk (1985) and Kemmer (1993) observe that the reciprocal construction in many languages is well-known for encoding more than one type of situation, that is the reciprocal construction is not only used to encode the reciprocal situation but also collective, chaining, reflective and distributive situations. The reason for the multiple uses of the reciprocal constructions, the former author says, is that even though the situation types are distinct from each other, they are nevertheless similar in some important respects (pp. 30-31). The reciprocal construction covers three situations, reciprocal, collective and distributive, in Mongolian and they are expressed by three suffixes, 

-lub/-ldü, -lča/-lče-, and -ča/-ča-. Of the several situation types mentioned above, reciprocal, collective and distributive situations are relevant in our case; we will therefore outline these three situations based on the two authors mentioned above. According to Lichtenberk, it is important to make a distinction between the reciprocal constructions and the situations, such as reciprocal and collective, to which it refers. Because the former is a formal concept, referring to language-specific means used to encode reciprocal and other situations, while the latter are semantic, real-world concepts defined by particular types of relations of the participants to each other or to themselves (pp. 19-20). In his typological studies of the reciprocal construction, Lichtenberk defines the reciprocal situation as "one in which there are two participants, A and B, and the relation in which A stands to B is the same as that in which B stands to A. (p.21)" This can, for instance, be illustrated by the English example below (from Lichtenberk 1985: 21).
(1) John and Bill punched each other.

In Mongolian, the -lду-/lдu and -lца/-lцe- suffixes express the reciprocal situation displayed by the English example above. Compare the following two examples.

(2) a. Batu Temür-yi  đáду-ju bayi-na
   Batu Temür-ACC beat-CONV AUX-NPT
   ‘Batu is beating Temür.’

b. Batu Temür  qoyar \{дaду-lду-ju \}
   Batu Temür two  beat-REC-CONV AUX-NPT
   ‘Batu and Temür are beating each other.’

A collective situation is one in which “the participants are involved in the situation jointly,” and “each participant performs two roles: that of, for example, the performer of the activity and that of a ‘companion’ of the other participant(s)” (Lichtenberk 1985: 28) or as Kemmer (1993: 99) puts it, the actions are carried out jointly by the multiple participants as a group. For example again an English example from Lichtenberk (1985: 28).

(3) The children left together.

In Mongolian, the three suffixes mentioned above all express the collective situation. Compare the following examples.

(4) a. ta yayun-du iniye-ju bayi-qu bui?
    you why-DAT smile-CONV AUX-VRN QU
    ‘Why are you laughing?’
Why are you all laughing (together)?'

A distributive situation is one in which an “agent is associated with a separate action of the type designated by the verb.” (Kemmer 1993: 99) That is, in the distributive situation, each participant is associated with the action separately and there is “no special connection among the participants or the actions” (Kemmer 1993: 99). For example (from Kemmer 1993: 99):

(5) The guests left.

In Mongolian, a distributive situation is mainly expressed by the -jaya-/čaya-suffix as in (6). However, the examples in (7) can also be explained as referring to the distributive situation because the multiple participants associated with the same type of event, ‘to leave’, carried out the event separately and there is no connection among them and their actions. See the examples.

(6) a. yalayu-nuyud nisun yabu-jaya-ba
   goose-PL fly go-REC-PST
   ‘The geese flew away.’

   b. tede ger-tegen qari-jaya-ba
   they home-REF return-REC-PST
   ‘They returned home.’

(7) a. yalayu-nuyud nisun yabu-ba
   goose-PL fly go-PST
   ‘The geese flew away.’

   b. tede ger-tegen qari-ba
   they home-REF return-PST
   ‘They returned home.’

In the traditional Mongolian grammars, only -ldu/-ldü is regarded as the reciprocal suffix and the other two suffixes are identified as cooperative and concurrent (sometimes plural verb) voice. Since they share the similarity of expressing the
collective situation as exemplified in (4b), we consider them under the name of the reciprocal voice and illustrate their differences in the details. In this study, therefore, we divide Mongolian voice into three categories: active, passive, and reciprocal. The table 6.1 shows all suffixes related to these three voices and also the causative suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voice</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Active</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>bari-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive</td>
<td>-γda/-gde</td>
<td>bari-γda-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reciprocal</td>
<td>-lda/-lde</td>
<td>bari-ldu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-лča/-лčе</td>
<td>bari-лčа-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-яγα/-јеге</td>
<td>bari-јаγа-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-цαγα/-цеге</td>
<td>bari-цеге</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causative</td>
<td>-γα/-ге</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-γул/-γул</td>
<td>bari-γул-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-γα/-γе</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.1 The classification of the voice suffixes

6.1.1. Passive voice

In the active construction with a transitive verb, the agent occurs in the subject position and the patient in the object position and the latter is usually marked with the accusative case. In the passive construction, the grammatical role of the agent and patient differ from those in active counterpart. Usually, the patient is promoted to the subject position and the agent is demoted to the object position and the demoted agent is marked with the dative case. The verb is morphologically marked with the passive suffix, -γda/-gde-. See the examples in (8) and (9) which compare active and passive constructions.

(8) a. kümün čima-yi maγu kele-ne  (9) a. či kümün-dü maγu kele-gde-ne
    man you-ACC bad say-NPT              you man-DAT bad say-PAS-NPT
    ‘People speak ill of you.’             ‘You will be spoken ill of by others.’
These examples illustrate in a straightforward fashion the active and passive alternation in Mongolian. They shows that the subject of the sentence in the active voice is the agent, i.e. the source or the performer of the action, and the patient, if stated, is marked by the accusative; in the passive voice the subject is the patient, i.e. the undergoer of the action, and the agent, if stated, is usually marked by the dative case.

We have stated above that in the passive construction, while the patient is promoted to the subject position from its original object position, the agent is demoted to the object position from its subjecthood in the active. This is, according to Shibatani (1985: 822), however, not a primary function of the passive but it is only a part of much broader pragmatic functions of the passive construction. According to him, numerous languages generally avoid an expression of an agent in a passive and so the fundamental function of the passive has to do with the defocusing of agents, which means that passives are used when the singling out of an agent is either impossible or unimportant—because of its being unknown, obvious, or irrelevant (p. 831). The Mongolian passive construction, in the data we analyzed, shows the characteristic of the passive Shibatani observed and it appears to be used more frequently in the agentless sentence than in that
overtly expressing an agent. The following examples with a passive construction are, for instance, more common than those with the overt agent in (9) above.

(10) a. minu nom soli-γda-ba 
   my book change-PAS-PST
   ‘My book got changed.’

b. egüde genedte neke-gde-be 
   door suddenly open-PAS-PST
   ‘The door was suddenly opened.’

c. tegtin-ū qoni-ni nidunun qulayaila-γda-ba 
   his-GEN sheep-POS last year steal-PSS-PST
   ‘His sheep was stolen last year.’

d. ene nom nayəγad on-u üye-ber biči-gde-be 
   this book the eighties-GEN time-INST write-PSS-PST
   ‘This book was written during the 1980s.’

e. arban qonin-ača yurba-ni gege-gde-be 
   ten sheep-ABL three-POS lose-PSS-PST
   ‘Three sheep out of ten were lost.’

f. ene nayur-un tabasu-ni abu-γad bara-γda-day ügei (3: 83)³ 
   this lake-GEN salt-POS take-CONV finish-PSS-VRN NEG
   ‘The salt of this lake will never be taken all away.’

g. yapu ċu sonos-da-qu ügei 
   what PTL hear-PSS-VRN NEG
   ‘Nothing is heard.’ (lit.: anything is not heard.)

In the above examples, the agent in (10a) and (10d) is unknown and that in (10b) and (10c) is unimportant probably because the focus of these two sentences is on the patients and so (10b) merely states that the door is opened. How the door is opened or who opened the door is irrelevant here. As a result of the agent-defocusing function, the passive is ungrammatical in the instances where the agent is overtly expressed.
For example, in the following pairs of examples, only the active sentences are acceptable and the passive sentences are not, though the passive form is applied to the active verb in the same manner as the sentences in (9) above.

(11) a. minü küü ene ğakidal-i biči-be
   my son this letter-ACC write-PST
   ‘My son wrote this letter.’

   b. kümüs tere ğučüge-yi ūje-be
   people that play-ACC see-PST
   ‘Many people saw that play.’

   c. tere qoni-yi alä-ba
   he sheep-ACC kill-PST
   ‘He killed the sheep.’

(12) a. *ene ğakidal minü küü-du biči-gde-be
   this letter my son-DAT write-PAS-PST
   ‘This letter was written by my son.’

   b. *tere ğučüge kümüs-du ūje-gde-be
   that play people-DAT see-PAS-PST
   ‘That play was seen by many people.’

   c. *qoni tegün-dü alä-yda-ba
   sheep him-DAT kill-PAS-PST
   ‘The sheep was killed by him.’

Although there is no problem with the passive voice in the English translation of the sentences, in Mongolian the passive sentences in (11) are unacceptable. The question is why, when the passive construction in (9) is acceptable, in (11) result in an ungrammatical sentence? One of the reasons for this restriction is, as given above, that the agent is overtly expressed in these sentences. Another reason, perhaps more important in this case, appears to be related to how much control the patient has over bringing the action about. For instance, in the sentences (a-b), the patient is not animate and it has no control over the action but the agent, on the other hand, is a performer of the action and is solely responsible for it. In the sentence (c), despite the fact that both agent and patient are animate, the passive sentence is ungrammatical because the patient has less control over the action than the agent has. In fact, in this circumstance the sheep has no more control over the situation than the letter or the play in the (a) and (b) sentences. In these examples, the unacceptability of the passivization in Mongolian is very much similar to that of Korean as analyzed by Klaiman (1988: 56-58) who claims that “the
marked diathesis (the passive voice in Mongolian) becomes generally unacceptable where a source argument (agent of the action) which is animate is depicted as acting on an undergoer (patient of the action) which is inanimate.” From this we can state that whether the agent and patient are overtly expressed, the general feature of the passive in Mongolian, but by no means sole feature, has something to do with how much control the patient has over the situation. In normal circumstances, no matter whether the patient is animate or not, when it has no control and the agent has full control over the situation, the passive form is not acceptable in Mongolian. Note more examples of this below where the passive counterparts of the active sentences are all ungrammatical.

(13) a. tere qoni-yi qarbu-ba  
    he sheep-ACC shoot-PST  
    ‘He shot a sheep.’

    b. Batu ene yurban nom-i biči-be  
    Batu this three book-ACC write-PST  
    ‘Batu wrote these three books.’

(14) a. *qoni tegün-du qarbu-γda-ba  
    sheep him-DAT shoot-PSS-PST  
    ‘The sheep is shot by him.’

    b. *ene yurban nom Batu-du biči-gde-be  
    this three book Batu-DAT write-PSS-PST  
    ‘These three books were written by Batu.’

The passive constructions observed above are similar to what Klaiman (1991: 171-81) says about Korean and Navajo passive constructions (inverse voice in his terms). The restriction on the use of the passive construction in Mongolian depends on whether it is felt that the agent or the patient has greater control over the action. In general, when the patient has full or the greater control over the situation than the agent has, the passive construction is allowed. If the patient has no control or less control over the action, the passive construction is not allowed.

In relation to the agent-defocusing function, where the patient has full or greater control over the situation, the passive, but not active construction is allowed or preferred,
quite to the contrary of the situation in (12) and (14). Consider the following two pairs of the examples:

(15) a. bi duyui tergen-ečə qaya-γda-ba
    1 bicycle-ABL throw-PSS-PST
    ‘I fell from the bicycle.
    (lit.: I was fallen by the bicycle.)

b. bi tere morin-ača qaya-γda-ba
    1 that horse-ABL throw-PAS-PST
    ‘I was thrown from the horse.’

c. tede tergen-dui dayari-γda-jai
    they car-DAT hit-PAS-PST
    ‘They were hit by the car.’

(16) a. *duyui tergen nama-γi qaya-ba
    bicycle me-ACC throw-PST
    ‘The bicycle threw me off.’

b. ?tere mori namayi qaya-ba
    that horse me throw-PST
    ‘The horse threw me off.’

c. ?terge teden-γi dayari-ba
    car them-ACC hit-PST
    ‘The car hit them.’

In such cases, something is going on more than just the agent-defocusing or who has a control because the subject is acting in both agent and patient roles, i.e. it is both initiator and undergoer of the action. The subject in the above examples is, for instance, an initiator of riding the bicycle and the horse and the undergoer of being thrown off. It retains full or some responsibility for the action, that is, can retain some degree of agentivity, because of its being human as opposed to the inanimate or animate agent. Therefore, its being thrown off and hit is owing to being careless or making some other kind of mistake and so in a certain degree is its own responsibility. The case of the sentence (c) is slightly different because the car is driven by someone and in that case has perhaps more control over the situation. Nevertheless, the subject plays a similar role to that of the subjects in the previous two examples in that it is responsible in some degree for being hit by the car. This may suggest that in addition to agent-defocusing, the fact that the patient retaining the agentivity or is the initiator of the situation perhaps plays a key role in the passive. As a result of this, the passive is acceptable when the patient
holds some degree of the agentivity for the situation, but it is not when the patient holds no degree of the agentivity. For instance, while the patients in the examples (9) and (15) are all said to retain the responsibility for what happened, those in (12) and (14) cannot hold any responsibility, since they have no control over the situation.

Another important function of the Mongolian passive is to express what Shibatani (1985) calls the spontaneous occurrence which is “an event that automatically occurs, or a state that spontaneously obtains without the intervention of an agent” (p. 827) According to Shibatani, the correlation of the passive with the spontaneous results from the common pragmatic function of agent defocusing, because the spontaneous occurrence results from the non-existence of the external agent (pp. 839-40). In the examples in (17) below, all events expressed by the passive form occur either automatically or spontaneously without any effort from an agent.

(17) a. ene üülbüri buruyu sig sana-γda-ju bayi-na
     this sentence wrong PTL think-PSS-CONV AUX-NPT
     'It seems to me this sentence is wrong.'
     or 'This sentence is thought to be (or: seems to be) wrong.'

b. tende nige mori qara-γda-ju bayi-na
     there one horse see-PSS-CONV AUX-NPT
     'There is a horse over there.' (lit.: A horse is seen over there)

c. γalaγu ire-ju bayi-γa qara-γda-na
     goose come-CONV be-VRN see-PSS-NPT
     'I can see the geese are arriving.' or 'The geese can be seen arriving.'

d. qola-yin baraγ-a qara-γda-na
     far-GEN scene see-PAS-NPT
     'Something is seen from far away.'
e. dayu sonoso-γda-na
   song hear-PAS-NPT
   'I hear a song.' (lit.: A song is heard.)

f. ayula-yin orγil-du γar-bal ....bayidal todurqai qara-γda-na (3: 55)
   mountain-GEN top-DAT go up-CONV scenery clearly see-PSS-NPT
   'If one goes to the top of the mountain, the scenery will be seen clearly.'

g. erdem-i sur-bal qamuy yayuma-yin učir sayiqan mede-gde-ne (3: 55)
   skill-ACC learn-CONV all thing-GEN reason well know-PSS-NPT
   'If one learns knowledge, the reasons behind all things will be known easily.'

In all these examples in the above list, the passive construction is being used where the occurrence of the event or state is obtained by the agent spontaneously. As the examples illustrate, such use of the passive seems common with a particular verb type, for instance, all the base verbs in the list have in common the feature of feeling such as 'feel, see, know, and hear'. In the following examples, although the verbs are not related to sensation, the event described here is similar to that of (17) above, i.e. something happens successfully or without any interruption. See the examples.

(18) a. mal-un toya yeke-ber neme-gde-be
   cattle-GEN number big-INST increase-PSS-PST
   'The number of the cattle increased dramatically.'

b. qural uruysitai yabu-γda-ju bayi-na
   meeting successfully go-PSS-CONV AUX-NPT
   'The meeting is going well.'

6.1.2 Reciprocal voice

The reciprocal voice conveys the meaning of a mutual action being done by two or more persons either to each other or jointly with one another. The reciprocal voice is
marked by the suffixes, -ldui/-ldü-, -ča-/lče- or -jeya/-įge (ča/če-). As we have noted in the beginning of this section, the cross-linguistic studies observed that the reciprocal construction is not restricted only to expressing the reciprocal situation but it also expresses the collective and distributive situations and perhaps, other situations. Similarly, each of these reciprocal suffixes in Mongolian is capable of expressing more than two situation types. A common feature of these suffixes is to express the collective situation as in (19). In a collective situation, according to Lichtenberk (1985: 28), two or more participants are jointly involved in a situation in an identical role. The peculiarity of the collective situation expressed in (19) is that the multiple participants are joined in the mutual event carried out collectively by everyone involved and, unlike the reciprocal situation, it lacks a sense of being carried out by the participants against one another. Thus, the interpretation of sentence (a) is that the collective situation of screaming is carried out by all people involved and it is a situation where all the people will involved by joining one another’s action voluntarily. The meaning of sentence (b) is the same as that of sentence (a). It expresses a situation in which several children were making a loud noise while they were playing together in great spirit.

(19)  

a. olan kümüs  
\[
\text{\{barkira-ldu-ju\} \quad \text{barkira-lča-ju} \quad \text{barkira-ǐeya-ju\}}
\]
\[
\text{many people \quad scream-REC-CONV \quad AUX-NPT}
\]

‘Many people are screaming.’

b. keüked-čini yeke  
\[
\text{\{nargi-ldu-ju\} \quad \text{nargi-lča-ju} \quad \text{nargi-ǐeya-ju\}}
\]
\[
\text{children-POS \quad big \quad bustle-REC-CONV \quad AUX-PST}
\]

‘I heard your children playing loudly.’
As we observed above, the collective situation is expressed by the reciprocal suffixes. But, it is not always the case that the collective situation is necessarily expressed by these suffixes. With plural subjects, the plain form of verbs can also have the collective reading. For instance, if we reproduce some of the examples in (19) without the reciprocal suffix, they still have the collective reading. However, in a case like that in the following examples, the collective situation is not as clear as in (19) but they are more likely understood as indicating that more than one person is involved in the same type of action and so the emphasis of the sentence is not on the situation but on the plural subject.

(20) a. olan kümüs barkira-ju bayi-na
    many people scream-CONV AUX-NPT
    ‘Many people are screaming.’

     b. keüked-čini yeke nargi-ju bayi-γsan
    children-POS big bustle-CONV AUX-PST
    ‘I heard your children playing loudly.’

Also, when expressing the collective situation, all three suffixes are not used under the same circumstances. To some verbs, only -Idu/-ldü- and -lča/-lče are attached, to some verbs only -lča/-lče and -jaya/-čayə- are added, and to some, only the latter is attached. See the following examples.

(21) a. tende kėtūn keüked \{ čoki-Idu-ju \} bayi-na
    there several children fight-REC-CONV AUX-NPT
    ‘Several youngsters are fighting with each other over there.’
b. ta yapu \( \{ \text{yari-}l\text{ča-}j\text{u} \} \) bayi-qu bui?

you what talk-REC-CONV AUX-VRN QU

‘What are you talking (together) about?’

c. tede bögudeger-ben ger-tü oro-\( j\text{ā}ya\)-ba

they all-REF house-DAT enter-REC-PST

‘They all went into the house.’

d. suru-yi\( č\)id sandal-dayan sa\( ā\)yu-\( j\text{ā}ya\)-ba

student-PL chair-DAT-REF sit-REC-PST

‘The students all sat down on chairs.’

Furthermore, in some cases, when multiple participants are involved in the collective situation and the action is carried out jointly by the participants as a group, the -ldu/-ldü- and -lča/-lče- suffixes are more likely to be used as shown in the following examples.

(22) a. keüked \( \{ \text{üime-}ldü-ne \} \)

children hustle-REC-NPT

‘Children play together loudly.’

b. qoni tende \( \{ \text{o}b\text{oyara-}ldu-na \} \)

sheep there gather-REC-NPT

‘Sheep are gathering over there.’

c. nayi\( į\)ji-tai-ban \( \{ \text{jöbde-lde-ne} \} \)

friend-COM-REF discuss-REC-NPT

‘(I) discuss it with a friend.’

Sometimes, it is also possible to double the two suffixes, -lča/-lče- and -\( j\text{ā}ya\)/-\( j\text{ā}ya\)- in the same verb to indicate the collective situation. For example.
These reciprocal constructions also express the reciprocal situation that is a two-participant event in which each participant plays two roles, agent and patient. This sort of a prototypical reciprocal situation is usually expressed by the -ldu-/ldü- and -lča/-lče- forms in Mongolian as illustrated by the examples (24) and (25) respectively below. Note that with verbs like those in (25), -ldu/-ldü- is not allowed.

(24) a. qoyar üker \(\left\{ \text{mögü-ldü-} \right\} \) bayi-na
two butt-REC-CONV AUX-NPT
‘Two cows are striking each other with their horns.’

b. qoyar keüked-čini \(\left\{ \text{jodu-ldu-} \right\} \) bayi-na
two children-POS fight-REC-CONV AUX-NPT
‘Your two children are fighting with each other.’

(25) a. qoyar eteged-iyer-yen gere-yin bičig soli-lča-ba
two side-INST-REF trade-GEN document exchange-REC-PST
‘Two sides exchanged the trade document.’

b. man-u qoyar qarilčin tani-lča-na
we-GEN two each other know-REC-NPT
‘We two know each other.’
The above examples show the typical use of the reciprocal construction for indicating the reciprocal situation in which the same action is carried out by exactly two participants against each other. As we have seen earlier, in their description of the reciprocal situation, both Lichtenberk (1985) and Kemmer (1993) put much emphasis on the fact that two participants are involved. Even though the latter notes briefly there are cases in which there are more than two entities involved in the reciprocal situation, he remarks once multiple participants are involved, possibilities for unreciprocated relations between individual pairs of participants begin to arise (p. 97). In Mongolian, however, the use of the reciprocal form is not restricted to the reciprocal situation in which just two participants are involved; it is often used to express the situation in which more than two participants are involved in carrying out a mutual action one against the other. In the examples given below, either of the -ldu-/ldü- and -lča-/lče- suffixes can be attached to the same verb and both express a mutual action carried out by the multiple participants one against the other.

(26) a. tede {jodu-ldu-na}  b. puu-bar {qarbu-ldu-na}
    {jodu-lča-na}    {qarbu-lča-na}

they beat-REC-NPT  gun-INST shoot-REC-NPT

'They fight with each other.'  'They are shooting each other with guns.'

c. noqai miqa {buliya-ldu-na}
    {buliya-lča-na}

dog meat rob-REC-NPT

'Dogs seize the meat from each other.'

The situation observed above may be understood as the collective situation. However, although it is a collective situation carried out collectively by the participants involved, there is a strong sense of the reciprocal meaning, that is, two or more group participants do something against one another. Thus, a distinction between reciprocal
and collective situations in Mongolian is that although multiple participants are involved in both circumstances, the action carried out is not the same. In the reciprocal situation, the participants do the mutual action one against another, while in the collective situation, it lacks such a sense, but it emphasizes that the mutual action is carried out collectively by the participants as a group. This can be illustrated by the following pair of examples. In (a), it is a reciprocal situation in which every student introduces himself to the others and in (b), it is a collective situation in which all students are chasing after the ball together as a group.

(27) a. suruɣid öbere öbere-iyen tani-ɭa-γul-na

   students own own-REF introduce-REC-CAU-NPT

   ‘Students introduce themselves to each other.’

b. suruɣid bőmböge köge-ged güyü-ɭe-ne

   students ball chase-CONV run-REC-NPT

   ‘Students are chasing the ball together.’

There are also some examples to show that under certain circumstances, -ɭe-/ɭe- is used instead of -ldu-/ldü- to indicate reciprocal situation where only two participants are involved in the event. For instance, all four examples have a reciprocal meaning, i.e. two participants are involved in the same activity, but -ldu-/ldü- is not allowed to be used in any of the examples.

(28) a. bide yabu-ɭa-qu-ban boli-ba

   we go-REC-IEMPF-REF stop-PST

b. nayiŋ-tai-ban ɭakidal nebtere-ɭe-ne

   friend-COM-REF letter pass-REC-NPT

   ‘We lost contact with each other.’

   ‘(He) contacts his friend by letter.’

c. qurayə moor qoyar anda ɭolo-ɭa-ʃai (2: 71)

   lamb cat two friend become-REC-PST

   ‘A lamb and cat became friends.’

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Sometimes, it is also possible for -lča/-lče- not to express reciprocal meaning, but it has no sense of doing something with anyone in particular, though there is probably still the sense of acting with participants not specified (Schlepp 1983: 68). See the following examples.

(29) a. minu degüü barya suryašuli-du suru-lča-ju bayin-na
    my younger brother elementary school-DAT study-REC-CONV AUX-NPT
    ‘My younger brother is studying in the elementary school.’

b. busud kiöyel degere bür mongyol-iyar kele-lče-ne (251)
    other class on entirely Mongolian-INST speak-REC-NPT
    ‘In the other classes, (we) talk in Mongolian only.’

c. bi ēji abu-tai-ban mongyol-iyar yari-lča-na (395)
    I mother father-COM-REF Mongolian-INST talk-REC-NPT
    ‘I speak Mongolian with my parents.’

d. oroi buri nige čag suru-lča-na (217)
    night every one hour learn-REC-NPT
    ‘(I) study one hour each night.’

e. saysun bömböge-yin oroduyan-du oro-lča-na (490)
    basketball-GEN competition-DAT enter-REC-NPT
    ‘To participate in the basketball competition.’

In the first three examples, it has a sense of the reciprocal meaning, e.g., to study and to speak with the unidentified participants, but one can argue the sentences mean merely what the subject himself does in the school, in the classes, and with his parents
and that it has no sense of doing something with other participants. In the last two examples, the reciprocal meaning is further diminished and it demonstrates what the subject does by himself. The use of the suffix in all these examples suggests that it perhaps has a function of derivation rather than inflection in this case. For instance, one can say that it derives suru-lča- ‘to study’ from sur- ‘to learn’, kele-lče- or yari-lča- ‘to speak’ from kele- ‘to say’ or yari- ‘to talk’, and oro-lča- ‘to participate’ from oro- ‘to enter’.

Another function of the reciprocal constructions in Mongolian is to express the distributive situation. The distributive includes, according to Kemmer (1993: 99), situations in which the actions are carried out by multiple participants but each participant is associated with the action separately and there is no special connection among the participants or the actions. This kind of the situation is usually designated by the ǰaǰa/-jege and -čaǰa/-čege suffix. In this sense, emphasis is on the individual action of each participant and less focus on action that is done either against one another or in cooperation with one another to achieve a specific goal. See the following examples.

(30) a. bide qurdun yabu-ǰaǰa-ya we fast walk-REC-IMPT
'Let’s walk fast.'
b. ta nasi-ban sayu-ǰaǰa you to here-REF sit-REC
'Please all of you sit over here.'
c. ajil-ban ki-jege-ye job-REF do-REC-IMPT
'Let’s do our job.'
d. sine nigen quyučaǰan-dayan silideg būtūǰi ol-qu-yi kūse-jege-ne (2: 9) new one semester-DAT-REF best result get-VRN-ACC hope-REC-NPT
'(Every student) hopes to get the best result in the new semester.'
e. ....qoničin yeke sanduru-n tegün-dü tusala-qu-bar ire-jege-be (2: 35)
   shepherd very rush-CONV him-DAT help-VRN-INST come-REC-PST
   'All the shepherds came quickly to help him.'

f. sil čongqu-ban gilalja-tala jölgü-ged bayasu-lča-na (2: 9)
   glass window-REF shine-CONV clean-CONV rejoice-REC-NPT
   '(Students) are all happy cleaning the windows.'

Also note that -jaya/-čaya seems to be restricted to intransitive verbs only, while
the other two have no such restriction. However, there is no restriction on -jaya/-čaya-
when it is attached after either -ldu/-ldü- or -lča/-lče-. Compare the following
examples.

(31) a. *tede qarilčin jodo-jaya-ju bayi-na
   they between fight-REC-CONV AUX-NPT
   'They are fighting against each other.'

b. *olan kümüs tede yari-jaya-ju bayi-na
   many people there speak-REC-CONV AUX-NPT
   'There are many people talking together.'

c. tede qaricin jodo-ldu-jaya-ju bayi-na
   they between fight-REC-REC-CONV AUX-VNPT
   'They are fighting against each other.'

d. olan kümüs tede yari-lča-jaya-ju bayi-na
   many people there speak-REC-REC-CONV AUX-NPT
   'There are many people talking together.'

In the above discussion, we have examined the multiple uses of the reciprocal
constructions and stated their similarities and distinctions from the situation they refer to.
In the past, however, the three suffixes are treated as distinctive suffixes for expressing
reciprocal, cooperative, and concurrent voice, which is basically similar to what we called the reciprocal, collective, distributive situations here. Our treatment of the suffixes differs from the previous studies in that we consider them as the same suffix, the reciprocal voice with the function of encoding different types of situations. As we have seen in the preceding discussion, the three reciprocal suffixes in Mongolian are similar in that all three can be used to denote the collective situation; they are distinct in that the \( -\text{jaya}/-\text{caya} \) suffix does not express the reciprocal situation and the other two lack the distributive meaning.

Another difference is that they are selectively used with certain types of verbs and it appears to have something to do with the specific semantic classes of verbs. Their restriction to particular types of verbs needs more study and we don’t have much to say on the subject. In the majority of cases we can observe, however, \(-\text{ldu}/-\text{ldü}\) is associated with intrinsic verbs like ‘connecting and sticking’, \(-\text{lce}/-\text{lce}\) is with sensation verbs like ‘communicating, getting to know, and separating’, and \(-\text{jaya}/-\text{caya}\) is with action verbs like ‘leaving, entering, doing, and sitting’.

\[
\begin{align*}
(32) & & -\text{ldu}/-\text{ldü} & -\text{lce}/-\text{lce} & -\text{jaya}/-\text{caya} \\
\text{a.} & \text{nayirala} & \text{nayirala-ldu} & - & - & \text{‘to be in accord’} \\
& \text{\textbar\textbar} & \text{\textbar\textbar} & \text{\textbar\textbar} & \text{\textbar\textbar} & \text{‘to connect to’} \\
& \text{jal\textbar} & \text{jal\textbar-ldu} & - & - & \text{‘to stick to’} \\
& \text{naya} & \text{naya-ldu} & - & - & \text{‘to tangle’} \\
& \text{oriya} & \text{oriya-ldu} & - & - & \text{‘to contradict’} \\
& \text{qarsila} & \text{qarsila-ldu} & - & - & \text{‘to fight’} \\
& \text{teme\textbar} & \text{teme\textbar-ldue} & - & - & \text{‘to know’} \\
\text{b.} & \text{mede} & \text{mede-lce} & - & - & \text{‘to help’} \\
& \text{qamji} & \text{qamji-lce} & - & - & \text{‘to break up’} \\
& \text{ebdere} & \text{ebdere-lce} & - & - & \text{‘to communicate’} \\
& \text{nebt\textbar} & \text{nebt\textbar-lce} & - & - & \text{‘to communicate’}
\end{align*}
\]
One other point to be noted here is that the reciprocal voice suffixes, -ldu/-ldü- and -ldča/-ldče-, seem to be restricted to naturally reciprocal events, i.e. the verb that is semantically reciprocal. For instance, the verbs like oro-lča- ‘to join’, yari-lča- ‘to talk’, bari-ldu- ‘to wrestle’, buliya-ldu- ‘to argue’, and so on. According to Kemmer (1993), the naturally reciprocal events are actions or states in which the relationship among two participants is usually or necessarily mutual or reciprocal. More examples of verbs indicating naturally reciprocal events with the reciprocal suffix are given in the following list.

(33) a. jol'ya- jol'ya-ldu- jol'ya-lča- ‘to meet’
    ebose- ebose-ldu- ebose-lče- ‘to reconcile’
    jūri- jūri-ldu- jūri-lče- ‘to disagree’
    bari- bari-ldu- bari-lča- ‘to seize’
    čobu- čobu-ldu- čobu-lča- ‘to drip’
    soli- soli-ldu- soli-lča- ‘to exchange’
    bakira- bakira-ldu- bakira-lča- ‘to scream’
6.2 Causative

The causative construction involves the causer (person, thing, or force) and a situation brought about or effected (Comrie 1985b: 332). In Mongolian, the causative construction is formed by suffixation. There are three suffixes, -ŷa/-ge, -ŷul/-gül, and -1ŷa/-lge which are added to verbs depending upon the final segment of the verb and these suffixes form the causative from both transitive and intransitive verbs. The alternation between noncausative and causative constructions is shown by the examples listed below.

(34) a. ŷal nočo-ju bayi-na 'A fire is burning.'
   b. jakidal kür-ču ire-be 'A letter arrived.'
   c. keüked qoyula-ban ide-ne 'Children are eating a meal.'
   d. Batu ene nom-i ungsi-ba 'Batu read this book.'

(35) a. tere ŷal nočo-ya-ju bayi-na 'He is setting a fire.'
   b. bi jakidal kür-ge-ju ire-be 'I brought a letter.'
   c. keüked-degen qoyula ide-gül-ne 'Someone is feeding his children food.'
   d. Dorji Batu-bar ene nom-i ungsi-γul-ba 'Dorji had Batu read this book.'

The examples in (34) and (35) are a straightforward instances of the opposition between noncausative and causative constructions. According to Comrie (1974: 2, 1976: 262), the underlying structure of a causative sentence can be analyzed as containing a matrix sentence and an embedded sentence. The matrix sentence has a subject noun phrase (MS) (the causer of the action), while the embedded sentence has a subject noun phrase (ES) (the causee who carries out the action), plus possibly one or more object
noun phrases, according to the valency of the embedded verb, such as embedded direct object (EDO), embedded indirect object (EIO), and other embedded oblique constituent (1976: 262), so that the English sentence, *John made Mary give the book to Fred*, has the structure given in (36) below from Comrie (1976b: 262).

(65)

In certain languages, in surface structure the causative element and embedded verb are, however, fused together in derived structure, so that there is no longer any sentence embedding (Comrie 1976b: 262) and the causative structure in (36) becomes as in (37) below. (Reproduced from Comrie 1976b: 262)

(37)

Since the causative in Mongolian is formed by adding the causative morpheme to the verb stem as we exemplified in (35), we can say the causative element and the embedded verb are fused together in derived structure and so, the surface structure of the Mongolian causative shows structure similar to that given in (37). However, the underlying syntactic structure of the causative sentence in fact includes a matrix sentence and an embedded sentence. For instance, the causative sentence in (38) has the surface structure represented in (39a) and the underlying structure shown in (39b).\(^5\)
By this analysis, although the causative construction in Mongolian, like the examples given in (35), has a surface structure similar to that given in (39a), its underlying structures has the basic form of (39b) and so it can be explained as containing two clauses, a matrix sentence and an embedded sentence. By comparing the causative counterparts of the noncausative sentences, we can see the embedded subject appears in different positions in a matrix sentence, e.g., in the causative sentence, it is marked by direct and indirect object case markers. Again, according to Comrie (1976b), the surface exponency of the embedded subject depends on the syntactic arguments of the embedded verb and he claims that the embedded subject is shifted from left to right along the following list to the leftmost position that is not already occupied (p. 263).
(40) Subject—direct object—indirect object—other oblique constituent

In Mongolian, the embedded subject (causee) shifts along the order given in (40) according to the transitivity of the base verb. In the causative of intransitive verbs, for instance, the causee appears as direct object as in the following examples; if the direct object is definite, it occurs in the accusative or reflective-possessive suffix.

(41) a. Batu yabu-na
    Batu leave-NPT
    ‘Batu is going to leave’

    b. tere ende sayu-na
    he here sit-NPT
    ‘He sits here.’

    c. küü-ni unta-ba
    son-POS sleep-PST
    ‘His son was asleep.’

    d. usu bočal-ba
    water boil-PST
    ‘Water boiled.’

(42) a. Temür Batu-yi yabu-γul-na
    Temur Batu-ACC leave-CAU-NPT
    ‘Temur makes Batu leave.’

    b. bi tegün-i ende sayu-lya-na
    I him-ACC here sit-CAU-NPT
    ‘I let him sit here.’

    c. abu-ni küü-ben unta-γul-ba
    father-POS son-REF sleep-CAU-PST
    ‘Father made his son sleep.’

    d. tere usu bočal-γa-ba
    he water boil-CAU-PST
    ‘He boiled some water.’

In constructions formed by the causative of monotransitive verbs, the causee is marked by the accusative or one of the oblique case markers. For instance, in the following two pairs of examples, the causee in the sentences (b) are marked by the instrumental and dative case markers. In the sentences (c), it is marked by the accusative case.

(43) a. Batu ʒakidal biči-be
    Batu letter write-PST
    ‘Batu wrote a letter.’

    b. Temür Batu-bar ʒakidal biči-gul-be
    Temur Batu-INST letter write-CAU-PST
    ‘Temur had Batu write a letter.’
c. Temür Batu-\text{-yi j}akidal biči-gül-be  
\text{Temur Batu-ACC letter write-CAU-PST}  
'Temur had Batu write a letter.'

\begin{enumerate}
\item (44) a. mori usu үγuu-\text{j}u bayin-na  
\text{horse water drink-CONV AUX-NPT}  
'A horse is drinking water.'
\item b. tere mori-\text{du} usu үγuu-\text{ь}жa-\text{j}u bayi-na  
\text{he horse-DAT water drink-CAU-CONV AUX-NPT}  
'He lets the horse drink water.'
\item c. tere mori-\text{yi} usu үγuu-\text{ь}жa-\text{j}u bayi-na  
\text{he horse-ACC water drink-CAU-CONV AUX-NPT}  
'He lets the horse drink water.'
\end{enumerate}

However, if the patient in the non-causative clause is definite, it must be accusative and so when the clause becomes part of a causative sentence, the causee has to be in the instrumental or dative case, rather than accusative, as shown below.

\begin{enumerate}
\item (45) a. Batu ene j}akidal-i biči-be  
\text{Batu this letter-ACC write-PST}  
'Batu wrote letter.'
\item b. Temür Batu-bar ene j}akidal-i biči-gül-be  
\text{Temur Batu-INST this letter-ACC write-CAU-PST}  
'Temur had Batu write the letter.'
\end{enumerate}

\begin{enumerate}
\item (46) a. suruγči mongγol nom-i ungsi-na  
\text{student Mongolian book-ACC read-NPT}  
'The students will read the Mongolian book.'
\item b. suruγči-du mongγol nom-i ungsi-γul-na  
\text{student-DAT Mongolian book-ACC read-CAU-NPT}  
'Someone lets the students read the Mongolian book.'
\end{enumerate}
Where the noncausative verb is ditransitive and has direct and indirect objects, the causee again must appear in one of the oblique cases. See the following examples.

(47) a. Batu Sečin-dü ǰakidal biči-ne
    Batu Sechin-DAT letter write-NPT
    ‘Batu writes a letter to Sechin.’

b. Batu ene ǰakidal-i Sečin-dü ilege-be
    Batu this letter-ACC Sechin-DAT send-PST
    ‘Batu sent this letter to Sechin’

(48) a. Temür Batu-bar Sečin-dü ǰakidal biči-gül-ne
    Temur Batu-INST Sechin-DAT letter write-CAU-NPT
    ‘Temur got Batu to write a letter to Sechin.’

b. Temür Batu-ber ene ǰakidal-i Sečin-dü ilege-gül-be
    Temur Batu-INST this letter-ACC Sechin-DAT send-CAU-PST
    ‘Temur had Batu send this letter to Sechin.’

When the direct object of the noncausative is definite, the position of the causee alternates depending upon to which argument the emphasis of the sentence is given. The capital letters show the emphasis.

(49) a. Batu ene ǰakidal-i Temür -yer Sečin-dü ilege-gül-be
    Batu this letter-ACC Temur-INST Sechin-DAT send-CAU-PST
    ‘Batu asked Temur to send THIS LETTER to Sechin.’

b. Batu Sečin-dü ene ǰakidal-i Temür -bar ilege-gül-be
    Batu Sechin-DAT this letter-ACC Temur-INST send-CAU-PST
    ‘Batu asked Temur to send this letter TO SECHIN.’
The relationship between causer and causee is further complicated if more arguments are involved in the sentence. For example, in the following lists, the subject is Batu-yin küü 'Batu’s son' and the direct object is qubčasu ‘clothes’ in the noncausative sentence (a). In the causative sentence (b), the direct object of the noncausative sentence retains its position, but the subject of the noncausative sentence becomes the indirect object, e.g., the causee of the causer, Batu. However, their relationships are further complicated when one more argument is involved in the causative sentence (c). There is no change to the direct object of the noncausative sentence, but the subject of the noncausative becomes the causee of the causer, Temur, which is itself the causee of another causer, Batu. And so the explanation of the sentence (c) is that Batu causes Temur to cause Batu’s son to put on his clothes. In this sentence there are, therefore, two causers as well as two causees.

(50) a. Batu-yin küü qubčasu-ban emüs-be
   Batu-GEN son clothes-REF wear-PST
   ‘Batu’s son put on his clothes.’

b. Batu küü-degen qubčasu-yi-ni emüs-gül-be
   Batu son-DAT-REF clothes-ACC-REF wear-CAU-PST
   ‘Batu made his son put on his clothes.’

c. Batu Temür-ber küü-yin-iyen qubčasu-yi-ni emüs-ge-gül-be
   Batu Temur-INST son-GEN-REF clothes-ACC-REF wear-CAU-CAU-PST
   ‘Batu made Temur make his son put on his clothes.’

Similar to examples in the preceding section, the causative construction here has a variety of possible meanings and these are distinguished often by marking the causee with different case suffixes. The case endings are used also to avoid ambiguity and confusion in the causative which arises when the base clause has several arguments. Let’s look at the the following examples first.
(51) a. Batu-yin küü qubčasu emüs-be
   Batu-GEN son clothes wear-NPT
   'Batu's son put on his clothes.'

b. Batu küü-degen qubčasu emüs-gül-be
   Batu son-DAT-REF clothes wear-CAU-NPT
   'Batu put the clothes on his son.'

c. Batu küü-degen qubčasu emüs-gül-jü öggü-be
   Batu son-DAT-REF clothes wear-CAU-CONV AUX-PST
   'Batu put the clothes on his son.'

d. Batu Temür-ber küü-degen qubčasu emüsge-gül-be
   Batu Temur-INST son-DAT-REF clothes wear-CAU-NPT
   'Batu had Temur put clothes on his son.'

e. Batu Temür-ber küü-degen qubčasu-yi-ni emüs-gül-be
   'Batu had Temur put the clothes on his (Batu's) son.'

f. Batu küü-ben qubčasu emüs-gül-be
   'Batu made his son put clothes on.'

g. Batu küü-ben qubčasu-yi-ni emüs-gül-be
   Batu son-DAT-REF clothes wear-CAU-NPT
   'Batu made his son put on his (son's) own clothes.'

h. Batu küü-ber-iyen qubčasu-yi-ni emüs-gül-be
   'Batu made his son put on his (son's) own clothes.'

i. Batu küü-ber-iyen qubčasu emüs-gül-be
   'Batu made his son put on the clothes for himself (Batu).'

j. Batu küü-ber-iyen qubčasu-ban emüs-gül-be
   'Batu made his son put his (Batu) clothes on for himself (Batu).'

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The sentences (b-k) are all the causative equivalents of the noncausative sentence (a). But, because of the involvement of the different cases and the increase of the arguments, they may be interpreted quite differently. The sentence (b) is ambiguous as to whether Batu put on the clothes for his son or Batu instructed his son to put his (the son’s) clothes on himself, in other words, it is not clear as to whether Batu dresses his son or Batu causes his son to dress. It means, therefore, this sentence has two meanings in terms of whether the causer and causee did the action of putting on clothes. This ambiguity can be solved in the sentence (c) because of the auxiliary verb, öggü-, ‘to give’ and thus it means that it is Batu who puts on the clothes for the son.

The sentences (d) and (e) have one more argument than the rest of the examples and they are somewhat similar since in all cases, Batu caused Temur to do something for him. The meanings of the sentences differ because of the different cases attached to indirect and direct object. In case of (d), similar to that of the sentence (b), it is unclear whether Temur dresses Batu’s son or Temur makes Batu’s son put on his clothes. The sentence (e) does not have this problem and it is clear there Temur is the one who did the dressing.

In the sentences (f-h), the relationship between the causer and causee is clear because in all cases, Batu is a causer and his son is a causee who puts on the clothes for himself.

The sentences (i-j) differ from the rest of the examples in (51) in that the causer makes the causee do something for himself (causer). In this sense, they are exactly contrary to the sentences (g-h) where the causer makes the causee to do something for the causee, himself.

In the preceding section, we have focused on the syntactic structure of the Mongolian causative constructions in terms of the syntactic argument of the base verb.
and the case markers attached to the embedded subject. Now, we will observe some semantic properties of the causative construction. According to cross-linguistic studies of the causative, such as Shibatani (1985) and Comrie (1985b), the semantic meaning of the causative slightly varies because of "a wide range of activity that the causer can perform in effecting the caused event" (Shibatani 1985: 251) For example, Shibatani (1976: 251–73), makes a distinction between coercive and noncoercive, directive and manipulative, and direct and indirect causations. In Mongolian, the causative shows such distinctions as coercive and noncoercive or direct and indirect causation and their distinctions are sometimes shown by the different case markers involved. As noted earlier, the embedded subject (causee) appears with the dative, instrumental, or accusative markers. See the examples below where the sentences (b-d) are causative equivalents of the noncausative, (a).

(52) a. surүγи nom ungsi-na
    student book read-NPT
    ‘Students read a book.’

    b. tere surүγи-du nom ungsi-γul-na
    he student-DAT book read-CAU-NPT
    ‘He lets students read a book.’

c. tere surүγи-bar nom ungsi-γul-na
    he student-INST book read-CAU-NPT
    ‘He makes students read a book.’

d. tere surүγи-yi nom ungsi-γul-na
    he student-ACC book read-CAU-NPT
    ‘He has students read a book.’

e. tere surүγи-ban nom ungsi-γul-na
    he student-REF book read-CAU-NPT
    ‘He makes his students read a book.’

The sentences (b-e) have a meaning of 'he causes students to read a book', but they differ slightly from one another because of the different case suffixes attached to the causee. The first two are basically the same, since they mean that the causer let or permitted the causee do something and, from the causer’s perspective, he does not encounter any resistance in effecting the caused event. The latter two are similar in that
the causer forces the causee to do something and he does encounter some resistance in effecting the caused event. The distinction I have described here is somewhat similar to the opposition between coercive and noncoercive situation described by Shibatani (1976) who claims "coercive causation is applied when the causer encounters a strong resistance in effecting the caused event, while if the caused event can effected without encountering resistance, coercive causation need not applied" (p. 253).

An alternative explanation for the above situation is that a distinction between the sentence with the accusative case and the rest of the sentences is the same as what Comrie (1985: 337) observes in the distinction between the causee appearing as direct or indirect object in Hungarian. That is, (52d-e) imply that the causer asked the causee to perform an action and the causee has little choice in the matter, while (52b-c) imply rather that the causer got the causees to perform the action by asking them to do so, but they retained some control over whether or not they acted upon what the causer asked.

In the above discussion, although no clear explanation for the semantic distinction of the different causative constructions has been offered, we have shown that semantic variations of the causation in Mongolian occur. It is also clear from our discussion that not all causative constructions in Mongolian express the typical causative meaning of 'A makes or causes B to do something', other meanings are expressed under given circumstances. For instance, in the examples given below, except for the sentences (b), the causative counterparts of the noncausative sentence do not solely have causative meanings but some other meanings as well.

(53) a. Batu ariki yuu-na
    Batu wine drink-NPT
    'Batu drinks some wine.'

    (54) a. minu küü qoyola ide-ne
    my son meal eat-NPT
    'My son eats the meal.'
b. Batu Dorji-yi ariki uyuu-ha-na
   Batu Dorji-ACC wine drink-CAU-NPT
   ‘Batu made Dorji drink some wine.’

c. Batu Dorji-du ariki uyuu-ha-na
   Batu Dorji-DAT wine drink-CAU-NPT
   ‘Batu gives Dorji some wine to drink.’

d. Batu Dorji-bar ariki uyuu-ha-na
   Batu Dorji-INST wine drink-CAU-NPT
   ‘Batu let Dorji drink some wine.’ or
   ‘Batu had Dorji give himself a drink.’

b. Batu minu küü-yi qoyola ide-gül-ne
   Batu my son-ACC meal eat-CAU-NPT
   ‘Batu will let my son eat a meal.’

c. Batu minu küü-du qoyola ide-gül-ne
   Batu my son-DAT meal eat-CAU-NPT
   ‘Batu gives my son food to eat.’

d. Batu minu küü-ber qoyola ide-gül-ne
   Batu my son-INST meal eat-CAU-NPT
   ‘Batu will let my son have a meal.’ or
   ‘Batu let my son feed himself.’

In these two pairs of examples, all three sentences, (b), (c), and (d) can be considered as the causative counterparts of the noncausative sentence (a) and all have the causative structure, including a matrix and embedded sentences. Three of them all have the causative expression, but they are semantically not the same, because some of them add meanings. The sentences (b) and (d) are regular causative sentences but the sentences (d) are ambiguous in terms of whether the causer causes the causee to do something for the causer, himself, or for the causee. The sentences (c) do not really express such a causative meaning as ‘A makes or causes B to do something’, but they may have various possible readings. First, they have a meaning of supplying something that is needed for the embedded subject to perform whatever action he needs to do. In this sense, the relationship between the matrix subject and the embedded subject is not that of the causer and causee, but it is the relationship between the supplier and beneficiary. And thus, Batu is not the causer in both sentences, but the provider who provides ‘wine’ and ‘meal’ to the embedded subjects. Secondly, they may have a meaning of permitting or allowing someone to do something, i.e. Batu does not cause the
embedded subjects to drink or to eat, but he gives permission to them to do so. Such a
distinction is illustrated more clearly in the following examples.

(55) a. Batu Dorji-du edür büri ariki уγγуу-γа-na

Batu Dorji-DAT day each wine drink-CAU-NPT

‘Batu gives (allows) Dorji some wine to drink every day.’

b. Batu minu kūü-du örlöge büri arban čay-tu qoyola ide-gül-ne

Batu my son-DAT morning each ten o’clock-DAT meal eat-CAU-NPT

‘Batu lets my son eat a meal at 10 o’clock every morning.’

Thirdly, as Poppe (1954: 170-71) explains, when the dative suffix is attached to
the embedded subject, the causer becomes not the person who causes the causee to do
something, but one who could not prevent the causee from doing the action and suffers
the consequences of it. See the following examples.

(56) a. bitabun qoni-ban činoa-du bari-γul-ba

I five sheep-REF wolf-DAT catch-CAU-PST

‘I had suffered five sheep eaten by a wolf.’

(lit.: I could not prevent my sheep being eaten by a wolf.)

b. degüü-ben busud-tu jodu-γul-чиγайai

younger brother-REF other-DAT beat-CAU-PEF

‘(He) got his younger brother beaten by the others.’

The semantic differences of the causative described above lead us to the
conclusion that the causative suffix in Mongolian does not always express causative
meaning. For instance, in a brief survey of the primary school Mongolian text books, we
found the following two examples which show some uses of the causative suffix.
In these two examples, the use of the causative suffix is quite different from what we have observed above. In the first example, two verbs, qaniya- ‘to cough’ and emčile- ‘to treat the patient’ both take the causative suffix, but the causer of the action is not given in the sentence so that one cannot explain this sentence as a causative. The only explanation we can think of is that the subject perhaps functions as both the causer and causee, that is, qaniya-l ya- means something like ‘my cough (illness) causes me to cough’ and emčile-gü l- means ‘I cause the doctor to treat my illness’. Such an explanation, however, sounds unnatural because it is totally different from what the sentence means. In the second example, the causative suffix is attached to the verb, qoorda- ‘to be poisoned’, and the causer and causee are clear from the given context, i.e. the causer is the snake and the causee is the farmer. However, it does not have a meaning of ‘the snake causes the farmer to poison himself’, but rather it means ‘the snake poisoned the farmer’ which means the snake is both causer and performer of the event, poisoning. The examples like these two are a real problem for the causative explanation of the causative suffix. See more examples like these below. In all these cases, the causative suffix seems like it has a meaning other than the causative.
As noted before, the relation between the arguments of the base verb often becomes complicated because of the extra arguments involved. Sometimes, such complication is clarified by using the double causative suffixes. In the following two sentences, reproduced from (33), for instance, two causative suffixes are simultaneously attached to the base verb and express what we may call the double causative or bicausative.

(59) a. tere Batu-bar ɣal nočo-ɣa-ɿ-ɣu bayi-na
    he Batu-INST fire burn-CAU-CAU-CONV AUX-NPT
    ‘He is having Batu set a fire.’
b. Batu tegün-ber qubçasu qata-γa-γa-ba
   Batu him-INST clothing dry-CAU-CAU-PST
   ‘Batu had him dry the clothing.’

More examples of the double causative are given below. In each example, (a) is noncausative, (b) is a causative, and (c) is a causative-causative structure.

(60) a. min u noqai ger-eče ɣa-ba b. bi noqai-ban ger-eče ɣa-γa-ba
   my dog home-ABL out-PST   I dog-REF home-ABL out-CAU-PST
   ‘My dog went out of the house.’   ‘I put our dog out of the house.’
   c. bi tegün-iyor noqai-ban ger-eče ɣa-ɣa-γul-ba
   I him-INST dog-REF home-ABL out-CAU-CAU-PST
   ‘I had him put the dog out of the house.’ (lit.: I caused him to cause the dog go out of the house.)

(61) a. usu bočal-ba b. Batu usu bočal-γa-ba
   water boil-PST         Batu water boil-CAU-PST
   ‘The water boiled.’   ‘Batu boiled the water.’
   c. Batu Temür-iyor usu bočal-γa-γul-ba
   Batu Temur-INST water boil-CAU-CAU-PST
   ‘Batu had Temur boil the water.’ (lit.: Batu caused Temur to cause the water to boil.)

(62) a. keüked čoči-ba b. noqai keüked-i čoči-γa-ba
   children scare-PST         dog children scare-CAU-PST
   ‘The children are scared.’   ‘A dog scared the children.’
   c. abu-ni keüked-ben noqai-du čoči-γa-γul-ba
   father-REF children-REF dog-DAT scare-CAU-CAU-PST
   ‘Father scared the children with the dog.’ (lit.: Father caused the dog to cause the children to be scared.)
Another common feature of the causative construction is that it is possible to form the passive or reciprocal causative by adding a passive or reciprocal suffix to the causative suffixes. The examples below show the structure of causative plus passive order; the ones in (63) are a plain causative and those in (64) are a combination of causative and passive suffixes.

(63) a. tere ńakidal kūr-ge-ju ire-be
   he letter send-CAU-CONV come-PST
   'He brought a letter.'

b. noqai keüked-i čoći-ya-ba
   dog children-ACC scare-CAU-PST
   'A dog scared the children.'

(64) a. ńakidal kūr-ge-gde-n ire-be
   letter bring-CAU-PSS-CONV come-PST
   'A letter was sent here.'

b. keüked noqai-du čoći-ya-ya-ba
   children dog-DAT scare-CAU-PSS-PST
   'Some children were scared by a dog.'

In contrast to the above examples the causative suffix also follows the passive or reciprocal suffixes. The order of adding suffixes makes no difference to what the sentence means. See the following examples.

(65) a. minü kūi Batu-du ńodu-ya-ba
   my son Batu-DAT beat-PAS-PST
   'My boy was beaten by Batu.'

b. kūi-čini noqai-yin-du qaja-ya-na
   son-REF dog-GEN-DAT bite-PAS-NPT
   'Your son will be bitten by the dog.'

c. tede qoyar qarialči in tani-lča-na
   these two between know-REC-NPT
   'These two know each other.'

(66) a. kūi-men Batu-du ńodu-ya-yul-ba
   son-REF Batu-DAT beat-PAS-CAU-PST
   '(He) caused my boy to be beaten by Batu.'
b. či kiū̯-ben noqai-yin-du qaja-γda-γul-na
   you son-REF  dog-GEN-DAT bite-PAS-CAU-NPT
   'You will let your son be bitten by the dog.'

c. tede qoyar-i qarilčin tani-ɬa-γul-na
   they two-ACC between know-REC-CAU-NPT
   'Someone introduces them to each other.'

Notes

1 Lichtenberk observes four factors among these situation types. They are non-sequentiality of the relations that make up the situations; multiplicity of the roles performed by the participants; identity of the roles performed by the participants; and degree of individuation of the participants. See Lichtenberk (1985: 31-35) for his detailed discussion of these.

2 As we have seen in the chapter two treatment of the voice suffixes in the past varies. Refer to the related parts in the chapter two.

3 This number represents the volume (before the colon) and page (after the colon) numbers of the Mongolian textbook for the primary school that I used to collect the data. The same is below.

4 This is the sentence number in Anonymous (1980). The Mongolian Thousand Sentences. It is the same below.

5 Binnick (1979) and Schlepp (1983) made the similar observation in that Binnick says "causative verbs transformationally derived from structures incorporating embedded sentences (p. 108), while Schlepp analyzes the causative clause as including the outer and inner clauses (p. 66).

6 The doubling of the causative suffix with the other voice suffixes has been studied by Poppe (1954) and Ozawa (1979b). The former author covers the classical Mongolian situation and the latter discusses the situation in preclassical, classical, and modern Mongolian. Their findings are basically the same as ours.
CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusion

The purpose of this dissertation has been to make an account of Mongolian verb morphology in terms of verb derivation and inflection. The findings in the previous chapters are summarized below.

The main issue dealt with in this dissertation is verb derivation and verb inflection. The issue of verb derivation is dealt with in the chapter two and that of the verb inflection is in the remaining chapters. Although compounding is a possible way for deriving verbs in Mongolian, suffixation is the major method for deriving verbs in Mongolian. Chapter two deals with verb derivation in Mongolian by the means of suffixation. By suffixation, a verb can be derived from a noun, adjective, verb, or adverb. Based on their functions, we have divided the verb deriving suffixes into three different classes: the suffixes used across word-class, the suffixes used with nouns and adjectives, and those used with verbs and adverbs. The suffixes used across a word-class are -la/-le-, -ra/-re-, and -ča/-če-. The former two are fairly productive suffixes for deriving verbs from the different types of word-classes, the distinction between them being that The first two results in the transitive and the third in the intransitive in most cases. Moreover, although there is no regular pattern, the -la/-le- and -ra/-re- suffixes are sometimes associated with different types of words (see the examples in (12) and (13) of the previous chapters). Also note that while -la/-le- more likely produces verbs from nouns and adjectives, -ra/-re- is equally used with nouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs as well.

The -la/-le- suffix derives a large number of verbs from nouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs, but it is only attached to a limited number of verbs to derive a verb that has
a short duration. More importantly, the meaning of the suffix when attached to verbs seems to be quite different from that of the suffix used with nouns and adjectives. As we showed in the examples (2-3) earlier in the chapter two, the attachment to noun, adjective, and adverb simply changes them into verbs with a meaning closely related to the base words, while the attachment to a verb, on the other hand, derives verbs with a meaning of repeatedly doing something for a certain period of time and the base verbs usually have a short durative meaning. Additionally, this suffix has some similarity to the verb forming suffixes -bčila/-bčile- and -rqa/-rke. A distinction between -la/-le- and -bčila/-bčile- is not clear but the former has a meaning of ‘to act in a certain way’ and the latter has a meaning of ‘to act quickly in a certain way’ and the difference between -la/-le- and -rqa/-rke- is that of transitive and intransitive.

The attachment of -ra/-re- to nouns and adjectives is a productive way of deriving verbs and it also converts nouns and adjectives into verbs with a meaning similar to that of the base. The attachment to adverbs is the same as that of nouns and adjectives. It transforms adverbs into intransitive verbs. This use of the suffix is also limited to a small number of verbs and a derived verb has a similar meaning to that of the base verb. There is also a connection between -ra/-re- and -rqa/-rke- but the former simply derives intransitive verbs with a meaning closely associated to the original meaning of the base, while the latter derives verbs with a meaning of ‘to pretend to be’ or ‘to act like’.

The -ča/-če- suffix is also used with the four different word-classes to derive verbs. Unlike -la/-le- and -ra/-re-, this suffix is less commonly used with nouns and adjectives in the data we have collected. Also, it is not common to attach -ča/-če- to the bases to which -la/-le- and -ra/-re- are attached to form other verbs. A peculiarity of the suffix is that it is more often attached to verbs and especially to adverbs, depicting the manner of action, to form verbs with signifying repetition of action. And with adverbs, a contrast between -ča/-če- and the other two is apparent in the distinction between -ča/-
če- and -la/-le- as that of repetition and non-repetition and between -ča/-če- and -ra/-re-
as that of transitive and intransitive.

The final note for these three suffixes is that although they have been treated as homophones in this study, we had little to say about the question of whether such suffixes are one or homophonous suffixes that attach to nouns and adjective on the one hand and to verbs and adverbs on the other hand. Further studies are needed to answer this question.

As shown in the second part of chapter two, there are a number of other suffixes that are added to nouns or adjectives to derive verbs. While some of these suffixes can be attached to a large number of words to create verbs, some are used with a relatively small number. Our preliminary investigation shows that these suffixes may differ in their productivity.

In this section, we have made an attempt to clarify the confusion of the structure of certain suffixes and to make a distinction between similar suffixes and to establish a basic meaning for each suffix. For instance, we have stated that -da/-de- and -d/-s- are not the same suffix although they have a similarity in meaning. Also, we have said that there is a distinction between -la/-le- attached after the -bči- and -či suffixes and -bčila/-bčile- or -čila/-čile- because although they have similar structure, the verb derived by the suffixation of -la/-le- after -bči- and -či and those formed by -bčila/-bčile- or -čila/-čile-
have a completely different meanings.

In this same section, we also observed the difference between other suffixes that have similar structure and meaning. We have compared, for example, the difference and similarity between -ji and -jira/-jire-, -si and -sira/-sire- and that of -ji- and -si- and -jira-
/-jire- and -sira/-sire-. The result of our examination shows these to be similar but different suffixes.
In this same chapter, we examined some special suffixes for deriving verbs from verbs or adverbs. These are special suffixes because they not only derive verbs from adverbs but also are capable of indicating inflectional meaning, such as duration and the iterative. It has been a controversy in the past as to whether some of these suffixes are derivational or inflectional. In this dissertation, we regard them as derivational suffixes. There are two groups of these suffixes that are used after adverbs and each group consists of several suffixes that are similar in shapes and meanings. Those in the first group are mostly associated with adverbs depicting manner or mode of action and they produce a large number of verbs with a similar meaning. We have discussed several issues related to these suffixes. First, the basic meaning associated with these suffixes has not been made clear in the past. Our studies show that the verbs derived by these suffixes basically have the same meaning as each other but they differ in the aspectual sense so that -i- forms a verb with regular meaning, -lja/-lje-, -balja/-belje-, -yalja/-gelje- derive a verb with a long durative repetition, -yana/-gene- express a short durative repetition. Secondly, although it is common practice to add these suffixes to the same bases, the productivity of the suffixes is not the same. For instance, -i-, -lja/-lje-, and -yana/-gene- are more productive than -balja/-belje- and especially -yalja/-gelje-, the latter two being limited to certain words. Third, unlike the analysis in the past studies, we have claimed that these suffixes are not attached to verbs derived from adverbs by the -i- suffix but they are directly used after adverbs to derive verbs. There are examples to show that verbs with the -lja/-lje- and -yana/-gene- suffixes are derived from verbs either with or without the -i- suffix and more importantly there are examples to show that these suffixes derive verbs directly from adverb bases. Finally, we have considered these suffixes as derivational instead of inflectional because of their limitation to use with adverbs.

The second group of suffixes are mostly used after sound imitating words to derive verbs with a meaning of continuity. These suffixes do not differ one from another.
in the details but their distinction lies in their distribution. It seems there is a regular pattern for their being used after words ending in different segments.

Chapter three and the following chapters carry the primary theme of this dissertation. In these chapters, we have dealt in some detail with the major inflectional categories, such as tense, aspect, mood, voice, converb, and the verbal noun phenomenon. It has been our intention to reveal the unique features of these inflectional categories based on the recent studies on these issues. Our studies suggest that the inflectional categories display universal features and its own peculiarities. They are universal in that the basic function of these categories fits into what had been observed in general theory on these subjects. They are unique in having distinctive features that differ from the observations made in the typological studies on the subjects.

The non-finite verbs, converbs and verbal noun and auxiliary verbs are discussed in chapter three. In the section on converbs, after outlining the general features of converbs based on the previous studies on Mongolian and on the other similar languages, we divide converbs into two types: contextual and specialized converbs or same-subject and varying subject converbs. Under the contextual category, we include four different converb suffixes. The specialized converbs are varying-subject converbs and they express the particular circumstantial meanings related to such meanings as anteriority, posteriority, condition, concession, succession, and purpose etc.

There are four contextual converbs in Mongolian formed from the suffixes, -\text{jui}/-\text{cu}, -n, -\text{yad}/-\text{ged}, and -\text{yayar}/-\text{gseger}, respectively and all four express anteriority in the subordinate clause; the converbs formed from the former three suffixes also express non-temporal meanings like simultaneity and manner. In the past, the converbs with the suffixes, -\text{jui}/-\text{cu}, -n, and -\text{yad}/-\text{ged} are treated as three different converbs with a distinctive use. The result of our studies show, however, that there is some degree of
overlap among them in use and meaning. All three, for example, are capable of being used in the subordinate clause to indicate simultaneous and anterior situations that accompany the superordinate clause and the manner in which the main clause situation takes place. Yet, they are not exactly the same type of converbs. For instance, as the examples (18-22) in the chapter three show, they differ somewhat in different contexts. Their similarities and differences are yet to be fully determined but our analysis shows that for expressing simultaneity and anteriority in the subordinate clause it is not converbs with -n but converbs with -ju/-ču and -γad/-ged are used. In the preverb position, converbs in -ju/-ču expresses simultaneity, while the other two signal manner. In the subordinate clause, on the other hand, whereas converbs in -n expresses manner, the other two indicate either simultaneity or anteriority.

The verb formed from -γság/-gseger has a special use indicating a gradually developing situation that causes the next situation to happen or to indicate the immediate anterior situation that is a condition for carrying out the next situation. Another special use of -γság/-gseger is its repetition to emphasize the durative or persistent situation and sometimes, this suffix can even be used as a finite verb form for expressing aspect.

Specialized converbs in Mongolian are associated with a special circumstantial meaning and each of them has one of such circumstantial meanings as anteriority, posteriority, condition, successive, and concessive.

In the section on verbal nouns, we discuss five verbal noun suffixes. Since we consider the finite use of some verbal noun suffixes and their periphrastic uses in the following chapters, the basic characteristics of these verbal nouns is our concern in this section. The verbal noun is a special form of verb that bears many properties of both verb and noun and the most characteristic feature is its use as a finite verb form, by itself or with auxiliary verbs, to indicate either tense or aspectual meanings.
Auxiliary verbs, presented in the last section of this chapter, are a group of verbs in Mongolian which in some circumstances function as an auxiliary; as auxiliaries they express mostly the meanings associated with tense, aspect, and mood. There are two types: copular auxiliary and quasi-auxiliary. Two copular auxiliaries, bayi- and bol- are used after nonfinite verb forms to mark tense and aspectual meanings. In comparison, the former is used much more frequently than the latter and the combination of bayi- and converbs or verbal noun suffixes is a major source of aspectual expressions in Mongolian.

The quasi-auxiliary verbs, being special uses of full verbs, in most cases have a grammatical meaning closely related to their original lexical meaning. They can be subdivided into two groups according to their similarities. Those in the first group express tense or aspect meanings and those in the second express mood or modality. Also some of these quasi-auxiliary verbs are highly grammaticalized and are often used to function as aspectual markers.

Chapter four covers tense categories in Mongolian. Tense is generally understood as the element that indicates the time of an event in relation to some particular time, such as the moment of the speech time or some other reference time. Typically, tense makes a three way distinction: past, present, and future. Although there is little problem for expressing a distinction between three tenses, the difference between present and future tenses is not made overtly in Mongolian because they are indicated by the same morpheme, -na/-ne. For this reason, we have proposed to divide tense in Mongolian into a two way split, between the non-past and the past. However, there is a distinction between present tense and future tense in Mongolian, because there is clearly a conceptual distinction between present and future and there is in fact little confusion between expression of what happens at the moment of the speech act and that indicating what is going to happen after the moment of the speech act. The ambiguous status of
-na/-ne can be observed by looking at the context in which it is used or the inherent meaning of verbs to which it is attached in the majority of the cases. For instance, based on discussion in chapter two, this suffix refers to the present only in contexts which establish the present time reference and when it is used with verbs of the stative type. It refers to the future in contexts which establish future time reference and also when it is used with some activity verbs, especially verbs like yabu- (go), ire- (come), oči- (go there) and boča- (return).

Furthermore it is clear that the temporal range of -na/-ne is much wider than just present and future times; it has such senses as timeless fact, gnomic situation, and habitual action. It appears to me that it is hard to apply a single definition to the function of this morpheme, instead it is a dynamic element whose proper meaning is understood in the proper context. This suggests that this form expresses non-specific or general time and that when it expresses specific time it does so only with the support of context either external or internal to the sentence.

Beside -na/-ne, there is another so-called present form, -qu/-kū, which is usually identified as verbal noun suffix, being used as the non-past indicator in Mongolian. Even though further investigation is needed to determine the exact place of this suffix, it is necessary to mention it among tense expressions because in most cases it replaces -na/-ne in the question and in negation.

The past tense indicates a situation which occurs prior to the moment of the speech time. This meaning may be exhibited by several different morphemes in Mongolian. The question of why Mongolian has different forms for the past tense has always interested scholars. All past tense markers are equally capable of representing the event time prior to the moment of the speech act, i.e., a past tense, and we conclude that semantic distinctions between these suffixes are not practical. After examining certain
instances, we feel that the difference between these suffix lies in their programmatic use in the language. We have reached the following conclusions:

The -ba/-be suffix is not used as often as the others in spoken language, but it is more frequent in the narrative with the first person subject and in the question. In questions, it contrasts with the others by implying the speaker’s intention of being polite or the speaker’s knowledge about what he is asking. In addition, it has an extra use for indicating that something may happen in the future and thus it can indicate a speaker’s feeling of doubt or apprehension.

The ğai/-čai suffix is most frequently used to refer to the past in the declarative sentence and it is usually not used in the question or negation. In terms of extra meanings, -ğai/-čai is less active but it is used for referring to specific information about the past event. Sometimes, it can suggest an event that happened some time ago, which comes to the realization of speaker at the moment of speech.

The -la/-le suffix has a close relationship with the inherent semantic meaning of the verb to which it is attached and with stative verbs, it expresses a past, while with active verbs, it has a future meaning. It is, sometimes, used for expressing the recent past and a past event accomplished for a certain purpose.

The -γsan/-gsen suffix is originally a verbal noun suffix and becomes more and more frequent in the present-day Mongolian for referring to a past event. Its major use is in interrogative and negative sentences. When it is used in the statement, it differs from the other past tense markers by indicating some uncertainty about the past situation.

Chapter five is a discussion of aspect and mood in Mongolian. Although there is no salient inflectional morpheme for marking either the opposition of perfective and imperfective aspects or the perfect, the subclasses of imperfective and perfect are
represented by certain items in Mongolian. Our observation shows that at least the following five aspectual categories exist in Mongolian: perfect, progressive, habitual, continuative, and inceptive. They are mostly exhibited by a morpheme developed from the non-finite verbal suffix or the sequence of nonfinite verbal suffixes followed by the auxiliary, bayi-.

The perfect is regarded as a special aspect relating some state to a preceding situation instead of representing the internal temporal constitution of a situation. The perfect in Mongolian is expressed by the following three structures, -čiqajai/-čikejai or the sequence of -γad/-ged or -γsan/-gsen with the auxiliary, bayi- ‘to be’ plus a tense suffix. In general, these three expressions all have similar meaning, i.e. to refer to the perfect, but they differ in a certain degree in their style and semantic meaning. The -čiqajai/-čikejai suffix, for instance, is more often found in normal speech while the latter two occur in more formal speech. Semantically, they also make some difference. The construction -γad/-ged plus bayi-, for instance, has a resultative meaning, i.e. the perfect of result and the -čiqajai/-čikejai suffix has something to do with the resultative and completive meanings. The construction -γsan/-gsen plus bayi-, on the other hand, lacks these meanings and it can be regarded as a regular perfect. Furthermore, the -čiqajai/-čikejai suffix conveys the completive action with emphasis or surprise value.

The progressive aspect is expressed by the sequence -ju/-ču and bayi- and often, these two are pronounced as a reduced form -čæn. Our analysis shows, although the progressive is expressed by the combination of -ju/-ču and bayi-, the progressive meaning has most likely something to do with the lexical meaning of bayi- ‘to stay or to be at’, because, according to Heine (1993), a verb expressing location develops the progressive meaning in many languages. In Mongolian, the verbs expressing location, like bayi- and sayu- ‘to sit, to stay’ are often used interchangeably to indicate the progressive aspect (see the examples in (15) in the chapter five). Another peculiarity of the Mongolian
progressive expression is its use with both stative and non-stative verbs while in some other languages, the progressive form is typically used with the non-stative verb.

The habitual aspect is expressed by either -day/-deg or the structure made up of the -day/-deg suffix and the auxiliary verbs, bayi- or bol-. -day/-deg is originally a verbal noun suffix but it becomes a regular suffix for expressing a habitual aspect in modern Mongolian. Sometimes, the past and present of the habitual aspect are distinguished by use of different tense suffixes attached to the auxiliary verbs.

The continuative aspect is expressed by the combination of -yad/-ged or -yasar/-gseger and the auxiliary verb bayi-. Although these two forms also express the perfect, their distinction between perfect and continuative is usually derived from the contexts; sometimes in the case of -yad/-ged plus bayi- it is made clear by the reduced pronunciation, 'a da:n'. The distinction between -yad/-ged and -yasar/-gseger is that the former expresses continuity in the sense of the repetition, e.g. continually repeating over a long period of time, while -yasar/-gseger lacks the repetitive sense and it refers to the action or event that continues through a long period of time without any interruption.

The inceptive is regarded as indicating the beginning of a situation, or entrance into a state. It is marked by two elements in Mongolian, the construction of -mar/-mer plus auxiliary bayi-. The -mar/-mer suffix may occur, though less commonly, with bol- but it is allowed only when the past tense suffix -la/-le is attached to it.

In Mongolian there is a wide variety of quasi-auxiliary verbs that function as aspectual markers and the aspectual meaning of these auxiliary verbs is closely associated with their lexical meaning. We have classified them into three groups according to their lexical and aspectual meanings. The first group of them, including ekle-, 'to start', oci-, 'to go', and oro-, 'to enter', has a meaning related to the starting point of a situation and they denote the inceptive or ingressive aspect. The second group include the verbs, sayu-,
‘to sit’, yabu-, ‘to walk’, and ire-, ‘to come’ and they indicate the continuation of a situation and thus, their aspectual meanings are mostly related to the continuative and durative. The third set of the auxiliaries, including bara-, ‘to exhaust, to terminate’, dayusa-, ‘to finish or stop’, orki-, ‘to abandon’, and ab-, ‘to take’, indicate the endpoint of a situation. They have the sense of “to finish or stop doing something” and thus their aspectual meanings are related to the perfective or terminative aspect.

The second part of chapter five is concerned with mood and modality expressed by verb morphology in Mongolian. In this section, after addressing the basic issue of what mood and modality are, we outlined the problem related to the classification of mood categories and gave our classification used in this study. Then, we discussed the five mood categories in Mongolian and their expressions with detailed examples.

Mood expressed by verbal morphology in Mongolian belongs to what Palmer (1988) calls deontic modality or what Bybee et al. (1995) calls speaker-oriented modality and it can be classified into imperative, optative, hortative, permissive, and admonitive, five different categories. All these moods have a close tie with person. The imperative, hortative, and admonitive are, for instance, mostly used with the second person subject and permissive is used with the third person subject. The optative, on the other hand, can be used with the first and third personal subjects, but it has a separate suffix for each of the different persons. Aside from these personal distinctions, the mood categories have no a single core meaning, but meanings that vary according to context. And thus the full account of mood needs more data than what we can present in this thesis. It is necessary to include also the other means of expressing mood such as modal particles and auxiliary verbs with mood meaning for a more detailed description.

Chapter six is concerned with voice and causative constructions in Mongolian. In the section on voice, we discussed how the Mongolian voice system fits into the
prototypical voice system and looked at the two marked voice, passive and reciprocal, in contrast with their active counterparts. We have divided voice suffixes into two broad types, passive and reciprocal voices. Although the passive structure in Mongolian resembles the prototypical passive in the other languages, the use of passive is restricted in certain ways and has special uses in Mongolian. First, under normal circumstances, when the agent, the performer of the action, has full control or more control than the patient, the undergoer of the action, the passive form is not acceptable. Secondly, perhaps, the most common use of passive construction is the agent-defocusing function, that is, the passive construction used when the agent, though assumed to be functioning, is not identified because it is unknown or unimportant. Finally, the passive construction seems frequently used to express occurrences or states that spontaneously obtain without the intervention of an agent.

By reciprocal voice, we mean a mutual action being carried out by two or more participants either to each other or jointly with one another. In a typical reciprocal situation each participant plays two roles, both actor and patient in the event. If the action is being carried out by two participants, it is referred as a typical reciprocal situation and if the event is carried out by more than two participants, it is regarded as a collective situation. The former is expressed by two suffixes, -lɗu-/lɗu- or -lɛa-/lɛe-, while the latter is expressed by the above two suffixes and also by -jɑŋa/-čɑŋa-. The distinction between these suffixes is that while the former two are used to express the reciprocal and collective situation, the latter most often expresses the distributive situation though it can have a meaning of collective situation as well. A distributive situation is one in which more than two participants are separately involved without collaborating with each other. A distinction between collective and distributive is that although both have the multiple participants in the situation, in the collective situation the participants carry out the action in cooperation with each other as a group whereas in the
distributive situation the individual role of the participants in the same action is emphasized.

Although the causative is not formally recognized as a voice category, we have considered it together with voice because voice and the causative generally concern special or altered functions of the agent or the agent and patient. We have examined the causative construction in Mongolian from several different aspects. First, based on the previous studies, we have determined the underlying structure of the causative construction as containing the matrix and embedded sentences. The subject of the embedded sentence, what we have called the embedded subject or the causee, occupies various syntactic position depending upon the transitivity of the verb and also the arguments of the verb. Usually, it occurs in one of direct, indirect, or other oblique position. When more arguments are involved, the position of the causee becomes more complex and it further complicates the relationship of the causer and causee. In some cases, it is possible to determine their relation by looking at the case suffixes or possessive-reflective suffixes attached to the causee or to the other arguments.

From our preliminary investigation, the semantics of the causative also shows some complexity because of the different case suffixes that mark the embedded subject. The causative where the accusative case is attached to the causee sounds more direct than those in which other cases are used. The situation becomes more complicated in some other cases when the causer and causee no longer have the causes/makes relationship, but are the supplier and beneficiary.

Another common feature of the causative construction is its being used with the passive and reciprocal voice suffixes. Their combination has a pattern of either the voice suffix followed by causative or vice versa.
This dissertation touches upon many aspects of Mongolian verb morphology but has concentrated on certain key areas of verb morphology and provided detailed descriptions of the characteristics of both derivational and inflectional morphemes. Therefore the dissertation covers a wider range of topics than one finds in most of the current literature and extends and deepens the analysis of issues concerning Mongolian verb morphology. However the study is still far from being exhaustive. Several areas need further expansion, for instance, the meaning and function of the combination of verbal nouns and various case suffixes, the relationship between converbs and main verbs, and the grammatical meanings of auxiliary verbs. In our further research, we intend to cover these issues and extend the study of the key areas, such as tense, aspect, and mood as well. It is our hope that this dissertation has added important detail to the existing literature on Mongolian verb morphology and has encouraged further studies on the subject. We hope as well that the details of the Mongolian verb provided here will bring useful data to morphological studies in general.
REFERENCES


