

**A COGNITIVE APPROACH TO EVENT STRUCTURES
IN MIDDLE MONGOLIAN BASED ON THE CORPUS
“THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS”**

Inauguraldissertation

zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades der Philosophie
an der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München



vorgelegt von

Enkhmaa Narmandakh

aus Ulaanbaatar

2018

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GRAMMATICAL TERMS AND SYMBOLS

/	relator (non-dynamic)	DIST	distal deixis
[...]	notes or additions	DS	different subject
'...'	corresponding meaning	DUB	dubitative
"..."	quotation, title, discussed object	E	effect
>	derivation to	EI	event image
→	relator (dynamic)	EI _{CX}	event image complex
→', /'	subordination	EMPH	emphatic
1	first person	EXC	exclusive
1H	first-hand	F	feminine, figure
2	second person	FAC	factitive
2H	non-first-hand	FOC	focus
3	third person	FOC.DL	delimitative focus
A	agentive	G	ground
ABL	ablative	GEN	genitive
ACC	accusative	GN	generic
ANIM	animate	GR	grammatical relation
AO	agentive objective, embedded agentive	HUM	human
AR	adjectivizer	IA	indirect agentive
ATTR	attributive	ID	identity-related attributive
AUX	auxiliary	IMP	imperative
AVC	auxiliary verb construction	INC	inclusive
BEN	benedictive	INS	instrumental
C	converbalizer, cause	IO	indirect objective
C.ABT	abtemporal verbalizer	IS	indirect subjective
C.COND	conditional verbalizer	LM	landmark
C.FIN	final verbalizer	LOC	locative
C.IPFV	imperfective verbalizer	M	masculine
C.MOD	modal verbalizer	MAT	matrix
C.PFV	perfective verbalizer	MODIF	modifier
C.PREP	preparative verbalizer	N	neuter
C.TERM	terminal verbalizer	N.PST	nonpast
CAUS	causative	NEG	negator
CC	converb construction	NEG.EX	negative existence
CN	collective numeral	NOM	nominative
CO	cooperative	NP	noun phrase
COM	comitative	NR	nominalizer
CONC	concessive	O	objective
COP	copula	∅	zero
D	deductive	OBL	oblique
DAT	dative	OI	object image
DAT.LOC	dative locative	OPT	optative
DIM	diminutive	ORN	ornative
		P	participilizer

P.IPFV	imperfective participilizer	SAP	speech act participant
P.PFV	perfective participilizer	SEC	secondary
PASS	passivizer	SG	singular
PG	progressive	SO	subjective objective, embedded subjective
PL	pluralizer	SS	same subject
POS	parts of speech	SUB	subordination
POSS	possessivizer	SVC	serial verb construction
PRES	present tense	TAMC	time, aspect, modality, certainty
PRIM	primary	TR	trajector
PROH	prohibitive	V _C	causative verb
PROX	proximal deixis	V _{CP}	passivated causative verb
PST	past tense	V _I	intransitive verb
Q	question marker	VOL	voluntative
ℜ	referential unit	VP	verb phrase
REC	reciprocal	VR	verbalizer
REL	relator	V _{TR}	transitive verb
S	subjective		

FRAMEWORK

GSS Grammar of Scenes and Scenarios

SIGLA

FWC Translation Francis Woodman Cleaves 1982
IDR Translation Igor de Rachewiltz 2004
SHM The Secret History of the Mongols
UO Translation Urgunge Onon 2011

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Of course, only I am responsible for all remaining errors and infelicities.

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2 STRUCTURE OF THE WORK

This work is structured as follows: first, it gives a short introduction to the Mongolic languages with some general linguistic remarks. After an outline of the basic assumptions for the Theoretical Framework in Chapter 3 including the current state of research on Mongolic languages and especially investigations on “The Secret History of the Mongols” (hereafter SHM) and its Narrative Structure and Geographical Setting and Methodology in Chapter 4, the first thematic focus deals with “Basic Typology of Verb Formation” in Middle Mongolian in Chapter 5. In this context word formation techniques and verb morphology are analyzed systematically considering their prototypical markers and their frequency in SHM. Suffix organization in suffix chains is discussed in its formal and functional aspects. Basically, the verb formation series can be classified into three derivational phases. The first derivational phase involves morphemes of morphogenesis, resulting in roots of verbal strains. The second derivational phase involves morphemes such as factitives, causatives, passives and reciprocals/cooperatives. Their function is to change the scene structure. In the third derivational phase, morphemes from the categories of time, aspect, modality, and certainty are added to the verbal suffix series. I also discuss the distinction between primary linguistic categories like “noun” and “verb” and their parameters, which is important in terms of the Middle Mongolian verb and its formation.

After dealing with the formal and structural morphosyntax of verbs, I will discuss the “simple clause” as the basic utterance of knowledge expressing a simple scene. Here, I will show that the simple clause is as a schematic construction in which the prototypical grammatical relations are related to each other. In this relational structure, cases as “relational values” play an important role in the dependency between the related actants. Causative constructions are discussed as “extended simple clauses”. All clause types as schematic constructions are discussed in terms of the “Grammar of Scenes and Scenarios” and cognitive-typological approaches. Basic assumptions about the verb, simple clause and narration are also made in Chapter 3 and 4 which is significant for Chapter 6.

In Chapter 7, phrase types like the NP, (periphrastic) VP and verb chain are investigated, considering the semantic relationship of dependency and the functions of auxiliaries. In that context, switch-reference such as same and different subjectivity will be discussed. Here, it is also important to ask why existential verbs like *bü/-bö-*, *a-*, *bayyi-* function as supporting verbs. Backgrounding questions are: How can this be explained from a semantic or cognitive point of view? How can the core or head of the verbal phrase be defined in this constellation of a verb chain? At the end of this chapter, all VPs found in the corpus data are represented. Within this Chapter, I will deal with the question of complex sentences and the relationship between matrix and subordinated clause structures. At the end of the work, a list of all verbs occurring in the SHM with the corresponding meanings in English can be found.

3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this section I would like to briefly explain the primarily verb-related theoretical starting points my research is based on. More detailed discussion can be found in the corresponding chapters.

3.1 General Remarks on Mongolic

Certainly, one cannot present all the typological peculiarities of Mongolian in a comprehensive way. Nevertheless, there are assumptions made about Mongolic languages. The term “Middle Mongolian” is a cover term for the language of several sources that has arisen between the early 13th and the late 16th centuries in the context of the medieval Mongol Federation (cf. Poppe 2006: 1). The data from the SHM as the most comprehensive representation of Middle Mongolian is traced back to the 13th century. Like modern Mongolic languages, Middle Mongolian is a strong suffix-agglutinative language that has a relatively extensive case system and can be classified as a “dependent-marking type” (cf. Nichols 1986). Unlike some current Mongolic languages, there is some agreement-like phenomenon consisting of gender and number marking suffixes in the verbal morphology (cf. Street 2008 and 2009; see “Basic Typology of the Verb Formation” in Chapter 5). Attributive and modifying elements precede their head in the phrasal structure and Mongolian is thus characterized by its left-branching syntax. Of typological relevance is the syntax of subordinate sentences, which is characterized by variance in the case marking of the subordinate subjectives and agentives. According to the word order, Middle Mongolian is attributable to the relatively rigid SLOCV or AOV-type, although the variants LOCVS and OVA appear in certain cases such as in (in)direct speech.¹

The current Mongolic languages form a language family of about 14 closely related languages with about 8 million speakers in Asia, above all in Mongolia, China and Russia, and occasionally also in Afghanistan (cf. Kausen 2013: 487). The current Mongolic languages are divided into a northern Mongolic branch including Khamnigan (see Janhunen 2003: 83; Janhunen 2005), Buryat (see Skribnik 2003: 102; Poppe 1960), Dagur (see Tsumagari 2003: 129), a western Mongolic branch including Kalmuck (see Bläsing 2003: 229) and a southern Mongolic branch comprising Ordos (Georg 2003b: 193), Shira Yughur (see Nugteren 2003: 265, 2011), Oirat (see Birtalan 2003: 210), Mongghul (see Georg 2003a: 286) Mangghuer (see Slater 2003: 307), Bonan (see Hugjiltu 2003: 325) and Santa (see Kim 2003: 346) and an almost extinct language Moghol² in Afghanistan (cf. Weiers 2003: 248, 1977). Kausen (2013: 488–489) summarizes:

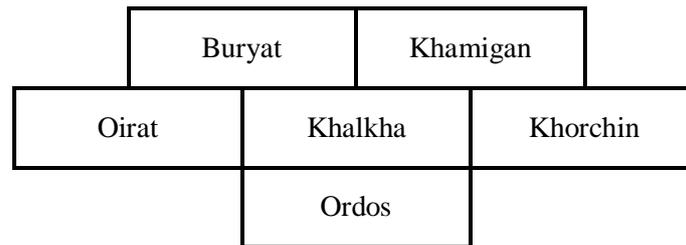
- Northeastern Mongolic: Dagur
- Northern Mongolic: Buryat, Khamnigan
- Central Mongolic: Mongolian (Khalkha), Ordos
- Western Mongolic: Oirat, Kalmuck

¹ In traditional terms, SOV, OVS in (in)direct speech (see “Simple Clauses” in Chapter 6.2).

² By virtue of their geographical isolation and smaller number of current speakers of Moghol (perhaps actually extinct) in Afghanistan, Kalmuck on the Caspian Sea, Dagur in Inner Mongolia – an autonomous region of China – Heilongjiang, Xinjiang in China, and the southern Mongolic languages such as Shira Yughur, Mongghul, Mangghuer, Bonan, Santa in Gansu, Qinghai can be counted as endangered languages (cf. Kausen 2013: 489).

- Southern Mongolic: Shira Yughur, Mongghul, Mangghuer, Bonan, Santa, Kangjia
- Peripheral Mongolic: Moghol

Due to the geographical situation the official language of the Republic of Mongolia, Khalkha, is often identified simply as “Modern Mongolian” (cf. Svantesson 2003: 154). Khalkha is also one of the central dialects within the “Common Mongolic” branch. Janhunen divides Mongolic languages into six main entities. Each of these is subcategorized into several local dialects and subdialects because “for the definition and delimitation of the Mongolian language, the branch of the most immediate relevance is Common Mongolic” (Janhunen 2012: 4):



Khalkha is driven forward in current linguistic research in categories such as evidentiality in the frame of time, aspect, modality investigated by Brosig & Skribnik (2017). Early investigations on verb conjugation in Khalkha were done by Ramstedt (1902) and on grammar by Poppe (1951, 2006) and on past tenses by Binnick (2012), among others, which are significant contributions to the Mongolic Linguistic Studies.

Considering the language of the SHM one can assume a common intelligible language among the various tribes, such as Naiman or Kereit through the ethnic and political (re)unification during the Mongol Empire period around the beginning of the 13th century by Činggis Qahan and his sons. This period can be understood as Late Pre-Proto-Mongolic according to Janhunen’s periodization of Mongolic. He points out: “Prior to the time of Činggis Qahan, the speech of the ancient Mongols may be assumed to have been a conglomeration of geographically dispersed tribal idioms, including those of the Naiman, the Kereit, the Mongols proper, and others. These tribal idioms seem to have been mutually intelligible, and they may therefore be classified as dialects of Late Pre-Proto-Mongolic.” (Janhunen 2003: 2–3). Among the extant Mongolic languages, only Written Mongol gives us some direct information on the linguistic characteristics of Late Pre-Proto-Mongolic. Written Mongol is also likely to preserve traces extending beyond Proto-Mongolic and Pre-Proto-Mongolic tribes of the dialectal diversity that existed in both Proto-Mongolic and Pre-Proto-Mongolic tribes (cf. Janhunen 2003: 2–3). Because of the linguistic diversity and lively narrative, the SHM is one of the most important literary works in Mongolian language. Cleaves notes that it is “not only the capital monument of the thirteenth century Mongolian literature, but it is one of the great literary monuments of the world” (Cleaves 1982: XI). SHM can thus be considered the most important data source providing coherent knowledge of Middle Mongolian. The present investigation on “Verbs” in Middle Mongolian aims to incorporate traditional grammar into the current cognitive-semantic investigations on the basis of data from the time limited corpus SHM as a representation of knowledge of one or more anonymous authors.

3.2 The Secret History of the Mongols

It is agreed among researchers (de Rachewiltz 1972, 2004; Cleaves 1982; Choimaa 2002, 2014; Ozawa 2002; among others) that the “The Secret History of the Mongols” is one of the scientifically relevant works in terms of Mongolian and World History for the period around the Middle Ages, not only because it represents a Mongolic language as the earliest comprehensive testimonies of nomadic peoples in Eurasia and its political administration. The SHM, whose author remains unknown, tells also of Mongolian ancestor worship, lifestyle, history, culture and way of life of nomadism partly in epic form. The original work is dated to the time of Činggis Qahan’s son Ögedei and therefore around 1240 (cf. Haenisch 1948: III).

The sources have not been completely clarified, e.g. the question of whether several versions of a text exist or not. According to Cleaves (1982: xvii-xix) and Taube (2005: 274–299) there may have been several parallel manuscripts of the original Mongolian text, which had great similarities. The first manuscript was written in vertical Uighur script (cf. de Rachewiltz 2004: xxvi and xli).

Although it is neither the aim of this work nor possible to mention comprehensively all the publications related to SHM, I would like to point out some of the works which are linguistically significant for the present research. The most current summary edition under the title “The Secret History of the Mongols in the World” (Bayarsaikhan et al. 2016) provides an introductory overview of local and international publications devoted to SHM. The represented investigations show the significant role of the document SHM not only in Mongolian society, but also in international scholarship due to its historical importance.

The text was for the first time translated into German by the sinologist Haenisch in 1931 *Untersuchungen über das Yüan Ch’ao Pi-Shi: Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*. This translation made the SHM for the first time accessible to a wider range of researchers, especially in Germany. Therefore, his work is considered one of the most important studies of SHM. After some copies of the translation of the SHM were destroyed during World War II, Haenisch republished it in 1948. Haenisch (1948: IX) points out that “In terms of content, the work has a very high significance: it not only offers the oldest, but also the only authentic Mongolian tradition from the time of the founding of the empire”. On this basis, Taube (2005) has redrafted the text from Mongolian to German and published it with a detailed epilogue. Taube’s translation in 1989 (republished in 2005) was the second one in German language. It was written in a colloquial, contemporary German whereas Haenisch’s German translation was published in fracture script. He also provides comprehensive comments on the SHM related studies including a map of the genealogy of the Mongols and a map of Činggis Qahans conquests. A more international audience has been gained through the translation of Cleaves (1982) and de Rachewiltz (2004). The first full Old English translation of the SHM was accomplished by Cleaves in 1982. It also includes an index of all names cited, an index of Mongolian terms, and additional remarks. Cleaves’s translation of SHM was used as the main source along with other translations in English and French (cf. Bayarsaikhan et al. 2016: 100). The translation of SHM by de Rachewiltz in 2004 includes maps, table, a comprehensive introduction and commentary. His comments include explanatory aspects reflecting

Mongolian culture. Another translation of the SHM into English was completed by Onon in 1990 and 2011.

Ligeti's transcription into Latin script titled *Histoire secrète des Mongols* in 1971 was an important contribution by making the SHM accessible to worldwide studies. It is structured in twelve chapters and a commentary based on the *Yuan-chao-mi-shi* (元朝秘史) by Ye Dehui (叶德辉) from 1908 (cf. Bayarsaikhan et al. 2016: 77; “Ye Tö-houei” Ligeti 1971: 11). It has an introduction in French, as well as a review of the investigations related to SHM. Street's dissertation entitled *The Language of the Secret History of the Mongols* in 1957 is one of the purely linguistically oriented investigations and covers phonology, morphophonemics, morphology, and syntax. It can be regarded as a descriptive grammar of the Middle Mongolian language from historical and comparative linguistic perspectives. Certainly Mostaert's comments on some passages in SHM *Sur quelques Passage de L'Histoire Secrète des Mongols* from 1952 are also a great contribution to the study of the language of the Middle Mongolian.

Among Mongolian researchers, numerous contributions related to SHM are made in Mongolian. Influential investigations are provided by Damdinsüren and Choimaa, among others. The publication *Mongγol-un niγuča tobčiy-a* by Damdinsürüng in 1947 was the first containing the full text of the SHM in Mongol script by making the text into modern Mongolian to be understood easier by the average reader. Choimaa's work *Монголын нууц товчоон, Лувсанданзаны Алтан товч* in 2002 is a comparative study of the SHM and *Altan Tobči*.³ In 2011 and 2014, Choimaa published the work by offering a new translation in Cyrillic Mongol of the SHM with insightful explanations on ancient vocabulary, and phrases.

The exact date of the creation of the work cannot be definitively stated. A passage in the text SHM § 282 in Ligeti (1971: 260) “[...] *quluqana jil quran sarada Keliüren-ü Köde'e-aral-un Dolo'an-boldaq-a Šilginček qoyar ja'ura ordos bawuju büqüi-tür bičijju dawusba*” indicates that the compilation of the work was completed in the year of the Rat and the month of the Roebuck which would correspond to the seventh month of the year 1228. This was the time of the Great Assembly at the place Dolo'an Boldaq of Koede'e Aral on the Kelüren [River] (cf. FWC 228; cf. UO 144). Haenisch (1948: III) dates it around 1240. Thus, the SHM must have been written between around 1228 and 1240, because these dates are noted in the scientific literature.⁴ More on detailed discussion about the place and date of composition is provided by de Rachewiltz (2004: xxix–xxxiv). The question of who the author of the text was and whether it was one person, or several persons is one of the considerable difficulties for SHM's analysts. Likewise, the question of where the author(s) got the information and whether he was an eyewitness to the story is difficult to answer from today's point of view (see Atwood 2016: 22). Nonetheless, the writer of the text is not necessarily at the same time the producer of the story. He could have been dictated or tasked to summarize what he or she was told. Several works have investigated this

³ *Altan Tobči* will be considered as one of the most important texts for the education of the SHM. The manuscript was discovered in 1926 in Bayan Tumen Sum in Eastern Mongolia. *Altan tobči* contains 233 almost exact paragraphs from the total of 282 paragraphs of the SHM (cf. Choimaa 2002: II–VI; see also Heissig 1989).

⁴ According to Zayabaatar, the majority of scholars of Mongol studies agree on the opinion that the first ten chapters were written in 1228 and the last two chapters in 1240 (cf. Bayarsaikhan et al. 2016: 25).

issue especially from a historical perspective in detail (see Cleaves 1982; de Rachewiltz 2004; Atwood 2016). In several places in the text, there are references that the author intervenes and gives some comments, e.g. in the scenario of the battle of Činggis Qahan and Ong Qan against the Tatars (§ 135), where he refers to *bidanu čeri'üt* ‘our troops, who found a small boy’. Such involvement of the narrator can be found as well in the paragraphs 110, 131, 135, 136, 142, 146, 154, 193, 155, 158, 165, 171, 172 and 193. The use of the first-person possessive plural *bidanu* ‘our’ can give us a hint that the narrator was someone who had been directly or indirectly involved in the events:

(1) SHM § 135

niken üčügen kö'ü-ken-i gēk-sen-i bidan-u čeri'ü-t nuntuq-ača ol-ju'ui
 one little son-DIM-ACC loose-P.PFV-ACC 1PL.INC.OBL-GEN troop-PL camp-ABL find-PST

‘our soldiers got (lit. found) [from the encampment] a little boy – [one] which [Tatar] had forsaken.’ (FWC 63, mod.)

Because of these indications it can be assumed that the narrator was a family member or a direct companion as he has detailed information about the house of the Qahans. The use of the pronoun of the first-person plural supports the linguistic argument of Choimaa (2011: 65)⁵ on the question, who could have written the text or been made to write the text.⁶ Choimaa (1994) presumes *Father Mönqlik* as the storyteller who was the son of Čaraqa of the Qongqotat, a faithful official of Činggis’ father, Yisügei Ba’atur, who is regarded by some as the man who married Ho’elun after her husband’s death (see de Rachewiltz 2004: xxxviii-xxxix). Another candidate as a possible author of the text is *Šigi Qutugtu* (1180–1260)⁷ since he was one of his closest confidants and a family member as the adopted son of Činggis Qahan. In addition, he held positions in the administration and army which is why de Rachewiltz 2004 sees him as a potential author of the text due to his personality and career. Lubsandorj (2014) suggests that the author of the SHM is *Chingshiihen-Qutuy*, who was an orphan raised in Činggis Qahan’s home.

A further indication of the involvement of the author could be the reporting of his own and remembered experiences in the scenes told. The linguistic expression of the corresponding event images represents knowledge from their own experience/memory or a narration by someone else. For instance, information about the genealogy over several generations and also the comprehensive description of the ruling family leads to the conclusion that the language constructor or narrator must be either a family member or close allies of the court.

(2) SHM § 60–61

Yisügei-ba'atur-un Hö'elün üjin-eče
 Yisügei-ba'atur-GEN Hö'elün noble-ABL

⁵ Choimaa 2011: 65 comments on the passage § 114 and the used *bidanu* ‘our’: “Энд өгүүлсэн «бидний» хэмээх нь зохиогчийн үг буй. «МНТ»-д «бид» хэмээх үгийн хэлбэр цөөнгүй удаа зохиогчийн үгэнд гардаг.” [translation: The “bidnii” used here is the author’s word. In SHM, the forms of “bid” are not few.]

⁶ However, it can also be a ‘social us’, where the speaker does not necessarily have to be part of the experience. (cf. *our soccer team has won!*).

⁷ For more information about the person *Šigi Qutugtu* see Ratchnevsky 1993: 75–94.

Temüjin Qasar Qači'un Temüge e-de dörben kö'ü-t töre-be
Temüjin Qasar Qači'un Temüge PROX-PL four son-PL bear-PST

Temülün nere-tei niken ökin töre-bi
Temülün name-ORN one girl bear-PST

Temüjin-ni yisün nasu-tu bü-küi-tür
Temüjin-ACC nine year-ORN be-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC

Joči-qasar dolo'an nasu-tu bü-le'e Qači'un-elči tabun nasu-tu bü-le'e
Joči-qasar seven year-ORN be-PST Qači'un-elči five year-ORN be-PST

Temüge-otčigin qunan bü-le'e Temülün ölege-tei bü-le'e
Temüge-otčigin three be-PST Temülün cradle-ORN be-PST

Yisügei-ba'atur Temüjin-ni yisün nasu-tu bü-küi-tür
Yisügei-ba'atur Temüjin-ACC nine year-ORN be-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC

Hö'elün eke-yin törgü-t Olqunu'ut irgen-tür
Hö'elün mother-GEN relative-PL Olqunu'ut people-DAT.LOC

naqaču-nar-ača in-ü öki quyu-su ke'e-n
uncle-PL-ABL 3SG.OBL-GEN girl ask-VOL say-C.MOD

Temüjin-ni abu-'at yorči-ba
Temüjin-ACC take-C.PFV set.out-PST

‘Yisügei Ba’atur had these four sons born of Lady Hö’elün: Temüjin, Qasar, Qači’un and Temüge. One daughter was [also] born, named Temülün. When Temüjin was nine years old, Joči Qasar was seven, Qači’un Elči was five, Temüge Otčigin was three, and Temülün was [still] in the cradle. When Temüjin was nine years old, Yisügei Ba’atur set out to go to the Olqunu’ut People, relatives of Mother Hö’elün, taking Temüjin with him and saying, “I shall ask his maternal uncles for a girl [in marriage for him].”’ (IDR 13, mod.)

Conclusively, the question of the authorship remains unclear and needs further discussion. The present work, however, does not aim to find out who the author is or from where he or she got the information. Rather, it attempts to reconstruct and shine a light on the structure of the textual knowledge from a cognitive-typological perspective based on existing linguistic data.

3.2.1 Narrative Structure and Data

The text SHM (29,396 word tokens) contains 282 scenarios, consisting of 8,647 simple scenes.⁸ The scenarios up to § 268 describe the life and rise of Činggis Qahan from his birth (probably 1162) until his death in 1227 (§ 268). In scenarios § 1–58, his ancestry and the origin of the Mongol tribes and clans are portrayed. The narration closes with §§ 269–281, the choice of Ögödei Qahan, Činggis Qahan’s third son, as his successor and his leadership (1229–41 AD). Thematically, the SHM is a presentation of Činggis Qahan’s lifetime including his private and official life, his military campaigns, his relationship with relatives, friends and allies as well as with his opponents and enemies. It is also about his idea of law and army organization, about moral issues such as loyalty and duties of chiefs and subjects. Likewise, the role of heaven and earth in human affairs and about the duties of humans towards

⁸ The text corpus is based on Ligeti 1971.

these powers is addressed. The relationship between the brothers and Ča’adai, who is the oldest son of Činggis Qahan, is discussed in the scenarios §§ 270–281, where the distribution of power between Ögödei Qahan and his brothers after the establishment of the Mongol empire by their father Činggis Qahan is covered. The narrative structure of the text corpus can be divided into 12 episodes, which are structured chronologically.

EPISODE ₁ Genealogy, Childhood of Temüjin (§§1-68)	EPISODE ₂ Youth of Temüjin (§§69-103)	EPISODE ₃ Destruction of Merkit, Temüjin become Činggis Qahan (§§104-126)	EPISODE ₄ Fight with Tayyiči’d and Ĵamuqa (§§127-147)	EPISODE ₅ Destruction of Tatar, Disharmony with Ong Qan (§§148-169)	EPISODE ₆ Extinction of Kereyit (§§170-185)
EPISODE ₇ Extinction of Ong Qan (§§186-197)	EPISODE ₈ Escape of Güčülük and the Defeat of Ĵamuqa (§§198-208)	EPISODE ₉ Establishment of Keşikten Military (§§209-229)	EPISODE ₁₀ Conquest of the Uiγud and forest people (§§230-246)	EPISODE ₁₁ Conquest of Kitat, Tangyut, Sarta’ul, Baqtat and Orusut People (§§247-264)	EPISODE ₁₂ Death of Činggis Qahan and Ögödei became Qahan (§§265-282)

Figure 1: Structure of Narrative in the “The Secret History of the Mongols”⁹

In the present work, it is assumed that the simple clause is regarded as a minimal unit of knowledge (cf. Schulze 2016: 10), represented by a linguistic utterance, and forms the basis of linguistic knowledge in a textual context. On this basic hypothesis, the simple clause constitutes the starting point for the analysis, in accordance with it being considered an essential basis of language research in the sense of the construction-based framework (cf. Goldberg 1995) and ‘Grammer of Scenes and Scenarios’ and RadEX (cf. Schulze 2012d). Following the hypothesis that the basic unit of linguistic practice is constituted by utterances as the signifiant of “event images”, it is argued that human beings perceive environmental stimuli only in terms of “event constructions” (cf. Schulze 2012a: 4). Goldberg understands the simple clause as a direct connection or reflection within the semantic structures of a scene: “Simple clause constructions are associated directly with semantic structures which reflect scenes basic to human experience” (Goldberg 1995: 5).

Besides the expressed linguistic knowledge, at the same time the conceptual sub-knowledge of the language producer is integrated into a superordinate or framing textual knowledge and thus can only be inferred from the co- and contextual environment. The co-textual surrounding, i.e. the text as a whole, can be divided into episodes which consist of scenarios with individual scenes, which are contextually related to each other in space and temporal coherence.

⁹ The episodes classification is based on the classification of Lubsandorj 2014.

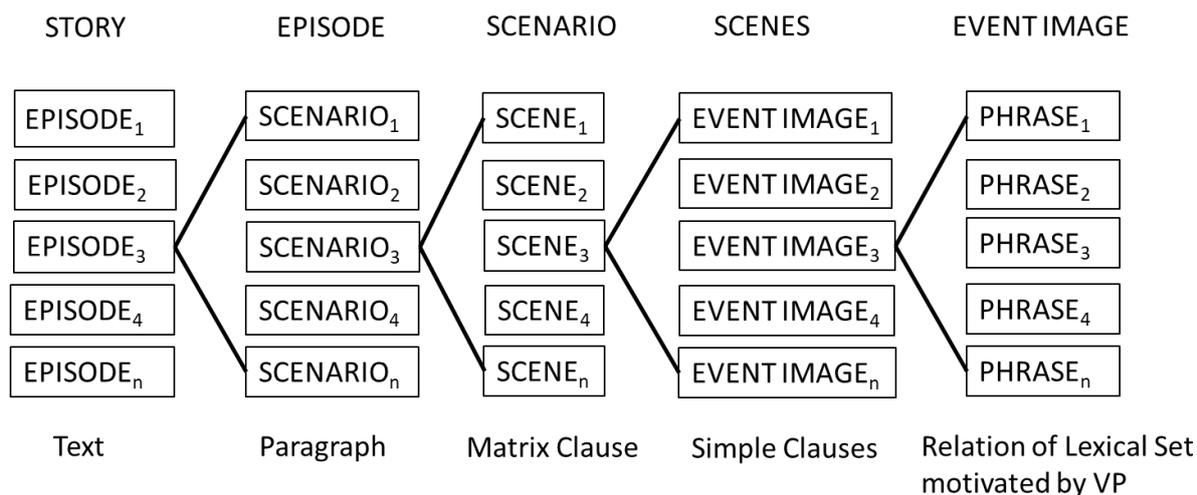


Figure 2: Integral Text Structure

Following Saussure’s assumption, each linguistic element forms a “sign linguistique” (de Saussure 1967: 147) containing a signifié and signifiant. The process of coupling signifiants with a signifié as a construction is a symbolic process which is one of the basic assumptions made within the Cognitive Linguistics (cf. Schulze 2017, 2018). This applies from the level of morphemes up to the whole text with respect to the scale of form and function complexity. Each language expression finds its semantics or functionality in the construction in which it is embedded up to the level of the whole text.

In this work, linguistic signs are used in constructions (forms/meaning-pairing) with different degrees of abstractness and complexity (cf. Goldberg 2005: 4). As shown in Figure 2, linguistic signs have a signifié which is aligned in its surrounding textual cotext. For example, the meaning of the phrases consisting of a lexical set can only be inferred from the relation to a simple clause whose meaning is driven from the more complex structure (matrix clause).

The text corpus SHM is created from a narration which is based on historical events. In its traditional narrative form, the SHM can be described as a prolonged text which represents important events for understanding the history. Certainly, the question arises whether the text was handed down verbally or in written form. However, the commonality between oral and written texts consists in their transmission character (cf. Gadamer 1993: 13). Considering this, there is no sharp distinction between oral and written text. In both ways, transmission of the construction of conceptual knowledge can take place. However, written text by itself does not fulfill the transmission of conceptual knowledge (cf. Gadamer 1993: 16). Linguistic constructions, whether they are expressed in oral or written form are ultimately data from phenomena resulting from the interaction of “producer-data-data perceiver” (cf. Schulze 2012d: 1). From today’s point of view, a story telling text is an approach or a medium for symbolizing the speech situation and the producer’s conceptual world. In the case of the SHM, it is a relation between present and past and can be found in particular in narrative types like prose, poetics and epics, among others.

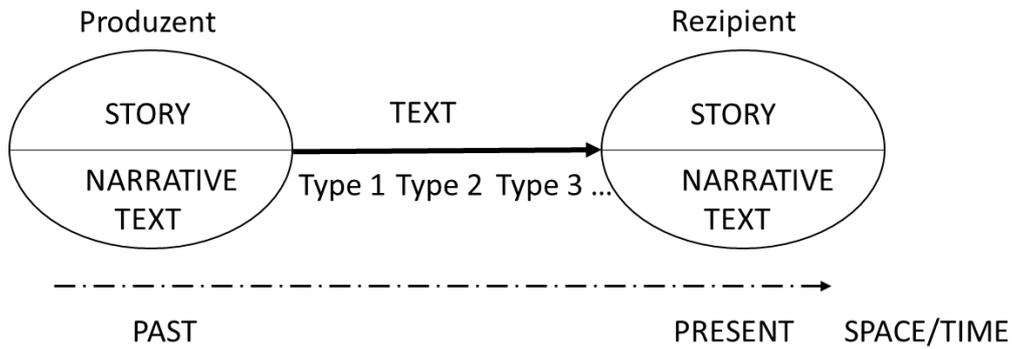


Figure 3: Transmission of the Past to Present through Text

In general, language production consists of routinized articulation sequences which are structurally coupled with cognitive processes. The routinization of these articulatory sequences is largely a learned system of elements based on episodic, encyclopedic, praxeological, situational, epistemic and embodiment caused experienced knowledge which reflects the collective knowledge system of a language community (cf. Schulze 2016: 7).

A text, making such knowledge aspects accessible, is characterized by a range of expression types. They are regarded as “semiotic units” with a particular set of “expression types” (Schulze 2016: 7 and 14). These types of expression are the “skeleton” of knowledge structures that are handed down and conventionalized. Their semantics depend on the text architecture, as well as on the types of actions and the involved participant of the actions (cf. Schulze 2016: 6). For example, in the motion-dominant scenes, structures such as S→LOC (see below on Chapter 6.2.2.1) are frequent, whereby historical places in the SHM serve as a guide for readers in the textual environment. Transitive event schemata such as A→O are often found in the battle scenes. After the throne occupation by Temüjin, becoming Činggis Qahan, causative construction structures such as A→AO, O and A→SO, LOC accumulate (see below Chapter 6.2.3 on relational schemata of event images).

In order to approach the text and its structure and property, I would like to introduce some text passages from SHM in the following sections to clarify the data sources. The narration SHM begins with the genealogy of Činggis Qahan (birth name Temüjin) as one of the main protagonists and the description of his ancestors:

(3) SHM § 1

Činggis qahan-nu huja'ur de'ere tenggeri-eče
 Činggis qahan-GEN origin above heaven-ABL

ĵaya'a-tu tore-ksen Börte-činō a-ĵu'u
 destiny-ORN bear-P.PFV blue.grey-wolf be-PST

gergei in-ü Qo'ai-maral a-ĵi'ai
 spouse 3SG.OBL-GEN fallow-doe be-PST

Tenggis ketül-jü ire-be
sea cross-C.IPFV come-PST

Onan-müren-nü teri'ün-e Burqan-qaldun-na
Onan-river-GEN head-DAT Burqan-qaldun-DAT

nuntuq-la-ju töre-ksen Batačiqan a-ju'u
camp-VR-C.IPFV bear-P.PFV Batačiqan be-PST

‘[At the beginning] there was a blue-grey wolf, born with his destiny [ordained] by Heaven Above.’ His spouse was a fallow doe. [They] came crossing the Tenggis. After they had settled at the source of the Onan River on [Mount] Burqan Qaldun, Batačiqan was born to them.’¹⁰ (IDR 1, mod.)

Characteristic of the genealogical description at the beginning of the text (§ 2–3), where ancestors of Temüjin over several generations are listed, is a non-dynamic relational schema of event image (*a-* ‘be, live’). The referents of this relation are proper names.

(4) SHM § 2–3

Batačiqan-nu kö'ün Tamača
Batačiqan-GEN son Tamača

Tamača-yin kö'ün Qoričar-mergen
Tamača-GEN son Qoričar-mergen

Qoričar-mergen-nü kö'ün A'užam-boro'ul
Qoričar-mergen-GEN son A'užam-boro'ul

A'užam-boro'ul-un kö'ün Sali-qača'u
A'užam-boro'ul-GEN son Sali-qača'u

Sali-qača'u-yin kö'ün Yeke-nidün
Sali-qača'u-GEN son Yeke-nidün

Yeke-nidün-nü kö'ün Sem-soči
Yeke-nidün-GEN son Sem-soči

Sem-soči-yin kö'ün Qarču
Sem-soči-GEN son Qarču

Qarču-yin kö'ün Borjigidai-mergen
Qarču-GEN son Borjigidai-mergen

Mongqol-jin-qo'a gergei-tü a-ju'u
Mongqol-jin-qo'a spouse-ORN be-PST

‘The son of Batačiqan was Tamača; the son of Tamača Qoričar Mergen; the son of Qoričar Mergen, A'užam Boro'ul; the son of A'užam Boro'ul, Sali Qača'u; the son of Sali Qača'u, Yeke Nidün; the son of Yeke Nidün, Sem Soči; the son of Sem Soči, Qarču. The son of Qarču, Borjigidai Mergen had as spouse Mongqoljin Qo'a.’ (IDR 1, mod.)

¹⁰ Cf. also the translation of this passage by Pelliot: « L'origine de Činggis-qahan est Börtä-Čino (« Le Loup... »), [venu] naître; du Ciel qui est en haut, par mandat [céleste]; l'épouse de celui-ci est Qo'aï-maral (« la Biche fauve ») ; il vint [ici] en traversant la Mer. Alors qu'il avait fixé son campement à la source du fleuve Onon, au [mont] Burqan-qaldun, il y eut, né [d'eux], Batačiqan » (Pelliot 1949: 121).

The text corpus SHM is chronologically constructed historical narrative (“continuous narrative” de Rachewiltz 2004: xxvii). The language of the text is performed in a simple prose narrative that is partially transformed into a poetry-like epic form to produce a more dramatic effect. This occurs, for example, in the description of Mother Hö’elün (§ 74), who is the mother of Temüjin and his brothers. Her bravery and virtues are described in many places within the text:

(5) SHM § 74

Hö’elün üjin eme mergen töre-ǰü
Hö’elün noble woman clever bear-C.IPFV

üčüge-t kö’ü-d-i-yen teǰi’e-rün
small-PL son-PL-ACC-POSS feed-C.PREP

uki-tala boqta-la-ǰu hōǰi-tala büse-le-ǰü
become.firm-C.FIN hat-VR-C.PREP hoist-C.FIN belt-VR-C.IPFV

Onan-müren ö’ede irada güyyi-ǰü
Onan-river up.to down run-C.IPFV

öli-sün moyil-sun temgü-ǰü üdür söni qo’olai teǰi’e-be
crab.apple-NR¹¹ bird.cherry-NR gather-C.IPFV day night gullet feed-PST

‘Lady Hö’elün was born
A clever woman
And she fed her small sons thus:
Pulling firmly her tall hat
Over her head,
Tying tightly her belt
To shorten her skirt,
Along the Onan River,
Running up and down,
She gathered crab apples and bird cherries.
Day and night she fed
Their [hungry] gullets.’ (IDR 18–19, mod.)

For the most part, the text retains a chronological structure. However, there are retrospective scenes which have already been narrated before to let the reader recall the characteristics of the protagonists or their history. This context resumption is used, for example, in the scene where Temüjin performs blood friendship with his friend Ĵamuqa (in mong. *anda ke’e-ldü*). The concept *anda ke’e-*, (lit. ‘say sworn friend’) appears 15 times in total. Based on the number of text documents¹² (§ 116), the development of

¹¹ The derivational morpheme NR with the function making from noun to noun was used productively in the Middle Mongolian (cf. Choimaa 2011: 35).

¹² Friendship was an important socio-political instrument of the prevailing social organization of the nomadic peoples and the administrative system. The epoch of the beginning of the 13th century in the Central Asian region is characterized by the dispersed peoples and their power relations, supported by strict hierarchical family structures. The childhood of Temüjin is characterized by the conflicts between his tribe and the surrounding ethnic groups (cf. Bold 2001: 94; Krader 1963).

the friendship between Temüjin and Jāmuqa (§§ 117, 118) and Yisügei and Ong qan of the Kere'it People (§§ 96, 151, 177, 201) is a central concept in the SHM:

(6) SHM § 116

Temüjin Jāmuqa qoyar Qorqonaq-ǰubur-a neyile-n bawu-ǰu
 Temüjin Jāmuqa two Qorqonaq-valley-DAT join-C.MOD set.up-C.IPFV

erten-ü anda bolu-lča-qsan-i-yan duradu-lča-n
 early-GEN sworn.friend become-CO-P.PFV-ACC-POSS invoke-CO-C.MOD

anda tungqu-ldu-ǰu amara-ldu-ya ke'e-ldü-bei
 sworn.friend renew-REC-C.IPFV love-REC-VOL say-REC-PST

anqa urid-a anda bolu-lča-run
 first front-DAT sworn.friend become-CO-C.PREP

Temüjin harban niken nasu-tu bü-küi-tür
 Temüjin ten one year-ORN be-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC

Jāmuqa quraltuq ši'a Temüjin-ne ök-čü
 Jāmuqa roebuck knucklebone Temüjin-DAT give-C.IPFV

Temüjin-ü činggültük-tü ši'a anda bolu-lča-ǰu
 Temüjin-GEN copper-ORN knucklebone sworn.friend become-CO-C.IPFV

anda ke'e-ldü-ksen Onan-nu mölsün-tür ši'a-lǰa-qui-tur
 sworn.friend say-REC-P.PFV Onan-GEN ice-DAT.LOC knucklebone-VR-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC

ten-de anda ke'e-ldü-le'ei
 DIST-DAT sworn.friend say-REC-PST

'Temüjin and Jāmuqa got together and set up camp in the Qorqonaq Valley. Remembering how earlier on they became sworn friends, they said, "Let us renew our mutual [pledge] of friendship, let us [now] love each other [again]!" Earlier, when they had first become friends, Temüjin was eleven years old. Jāmuqa had given Temüjin a roebuck knucklebone, Temüjin [in return had given him] a copper knucklebone, [and so] they had become sworn friends' (IDR 44)

In some places SHM has an epic form with stylistic devices like alliteration and comparatives such as *metü* 'like' in example (7). This comparative element is used in particular to intensify emotive conditions, such as the annoyance of the mother at her contending sons. This becomes clear in the scene describing a conflict between the sons Temüjin, Qasar, Bekter and Belgitei, because Bekter and Belgütei snatched the shiny dace, which was caught by Temüjin and Qasar:

(7) SHM § 76

niken üdür Temüjin Qasar Bekter Belgütei dörben qamtu sa'u-ǰu
 one day Temüjin Qasar Bekter Belgütei four together sit-C.IPFV

geügi tata-qui-tur dotor-a niken gege'en soqosun oro-ǰu'ui
 hook pull-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC inside-DAT one shiny dace come.in-PST

Temüjin Qasar qoyar-ača Bekter Belgütei qoyar buli-ju abu-ba
 Temüjin Qasar two-ABL Bekter Belgütei two snatch-C.IPFV take-PST

Temüjin Qasar qoyar ger-tür ire-ju
 Temüjin Qasar two home-DAT.LOC come-C.IPFV

üjin eke-de ügü-le-rün niken gege'en soqosun geügi ja'u-qsan-i
 noble mother-DAT word-VR-C.PREP one shiny dace hook bite-P.PFV-ACC

Bekter Belgütei aqa de'ü qoyar-a buli-ju ab-da-ba ba
 Bekter Belgütei elder.brother younger.brother two-DAT snatch-C.IPFV take-PASS-PST 1PL.EXC

kē-'esü üjin eke ügü-le-rün ye-gü-'ü-je'ei
 say-C.COND noble mother word-VR-C.PREP what-make-Q-PST

aqa-nar de'ü-ner yekin te-yin ki-ldü-müi ta
 elder.brother-PL younger.brother-PL why DIST-GEN make-REC-PRES 2PL

se'üder-eče busu nökör ügei se'ül-eče busu čiču'a ügei büi bida
 shadow-ABL other companion NEG.EX tail-ABL other whip NEG.EX be 1PL.INC

Tayyiči'ut aqa de'ü-ye'en qaši'u ker abura-qun bida
 Tayyiči'ut elder.brother younger.brother-POSS vengeance how rescue-P.IPFV 1PL.INC

ke'e-ju bü-küi-tür erte Alan eke-yin tabun kö'ü-t metü
 say-C.IPFV be-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC early Alan mother-GEN five son-PL like

yekin eye üge'un büi ta bü-tügei ke'e-bi
 why agreement NEG.EX be you NEG.PROH-IMP say-PST

‘One day while Temüjin, Qasar, Bekter and Belgütei were sitting together [on the river bank] angling, a shiny dace came onto [the line]. Bekter and Belgütei snatched it away from Temüjin and Qasar. Temüjin and Qasar came home and said to the noble mother, “A shiny dace bit our hook, but it was snatched away from us by our brothers Bekter and Belgütei.” Thereupon, the noble mother said, “Why be so malicious? [Stop it!] Why do you, older brothers and younger brothers, behave in this way to each other? Just when we have no friend but our shadow, we have no whip but our [horse’s] tail, and when we ask ourselves how to take vengeance for the outrage [committed] by our Tayyiči’ut kinsmen, how can you be at odds with each other, like the five sons of Mother Alan of old? Stop it!”’ (IDR 20, mod.)

In this scenario, Temüjin and Qasar dislike the mother’s words and reply: Once already, the other day, a lark we shot with a knob-headed arrow, they snatched it away from us, just like that. And now, again, they have snatched something the same way. How can we live together with each other? After Temüjin and Qasar, one from the front and one from the near, they shot at Belgütei, they went away. When they came back and entered the tent, the mother Hö’elün understood their faces and said¹³:

(8) SHM § 78

bara-qsa-t
 destroy-P.PFV-PL

qala'un-ača min-ü qalat qaru-run
 warmth-ABL 1SG.OBL-GEN fiercely come.out-C.PREP

¹³ See some other passages in alliterative poetry in de Rachewiltz & Rybatzki (2010: 190–191).

gar-dur-ıyan *qara nödüin*
hand-DAT.LOC-POSS black clot.blood

qat-qun *tore-ligi ene*
clutch-P.IPFV bear-PST PROX

qarbisu-ban *qaǰa-qu* *qasar noqai metü*
afterbirth-POSS snap-P.IPFV beast dog like

qada-tur *dohtul-qu* *qablan metü*
cliff-DAT.LOC assail-P.IPFV panther like

a'ur-i-ıyan *daru-n* *yada-qu* *arslan metü*
rage-ACC-POSS subdue-C.MOD struggle-P.IPFV lion like

amidu ǰalgi-su *ke-gü* *manggus metü*
alive swallow-VOL say-P.IPFV monster like

se'üder-tür-ıyen *dohtul-qu* *şingqor metü*
shadow-DAT.LOC-POSS assail-P.IPFV gerfalcon like

sem-ıyer *ǰalgi-qu* *çuraqa metü*
silence-INS swallow-P.IPFV pike like

botoqan-i-ıyan *borbi qaǰa-qu* *bu'ura metü*
foal-ACC-POSS heel bite-P.IPFV male.camel like

boroqan-tur *şıqa-qu* *çino metü*
blizzard-DAT.LOC stalk-P.IPFV wolf like

kö'ü-d-i-ıyen *geli-n* *yada-ǰu*
son-PL-ACC-POSS banish-C.MOD struggle-C.IPFV

kö'ü-d-i-ıyen *ide-gü* *anggir metü*
son-PL-ACC-POSS eat-P.IPFV mandarin.duck like

kebdes-i-ıyen *könde-'esü* *ömēr-gü* *çö'eböri metü*
den-ACC-POSS threaten-C.COND protect-P.IPFV jackal like

bari-ǰu *ülü sa'ara-qu* *bars metü*
seize-C.IPFV NEG hesitate-P.IPFV tiger like

balamut dohtul-qu *barus metü* *bara-ba*
wild attack-P.IPFV barus¹⁴ like destroy-PST

se'üder-eçe *busu nökö* *ügei-tür*
shadow-ABL other companion NEG.EX-DAT.LOC

se'ül-eçe *busu çiču'a* *ügei-tür*
tail-ABL other whip NEG.EX-DAT.LOC

'You who have destroyed [life]!
From the warmth of my [womb]
When he broke forth fiercely,

¹⁴ FWC 24 notes [in footnote 21] that this word is a "name of [a kind of] animal."; IDR 21 translates it as "brach"; Choimaa (2011: 38) explains it as *бару* "урт үст нэгэн зүйл нохой" [a kind of dog with long hair, my translation].

This one was born
 Clutching a black clot of blood.
 Like a Qasar dog snapping at its own afterbirth;
 Like a panther assailing a cliff;
 Like a lion uncontrollable in its range;
 Like a dragon-snake swallowing [its prey] alive;
 Like a gerfalcon that attacks its own shadow;
 Like a pike swallowing in silence;
 Like a camel [in rut] biting its foal's heel;
 Like a wolf [stalking its prey] under cover of a blizzard;
 Like a mandarin duck eating its chicks
 When it cannot manage them;
 Like a jackal ganging up [with its pack]
 When one threatens its den;
 Like a tiger never hesitant
 When seizing [its prey];
 Like a *barus* attacking wildly,
 You have destroyed!' (IDR 21; cf. also FWC 23)

Another poetic text passage can be found at the beginning of the scenario in § 238 where the Idu'ut People of Uiyud sent envoys. Here, it is used to describe their submission to Činggis Qahan:

(9) SHM § 238

e'ülen aril-ju eke naran üje-ksen metü
 cloud disperse-C.IPFV mother sun see-P.PFV like

mölsün aril-ju müren usun olu-qsan metü
 ice disappear-C.IPFV river water find-P.PFV like

'As if one saw Mother Sun
 When the clouds disperse;
 As if one came upon the river water
 When the ice disappears (=melts),' (IDR 163)

In scenario § 203 after the nomination of ninety-five commanders of a thousand, Činggis Qahan declared:

(10) SHM § 203

Činggis qahan jarliq bolu-run tusa-tan-a soyurqal ök-sü ke'e-n
 Činggis qahan order become-C.PREP support-ORN-DAT favour give-VOL say-C.MOD

Bo'orču Muqali teri'ü-ten noya-d-i ire-tügei ke'e-küi-tür
 Bo'orču Muqali head-ORN captain-PL-ACC come-IMP say-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC

'Činggis Qahan made a decree, saying, "I shall grant favours unto those who have [done] service," at the moment, when he was saying that the captains having at their head Bo'orču and Muqali should come,' (FWC 142)¹⁵

¹⁵ *noyad* 'captains' in FWC 142, 'commanders' in IDR 134, "lord, prince, chief, superior, commandant; seigneur; title sometimes given to the son of a prince or high-ranking nobleman" (Lessing 1982: 589).

At that time Šigi Qutuqu was inside the tent. When Činggis told him that he should go and summon them, Šigi Qutuqu said:

(11) SHM § 203

ölegei-tei bü-kiüy-eče ündür bosoqa-tur čin-u eri'ün-tür
 cradle-ORN be-P.IPFV-ABL high threshold-DAT.LOC 2SG.OBL-GEN chin-DAT.LOC

edüi saqal urqu-tala ös-čü ö'ere ese setki-be je bi
 as.much.as beard sprout-C.TERM grow-C.IPFV other NEG think-PST yes 1SG

ala-tur ši'ek-te-eče¹⁶ altan bosoqa-tur čin-u a-ju
 crotch-DAT.LOC piss-ORN-ABL golden threshold-DAT.LOC 2SG.OBL-GEN be-C.IPFV

aman-tur saqal edüi urqu-tala ös-čü alji'as ese gētki-be je bi
 mouth-DAT.LOC beard as.much.as sprout-C.TERM grow-C.IPFV anxiety NEG tread-PST yes 1SG

köl-dür-iyen kebte-'ül-jü kö'ü-čile-n ös-ge-be je nama-yi
 foot-DAT.LOC-POSS lie-CAUS-C.IPFV son-VR-C.MOD grow-FAC-PST yes 1SG.OBL-ACC

derge-de-'en kebte-'ül-jü de'ü-čile-n ös-ge-be je nama-yi
 side-DAT-POSS lie-CAUS-C.IPFV younger.brother-VR-C.MOD grow-FAC-PST yes 1SG.OBL-ACC

‘From the time I was in the cradle
 And grew up at your noble threshold,
 Until this beard sprouted on my chin,
 I did not think of anyone else [but you].
 From the time I had a piss-pot at my crotch
 And, being at your royal threshold, I grew up
 Until this beard sprouted at my month,
 I did not make a single false step.
 She let me lie at her feet
 And brought me up as her own son;
 She let me lie at her side
 And brought me up as the younger brother [of her children]’ (IDR 134)

3.2.2 Chronology of Scenes

On the basis of the text data, the following time notions can be found. The times are adapted to the western calendar. The western analogies are according to the comments of de Rachewiltz 2004 and Cleaves 1982.¹⁷

¹⁶ “аланд шээгтэйгээс” Choimaа 2011: 165.

¹⁷ Cf. also Poucha (1956: 9)

§§	Chronology	Time	Text Sources in the SHM
141	Year of the Cock	1201	<i>te'ünü qoyina takiya jil Qadagin Salji'ut qamtutču</i>
153	Year of the Dog	1202	<i>noqai jil namur inü Činggis qahan Čaqa'an-Tatar Alči Tatar Dutaut Alqui Tatar tede Tatartur Dalannemürgeş bayyildužu</i>
157	Year of the Dog	1202	<i>mün noqai jil Činggis qahan-ni Tatar irgentür morilaqsantur</i>
166	Year of the Pig	1203	<i>qaqai jil qabur Ĵamuqa Altan Qučar Qardakidai Ebügejin Noyakin Söge'etei To'oril Qači'un-beki tede bolun quluqana jil junu teri'ün sarayin harban ĵirwa'an üdür hula'an tergele tuq saču'at</i>
193	Year of the Rat, on the sixteenth day of the first month of summer	17 th May	<i>quluqana jil junu teri'ün sarayin harban ĵirwa'an üdür hula'an tergele tuq saču'at</i>
197	Year of the Rat, in the autumn	1204	<i>mün quluqana jil namur Qaradalhuĵa'ura Merkidün Toqto'a Bekilü'e Činggis qahan bayyildužu</i>
198	Year of the Ox, in the spring	1205	<i>hüker jil qabur Arayiyar dabaĵu</i>
199	Year of the Ox	1205	<i>mün hüker jil Činggis qahan ĵarlıq bolurun</i>
202	Year of the Tiger	1206	<i>bars jil Onannu teri'üne qurıĵu</i>
239	Year of the Hare	1207	<i>ta'ulai jil Jočiyi bara'un qarun čeri'üdiyer hoyyin irgentür morila'ulbai</i>
247	Year of the Sheep	1211	<i>te'ünü qoyina Činggis qahan qonini jil Kitat irgentür morilabai</i>
250	Year of the Sheep	1211	<i>Činggis qahan qonin jil tere morilaqsantur</i>
251	Year of the Dog	1214	<i>Činggis qahan noqai jil Kitat irgentür basa morilabai</i>
257	Year of the Hare	1219	<i>taulai jil Sarta'ul irgentür Arayiyar daban morilarun</i>
264	Year of the Cock, in the autumn	1225	<i>dolodu'ar hon takiya jil namur Tūlayin qara tüne ordostur bawubai</i>
265	Year of the Dog	1226	<i>noqai jil namur Činggis qahan Tangyut irgentür morilabai</i>
268	Year of the Pig	1227	<i>qaqai jil Činggis qahan tenggeritür qarba</i>
269	Year of the Rat	1228	<i>quluqana jil Ča'adai Batu teri'üten bara'un qarun kö'üt Otčigin Noyan Yegü Yisüngge teri'üten ĵewün qarun kö'üt Tolui teri'üten qol kö'üt ökit güreget tümedün minqadun noyat bürin bolĵu</i>
272	Year of the Hare	1231	<i>taulai jil Ögödei qahan Kitat irgentür morilaĵu</i>
282	Year of the Rat, in the month of the Roebuck	1228	<i>quluqana jil quran sarada Kelürenü Köde'e Aralun Dolo'an Boldaqa Šilginček qoyar ĵa'ura ordos bawuĵu büqüitür</i>

Table 1: Time References in the SHM and their Correspondence to the Western Calender

These time references serve as orientation in the temporal dimension of the narration. Consider the following examples where in the autumn of the same year of the Rat (1204) Činggis Qahan was setting himself in battle array with Toqto'a Beki of the Merkid at Qaradal Huĵa'ur and caused Toqto'a to remove subdued his people and folk and nation in the Sa'ari Steppe:

(12) SHM § 197

*mün quluqana jil namur Qaradal-huĵa'ur*¹⁸-a Merkid-ün Toqto'a-beki-lü'e
 same rat year autumn Qaradal-huĵa'ur-DAT Merkid-GEN Toqto'a-beki-COM

Činggis qahan bayyi-ldu-ĵu Toqto'a-yi gödöl-ge-ĵü Sa'ari-ke'er-e
 Činggis qahan be-REC-C.IPFV Toqto'a-ACC move-FAC-C.IPFV Sa'ari-steppe-DAT

¹⁸ *huĵa'ur* 'source' implies the source of a river. *Qaradal* is derived of the words *qara* 'black' and *dal* or *tal* 'steppe' in the meaning 'black steppe', located southwest of the Mongol city of Khovd (cf. UO 85 [footnote 376]).

irge orqa ulus in-ü dawuli-bai
people tribe nation 3SG.OBL-GEN subdue-PST

‘In that same Year of the Rat (1204), in the autumn, Činggis Qa’an fought with Toqto’a Beki of the Merkit at the Qaradal Source. He dislodged him [from there] and subdued his tribe and [all his] people in the Sa’ari Steppe.’ (IDR 123)

Another time reference is mentioned in the scenario § 202. In the year of the Tiger (1206) they assembled at the head of the River Onan to set up *yisün költü čaqa’an tuq* ‘a white standard with nine feet’, one of most important symbolic elements which is used only in official events by the Mongols nowadays. There, they conferred the title Qan to Činggis Qahan:

(13) SHM § 202

tedüi sisgei to’urqa-tu ulus-i šidurqu-tqa-ju
so felt wall-ORN people-ACC straight-VR-C.IPFV

bars jil Onan-nu teri’ün-e quri-ju
tiger year Onan-GEN head-DAT assemble-C.IPFV

yisün köl-tü čaqa’an tuq bayyi-’ulu-’at
nine foot-ORN white standard be-CAUS-C.PFV

Činggis qahan-na qan nere ten-de ök-bei
Činggis qahan-DAT qan name DIST-DAT give-PST

‘and so, in the year of tiger [1206], assembling themselves at the head of the Onan [River], having made [one] to set up a white standard having nine feet (=tails), then they gave unto Činggis Qahan the title *qan*.’ (FWC 141)

Like time references, the information on the lands and names of the tribes, countries and rivers has the same referential functions. A brief illustration is given in the following section because the SHM is rich in such names of historical places, peoples and countries.

3.2.3 The Geographical Setting

Events noted in the SHM took place across huge areas. These areas extended from east to west over about 7,000 kilometres, from the Yellow Sea of the eastern coast of Asia to the river Dnepr in Europe, and from north to south over about 3,000 kilometres, from the river Indus in South Asia to Lake Baikal in central Siberia (cf. Purev 2016: 9). The mentioning of historical places is one of the characteristics of the narration SHM. The river *Kelüren* is considered as the main territory of Temüjin (the birthname of Činggis Qahan): *Kelürenü Köde’ü-arala güriyer quriju* (§ 269) ‘they all assembled in full force at Köde’ü Aral on the River Kelüren’. In accordance with the decree of Činggis Qahan, they raised Ögödei Qahan as Qan. This ceremony was celebrated in the year 1228, when the princes, the imperial sons-in-law, the commanders of ten thousand and those of a thousand, they all gathered on the River *Kelüren*. It was common habitus for the epoch of *Yeke Mongol Ulus* that the successors of Qahan had to be elected in their original hometown.

Seen in this way, the SHM is an important historical document for names of places and rivers. It is the second most important testimony for understanding of knowledge about Mongolian history and

language after the stone inscriptions in Orkhon-Selenge. Historical places, countries and people¹⁹ such as *Meket*, *Men-kermen*, *Keyibe*, *Uiyud*, *Tatar*, *Kereyit*, *Merkid*, *Kitat*, *Tangyud*, *ḡanḡlin*, *Kibča'ut*, *Bajigit*, *Orusut*, *Asut*, *Sesüt*, *Majar*, *Kešimir*, *Sergesüt*, *Buqar*, *Kerel*, *Majarat*, *Asut*, *Sasut*, *Serkesüt*, *Kešimir*, *Raral*, *Čormaqan-qorči*, *Baqtat*, *Sarta'ul*, *ǰungdu*, *ǰayaq*, *Bala Šin*, *ǰalaldin-soltan*, *Qan-Melik*, *Hindus* as well as rivers such as *müren* 'river', *qoroqan* 'stream', *Adil/Idil* and various landscapes such as *a'ula* 'mountain', *hoi* 'forest', *čöl* 'desert', *ǰubur* 'valley' are mentioned in the SHM²⁰, for example the scene of travelling to Sarta'ul People located in Khwārazm, when Činggis Qahan's one hundred envoys headed by Uquna had been held up and slain by the Sarta'ul People (see map in Figure 4), he said 'How can my *altan arqamj*'²¹ 'golden halter' be broken by the Sarta'ul People?' He ordered "*Sarta'ul irgentür morilaya*" (cf. SHM § 254) 'let us set out the troops against the Sarta'ul People' who were located in the southern part of the Aral Sea. In addition to the names of the tribes and countries, descriptions of the landscapes such as rivers and valleys, mountains seem to be very important in terms of scenery dynamics. These notions of localities allow the recipient and narrator to orientate himself and follow the narrated events, which are represented in the following map showing Eurasia around 1200 AD.

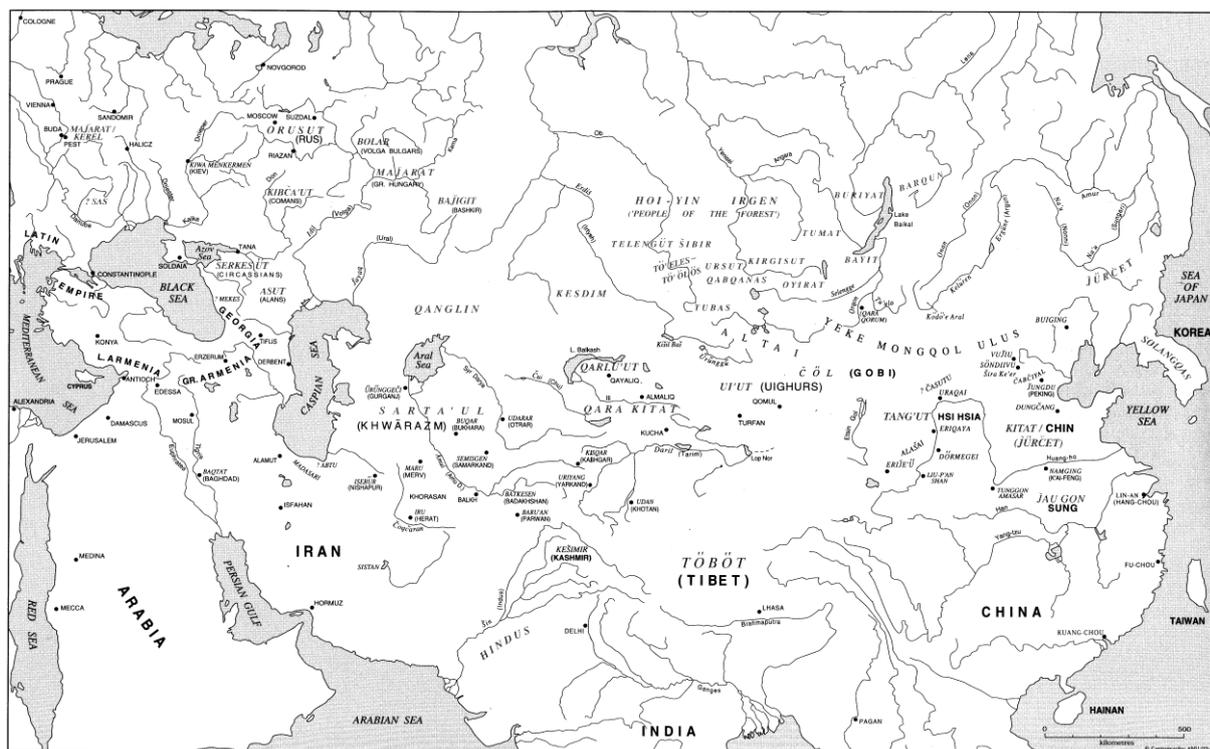


Figure 4: Map of Eurasia around 1200 AD (see de Rachewiltz 2004)²²

¹⁹ It is difficult to differentiate between people and their countries. In the Mongolian text the terminus *ulus* 'people, nation, country, state' includes both. The plural suffix *-s* is still recognizable at *ulu-s*. *Ula* means 'sole of foot or footwear', 'basis' or 'foundation'. (cf. Lessing 1960: 873, 868) In Khalkha, this meaning of *ulu* is still in use (cf. *y.7*).

²⁰ Because SHM is a historical document, numerous landmarks are displayed in specific locations or landscapes. See further place and river names in SHM in Poucha 1956: 95–101, Purev 2016 and Haenisch 1948: 182–183.

²¹ This is one of the important concepts of the Mongolian ancestors to maintain the bloodline of the tribe to which one belongs.

²² See also the map of Asia in the 13th and 14th Centuries in de Rachewiltz 1971: 60–61.

3.3 Verb as Semantic Relational Unit representing a Scene

Within the above mentioned universal cognitive process of schematization and types of verbalization of segments of perception or imagination (i.e. mentally constructed), event images play a significant role. It is assumed that every utterance represents an event image in its basal structure, putting a cognitively profiled or framed object presentation (linguistically labelled as NP) in relation to another achieved by event images represented by verbs or verbal phrases (VP). Within his cognitive-typological approach Schulze (2014: 24) assumes a prototypical structure of an event image where the verb as the head of a verbal phrase is considered as a “meronymic representation of an event image of a relation”. VPs are the formal representation of cognitive saccades and VPs represent the integration of two fixations in an event image as a relator (Schulze 2014: 24):

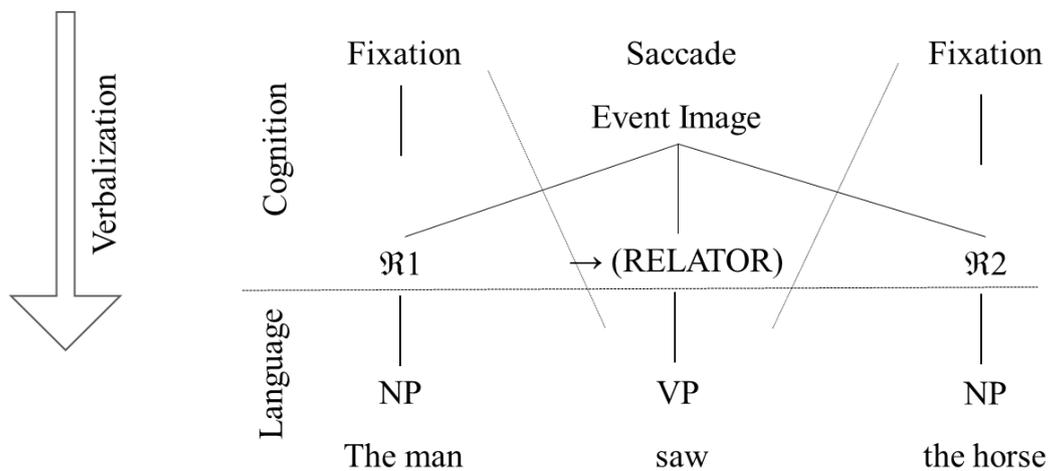


Figure 5: Prototypical Presentation of Fixations and Saccade²³ (cf. Schulze 2014: 24, mod.)²⁴

In this verbal relational structure there are presumed basic schematic structures, which are motivated by the universal cognitive mechanism of F/G-constellations having foregrounding and backgrounding functions. Verbs or verb phrases differ from linguistic expression of an object concept particularly in the way that they cannot be understood or imagined semantically autonomously, but only with the inclusion of at least a global knowledge of the condition of object representations and their functional linguistic expressions of the object concept properties within a given event image. This specific semantic property of the verb functioning as “relator” (Schulze 2014: 24) is reflected within a language and its operational system. Consequently, verbs as semantic relational units are thus the central operators of a basic language utterance as a “minimal knowledge unit”. Their role is therefore significant in a grammar of a language as a systemic and recurring operative domain. Linguistic utterances occur in clause-like

²³ Schulze (2012a: 25) considers EIs as “relational schemas”. He states: “The isolation of Figure and Ground presupposes a construction of the corresponding unit based on perception [here: vision]”. “Cognitive Fixation” is understood as “The stable position of the eyes allows to isolate Figure und Ground. Consequence: Fixation allows mapping the input onto given memory segments” and “Cognitive Saccade” is understood as “During eye movement, the visual input becomes blurred (or ‘blind’). Consequence: The relational structure between Figure and Ground must be inferred (among others) from properties of Figure and Ground.” (Schulze 2012a: 25)

²⁴ This diagram should be understood as a general cognitive structure of a simple clause. It does not describe the basic phrase order of individual languages. Therefore, the position of the linguistic expression of the cognitive relator “→” depends on the language. In Middle Mongolian, we can assume the basic phrase order: NP, NP, VP.

constructions, which are basically schematically motivated by being coded via syntactic structures. This basic structure can be regarded as one of the fundamental typological comparative parameters cross-linguistically.

3.4 Story Telling Narration as Ensemble of Event Images

Event images are figurative and dynamic. When we tell each other stories, we imagine the world of events that are portrayed in the story. We can feel and understand the actions that are performed. We also understand the background of such actions. A real-life situation is grasped by a human being in the form of some kind of picture and is then interpreted to form conceptual structures. Vision is a fundamental sense for human cognition and language processing and thus plays a crucial role in perception by giving images to the outside substance (cf. Durst-Andersen 2011: 5). We can constantly change the perspective of observation (cf. “viewpoint” Langacker 1987: 123, in this work as a “conceptual ego” who perceives or observes the scene). It is also possible to imagine being directly involved in scenes. In contrast to the actual linguistic expression, imagination seems to be less restricted and thus freer. In the world of narration, therefore, scenic representations are of imminent meaning. In scenes event images are depicted. Language has its own technique to make these events accessible from the world of conceptual imagination. This technique is the linguistic verbalization/expression of event images. Scene participants get their function only by the event relation. They create what is not visually perceptible (verbal relation) by connecting the entities that are visually perceptible (see Object Images or Noun Phrases in Chapter 7.1). Due to the possible verbal inherent relation types (such as transitive or intransitive) between the scene participants, a verbal relation forms a basic utterance in the sense of a simple clause. Simple clauses are “Schematic Constructions” (Schulze 2017a; 2012a: 22) motivated by basic cognitive mechanisms and the system of practical knowledge in a language community. Schulze claims that human beings construe world stimuli only in terms of ‘event images’ profiled according to the state of cognition during perception. Basic event images are schematized in terms of figure-ground discrimination resulting in the isolation of object images in conjunction with inferential processes that concern the construed relation between these object images or “referents” (Schulze 2012a: 27).

Text as a collection of elements of knowledge (cf. van Dijk 2014) about events thereby provides the semantic framework of each scene. The co- and contextual embedding, which I comprehend as background knowledge or simply conceptual grounding, is crucial for the meaning of any construction (cf. “scenes-and frames semantics” Fillmore 1977: 55, cf. 1977: 63, and scene-driven text comprehension 1977: 61). It is assumed that specific action sequences are prototypical depending on which frame they are embedded or constructed in, which is to a substantial extent experience-based. In the contextual environment of a text, this means that certain prototypical roles of a scene are involved in a particular event image and the action types presented can be derived from the contextual environment. So, for example, in a sales situation there exist certain roles like seller and buyer, which then are prototypical to the scene and therefore are retrieved and associated faster. However, such prototypical construction of corresponding event images is largely dependent on learned traditions of

social and cultural conventionalized linguistic practices of a particular speaker community (cf. Schulze 2018: 17).

Van Dijk (2014: 24) take the view that schemas are of fundamental relevance, both for the organization of the mental model of situations and experiences as well as the discourse genre and story telling.

Since human beings have been experiencing and representing events and situations of their natural and social environment for many thousands of years [...] it is likely that they developed a genetically based *schema* that strategically allows them to do so fast and efficiently in their everyday lives, consisting of such categories as spatiotemporal Setting, Participants, Action/Event, Goals, etc. This schema organizes not only the structure of mental models of situations but even the semantic representations of the clauses or sentences that describe such situations in everyday text and talk traditionally represented as propositions on the other hand, or the structures of specific discourse genres, on the other. Indeed, mental models of specific events and personal experiences are the typical cognitive basis of stories and new reports. (van Dijk 2014: 24)

Through the schematization of knowledge structures, the text serves as a collective memory and access to the language producer's conceptual world and the view of the events he is constructing:

In texts, the cultural knowledge of whole societies is reflected, they are part of the collective memory and preserve knowledge of our past [...] to consider texts as traces of the mental activity of humans. They specifically tell us something about their writers and give, among other things, insight into situations or other historical epochs. (Schwarz-Friesel & Consten 2014: 8–11, [original version in German])

3.5 Routinized Linguistic Constructions

Language and its structures are thus basically motivated in their foundations by universal cognitive processes, which in turn result from the principles of human cognitive mechanisms and their interaction with the outside world. Linguistic structures and their appearance as symbolic units therefore have somehow systemic and pattern-like structures. The close relationship between the operating system and the grammatical network is due to the component of the grammatical network containing routine processing techniques and having manifested itself as a model for a language (cf. Schulze 1998: 534). It can be assumed that in all operating systems certain universal properties regarding scene architecture exist (cf. "Grammar of Scenes and Scenarios" Schulze 1998). In a linguistic system there are "prototypical structures", which correspond to the hypotheses of a collectivity of their users, whereby they are expanded peripherally by the "idiosyncratic substrate" (Schulze 1998: 398) of individual users. The pattern-oriented, structuring quality of a language system is a central concern of a speech community in its common view of tradition as a collective whole. Following this assumption, speech act participants have common and shared knowledge systems. Common knowledge as background for understanding can be reflected by the knowledge of individuals and their linguistic symbolization of knowledge:

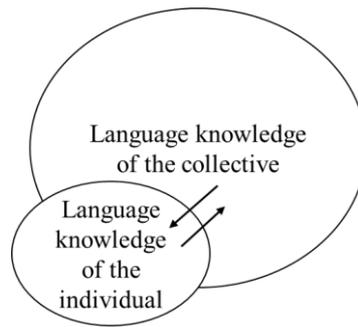


Figure 6: Shared Knowledge between Collective and Individuum

Consequently, the shared knowledge of the collective as well as of the individual facilitates understanding among the community members, which is the goal of language producers and their interpreters. According to Durst-Andersen (2011: 155), grammar by itself functions as a prime index that makes symbols dynamic by giving them a direction or template. Giving a directional structure, grammar can be understood as an operating system. An operating system includes schemata of cognitive events representing a vastly extended application field, under which highly different experiences and communicative needs are subsumed. Operating systems are therefore sufficiently stable to be able to process the variety of experience types linguistically in a format, while at the same time being sufficiently vague to be able to capture variants of these types as economically as possible. One of the central domains of the operating system is the relational network, which is directly related to the grammatical network in a representative relation and which appears as an “emergence” of the scenic architecture of cognition and communication (cf. Schulze 1998: 532–533). Linguistic expressions including their operational structures are the proven result or accumulation of the shared knowledge of a long lasting communicative exchange over several years and decades. The continuation of these patterns and forms of manifestation are, however, subject to change. They are thus ultimately not autonomous, and a product of a community of speakers and their pragmatic needs. Such a preservation can be safely achieved and strengthened through various techniques. Linguistic expressions enable an access to someone’s conceptual world, which is attained only through the participation of a language producer and language-perceiver or recipient as its main function lies in the communicative exchange and/or sharing of experienced/perceived knowledge. Under this assumption, language is a relation between two conceptual worlds, one that makes them and another that interprets them. This type of participation can not only happen in the current communication domain (i.e. current oral communicative situation), but also over a prolonged speech situation across space and time through generations (i.e. the case of historical tradition and documents). Language as text (primarily its expression side or *signifiant*) provides a relation between the speech act participants to access the conceptual world (“*signifié*”).

4 METHODOLOGY

4.1 Empirical Method and Usage-Based Approach

As seen in the last chapter, linguistic structures depend on its constructor including his linguistic and world knowledge in terms of conventionalization shared by the given speech community. Linguistically expressed concepts in both lexicon and grammar are thus directly connected in their practical application. Because they own their functional dimension in their practical application, they are largely dependent on the speaker and his community as well as their communicative needs. In this sense, I follow the hypothesis that linguistic expressions in language practice are controlled and defined by the socially mediated cultural traditions of a speech community based on underlying universal cognitive procedures. The operating system of language can be very strongly shaped by knowledge-based and discursive factors made by users (cf. Schulze 1998: 557). Schulze (2018: 171) points out that language is an articulate expression system of cognitive states, which is learned in its symbolization process and is thus collective, traditional and stored as knowledge. Language is thus the expression of perceptions in experience whose reality is constructed as communication. From this assumption important conclusions are drawn for the corpus data as a methodological access for such collective knowledge shared among a speech community. Moreover, usage-based empirical approaches are one of the most fruitful and appropriate methodological processes within Cognitive Linguistics (cf. Gibbs 2007; Stefanowitsch & Gries 2007; Gries 2015; Barlow & Kemmer, 2000). A Corpus is a collection of data which is defined by Gries & Berez (2017: 380) as “a category that contains exemplars that are prototypical by virtue of exhibiting several widely accepted characteristics, but that also contains many exemplars that are related to the prototype or, less directly, to other exemplars of the category by family resemblance links”. One of the features of corpus is that “the corpus is meant to be representative for a particular kind of speaker, register, variety, or language as a whole, which means that the sampling scheme of the corpus represents the variability of the population it meant to represent” (cf. Gries & Berez 2017: 380; cf. also Gries & Newman 2013: 258).

Usage-based approaches originate from the hypothesis that language use shapes the grammar. Langacker (1987: 494): “Substantial importance is given to the actual use of the linguistic system and a speaker’s knowledge of this use; the grammar is held responsible for a speaker’s knowledge of the full range of linguistic conventions [...]”. Therefore, the research is based on the observation of the actual usage of the language. The predictable mechanism motivated by underlying cognitive processes by which this language-shaping process occurs is frequent repetition. The main argument lies in frequency effects (cf. Bybee 2007: 267), which are considered an important analyzing criterion for e.g. the shape of certain grammatical usage from lexical units. This applies to all levels of language structure, from the most minimal (e.g. morphemes) to larger structures such as sentences. The observation is that the more often a linguistic element or pattern is used, the greater the productivity of the element and patterns. Frequency thus can be viewed as an integral part of an explanation for certain linguistic phenomena. More importantly, the effects caused by frequency have significant implications for “notions of mental representation” (cf. Bybee 2007: 275–277). Many of the effects of frequency have been discussed. In

terms of markedness, for example, it is assumed that unmarked categories are more frequent than marked ones (cf. Greenberg 1966: 31 and 33). Regular patterns have a wider range of applicability (cf. Bybee & Hopper 2001: 1) that has to do with the cognitive mechanism of human memorizing of perceived environmental stimuli and its activation in the current recognizing technique in human cognition. If concepts are coded as known, they can be processed easier than less known ones (cf. Arbing 1984: 6; Kintsch 1982; Klatzky 1980). Thus, schematic units or well-known patterns help to process information.

Consequently, the empirical methods of using a corpus or linguistic data are increasingly important in linguistic research, since it reflects the actual and observable usage of a language by the individual language producer(s) as a communicative part of the whole language community. It becomes even more important, in the case of the collection of relatively unexplored individual languages as a comprehensive text representing not only the knowledge of conceptual worlds, but also linguistic knowledge in the sense of an operational system as a point of access to these conceptual worlds. Data is made available as an object of investigation in its textual environment for linguistic analyses, thus creating the basis for scientific discussion. That is why in an empirical investigation of language greater weight should be given to the usage-based approach compared to a purely descriptive grammar emanating from rules, and interpretations must be based on a quantitative analysis of the acquired data. Thus, the definition of prototypical form and function based on data both in the case of verb formation and verb morphology (cf. Bybee 1985) and “Schematic Constructions” (Schulze 2017a) is relevant to linguistic analysis and even more so within cognitively oriented approaches. Such quantitative analysis to obtain evidence of certain components of the language can furthermore demonstrate the degree of conventionalization, i.e. the extent to which a language is a cultural or social norm. Coherently, the preference for a construction and structure can provide evidence for which linguistic constructions are prototypically preferred in speaker knowledge expressed by the event images in the whole text. Specific features of a language and its representation can be observed. Therefore, textual analysis according to corpus-linguistic approaches should be the starting point for the present investigation of verbs in the text corpus “The Secret History of the Mongols” as the longest and coherent linguistic data from Middle Mongolian (probably 1240 AD), for which to my knowledge no suitable comprehensive corpus exists.

4.2 Objectives

Modern Mongolic languages are relatively well investigated by several scholars like Ramstedt (1912), Poppe (2006), Grønbech & Krueger (1993), Tserenpil & Kullmann (2008), Binnick (1979), Bittigau (2003), Janhunen (2003, 2012), among others. Their works are mostly based on traditional grammar and are therefore descriptive, partly with strong rule-based properties. It can certainly be said that the modern Mongolic languages and Mongolic dialects are relatively well captured on the descriptive side thanks to a series of investigations that originate from local traditions. Nevertheless, there are no comprehensive purely linguistically oriented studies using Middle Mongolian data as a coherent knowledge structure from a cognitive-linguistic point of view. Additionally, practically no specific investigations on questions of the dimension “Verb” as the center of the event image in Middle Mongolian *per se* and on its functionality from a cognitive-semantic perspective based on usage-based methods can be found. On

the other hand, typological examinations of verbs and cognitive modeling of the verbal level are comprehensively available from a general point of view. This applies especially to the cognitive approaches to the analysis of verbs and verb phrases. Here, valuable work has been done (cf. the models Schulze 1998, 2000, 2008, 2011a, 2011b, 2017a; Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000, 2009; Langacker 1986, 1987, 1990, 1991, 1996, 1997, 2004, 2015; Talmy 1975, 1976, 2000 and Goldberg 1995, 1996, 2006, 2013; among others). The basic assumptions for the cognitive positioning of the verb complex presented above are found in this or similar form in almost all current approaches to Construction Grammar and Cognitive Linguistics. However, the respective elaborations rarely examine single language verbal systems. It also should be emphasized that the given cognitive and typological approaches only hardly ever use materials from the Middle Mongolian as whole knowledge system. The main task of the project is to introduce models especially of a Cognitive Typology (Schulze 2012a) and Aspects of Verb Typology (Schulze 2008) of the verb into the study of a single language system, the Middle Mongolian, providing data for the current scientific discussion.

On the formal surface structures, linguistic expressions are mostly reduced forms caused by the fact of linearization and language economics, among others. That is why it is even more important to take universal cognitive procedures into account that have been discussed in Cognitive Linguistics in the last decades. It is more fruitful to incorporate these cognitively grounded categories into typological studies to explore specific phenomena. In accordance with the approaches in Cognitive Typology the present work assumes that all linguistic elements have their own meanings or functions. However, it is agreed that systematization of formal markers on the expressional side of linguistic signs is an important task to access the cognitive-semantic analysis. The project aims at the systematic analysis of verb phenomena in Middle Mongolian, in its entirety as they appear in the selected corpus from a cognitive-typological perspective. This is based on a contextual model which determines the autonomous value of individual verbal morphemes and constructions, but always examined with a view on the entirety of the utterance in which they are embedded. The larger expressional units are the groundings in which the individual constructions receive their content. No linguistic element has its meaning independent of its textual environment. Each linguistic element has a meaning and/or function that is relevant to a larger embedding construction. The whole textual structure is similar to the structure of an “onion” in which a part and the whole are related and where each sublayer forms a linguistic sign with *signifié* and *signifiant*. It can be simply visualized as follows:

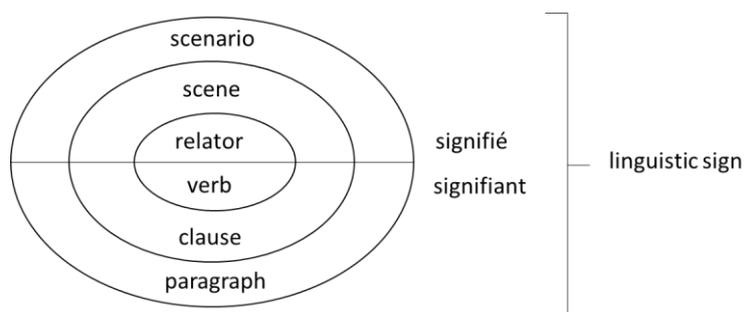


Figure 7: Structure of Text as Linguistic Sign

From this perspective, patterns are revealed, which are in turn analyzed in terms of their semanticity. This assumes that agglutinative complexes are more than just the sum of the morphemes involved (plus root), as well as it has been suspected that the semantics of syntactic structures cannot be figured out via the sense of the contraction of the semantics of the elements involved, but only on the detection of patterns that operate on these structures. In this sense, textual units (e.g. clauses) are understood as the etymology of the word ‘text’ suggested (Latin *texere* ‘weave or braid’): A text is a ‘tissue’, that is only defined by at least these three dimensions ‘threads’, ‘thread color’ and ‘weave pattern’ having a network-like structure. The aim of the project is to uncover this triad in relation to the phenomenon of the verb in Middle Mongolian. The semanticity of the verbs and their derivational morphological units exist in a more operational functional system. The identification of possible ways of grammaticalization or re-categorization certainly plays a significant role, as it can be assumed that the semantic value of a morphological unit contains or reflects residuals of the semantic value of the historical underlying lexical characters. This depends highly on the frequency of a morpheme defining the prototypical form and function. It is supposed that derivative elements have more than flexional lexically preserved semantics of the corresponding lexical source domain and thus are at an intermediate stage of the general trail from a grammaticalizing lexeme to a grammatical morpheme (cf. Bybee 1985; see “Basic Typology of Verb Formation” in Chapter 5). Systematization of the formal architecture of the verbs in Middle Mongolian and their impact on motivation and the conceptual domain (agglutination chain) is one of the central goals of the work. The semantic value of the examined morphological characters is to be worked out in terms of a cognitive morphosyntax, as they result from the data sources. The investigation should be based on the following, exemplary dimensions:

- Categorization of time/aspect/modality/certainty expressions
- Embedding an event image in a complex event presentation (converb constructions) or as attributive participle (specifications)
- Process of converting verbal relators into referential units in the sense of nominalization
- Linguistic encoding of relational properties: valence pattern or grammar of verbal relations and their subcategorization (case)
- Dynamicity of event images related to cause and effect in space/time as orientation and localization
- Changing of causation and perspective of foreground/background (passivization)
- Qualificatory and existential event constructions such as predictive and copula constructions, motivation of light verb-, converb- and auxiliary constructions (verb chain considering VP)

These objectives need to be identified in terms of the conceptual and operational network in the above-mentioned framework. The indicated issues and investigation priorities are to be addressed on the one hand from morpheme inventories and construction inventories, on the other hand, also analyzed in terms of their frequency in the corpus, because it is assumed that usage-based frequency aspects play an important role in the assessment not only of the degree of conventionalization, but also with respect to the question of a functional (un)markedness of the corresponding constructions. Moreover, the glossing of the language data will contribute to the current discussion among scientists, as up to now most of the

Middle Mongolian data are not glossed according to a meta-linguistic analysis (cf. e.g. Street 1957). An essential task of the investigation is further to determine the semanticity of verbal constructions (at their basic level “simple clause”) from a corpus and text linguistic point of view in a presumed coherent text. This is discussed in more detail in the Chapter 6 on “Simple Clauses” but also concerning the relation between matrix and subordination treated in the Chapter 7 “Complex Sentences”.

4.3 Corpus Data and Their Implementation

For the data collection, the *Mongqol-un niuča tobča’an* transcribed by Ligeti in 1971 into Latin transcription was used in electronic format. The data was processed manually. With respect to the translation into English, I refer to the translation of Francis Woodman Cleaves 1982 (abbreviated as FWC²⁵), Igor de Rachewiltz 2004 (abbreviated as IDR) and Urgunge Onon 2011 (abbreviated as UO)²⁶. If a text passage seems translated in too literary of a style, I have varied the translation slightly (noted as “mod.”).²⁷

For the analysis of the corpus I first examined the whole text from minimal identifiable units (morphemes) to complex sentences in the horizontal axis not to destroy the textual linearization of the occurrences of linguistic units. Thereafter, the result was put into a vertical form to define the number of morphemes and the structures of the simple and complex sentence. In the following I will elaborate on the implemented steps of the analysis in more detail.

4.3.1 Implementation Step 1: Identifying All Morphemes

4.3.1.1 Motives

Event images as relational structures need their cases as the expression of “relational values” (Schulze & Sallaberger 2007: 168). In Middle Mongolian, they are formed by morphological additions (suffixes) to the referential units (NP) expressing scene roles involved in an event image which is operated by the verb phrase (VP)²⁸.

The derivational structure within a verb plays a significant role in the architecture of a basic scene, such as intransitive, transitive, and causative event images. Changing perspectives in the backgrounding of underlying foregrounded elements is also achieved by linguistic techniques such as passivization. All the functions are expressed through verbal morphology. Further significant grammatical parameters related to the event images such as space/time, aspect, modality, and certainty, among others which are directly associated with the scene settings, can also be found in the domain of verbs (discussed detailed in Chapter 5 on “Basic Typology of Verbal Formation”). To systematize a verbal morphological inventory, I examine the whole text body, because all elements are associated with clause structures.

²⁵ The information about the year is included in this abbreviation. After translation, therefore, only the indication of the page is noted, e.g. FWC 27 (=Francis Woodman Cleaves 1982: 27).

²⁶ This applies to translations only; other cases will be denoted.

²⁷ Uppercase and lowercase letters are not true to original in some text passages. The direct speech is indicated by the sign “...” although in e.g. IDR it is marked by ‘...’.

²⁸ Terms like NP and VP also include constructions with only one nominal and verbal element as operational head.

4.3.1.2 Sample

(14) SHM § 281

Ögödei qahan ügü-le-riin ečige-yü-'en yeke oron-tur
Ögödei qahan word-VR-C.PREP father-GEN-POSS great place-DAT.LOC

sa'u-ju qahan ečige-yin qoyin-a üyyile-dü-ksen min-ü Ĵaqud-un
sit-C.IPFV qahan father-GEN behind-DAT deed-VR-P.PFV 1SG.OBL-GEN Ĵaqud-GEN

irgen-tür ayala-ju Ĵaqut irgen muqu-tqa-ba bi
people-DAT.LOC go.on.campaign-C.IPFV Ĵaqut people execute-FAC-PST 1SG

nökö'e üyyile min-ü elčün bidan-u ja'ur-a
other deed 1SG.OBL-GEN envoy 1PL.INC.OBL-GEN between-DAT

öter-le-n ha'ul-qui basa kerek jarag-i-yan
quick-VR-C.MOD ride.in.haste-P.IPFV also need necessity-ACC-POSS

jö'e-'ül-güy-e jamu-t talbi-'ul-ba basa nökö'e üyyile
convey-CAUS-P.IPFV-DAT path-PL put-CAUS-PST also other deed

usu ügei qařar-a qudu'u-t eri-'ül-ju qar-qa-'ul-ju
water NEG.EX earth-DAT well-PL seak-CAUS-C.IPFV come.out-FAC-CAUS-C.IPFV

ulus irgen usun ebesün-e gür-ge-'ül-be basa jük jük
state people water grass-DAT reach-FAC-CAUS-PST also direction direction

balaqa-d-un irgen-tür algin-čün tamma-čün talbi-ju ulus
town-PL-GEN people-DAT.LOC spy-NA garrison-NA put-C.IPFV state

irgen-ü köl köser-e qar qařar-a talbi-'ul-ju
people-GEN foot ground-DAT hand earth-DAT put-CAUS-C.IPFV

a-'ul-ba bi
be-CAUS-PST 1SG

‘When Ögödei Qahan spake, he said, “[After] sitting on the great throne of my father, [as to] that which I did after my father the Qahan, going a warfare unto the people of the Ĵaqut, I destroyed the Ĵaqut people. [As to] my second deed, [I] made one to establish post stations for that Our messenger, hasting on the way, make speed, and again for that [We] make [them] to convey our needs and necessities. [As to] yet another deed, making [one] to dig wells in places without water, making [one] to bring [them] forth, [I] made [one] to bring the nation and the people unto water and grass. Again, placing spies and garrison troops²⁹ unto the people of cities in the divers quarters, of the nation and the people, causing [them] to set [them], I caused the feet to be on the ground the hands [to be] on the earth.’ (FWC 227, mod.)

4.3.2 Implementation Step 2: Identifying Phrasal Structures

The recognition of phrase structures is essential for the coherence of a sentence constituent such as the “noun phrase” capturing referential units and the “verb phrase” expressing relational units and determining their core elements as phrasal heads.

²⁹ FWC does not translate the Mongolian *tammačün*, cf. FWC 227. IDR 217 translates it as “garrison troops”.

4.3.2.1 Motives

Units that are closely related to or dependent on each other are unified and represented as phrases. This is caused by the the proximity principle, “Entities that are closer together functionally, conceptually, or cognitively will be placed closer together at the code level, i.e. temporally or spatially” (Givón 1990: 970). For instance, lexical units that are connected are closer to each other. They are organized as core (head) and periphery elements having specifying and modifying functions. A merger of verbal units like these existential verbs with other qualificatory verbs forming a unified event image can be observed. While the identification of NP seems relatively unambiguous, the status of verbal phrases seems to be one of the unclear questions in the typological research dealing with complex predication, verb serialization, and auxiliary constructions. Even more difficult is the question of defining the center or head of a verbal phrase in those constructions. Some arguments are made for “LEX-headed AVC” and “AUX-headed pattern” (cf. Anderson 2006: 37 and 142–143). Certainly, the grammaticalization paths are relevant for the discussion. Following the grammaticalization paths, though very interesting, becomes difficult in Middle Mongolian, as one would need extensive data before the period of Middle Mongolian. However, this is not the actual aim of the present work, which focuses on a comprehensive investigation of verbs within the given data, which are suspected to have been written within a certain time frame and therefore provide the knowledge system of the language producer(s) of this Middle Mongolian time frame.

In the domain of noun phrases, we deal with space/time measurements as location and orientation references represented as NP. Compared to other NPs, NPs expressing space/time are not directly governed by VP and rather function as sentence connectors. Furthermore, it is important to study phrases because this allows us to determine the ratio between VP and NP in a sentence structure.

4.3.2.2 Sample

(15) SHM § 265

tere übüil übüil-je-ǰü Tangyut irgen-tür mori-la-ya
 DIST winter winter-VR-C.IPFV Tangyut people-DAT.LOC horse-VR-VOL

NP.TIME	VP	NP	VP
---------	----	----	----

ke'e-n šini to'a to'u-la-ǰu noqai jil namur
 say-C.MOD new number number-VR-C.IPFV dog year autumn

VP	NP	VP	NP.TIME
----	----	----	---------

Činggis qahan Tangyut irgen-tür mori-la-bai qadun-d-ača
 Činggis qahan Tangyut people-DAT.LOC horse-VR-PST queen-PL-ABL

NP	NP	VP	NP
----	----	----	----

Yisüi qadun-ni ab-ču ot-ba ja'ur-a übüil
 Yisüi queen-ACC take-C.IPFV go-PST between-DAT winter

NP	VP	NP
----	----	----

Arbuqa-yin olon qula-d-i abala-'asu
 Arbuqa-GEN many wild.ass-PL-ACC hunt-C.COND

NP	VP
----	----

Činggis qahan Ĵosotu-boro-yi unu-ĵu bü-le'e
 Činggis qahan Ĵosotu-boro-ACC ride-C.IPFV be-PST

NP	NP	VP
----	----	----

qula-t da'ari-ĵu ire-'esü Ĵosotu-boro ürgü-ĵü
 wild.ass-PL pass-C.IPFV come-C.COND Ĵosotu-boro shy-C.IPFV

NP	VP	NP	VP
----	----	----	----

Činggis qahan-ni morin-ača una-'asu mariya-ban maši ebet-čü
 Činggis qahan-ACC horse-ABL fall-C.COND flesh-POSS very pain-C.IPFV

NP	NP	VP	NP	VP
----	----	----	----	----

Čo'orqat bawu-bai tere söni qono-'asu manaqar
 Čo'orqat descend-PST DIST night spend-C.COND following.morning

NP	VP	NP	VP	NP
----	----	----	----	----

Yisüi qadun ügü-le-rün kö'ü-t noya-t kele-le-ldü-tkün
 Yisüi queen word-VR-C.PREP son-PL chief-PL tongue-VR-REC-IMP

NP	VP	NP	VP
----	----	----	----

qahan söni mariya qala'un qono-ba
 qahan night flesh hot spend.night-PST

NP	NP	NP	VP
----	----	----	----

ke'e-bei ten-de kö'ü-t noya-t qura-'asu
 say-PST DIST-DAT son-PL chief-PL gather-C.COND

VP	NP	NP	VP
----	----	----	----

Qongqotad-ai Tolun-čerbi duratqa-n ügü-le-rün
 Qongqotad-GEN Tolun-čerbi advice-C.MOD word-VR-C.PREP

NP	VP
----	----

Tangyut irgen nödü-ksen balaqasu-tan nunĵi nuntuq-tan büi
 Tangyut people pound-P.PFV town-ORN permanent camp-ORN be

NP	NP	VP
----	----	----

nödü-ksen balaqasu-ban ü'ür-čü ülü ot-qun
 pound-P.PFV town-POSS carry-C.IPFV NEG go.away-P.IPFV

NP	VP
----	----

te-de nunĵi nuntug-i-yan gē-ĵü ülü ot-qun te-de
 DIST-PL permanent camp-ACC-POSS leave-C.IPFV NEG go.away-P.IPFV DIST-PL

NP	NP	VP	NP
----	----	----	----

bida iču-ju qahan-u mara'a seri'ü-dü-'esü
 1PL.INC withdraw-C.IPFV qahan-GEN flesh cool-VR-C.COND

NP	VP	NP	VP
----	----	----	----

basa jiči mori-la-t je bida
 also same horse-VR-PL yes 1PL.INC

NP	VP	NP
----	----	----

ke'e-'esü būrin kö'ü-t noya-t ene üge jöb-ši-ye-ju
 say-C.COND all son-PL chief-PL PROX word right-VR-FAC-C.IPFV

VP	NP	NP	VP
----	----	----	----

Činggis qahan-a öči-'esü Činggis qahan ügü-le-riin
 Činggis qahan-DAT petition-C.COND Činggis qahan word-VR-C.PREP

NP	VP	NP	VP
----	----	----	----

‘Wintering that winter, saying, “I shall set forth against the Tang’ud people,” newly numbering the number, in the autumn of the year of the Dog [1226] Činggis Qahan set forth against the Tang’ud people. From the queens³⁰, taking [with him] Yisüi Qadun, he departed. As, on the way, in the winter, he hunted the many wild horses of Arbuqa, Činggis Qahan was riding Josotu Boro. When the wild horses came, passing by, Josotu Boro being terrified, when Činggis Qahan fell from the horse, his flesh paining exceedingly, he pitched [at] Čo’orqat. As he passed that night, when, on the morrow, Yisüi Qadun spake, she said, “Princes and chiefs, talk [ye] unto one another. The Qahan, at night, hath passed the night, [his] flesh [being] hot.” Then when the princes and chiefs assembled themselves, when Tolun Čerbi of the Qongqotad spake, advising [them], as he said, “The Tang’ud people are one which have pounded city walls; ones which have a stable encampment. They will not depart, carrying their pounded city walls, those. They will not depart, forsaking their stable encampment, those. We, withdrawing, when the flesh of the Qahan becometh cool, again, moreover, we shall set forth,” all the princes and chiefs approving this word, when they petitioned unto Činggis Qahan, when Činggis Qahan spake, saying [...]’ (FWC 205, mod.).

4.3.3 Implementation Step 3: Identifying Simple Clauses

Representing a simple scene imagination, a simple clause with its operational core element “verb” as “relator” has a schematic property. For example, within this relation-domain we can differentiate between two maximum generalizations such as intransitive and transitive clause schemata.

4.3.3.1 Motives

Simple clauses as an expression of simple scenes are considered basic knowledge representing units of a language producer as a part of his/her speech community. Language utterances occur as basic structure representing an event image organized by verbal relational units. Therefore, this needs to be the starting point for every cross-linguistic analysis. It is substantial to identify all simple clauses in the corpus data to figure out all the schematic or typical clause constructions found in Middle Mongolian with respect to their frequency and prototypicality to measure the degree of conventionalization. Here, I use the verb-centered model of “Grammar of Scenes and Scenarios” (hereafter GSS, Schulze 1998), “event images” (Schulze 2010a) and “Schematic Constructions” (Schulze 2017a) and its terminology and annotation, because this is to my knowledge the best-established treatment of “simple clauses” in Cognitive Typology. In particular, linguistic utterances with their semantic and functional domain are taken into

³⁰ Cf. FWC 205 *qadund*, “from among his ladies”, cf. UO 134; “from among his ladies” IDR 198; *xatun* ‘lady, queen, princess; wife (hon.)’, cf. Lessing 1982: 946.

account by considering the underlying cognitive or pre-linguistic procedures. In this context, it is assumed that the scene roles in grammatical relations are grounded on the basic cognitive procedure F/G (non-dynamic), its dynamic F→G and as metaphorical derivation from the latter the C→E alignment. Between a simple clause and its cognitive motivation, a “structural iconicity” between the cognitive procedures and a simple clause can be expected. During identification of all event images in their scene settings, I measure all overt and inferential referential units (NPs) to figure out the degree of masked NPs, because it is assumed that general knowledge about the scene participants or groundings are often not linguistically expressed due to language reductionism. This is more often the case for LOC in the intransitive schematic constructions in a non-dynamic event structures due to the backgrounding (G) function. It is also worth tracing the degree of valence of a verb. Extended clause constructions (ditransitive and causative constructions) are included in the domain of simple clauses because they express a close connection between two simple clause structures and their integration into each other based on C→E schematizations.

4.3.3.2 Sample

(16) SHM § 36–39

SCs (verbs are highlighted in bold)	Clause-Schemata	Type of SC	Same/Different Subject
<i>tendeče aqa inü ügülerün</i>	A→O.CLAUSE	Vt	
<i>je teyin bö'esü</i>	S.Ø/'LOC	Vi	DS
<i>ger-tür-iyen gürçü</i>	S.Ø→'LOC	Vi	DS
<i>aqa-nar de'ü-ner eyetüldüjü</i>	S→'LOC.Ø	Vi	SS
<i>tede irgen-i ha'uluya</i>	A.Ø→'O	Vt	SS
<i>ke'eldüjü</i>	A.Ø→'O.CLAUSE	Vt	SS
<i>ger-tür-iyen gürü'et</i>	S.Ø→'LOC	Vi	SS
<i>aqa-nar de'ü-ner keleleldüjü</i>	A→'O.CLAUSE.Ø	Vt	SS
<i>morilaba</i>	S.Ø→LOC.Ø	Vi	SS
<i>mün Bodončar-i alginči ha'ulqaba</i>	A.Ø→'SO, LOC	Vt	SS
<i>Bodončar alginči ha'ulju</i>	S→'LOC	Vi	DS
<i>dumda ke'elitei eme-yi bariju</i>	A.Ø→'O	Vt	SS
<i>ya'ujin gü'ün či ke'en hasaqba</i>	A.Ø→'O.CLAUSE	Vt	SS
<i>tere eme ügülerün</i>	A→'O.CLAUSE	Vt	DS
<i>Ĵarči'ut Adangqan-Uriangqajin bi ke'ebe</i>	A.Ø→O.CLAUSE	Vt	SS
<i>tede irgen-i aqa-nar de'ü-ner tabu'ula dawuliju</i>	A→'O	Vt	DS
<i>adu'un ide'en-e haran tutqar-a aqui sa'uquy-a</i>	S.Ø/'LOC	Vi	SS
<i>gürbe</i>	S.Ø→LOC	Vi	SS

‘His elder brother then said, ‘Right. If this so, as soon as we reach home let us consult with our brothers and raid those people!’ When they reached home, older and younger brothers discussed the manner together, then set out on their horses. They had Bodončar himself ride ahead as a scout. Bodončar, as he was riding ahead reconnoitering, captured a woman who was in the middle of her pregnancy. He asked her, “To which clan do you belong?” The woman said, “I am an Adangqan Uriangqai of the Ĵarči'ut [clan].’ (cf. IDR 7)

5 BASIC TYPOLOGY OF VERB FORMATION

Structurally, Middle Mongolian belongs to the type of agglutinating languages (cf. Ramstedt 1912: 1). Morphemes representing different functions are attached as suffixes to the verbal stem. Just like in Khalkha, the Middle Mongolian verb stem is subdivided into a lexical root and verb formation elements (Tserenpil & Kullmann 2008: 33). Typological studies of morphology reveal that the occurrence of morphemes in proximity or distance to the stem indicate their semantic relevance. Bybee (1985: 33–34) takes the view that the most relevant morphemes are closest to the root and therefore derivational elements are followed by inflectional elements:

It is often observed that derivational morphemes occur closer to the root to which they attach than inflectional morphemes do. If there is a correspondence between what can be derivational or lexical and its relevance to the root meaning, then we might also expect the degree of relevance in general to predict the order of occurrence of morphemes with respect to a root or stem. More specifically, among the inflectional categories that we have surveyed, we would expect the most relevant to occur closest to the verb stem, and the least relevant to occur at the greatest distance from the verb stem [...] (Bybee 1985: 33–34).

The reason that causative is often lexicalized and tense never is, is that the combination of the causative meaning with a verb stem has a radical effect on the meaning of the resulting verb, while the combination of tense with a verb stem does not affect the inherent meaning of the verb (Bybee 1985: 19).

Admittedly, this hypothesis is not beyond doubt since the criteria for such relevance are not made clear. In fact, based on the verbal morphology of Middle Mongolian, one cannot conclusively state that one type of morpheme, such as “tense markers”, which are farthest from the verbal stem in the agglutination series, would be less relevant than, for instance, morphemes marking the “causative”. However, the point is that there are causation making morphemes for example in Mongolian corresponds to the German *lassen* ‘let’, which is grammaticalized in the context of the CAUS-construction. If the aforementioned aspect “relevance” is uncertain in terms of lexical content, the question arises whether a similar periphrastic construction is not possible to indicate time, such as: *it had happened that* or *from memory, it had passed that* and so on. That e.g. “tense” and “causative structure” belong to different categories leads to the issue of what constitutes the core feature of a verbal element. Apparently, the more remote a corresponding morpheme is from the root and stem, the more it becomes a necessary or general/abstract character. In other words, the farther away from the lexical stem, the less the function/meaning of the morpheme influences the lexical semantics. The whole thing is certainly a continuum.

According to the Middle Mongolian data, which were analyzed with a focus on lexicalized verbs, roughly three main derivational phases can be observed. During this process, all verbal units of the SHM were examined, and they were assigned to identifiable morphemes. The first and second derivational phases assume a primary (incl. root to VR) and a secondary stem (incl. FAC to PASS). The third derivational (or *probably inflectional) phase includes the features that are responsible for distinguishing and creating the three main verbal categories in Middle Mongolian. Based on the order and combinability (“/” shows the either-or) of the morphemes, a strict pattern is recognizable, whereby

all the suffixes listed in the table are only optional, in other words, they can occupy the necessary places but do not have to. A strict order of suffixes in Mongolian can be observed. An example from Khalkha *xamtraljuulagdsanaaraa* in the sentence: *tosgoniinxon xamtraljuulagdsanaaraa iliüü sain amidrax bolov* ‘Village people, in that they were caused to be organized into collective farms³¹, improved their lives’. This single word in modern Mongolian corresponds to 11 English words (cf. Tserenpil & Kullmann 2008: 33).

(17)

xam *-t* *-r* *-(a)l* *-ĵ* *-uul* *-(a)gd* *-san* *-aar* *-aa*
together -AR -VR -NR -VR -CAUS -PASS -P.PFV -INS -POSS

According to Bybee (1985: 33–34), the position of the suffixes with respect to the verbal stem in Middle Mongolian conforms to a certain system where the law of linearization of the linguistic utterance as shown in the Table 2 below is applied.

Categories	Occurrence of Suffixes									
	Verbal Stem						Completion			
Derivational phases	First		Second				Third			
Participles	PoS	VR	FAC	CAUS	REC/CO	PASS	P[±PFV]	PL[±]	CASE	POSS
Converbs	PoS	VR	FAC	CAUS	REC/CO	PASS	C			
Finites	PoS	VR	FAC	CAUS	REC/CO	PASS	TAMC			
PROCEDURE	ROOT		PRIM. STEM SEC. STEM				DERIVATION			
	DYNAMIC/CAUSE CHANGING DERIVATION						(*INFLECTIONAL) DERIVATION			

Table 2: Formation of Units based on Verbal Stem

The potential suffixes according to their occurrences and combinability are presented in Table 2. The total verbal morphology can therefore be divided into three derivation phases on the horizontal axis. The primary verbal stems are understood to be verbs, which are formed by a verb forming suffix like verbalizer (abbreviated as “VR”) based on any roots.³² These primary verbs can be extended by further suffixes like factitive, reciprocal/cooperative, causative, and passive³³, which is considered the second derivational phase. In the last or third derivation phase, which I named “completion”, a distinction is made between grammatical categories like “participles”, “converbs” and so-called “finite” or “tense” markers, as Mongolian verbs are categorically differentiated (see Poppe 2006, Ramstedt 1952, Aalto 1970, Bese 1970, among others). I have summarized “tense” and “mood” markers in the same group, although they can in Middle Mongolian certainly be treated separately. In the case of “participles”,

³¹ Literally, “into collective farms” should be translated as ‘through their collectivization’.

³² It is certainly possible to distinguish a verbal root as a primary verb from a nonverbal root as a secondary verb stem within this first derivational phase, cf. *ab-ba* ‘take-PST’ vs. *aqa-la-ba* ‘elder.brother-VR-PST’ with the semantics ‘lead/predominate’. In this case, there are no verbalizing elements.

³³ According to Ramstedt (1912: 3) they build “logical categories”. Some of them correspond to the “genera verbi” and “diatheses” of the Indo-European verb.

suffixes, which can be regarded as nominal (e.g. case-encoding), can be added. In the horizontal axis of the table, the categories are displayed which, in my opinion, can be considered syntactically motivated. These three main categories differ only in the third derivation phase. Although they can form separate categories, they have a lot in common. For example, “participles” have similarities with “converbs” in terms of case-encoding, even if this cannot be seen synchronically (see below on “Converbs” in Chapter 5.3.2). The participles may have properties in common with finite suffixes as closing elements associated with temporal aspects if they can develop through their aspectual properties such as [\pm perfective] into a formally independent clause. This can already be demonstrated in Middle Mongolian (see Chapter 5.3.1). The question of how to differentiate between inflection and derivation has not been clarified³⁴. Therefore, this area is marked with an asterisk (*) in the table. The definition depends on the interpretation of “inflection” applied usually in the Indo-European languages, and is not a characteristic feature of the so-called “Altaic languages” (Ramstedt 1952: 82–83).³⁵ Nevertheless, it seems helpful to apply this term to some verb forms because it underlines the temporal references that are present in all three main categories³⁶, i.e. “participles”, “converbs”, and “finite verbs” that are regarded as belonging to a different derivation class.

5.1 First Derivation Phase – Primary and Secondary Verb Stems

In the following sections, I will use data from the corpus to show the examples for derivations. The first derivation phase forms verbal stems through various verbalizers (secondary stem) unless the root is the verbal stem by itself (primary stem). The secondary stems can be derived from a different kind of part of speech like verbs *güyyi-če-* ‘run-VR-’ with the semantics ‘come to the end, complete, overtake’, nouns *übü-l-je-* ‘winter-VR-’ with the semantics ‘spend winter, winter’, adverbs *öter-le-* ‘quick-VR-’ in the sense of ‘hasten, hurry’, onomatopoeia *ququ-ra-* ‘onom-VR’ with the semantics ‘break, split up’, and negators *ülü-t-ke-* ‘NEG-VR-FAC-’ having the semantics ‘exterminate, finish, make (sth./so. to) nothing’. The primary verbs, which are at the same time roots, are not the subject of the following sections in which secondary verb stems are treated by various suffixes. The identifiable verbalizers in the SHM are as follows.

5.1.1 *-la/-le*³⁷

The most common verb forming morpheme is the suffix *-la/-le* and accounts for 70,5 % of all verbalizer suffixes found in SHM. It is considered as the most comprehensive of all Mongolian verbal stem

³⁴ This problem of differentiation of derivation and inflection counts among the challenges of typologically oriented researches on word formation in the world’s languages. On the one hand, the languages of the world are insufficiently explored in the absence of data; on the other hand, terminology and phenomena have mostly emerged from well-known languages and their practice, and are difficult to apply to other languages without the associated background of their phenomena and terminology, cf. Štekauer et al. (2012: 2).

³⁵ Except Turkic languages.

³⁶ Bese’s categorizations are “modal markers”, “temporal markers”, “adjective-nominalizing particles” and “converbial particles”. He speaks of particles instead of suffixes. Furthermore, he separates the modal markers from temporal markers (cf. Bese 1970: 22).

³⁷ The practice of using the upper case in suffixes for the representation of allophones or archiphonemes which is conditioned by vowel harmony, although used by some Mongolists and Turcologists, is not applied in the

formations (cf. Ramstedt 1912: 80). The following examples from SHM are intended to illustrate verbalization by this verbalizer: *aqa-la-* ‘lead, predominate’ to *aqa* ‘elder brother’, *jasaq-la-* ‘order, govern’ to *jasaq* ‘rule’, *jük-le-* ‘head, aim’ to *jük* ‘direction’, *manglai-la-* ‘be on the front as vanguard’ to *manglai* ‘forehead’, *mori-la-* ‘set on horse, move, ride, go, set forth’ to *mori* ‘horse’, *öter-le-* ‘hasten, hurry’ to *öter* ‘quick, fast’, *aqta-la-* ‘bestride (gelding)’ to *aqta-* ‘gelding’, *öterme-le-*³⁸ ‘shoot quickly’.³⁹

Complex morphemes are usually fusions of several individual morphemes, which form themselves as a kind of “template” (cf. Good 2016: 7). The verb stem building suffix *-la/-le* can also be combined with other preceding suffixes. The combination *-čila-/čile* consisting of *-la/-le* and the noun forming suffix *-či* (cf. Poppe 2006: 40, 60 and 93) is frequently used: *algin-či-la-* ‘reconnoiter, be vanguard’ to *alginči* ‘vanguard’, *alaq-či-la-* ‘prejudice, discriminate’ to *alaq* ‘spotted, stained’, *kele-či-le-* ‘interpret, report’ to *keleči* ‘interpreter, reporter’, *tarbaqa-či-la-* ‘hunt marmot’, to *tarbaqači* ‘marmot hunter’, *anda-či-la-* ‘be sworn friend’ to *anda* ‘sworn friend’ (cf. sworn friendship of *Ĵamuqa* and *Temüjin* in § 166), *de’ü-či-le-* ‘serve as younger brother’ to *de’ü* ‘younger brother’, *esük-či-le-* ‘drink kumis’ to *esük* ‘sour’ (cf. the scene of drinking kumis of Bodončar in § 31), *kö’ü-či-le-* ‘treat, raise as son’ (cf. the direct speech of Šigi Qutuqu in § 203) to *kö’ü* ‘son’, *qaĵar-či-la-* ‘guide’ to *qaĵar* ‘place/earth’, *qor-či-la-* ‘take quiver, be in charge of quiver’ to *qor* ‘quiver’.

Furthermore, there is the phonetically reduced *-l*, which can be assumed as a form of *-la/-le*. The function of the verb stem building suffix is to make an event intense or iterative (cf. Ramstedt 1912: 5) *ququ-l-* ‘break, cut, split’, e.g. shafts of bound arrows or *qo’olai* ‘throat’ to onom. *ququ* ‘break, split’ (§ 16: the scene of breaking off the single thigh of the three-year-old deer; § 245 breaking asunder of the back of Teb Tenggeri by the three strongmen). Other forms of this suffix are *-lu* and *-li* which are rarely used in the corpus, but likely represent alternants of this suffix: *amur-li-* ‘rest’ to *amur* ‘rest’, *mawuqa-li-* ‘fall out’ to *mawuqa*⁴⁰ to *mawu* ‘bad, evil’ (cf. § 131 *minü tula aqa de’ütür mawuqalin bolulča’ujai* ‘Because of me, let us not fall out with our kinsmen’), *büse-l-* ‘surround, compass’ to *büse* ‘belt’ (cf. § 196 *Naqukunnu a’ulayi büselgün bayyiju* ‘the compassing the mountain of Naqu-kun’), *mültü-l-* ‘take off, put off’ to onom. *mültü*⁴¹ (cf. § 55 Lady Hö’elün taking off her shirt; § 131 *Belgütei nasuda abaldurun bara’un qančuban mültüljü* ‘Belgütei, when wrestling, used to remove his right sleeve’).

5.1.2 *-da/-de*

The second most common verb forming suffix within the first derivation phase is *-da/-de*. It constitutes 12.1 % of all verbalizer types (see Table 3). They are shown in the following examples from SHM: *arqa-*

following work, because I am of the opinion that these attempts to unify the suffixes make them rather unclear. Furthermore, this notation is unpleasant to read. In the present work, suffixes like *-la/-le* are written as they occur in Ligeti (1971), and not as *-la*.

³⁸ The Lexem *oeter* in *oetermelejue* (as mentioned there) has been derived from Orkhon-Turkish, meaning ‘beat, kill’ (cf. UO 25 [footnote 102]).

³⁹ In Choimaa’s (2011: 37) translation of the SHM into Khalkha (*ütermel-*) with detailed commentaries, this lexeme contains both the semantics of ‘quick’ and *qarbu-* ‘shoot an arrow’.

⁴⁰ The suffix *-qa* is formally very similar to the FAC. However, an assumed FAC suffix may have developed into a noun building suffix, e.g. *-qa* in *daru-* ‘press, overpower’ to *daru-qa* ‘governor’, *-qAY* (as described there) in *qavci-* ‘conceal, stuff’ to *qavci-qaY* ‘narrow pass, hiding place’ (cf. Street 1957: 58).

⁴¹ *mültü* ‘out’ is seen as “verbal prefix”, see Bese (1970: 71).

da- ‘appease’ to *arqa* ‘method, ruse’, *čisu-da-* ‘bleed’ to *čisu* ‘blood’, *dorai-da-* (cf. *doro’itda-* in § 260) ‘crush, slam, perish, despoil, subjugate, abase’ to *dorai* ‘weak, feeble’, sometimes this lexeme occurs with *-ta*: *dorai-ta-* (cf. § 139; § 186), *kirüge-de-* ‘saw’ to *kirüge* ‘saw’, *köl-de-* ‘seize feet’ to *köl* ‘foot’, *qar-da-* ‘seize hand, do with hand, lay hand on’ (cf. § 166 the scene in which Ebügejin and Noyakin said that they shall seize his hands and grasp his feet), also this lexeme occurs with *-ta*: *qar-ta-* ‘lay hand on, seize with hand’, (cf. § 220; § 208), *mürü-de-* ‘grab shoulder, take hold of shoulder (e.g. during wrestling)’ to *mürü* ‘shoulder’, *qu’ur-da-* ‘play stringed instrument’ (cf. ‘play a [horse] fiddle’ in IDR 110). It is to be noted that the basis for the derivation is mostly nominal.

The verb stem formation suffix *-du/-dü* occur in *buru’u-du-* ‘return, escape, flee’ to *buru’u* ‘wrong’, *de’erme-dü-* ‘rob’ to *de’erme* ‘robbery’, *dongqo-du-* ‘scold, rail, utter’ to *dongqo* ‘accusation’, *ijili-dü-* ‘be(come) one of pair, or accustom’ to *ijili* ‘one of pair, accustomed’ (cf. Lessing 1960: 419), *qamtu-du-* ‘join, do together’ to *qamtu* ‘together’, *qodoli-du-* ‘shoot with arrow with a horn-tipped arrow to *qodoli* ‘arrow with a horn-tipped arrow’⁴², *üyyile-dü-*⁴³ ‘act, do’ to *üyyile* ‘deed, act’, *nereyi-dü-* (sometimes *nereyi-t-*) ‘name, call, appoint, designate, nominate’ to *nereyi* ‘name, title’ (cf. § 202 *minqadun noyat tüšin nereyidürün* ‘[He] called [them] appointing the commanders of thousand’).

The verb stem formation suffix *-tu/-tü* occur in *eye-tü-* ‘agree, be in agreement’ to *eye* ‘peace, accord, harmony, concord, amity’, *hilu’a-tu-* ‘be with gnats/flies’ to *hilu’a* ‘gnats/flies’, *jik-tü-* ‘carry out, lead, draw’ (cf. FWC 146)⁴⁴, to *jik* ‘direction, course, straightness’⁴⁵. In this category, the verb stem formation suffix *-t* is most common: *šidurqu-t-* ‘be straight, be honest/loyal’ to *šidurqu* ‘straight, honest, loyal’ (cf. § 202 *tedüi sisgei to’urqatu ulusi šidurqutqaju* ‘[and] so, brinking the people of the felt-walled tents to allegiance’), *dalda-t-* ‘hide’ to *dalda*⁴⁶ ‘secret, hidden’, *de’erme-t-* ‘rob, attack’ to *de’erme* ‘robbery’, *dongqo-t-* (cf. *dongqo-du-*) ‘scold, rail, utter’ to *dongqo* ‘accusation’, *ebüri-t-* ‘take in breast’ to *ebüri* ‘breast, self’⁴⁷, *qamtu-t-* ‘join, do together’ to *qamtu* ‘together’, *qodoli-t-* ‘shoot with horn tipped arrow’ to *qodoli* ‘arrow with horn tip’, *tübši-t-* ‘pacify’ to *tübši* ‘quiet, still’, *üli-t-* ‘destroy, kill, exterminate, wipe’ to NEG *üli* ‘nothing’, *üyyile-t-* ‘act, do’ to *üyyile* ‘deed, act’.

The suffixes *-t* and *-tu/-tü* or *-da/-de* are interchangeable, as the verb stem formation suffix *-t* can be interpreted as a reduced form of *-tu/-tü* and/or *-da/-de*.⁴⁸ This morphemic reduction is also observed in a comparative study of Mongolic and Turkic (cf. Ramstedt 1912: 37).

⁴² “horn-tipped arrow” (UO 24); FWC 22 translates it as “a bone-tipped arrow”, compare also the translation as “a knob-headed arrow” (IDR 20).

⁴³ It also described with the suffix *-tdü* (cf. § 245: *üyyile-tdü-*).

⁴⁴ Khalkha *zütge-* ‘insist, hang out, attempt’, cf. Choimaa (2011: 168).

⁴⁵ Cf. *cig* by Lessing (1960: 178).

⁴⁶ See also *dal* ‘bladebone’.

⁴⁷ Khalkha *över* ‘self, one’s own’, cf. Lessing (1960: 627).

⁴⁸ It is remarkable in the case of the verb stem formation suffixes *-da/-de/-ta/-te/-t* (cf. Ramstedt 1912: 38) that their shapes are similar to the passive forming suffixes. Assuming this, one can consider an intransitive meaning of *-da* in *al-da-* ‘lose’ (lit. ‘be lost’) to *al* ‘kill’ (cf. § 203 *tusasan činu tula yisün aldaltur bü aldatuqai* ‘on account of your services you shall not be punished for up to nine transgressions’). It also could just be a matter of phonetic coincidence.

5.1.3 -ča/-če

The verb stem formation suffix *-ča/-če* can be regarded as quite a productive suffix (6,9 %) in Middle Mongolian. In contrast to the other verbal suffixes, this suffix is already based on a verbal stem. The change in meaning can lead to the assumption that this formation is a new verbal lexeme. The suffix originally expressed reciprocity. The event situation is characterized by a certain meaning involving a plurality like in *güyyi-če-* ‘overtake, pass’ to *güyyi* ‘run’, *nökö-če-* ‘be companion/friend, supplement’ to *nökö-* ‘match, restock’, *qaqa-ča-* ‘separate, divide, bid farewell to somebody’ to onom. *qaga* (*qagas* ‘half’ cf. Ramstedt 1912: 29)⁴⁹, *derge-če-* ‘be on side of’ to *derge* ‘on side, next to’ (cf. § 146 the scene of Činggis Qahan had sit Lady Qada’an by his side).

At the level of phonological expression, this primary suffix is similar to the cooperative verb forming suffix *-lča/-lče* (cf. Poppe 2006: 63; Ramstedt 1912: 31). This complex morpheme, deriving from iterative *l*-stems and the suffix *-ča/-če* (cf. Ramstedt 1912: 31) is treated as an independent suffix in the second derivation phase besides the reciprocal suffix. Nonetheless, the reciprocal and cooperative function cannot be unambiguously separated because there is a meaning of reciprocity in both. However, there are subtle differences between REC and CO: Reciprocals have the semantics ‘one against the other’ and cooperatives have the meaning ‘one with another’. The reciprocal verb formation suffix *-ldu/-ldü* and the cooperative verb formation suffix *-lča/-lče* will be addressed separately in Chapter 5.2.3 and 5.2.4.

5.1.4 -sa

The verb stem formation *-se* as a phonetic counterpart of *-sa* is not found in the SHM, however, the suffix *-sa* and other variants are less productive (3,4 %) within the verbalizer category. It is still used in Khalkha (*-s* cf. Janhunen 2012: 146). The suffix expresses a desire or something which is liked. In this respect, it is related to the voluntative or the optative suffixes *-sü/-su/-suqai/-sügei/-sun/-sün* (see Chapter 5.3.5.3 below). As a verb stem formation suffix, it occurs in *qam-sa-* ‘join, be(come) together’ to *qam* ‘together’ (cf. § 133 *ebüges ečigesi bidanu baraqsat Tatari qamsaya bida* ‘Let us jointly attack the Tatars who have destroyed our fathers and forefathers’ (cf. IDR 56).

The verb stem formation suffix *-su* is used in *umda’a-su-* ‘be(come) thirsty’ to *umda’a* ‘beverage, drink’ (cf. § 145 *Činggis qahan dotora’an sergüjü ügüleriün čisun haq-ču bara-ba umda’asumu bi* ‘Činggis Qahan returned to consciousness) and said: “The blood has dried up completely, I am thirsty.”’, cf. IDR 65), *neyi-sü-* ‘reunite, join’ to *neyi* ‘one and all, all together’ (cf. § 89 *tende neyisüldüjü otču Burqanqaldunu ebüre Gürelgü dotora Senggür-qoroqanu Qaraĵirügenü Kökö-na’ur nuntuqlaju aquitur* ‘Once they were reunited there, they set up a camp at Kökö Na’ur (=Blue Lake) of Mount Qara Ĵirügen by the Senggür Stream, in the Gürelgü Mountains south of the Burqan Qaldun’, cf. IDR 26).

In the case of *ere-m-ši* ‘act like a man’ to *ere* ‘man/husband’ (cf. § 277), one can also assume a fusion of two former noun formation suffix *-m* (cf. Poppe 2006: 47) and *-ši*. This verb stem formation suffix

⁴⁹ Cf. Khalkha *xaga devsex* ‘step something to be *xaga*’, *xaga züsex* ‘cut something to be *xaga*’, *xaga tatax* ‘pull something to be *xaga*’.

with the shape of *-ši* is found as well in the corpus: *jöb-ši-*, ‘become right/correct’ to *jöb* ‘right, correct’. This suffix is used with an extended derivative: *jöb-ši-ye-* ‘approve, accept’ (tr.) to *jöbši-*.

The semantics of the verbs with this denominational suffix *-ši/-si* is “be given something, get something” (cf. Ramstedt 1912: 75)⁵⁰ which is also applicable in the SHM: *buru’u-ši-* ‘become wrong/incorrect/fault’ to *buru’u* ‘wrong, incorrect, fault’. By adding the suffix *-ya* in *buru’u-ši-ya-*, the verb obtains a factitive semantics ‘acknowledge a fault’. Another case like this is found in *berke-ši-ye-* ‘be afraid of’ to *berke-ši-* ‘become difficult (intr.)’ to *berke* ‘difficult’. Finally, the verb forming suffix *-s* without a vowel is very rare: *keyi-s-* ‘blow’ (cf. § 31 *časun* ‘snow’ or *hünesü* ‘hearth ash’) to *keyi* ‘air, wind’ which has an intransitive meaning.

5.1.5 *-ra/-re*

The verbs formed by the verbalizer *-ra/-re* have both intransitive and transitive meaning: *ququ-ra-* ‘break (intr.)’ to onom. *ququ-* (cf. *ququ-lu/-la-* (tr.)), *mede-re-* ‘feel, sense, acknowledge, admit (cf. § 136 *ügüsiyen medere-* ‘admit their words (=oath), cf. IDR 59’ to *mede-* ‘know, understand, perceive’, cf. Lessing 1960: 531), *qolba’a-ra-* ‘unite, combine, connect’ to *qolba’a* ‘link, combination, contact, union’ (cf. § 255 *Ča’adai ba qoyar qolba’aran güčü öksü* ‘Ča’adai and I shall, in cooperation with each other, give the strength’, cf. IDR 187), *quši’u-ra-* ‘muzzle, spout’ to *quši’u* ‘muzzle, spout’ (cf. § 195 *šibawun metü šilemelčejü quši’uraju* ‘driveling like greedy falcons’, cf. FWC 126 and IDR 120), *uda’a-ra-* ‘follow, pursue, move straightaway, continue’ to *uda’a* ‘one of a number of recurring or multiplied instances, or repeated acts’, cf. Lessing 1960: 860 (cf. § 244 *eke mede’et söni bö’et uda’aran čaqa’an teme’en köljü* ‘Knowing [of Činggis Qahan’s expedition], Mother harnessed her white camel [proceeded] after them through the night’, cf. UO 114), *hači-ra-n* ‘to take revenge/requital’ to *hači* ‘revenge, requital’ (cf. § 111 *Yekečiledüdeče Yisügei-ba’atura Hö’elün ekeyi buliju abtalāi ke’en te’üni ösön hačiran otču’ui* ‘[In former days] mother Hö’elün was abducted by Yisügei Ba’atur from Yeke Čiledü, and they set out to take revenge [for that]’, cf. IDR 41), *anggi-či-ra-* ‘separate, detach oneself, become free from’ to *anggi-či-* ‘become separate’ to *anggi* ‘group, part, section, category, unit’ (cf. § 177 *edö’e qan ečiğe minü ama’ar kele’erü olulčaju anggičiraba či* ‘Now, my father the Qan, when you separated yourself [only after] finding each other by mouth and tongue?’, cf. FWC 103⁵¹).

A lexicalized unit in the Khalkha is *abura-* ‘rescue, save, protect’ which is frequently (36 times) used in Middle Mongolian. It can be assumed to be a fusion of *abu* ‘take, grasp, get hold of’ and *-ra*. (cf. § 214 *kö’ünü amin aburaqsan* ‘saved the life of the son’, § 76 *Tayyiči’ut aqa de’üye’en qaši’u ker aburaqun bida ke’eju büküitür* ‘Just when we are saying of how to take/rescue vengeance for the bitterness by our Tayyiči’ut kinsmen’, cf. IDR 20).

The interesting thing about word formation is the question of whether in this case the verb stem formation suffix *-ra* is a final converb suffix (*-ra/-re*), see Chapter 5.3.2.1.2. It is probably derived from the combination of the noun building suffix *-r* and the dative *-a* (cf. Poppe 2006: 180 and Chapter

⁵⁰ Noted as *-si* by Ramstedt (1912: 75).

⁵¹ Another interpretation can be found in UO 71: There it says: “Now, Qan my father, have you left, although we understood each other by mouth and tongue?”. IDR 97 translates it: “And now, my father Qan when you separated from me, did you explain face to face?”.

5.3.2.1.2 below) with the semantics ‘in order to’. It is associated with some directional and purpose semantics which is also the expressive function of the dative locative case in a relational structure.

5.1.6 -ya

The verb forming suffix *-ya* is rarely documented (1,0 %) in the corpus. Its occurrence is restricted to certain verbs. Examples are found in *qubi-ya-* ‘share, part, apportion’ to *qubi* ‘part, share, portion’ (cf. § 242 *ekede kö’üt de’ünere irge qubiyaǰu ögüye* ‘I shall part and give the people to the mother, sons and the younger brothers’, cf. IDR 166).

5.1.7 -je/-ji

Although this verb stem formation suffix is not frequent, it can be certainly identified as such: *übül-je-* ‘over winter, winter’ to *übül* ‘winter’ (cf. § 187 *tere übü Abji’a-ködegeri übülebei* ‘[Činggis Qahan] spent that winter at Abji’a Ködeger’, cf. IDR 109), *qada’u-ji-* ‘be steadfast, be strong’ to *qada’u* ‘steadfast, strong’ (cf. § 82 the scene where Sorqan Šira said to Temüjin when he was searched for by the Tayyiči’ut People: *teyin kebte qada’uǰi* ‘Lie just like that and be steadfast!’⁵²). Sometimes it has another phonetic shape *-či* as in *qada’u-či-*. Although the occurrence of this suffix in the SHM is scarce, the use of it has spread, making it a productive type of this verb stem forming suffix in the current Mongolic languages (cf. *-ži* Ramstedt 1912: 52). A complex morpheme *-jile* is found in the combination of *-ji* and *-le* in *yeke-jile-* ‘make big/great (e.g. self)’ to *yeke* ‘big/great’ (cf. § 165 *ö’eriyen yekejilen setkiǰü* ‘thinking himself to be great’⁵³). The suffix *-ji* in *yeke-ji-* has an intransitive meaning. The composition of the *-ji* and *-le* yields a transitive meaning.

Further evidence for this suffix is identified in *qalta-či-* ‘crush, break, smash’ to *qalta* or *qaltu* ‘careless, hardly, hastily’ (cf. § 105 *hačıyan aburan qamuq Qa’at-Merkidi qaltačǰu qatun Börteyü’en qari’ulun aburaya* ‘Taking our vengeance, crushing all the Qa’at Merkid, making our Qatun Börte to return’, cf. IDR 36), *ququ-či-* ‘break into pieces’ to onom. *ququ* (cf. § 19 *niji’eli ya’u bayyi’ulqun ququčǰu o’orba* ‘The single [arrow shaft] – how could they have hindered [it from breaking]? – each [of them] broke and cast away’, cf. FWC 4. In the latter case it is questionable whether it should be counted to *-ča/-če* because of the iterative and intensive semantics, which is acceptable for reciprocal (REC) and cooperative suffixes (CO) (see Chapter 5.2.3 and 5.2.4.).

5.1.8 -lǰa

The verb stem formation suffix *-lǰa* is a suffix which is seldom used in SHM, but whose independent identification contains its particular semantics. Probably, we are dealing here with a complex morpheme, consisting of the intensive suffixes *-l* and *-ja*. It has continuative or iterative semantics. The verbs with the suffix *-lǰa*⁵⁴ have a characteristic, often recurring and continuous movement and appearance (cf. Ramstedt 1912: 61): *ši’a-lǰa-* ‘play knucklebone’ to *ši’a* ‘knucklebone’, *unji-lǰa-* ‘dangle frequently’ to

⁵² “lie just so and be careful!” (IDR 24)

⁵³ The translations regarding the *yeke* are slightly different, e.g. translation “thinking highly of himself” (UO 64) und “imaging himself to be very important” (IDR 84), “imaging himself to be [somebody] great” (FWC 90), “So sprach er, sich selbst erhaben dünkend” (Haenisch 1948: 57).

⁵⁴ Noted as *-lǰa* by Ramstedt (1912: 61).

unji ‘dangle’, *darba-lja-* ‘sound of rattle (of bow quiver)’ to onom. *darba*, *čerbege-lje-* ‘dangle’ to onom. *čerbege*. This suffix refers to a rhythmically moving event, which is also its prototypical function.

5.1.9 Summary

All the suffixes treated above are used to form verbs, so that verbal derivatives such as factitive, causative, reciprocal, cooperative, and passive morphemes can be suffixally connected to the so-called primary verb stem in the word formation chain. Individual evidence provides further indications that the elements from the second derivation phase can appear as verb forming suffixes, such as reciprocal, cooperative, passive, if they can form a lexicalized unit from a synchronic point of view, e.g. for reciprocal: *bayyi-ldu-* ‘fight’ *bayyi-* ‘be’ und passive *al-da-* ‘loose’ to *al-* ‘kill’, *güyyi-če-* ‘overtake, pass’ to *güyyi* ‘run’, *nökö-če-* ‘be companion/friend, supplement’ to *nökö-* ‘match, restock’. A verb stem forming suffix of this type can also be observed with the “final converb” (C.FIN) and the marker *-ra* in *abu-ra-* ‘rescue, save’ to *abu-* ‘take, get hold of’. Like in Khalkha, a serial verb consisting of two separate verbs is observed in Middle Mongolian: *ab-č-ira-* ‘bring’ which consists of *ab-* ‘take, get hold of’ and *č* as modal converb and *ira-* ‘come’ (see Chapter 7.3.2.6) if language practice allows this. However, due to the frequency and order of the suffixes, which are relatively systematic, the verbalizer of different types should be differentiated from the formations within the second derivational phase for factitive, causative, reciprocal, cooperative, and passive suffixes. In this section the various verbalizers were presented in descending order of occurrence (from most to least frequent) and some possibly merged morphemes were illustrated by examples from the corpus. In this first derivation phase, there should be a differentiation of the primary (corresponding to the verbal root) and secondary suffixes (verb forming through suffixes). In addition to the verbal root, further parts of speech and elements such as onomatopoeical, interjection and negation particles can be the primary stem or root.

The following Table 3 lists the percentage frequency of verb (stem) forming suffixes within their respective category as well as the frequency of the different types of verbalizers within the Middle Mongolian data, based on SHM.

Type of Verbalizer	Markers	Frequency	Part of the Whole
Type 1	<i>-le</i>	64,9 %	70,5 %
	<i>-la</i>	32,6 %	
	<i>-l</i>	1,5 %	
	<i>-li</i>	0,6 %	
	<i>-lu</i>	0,4 %	
Type 2	<i>-t</i>	54,1 %	15,3 %
	<i>-tü</i>	12,9 %	
	<i>-da</i>	9,6 %	
	<i>-dii</i>	8,6 %	
	<i>-du</i>	8,1 %	
	<i>-ta</i>	3,3 %	
	<i>-de</i>	2,4 %	
	<i>-tu</i>	1,0 %	
Type 3	<i>-če</i>	60,0 %	6,9 %
	<i>-ča</i>	40,0 %	
Type 4	<i>-ši</i>	58,7 %	3,4 %
	<i>-sa</i>	19,6 %	
	<i>-s</i>	15,2 %	
	<i>-si</i>	2,2 %	
	<i>-sii</i>	2,2 %	
	<i>-su</i>	2,2 %	
Type 5	<i>-ra</i>	76,0 %	1,8 %
	<i>-r</i>	16,0 %	
	<i>-re</i>	8,0 %	
Type 6	<i>-ya</i>	100 %	1,0 %
Type 7	<i>-je</i>	58,3 %	0,9 %
	<i>-či</i>	25,0 %	
	<i>-ji</i>	16,7 %	
Type 8	<i>-lja</i>	100,0 %	0,1 %

Table 3: Frequency of Verbalizers

5.2 Second Derivation Phase

After primary verbal stems are formed, suffixes such as factitive (FAC), causatives (CAUS), reciprocals (REC), cooperatives (CO) and passives (PASS) can be added in the second derivation phase. These derivational morphemes share the common property of changing semantics in terms of causation (dynamic) and non-causation (state), whether it is the formation of transitive verbs from intransitive verbs, applied by FAC (or sometimes by CAUS), or intransitive and transitive to causative⁵⁵ by CAUS. The causation can be reduced by PASS changing transitive verbs into intransitive or passivated causative ones. While FAC, CAUS, and PASS can be classified into a common category with regard to the increase and decrease of causal relations and non-causal relations, REC/CO differ from this category by changing the relational structure of events⁵⁶ regarding a certain plurality of actants. The actants of the events

⁵⁵ By causative, I mean the “embedded causative constructions” are formed by CAUS as an extended “simple clauses” in Chapter 6.2.3.

⁵⁶ In the following, events are understood as “event images”, since language can only express the imagination of events, to avoid a possible discussion whether language is the object or the event itself.

associated by verbs with REC and CO can be in a reciprocal or cooperative relation like “one against one” or “one with ones”. An exact distinction cannot be made between the two suffixes because the one is originating from the other.

5.2.1 Factitives

The terminology “transitive” and “causative” is overlapping since they are both related to causation. Therefore, they can be classified into the same category (cf. “causative voice” Kempf 2013: 53). However, both formally and syntactically they should be dealt with separately. Prototypically, the derivation of transitive verbs from intransitive ones is achieved by FAC⁵⁷. The derivation of causative verbs from transitive ones is attained by CAUS as a multiple causation forming suffix in an embedded relational event structure. Table 4 and Table 5 show the increase and decrease of causation achieved morphologically.

Increase of Causation		
derivation	morphological technique	marker ⁵⁸
N>V	VR	- <i>la/-le</i>
V _I >V _T	FAC	- <i>qa/-qe</i>
V _T >V _C	CAUS	- <i>'ul/-'ül</i>

Table 4: Dynamic/Cause changing Derivatives: Increase of Causation

Decrease of Causation		
derivation	morphological technique	marker ⁵⁹
V _T >V _I	PASS	- <i>qda/-kde</i>
V _C >V _{CP}	PASS	- <i>qda/-kde</i>
V _T >N	NR	various types

Table 5: Dynamic/Cause changing Derivatives: Decrease of Causation

FAC is a highly productive derivational suffix in Middle Mongolian. It has the function of converting intransitive verbs into transitive ones and is prototypically marked as *-qa/-qe* in *büte- 'e-* ‘cover (tr.)’ to *büte-* ‘be without air, cover (intr.), choke’, *jobo- 'a-* ‘pain, suffer (tr.)’ to *jobo-* ‘suffer, pain (intr.)’, *moqo- 'a-* ‘execute, finish’ to *moqo-* ‘execute, finish (intr.)’, *nökči- 'e-* ‘kill, end’ to *nökči-* ‘die’, *sönö- 'e-* ‘extinguish, finish’ to *sönö-* ‘extinguish, finish (intr.)’, *tuta- 'a-* ‘escape, flee’ to *tuta-* ‘be absent, lack, be missed’, *iču- 'a-* ‘make return’ to *iču-* ‘withdraw, return’, *bol-qa-* ‘make’ to *bol-* ‘become’, *bos-qa-* ‘raise’ to *bos-* ‘rise, stand up’, *bučal-qa-* ‘boil (tr.)’ to *bučal-* ‘boil (intr.)’, *bügüt-ge-* ‘unite’ to *bügüt-* ‘be(come) all’ to *bügü* ‘all, whole, common’, *či'ul-qa-* ‘assemble, bring together, gather’ to *či'ul-* ‘gather, assemble (intr.)’, *da'us-qa-* ‘finish, bring to the end, end’ to *da'us-* ‘come to the end, end (intr.)’, *e'üs-ge-* ‘establish, form’ to *e'üs-* ‘arise, come into existence, accrue’, *ges-ge-* ‘melt (tr.)’ to *ges-* ‘melt (intr.)’, *gödöl-ge-* ‘make move’ to *gödöl-* ‘move (intr.)’, *gür-ge-* ‘bring, deliver’ to *gür-* ‘reach, arrive’, *iču-qa-* ‘bring back, make withdraw’ to *iču-* ‘withdraw, return’, *keyi-s-ge-* ‘blow (tr.)’ *keyis-* ‘blow, wind

⁵⁷ In the following, the abbreviation “FAC” the suffix is meant from a word formation perspective.

⁵⁸ The most common morphemes of the respective categories are listed here. Alternants, which are partly phonetically conditioned, are to be found in Table 11 of the entire morphology.

⁵⁹ Prototypical morphemes are shown here. The alternants are partly phonetically motivated, see Table 10.

(intr.), *ös-ge-* ‘rear, grow (tr.)’, to *ös-* ‘rise, grow’, *qamtut-qa-* ‘bring/make together, unite’ to *qamtut-* ‘be(come) together, unite (intr.)’, *qar-qa-* ‘go/come out (tr.)’ to *qar-* ‘go/come out (intr.)’, *sal-qa-* ‘separate, split (tr.)’ to *sal-* ‘separate, split (intr.)’, *sögöt-ge-* ‘make kneeling down’ to *sögöt-* ‘kneel down’, *tar-qa-* ‘make disperse’ to *tar-* ‘disperse’, *üliüt-ge-* ‘exterminate’ to *üliüt-* ‘be(come) nothing’ to *üliü* as negation particle, *una-qa-* ‘fall (tr.)’ to *una-* ‘fall (intr.)’, *urus-qa-* ‘make flow’ to *urus-* ‘flow (intr.)’.

If FAC is appended to an already transitive verb, this has the same function as CAUS to induce double causation within an embedded construction like *sonos-qa-* ‘make someone listen or hear something’ to *sonos-* ‘listen, hear (tr.)’, *sur-qa-* ‘teach (tr.) someone/something’ to *sur-* ‘learn, find out (tr.)’.

FAC	Frequency
-qa	52,4 %
-ge	28,2 %
-ye	6,5 %
-’a	6,3 %
-ke	2,8 %
-’e	2,5 %
-gü	0,8 %
-ya	0,5 %

Table 6: Frequency of Factitive Suffixes

In the Table 6, all FAC variants and their percentage distribution within the SHM is summarized.

5.2.2 Causatives

Like FAC, the causative that has the most common marker -’ul/-’ül (67,3 %) serves to multiply the causal relations of an event structure. While the factitive suffixes convert inherently intransitive verbs into transitive verbs, causativizer (CAUS) transforms a transitive structure of a double transitive or causative into an integrative clause structure. According to Dixon & Aikhenvald (2000: 13), the characteristics of a prototypical causative are the following: The causative applies to an underlying intransitive clause and forms a transitive. A new argument (the causer) is added, having the function of A, whereby the underlying S as causee goes into O in the causative construction. For the Middle Mongolian it must be added that CAUS (in contrast to FAC) applies to an underlying transitive clause and forms a derived causative clause. Unlike Robbeets (2007: 159), I clearly distinguish the two causation-formation suffixes such as FAC and CAUS, whereby I would like to point out the problem of the terminus “causative”. The prototypical function of FAC having the formation $V_i > V_t$ (schematically $S \rightarrow [LOC]$ into $A \rightarrow O$) is distinguishable from CAUS having the formation $V_t > V_c$ (schematically $A \rightarrow O$ into $A \rightarrow A/SO \rightarrow O/[LOC]$) (cf. “Simple Clauses” in Chapter 6, especially the paragraph “Dynamic Relation” in 6.2.2 and 6.2.3). To sum up, the causation, which is created by VR and FAC is different than that created by CAUS.

In the word forming sequence of the verb, CAUS is placed after FAC, when they occur together: *bol-qa-’ulu-* ‘cause to cause to become’ to *bolqa-* ‘cause to become’ to *bol-* ‘become’, *qar-qa-’ul-* ‘cause to cause to go/come out’ to *qar-qa-* ‘cause to go/come out’ to *qar-* ‘go/come out’, *tar-qa-’ulu-* ‘cause to

cause disperse’ to *tar-qa-* ‘cause disperse’ to *tar-* ‘disperse (intr.)’, *ab-qa-’ul-* ‘cause to cause take’ to *abqa-* ‘cause take’ to *ab-* ‘take’, *ūr-ge-’ül-* ‘cause to cause carry’ to *ūrge-* ‘cause to carry’ to *ūr-* ‘carry’. Causatives are attached to verbs with inherent transitive semantics: *kidu-’ul-* ‘cause to kill’ to *kidu-* ‘kill’, *mede-’ül-* ‘cause know/decide’ to *mede-* ‘know, acknowledge’, *ki-’ül-* ‘cause to make’ to *ki-* ‘make’, *mököri-’ül-* ‘cause execute/annihilate’ to *mököri-* ‘die out, collapse’, *qara-’ul-*⁶⁰ ‘cause to look/see’, to *qara-* ‘look/see’.

CAUS can also be attached to verbs that have an inherent intransitive semantics. In these cases, we have a similar function to that of FAC: *bayyi-’ulu-* ‘establish together’ to *bayyi-* ‘be, stay’, *dayyiji-’ul-* ‘cause to escape/flee’ to *dayyiji-* ‘escape/flee’, *else-’ül-* ‘cause to submit’ to *else-* ‘submit, add (intr.)’, *ire-’ül-* ‘cause to come’ to *ire-* ‘come’, *oro-’ul-* ‘cause to enter’ to *oro-* ‘enter, come in’, *yabu-’ul-* ‘cause to go [away]’ to *yabu-* ‘go [away]’, *qatar-’ul-* ‘cause to trot’ to *qatar-* ‘trot’, *qaqača-’ul-* ‘cause to separate’ to *qaqača-* ‘separate’, *sundula-’ul-* ‘cause to ride behind or front on the same horse’ to *sundula-* ‘ride behind or front on the same horse’ (cf. § 101 *čeri’üt Belgüteyyin ekeyi sundula’ulju qoyar köl inü čerbegelje’ülju qadaraju gürcü ire’et* ‘the soldiers forced the mother of Belgütey to sit on one of the horses behind the rider, her both feet were dangling in the air’ (cf. IDR 32), *kebte-’ül-*⁶¹ ‘cause to lie’ to *kebte-* ‘lie’, *qari-’ul-* ‘cause to go back, return’ to *qari-* ‘go back, return’, *seri-’ül-* ‘cause wake up’ to *seri-* ‘wake up’, *töre-’ülü-* ‘cause to bear’ to *töre-* ‘bear (intr.)’, *ū-’ul-* ‘cause to drink’ to *ū-* ‘drink’, *ükü-’ülü-* ‘cause die’ to *ükü-* ‘die’. Depending on co-text and con-text, the Middle Mongolian verbs with CAUS, which is expressed morphologically, are usually translated into English using grammaticalized verbs such as “make”, “get”, “have” and “cause” to express causation (cf. Palmer 1994: 217). Depending on the degree of dependency and volition/intention of the causer or causee concerning the execution of the acts, the Middle Mongolian causative morphemes can be represented differently in English. The more the volition of the causers and causes to execute certain acts differ from each other, the higher the compulsion-relation is, and vice versa the more their volition resembles each other’s, the weaker the compulsion-relation is for the execution of the acts which are caused by the causer between them.

(18) SHM § 97

edö’-e Ĵelme-yi eme’el-i-yen toqu-’ul e’üde-’en negü-’ül
 now-DAT Ĵelme-ACC saddle-ACC-POSS put-CAUS door-POSS open-CAUS

‘Now, let Ĵelme put on your saddle, open your door.’ (IDR 30)

Therefore, further lexical English verbs like “force” and “let” can be added to the corresponding translation of causatives in the Middle Mongolian. In case of events which are not carried out by human beings or there is no human influence on the event, it can be translated by e.g. “let” in English: *naran šingge-’ülü-* ‘[he] let the sun sink’ to *šingge-* ‘sink’ (cf. § 145).

⁶⁰ This verb is a lexicalized noun unit *qara-’ul* ‘patrolman, guard’, lit. ‘someone, who is caused to look’, cf. e.g. SHM § 158, 188, 193.

⁶¹ The verbal unit *kebte’ül* is also a lexicalized nominal unit with the meaning ‘someone, who guards nights’, consisting of the causative suffix -’ül and the intransitive verb *kebte-* ‘lie’. The tasks of a nightguard is one of the most important in the Mongol army, cf. SHM § 192. A similar case is also found in *ĵasa-’ul-* ‘arbitrator, referee, guard’, cf. Khalkha *zas-uul* is someone who is the adviser, trainer, referee while wrestling. The formerly causative suffix -uul is not transparent synchronically and can be considered as deverbale noun building suffix (cf. Tserenpil & Kullmann 2008: 47).

The Table 7 shows the frequency of the causative suffixes occurring in the SHM.

CAUS	Frequency
- <i>'ul</i>	37,5 %
- <i>'ül</i>	29,5 %
- <i>'ulu</i>	14,9 %
- <i>'ülü</i>	12,6 %
- <i>'ül</i>	1,2 %
- <i>ül</i>	1,0 %
- <i>'üle</i>	1,0 %
- <i>ul</i>	0,7 %
- <i>ulu</i>	0,5 %
- <i>ülü</i>	0,5 %
- <i>'ula</i>	0,2 %
- <i>l</i>	0,2 %
- <i>'ü</i>	0,2 %
- <i>'üli</i>	0,2 %

Table 7: Frequency of Causative Suffixes

5.2.3 Reciprocals

The prototypical marker is *-ldu/-ldü* (95,8 %) of the category REC. It has the function to express “mutual interaction” (Poppe 2006: 62).

REC	Frequency
- <i>ldu</i>	50,1 %
- <i>ldü</i>	45,7 %
- <i>lda</i>	2,9 %
- <i>lde</i>	0,8 %
- <i>ledü</i>	0,3 %
- <i>ladu</i>	0,3 %

Table 8: Frequency of Reciprocal Suffixes

The REC in Middle Mongolian is a productive suffix for the formation of reciprocal dynamics of events. Because of the reciprocal nature of the relations between actors, there is a certain plurality (cf. “verb plural suffix” by Street 1957: 65) of roles and events (here more iterative/frequentative) whose semantics can be expressed by REC in the sense of ‘(with/for/to/from/of/against etc.) each other’⁶². At least two roles are involved in an event provided by verbs with reciprocal suffixes. The relation between the roles is dynamic/causal⁶³. Unlike the cooperative, however, the reciprocal is rather less friendly and is often “violent”. Any verb can be made reciprocal theoretically. But in practice, it is largely restricted to actions of a largely violent or at least “confrontational nature” (cf. Gaunt & Bayarmandakh 2004: 176).

⁶² According to Heine & Miyashita (2008: 187), there are five main sources for reciprocal forms, namely REFLEXIVE, COMRADE, ONE-ANOTHER, TOGETHER, and REPETITION.

⁶³ It relates also to verbs with non-dynamic (or state) semantics such as *bayyi-* ‘be’ in *bayyi-ldu-* ‘be with each other, fight with/against each other’. Only in such cases, we can assume dynamic or cause relation between the actants.

The formation of reciprocal verbs is relatively systematic: *abala-ldu-* ‘hunt with each other’, *aba-ldu-* ‘take each other’, *ala-ldu-* ‘kill each other/together’, *amara-ldu-* ‘love (with) each other’, *andačila-ldu-* ‘be(come) sworn friend to each other’, *bara-ldu-* ‘accomplish (with) each other’, *bayyi-ldu-* ‘be with each other, fight with/against each other’ to *bayyi-* ‘be’, *bari-ldu-* ‘hold (with) each other’, *bolja-ldu-* ‘meet, make appointment with each other’, *bulqa-ldu-* ‘fight with each other’, *čabčila-ldu-* ‘hack/hew (something with) each other’, *dobtu-ldu-* ‘attack (with) each other’, *elčile-ldü-* ‘send envoy to each other’, *eye-tü-ldü-* ‘be in agreement, agree (with) each other’, *ide-ldü-* ‘eat (with) each other’, *ilē-ldü-* ‘send to/with each other’, *jas-a-ldu-* ‘array/order (with) each other’, *ji-rqa-ldu-* ‘enjoy with each other’, *jobo-ldu-* ‘suffer (with) each other’, *jolqa-ldu-* ‘meet each other’, *jas-aqla-ldu-* ‘rule/govern (with) each other’, *kele-ldü-* ‘say/talk (with/to) each other’, *ki-ldü-* ‘make (with) each other’, *mawula-ldu-* ‘slander, despise (with) each other’, *nemürle-ldü-* ‘cover/shelter (with/for) each other’, *nengjile-ldü-* ‘inspect (with) each other’, *nököče-ldü-* ‘be(come) companion (with/to) each other’, *oljala-ldu-* ‘seize/capture, take prisoner, profit (with) each other’, *oro-ldu-* ‘enter into/with each other’⁶⁴, *qamtutqa-ldu-* ‘bring together (with) each other’, *qarbula-ldu-* ‘shoot with an arrow (with) each other’, *qatqu-ldu-* ‘sting/stab (with) each other’, *qono-ldu-* ‘spend night with each other’, *qubila-ldu-* ‘share/part (with/from) each other’, *qurimla-ldu-*⁶⁵ ‘feast (with) each other’, *sa’a-ldu-* ‘milk with each other/together’, *sere-ldü-* ‘mistrust (with) each other’, *šibawula-ldu-* ‘hunt falcon (with) each other’, *širqu-lda-* ‘sneak (with) each other’, *teberi-ldü-* ‘embrace (with) each other’, *teji’e-ldü-* ‘feed (with/for) each other’ (cf. § 26 *ö’erün qo’olaida’an qarčiqaiba’an ber teji’eldiün tere hon qarba* ‘feeding his own gullet and his hawk, that year passed’, cf. IDR 6), *temeče-ldü-* ‘fight (with) each other’, *to’ola-ldu-* ‘count (with) each other’, *töre-ldü-* ‘bear with each other’, *uda’ara-ldu-* ‘pursue, follow, proceed (with) each other’, *ügü-le-ldü-* ‘say/utter with/to each other’, *ükü-ldü-* ‘die with each other’, *umda-la-ldu-* ‘drink with each other’, *ungšila-ldu-* ‘shout with each other’, *yabu-ldu-* ‘go with/to each other’, *ye’ütke-ldü-* ‘relieve (with) each other’.

According to Street (1957: 88), CO and REC⁶⁶ are “suppletive allomorphs” of a single morpheme.⁶⁷ He considers them “verb plural suffixes” (cf. Street 1957: 65) and adds that someone as subject (his term) can agree with the plurality of the verb, but does not have to, cf. (19) and (20).

(19) SHM § 195

Ĵamuqa ten-de Naiman-lu’a čerik mori-la-ju ire-ldü-jü
 Ĵamuqa DIST-DAT Naiman-COM army horse-VR-C.IPFV come-REC-C.IPFV

‘At that time Ĵamuqa had [also] set forth with his troops and had come with the Naiman.’ (IDR 118)

In the scene, where Bo’orču and Temüjin were being pursued by some men, Bo’orču said “Friend, give me the bow and arrows, I will shoot [with him]!”

⁶⁴ E.g. into each other’s army.

⁶⁵ Ch. Khalkha *xurim* ‘wedding’.

⁶⁶ There are different terms for these morphemes. Street (1957: 65) considers them as different types of the same morpheme. Poppe (2006: 63) and Kempf (2013: 83 and 89) treat it separately as CO *-lča/-lče* and REC *-ldu/-ldü*.

⁶⁷ In contrast to Street (1957: 88), both morphemes have their own (distinguishable) semantics. They should thus be treated as separate morphemes, as they are not “arbitrary” interchangeable. Nevertheless, they can be semantically classified into a common category.

(20) SHM § 91

bi qarbula-ldu-su

1SG shoot-REC-VOL

‘I shall exchange arrow shots with him.’ (FWC 30)

Although the subject in example (20) does not coincide with the plural verb, the cooperative meaning can be achieved from the previous text, cf. SHM § 91.

5.2.4 Cooperatives

The functional commonality between cooperative and reciprocal suffixes on verbs is that both derivatives change the semantics of the verbs to which they are attached by expressing a cooperation or reciprocal action within the same superordinate category “verb plural suffix” (Street 1957: 65). The formal marker is *-lča/-lče*, which is less frequent than REC *-ldu/-ldü*. It has the function to “express cooperation with others, taking part in joint action” (Poppe 2006: 63). The cooperative describes an action of two or more people together. It is used more for action performed in a “friendly”, or at least “mutually beneficial manner” (cf. Gaunt & Bayarmandakh 2004: 161).

The cooperative suffix is probably a complex morpheme consisting of *-l* and the old reciprocal *-ča/-če* (cf. Ramstedt 1912: 29). It also has a verb forming function having reciprocal/cooperative semantics: *güyyi-če-* ‘overtake’ to *güyyi-* ‘run’, *nökö-če-* ‘be(come) companion’ to *nökö-* ‘match, complement’, *qaqa-ča-* ‘separate’ to onom. *qaqa* ‘split’, cf. § 201 *nökö-če-ldü-* ‘be(come) companion (with) each other’ which was treated as a verb forming suffix in the first derivation phase above (cf. Chapter 5.1.3).

Here are some examples from the corpus: *asa’u-lča-* ‘ask (with) each other’, *gürü-lče-* ‘reach/arrive together’, *bolu-lča-* ‘become together’, *de’ermedü-lče-* ‘rob together’, *gödölü-lče-* ‘move together’, *bayyi’ulu-lča-* ‘establish together’, *ijilidü-lče-* ‘be(come) same, similar’, *ayisu-lča-* ‘approach, advance together’, *duradu-lča-* ‘invoke together’, *olu-lča-* ‘find together’, *ösü-lče-* ‘grow up together’, *qarbu-ča-* ‘shoot arrow together or against each other’, *seri-’ülü-lče-* ‘cause wake up/warn (with) each other’, *sonosu-lča-* ‘hear together’, *suru-lča-* ‘learn, ask together’, *tusu-lča-* ‘help together or each other’ (cf. § 110 *Börte üjini taniju teberildün tusulčaba* ‘[Temüjin] recognized Lady Börte, and they embraced in each other’s arm by helping each other’, cf. IDR 40). Reciprocal *-ldu* and cooperative *-lča* cannot occur together because they are different morphemes of the same category.

CO	Frequency
<i>-lča</i>	55,0 %
<i>-lče</i>	31,7 %
<i>-ča</i>	13,3 %

Table 9: Frequency of Cooperative Suffixes

5.2.5 Passives

The passive⁶⁸ marker in Middle Mongolian is *-kde/-qda* (66,5 % of its category) and very frequent in the corpus. Passive can be added both to transitive and intransitive verbs. If it is added to transitive verbs, it has the function of reducing causation (cf. Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000: 7). These features, applied by Dixon & Aikhenvald (2000: 7) can be observed in Middle Mongolian. Through the reduction of causation by morphological passivizer in Middle Mongolian, a derived intransitive clause of an underlying transitive clause is formed. The underlying O become S in a passive construction whereby the underlying A goes into a peripheral function. In examples (21) and (22), it can be translated into English as ‘be killed’, ‘be seized’⁶⁹:

(21) SHM § 129

de'ü-ben Taičar-i ala-qda-ba ke'e-n
younger.brother-POSS Taičar-ACC kill-PASS-PST say-C.MOD

Ĵamuqa teri'ü-ten Ĵadaran qurban qarın nökö-če-ĵü
Ĵamuqa head-ORN Ĵadaran three ally match-VR-C.IPFV

‘Saying that their younger brother Taičar had been killed, the Ĵadaran having Ĵamuqa at their head, thirteen tribes becoming companions, being thirty thousand [in number],’ (FWC 59–60).

(22) SHM § 241

Quduqa-beki basa bari-qda-ĵu'u
Quduqa-beki also seize-PASS-PST.2H

‘Quduqabeki was also seized.’ (FWC 175)

If the passive morpheme is added to an intransitive verb like *yabu-* ‘go’. According to Poppe, it cannot be translated into English literally. It has the meaning “be the object of someone’s going” (cf. Poppe 2006: 62).

(23) SHM § 257

Šin-müren-e ğür-tele hülde-ĵü yabu-qda-run
Šin-river-DAT reach-C.TERM pursue-C.IPFV go-PASS-C.PREP

‘[They] were gone being pursued until the River Šin.’ (my translation)

In the verb morphology series, the passive suffixes occur after the suffixes FAC, REC/CO and CAUS. Consider (24):

(24) SHM § 275

ba bü-rün busu helige-tü bulqa irgen-tür mori-la-'ul-da-ĵu
1PL.EXC be-C.PREP other liver rebellious people-DAT.LOC horse-VR-CAUS-PASS-C.IPFV

⁶⁸ According to Ramstedt (1912: 3), they belong to the secondary verb stem and can be classified according to “logical” categories. In the Neo-Mongolian languages, however, meaning shifts can have been carried out so that the original factitives or transitives develop into intransitive and causatives to passive reading, cf. Moghol, an endangered Mongolian language in Afghanistan, *čatqa-* ‘satt sein [be full]’, actually transitive by the factitive marker *-qa* ‘saturate one’s stomach’ or Khalkha *ts'oġiül-* ‘be beaten’, passively read, actually ‘let be beaten’ or ‘let be beaten oneself’ in a causative way (cf. Ramstedt 1912: 4).

⁶⁹ The accusative morpheme in *Taičar-i* in the example (21) is governed by the verb *ke'en* ‘saying’.

jöb-i tab-i bol-qu bol-ba ke'e-jü bü-qüi-tür
 right-ACC benevolent-ACC become-P.IPFV become-PST say-C.IPFV be-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC

'So, just at the time when, having been sent to ride against a rebellious people of a different race (lit. liver⁷⁰), we were asking ourselves whether we had been successful,' (IDR 206–207, mod.)

Other examples are: *oro-'ul-da-* 'be caused to enter' to *oro-* 'enter, come in' (cf. § 112 *e'ütentür oro'uldaqun medüsi e'ütendüriyen oro'ulba* '[He] made to enter into his door [as slaves those which were] such as might be made to enter into the door [as slaves]'⁷¹, *ükü-'ül-de-* 'be caused to die' to *ükü-'die'* (cf. § 185 *edö'e ükü'ülde'esü üküüsü* 'Now, if I shall be made to die, I shall die', cf. IDR 107), *sögöt-ke-'ül-de-* 'be compelled to make kneel down' to *sögöt-* 'kneel down' (cf. § 245 *dolo'an Qongqotana endeče tendēče qa'aju namančila'ulju*⁷² *Teb-tenggeriyin goyinača sögötke'üldebe kē'et uyyilaba* '[I] was surrounded from here and there by the seven Qongqotan and compelled to repent, I was made to kneel down behind Teb Tenggeri, saying so [he] wailed', cf. IDR 171), *ayu-'ul-da-* 'be caused be frightened' to *ayu-* 'be afraid of' (cf. § 103 *Qaldunburqana qarčayin tedüi aminiyān qalqalaqdaba je bi maši ayu'uldaba bi* 'Thanks to [mountain] Qaldun Burqan, my life like a grasshopper's life was indeed shielded. But I was very frightened' (cf. IDR 33).

Passive suffixes are often attached to verbs with FAC suffixes. In these cases transitive verbs which are derived by FAC from intransitive verbs are again converted to intransitive verbs: *bol-qa-qda-* 'be made' to *bol-* 'become', *gödöl-ge-kde-* 'be moved' to *gödöl-* 'move', *guri-ya-qda-* 'be gathered' to *guri-* 'gather (intr.)', *jöbši-ye-kde-* 'be approved/accepted' to *öbši-ye-* 'approve/accept', *qar-qa-qda-* 'be came out' to *qar-* 'to come out', *tar-qa-qda-* 'be dispensed' to *tar-* 'dispense', *gür-te-* 'be reached/arrived' or 'receive, get' to *gür-* 'reach, arrive'. In the latter case, we have transitive semantics, someone gets something, cf. (25).

(25) SHM § 194

qara-'ul-un ene kele gür-te-jü
 watch-CAUS-GEN PROX message reach-PASS-C.IPFV

Tayang qan kangqay-yin Qaçir-usun-a a-ju'ui
 Tayang qan kangqay-GEN Qaçir-water-DAT be-PST.2H

'Receiving (lit. be reached) this news of the watchmen, Tayang Qan was at the Qaçir Usun of kangqay.' (FWC 122, mod.)

Table 10 shows the passive suffixes as well as their frequency in the examined corpus based on SHM.

⁷⁰ See "Liver is the seat of family sentiments" (Sárközi 2009: 159).

⁷¹ See FWC 47; cf. IDR 43: "Those suitable to be let into the tent through the door and serve as slaves were let in through the door." and translation by Haenisch (1948: 29): „Soweit sie zur Aufnahme als Diener an der Tür paßten, nahmen sie sie an die Tür als Diener und Dienerinnen.“

⁷² The Lexeme *namančila* is borrowed from the Sanskrit *namaste*, cf. the commentary of Choimaa (2011: 205), see also the investigation of some verbal lexemes which are found in SHM and their semantic relation to some Tibetan expression, see Choimaa (2016: 73).

PASS	Frequency
<i>-kde</i>	34,4 %
<i>-qda</i>	32,1 %
<i>-da</i>	16,6 %
<i>-te</i>	6,8 %
<i>-de</i>	5,6 %
<i>-ta</i>	1,7 %
<i>-kdii</i>	0,8 %
<i>-qta</i>	0,6 %
<i>-kda</i>	0,6 %
<i>-qdu</i>	0,3 %
<i>-gde</i>	0,3 %
<i>-qada</i>	0,3 %

Table 10: Frequency of Passive Suffixes

5.2.6 Summary

In the section on the second derivation phase in the verb morphology chain, we looked at derivational suffixes such as FAC, CAUS, REC/CO and PASS. The formal markers and functional dimensions such as causation and causation doubling in an integrative causation structure (embedded clause construction) were discussed using examples. The sections presented above, however, aimed at word formation, which in Middle Mongolian is nearly exclusively morphology, and its suffixial series. In summary, from a word-formation perspective, it can be said that the FAC with its prototypical function of deriving transitive from intransitive verbs and CAUS with the main function of deriving causative (double transitive)⁷³ from transitive verbs play a crucial role in the multiplication of causal structures, whereby their functions can sometimes overlap. Furthermore, the difficulty of terminology with respect to transitive and causative verbs, as they are involved in the same category “causation”, has been discussed. Passives are considered as a morphological technique to reduce causational structure⁷⁴, mostly by transforming transitive verbs into intransitive ones. For all of above categories, the frequency of occurrence of the suffixes has been summarized based on the corpus data.

⁷³ It can be called “extended transitive” or “ditransitive” (cf. Dixon & Aikhenvald 1997: 72).

⁷⁴ It includes both factitive and causative event structures.

FAC	%	REC	%	CAUS	%	CO	%	PASS	%
-qa	52,4	-ldu	50,1	-'ul	37,5	-lča	55,0	-kde	34,4
-ge	28,2	-ldü	45,7	-'ül	29,5	-lče	31,7	-qda	32,1
-ye	6,5	-lda	2,9	-'ulu	14,9	-ča	13,3	-da	16,6
-'a	6,3	-lde	0,8	-'ülü	12,6			-te	6,8
-ke	2,8	-ledü	0,3	-'ül	1,2			-de	5,6
-'e	2,5	-ladu	0,3	-ül	1,0			-ta	1,7
-gü	0,8			-'üle	1,0			-kdü	0,8
-ya	0,5			-ul	0,7			-qta	0,6
				-ulu	0,5			-kda	0,6
				-ülü	0,5			-qdu	0,3
				-'ula	0,2			-gde	0,3
				-l	0,2			-qada	0,3
				-'ü	0,2				
				-'üli	0,2				

Table 11: Frequency of FAC, REC, CAUS, CO and PASS

5.3 Third Derivation Phase – Participle, Converb and TAMC

In the third verb formation phrase, we deal with participles, converbs and finite tense suffixes. These three main categories have the same formal verb morphology up to the second derivation phase (cf. Table 2 above). All three have the verbal stem as the basis for their derivation. Only in the third derivation phase (or *inflection phase) are there some grammatical and formal differences that distinguish them from each other. For example, participles can have “case”, “plural”, and “possessive” markers (just like ordinary nouns) while converbs have converb making suffixes of a distinct type. Finite verbs have finite temporal markers as sentence closing elements. Not only do they have the verbal stem (primary or secondary) in common, but the category change within this third derivational phase leads to an overlap of criteria between these categories and also to the problem of the noun-verb distinction which was discussed controversially for a long time from the perspective of the Altaic hypothesis (Ramstedt 1952). Ramstedt (1952: 85) argues that all verbal forms, except imperative and optative forms, are nouns. This includes participles and converbs as “verbal nouns”. He also highlights the problem of the formal differentiation between the linguistic categories “nouns” and “verbs”, which in some other languages as for instance the Indo-European languages can be regarded as self-evident.

These two categories mentioned above [imperative, optative] within the conjugation are probably the only ones which are always truly verbal. All other verbal forms which serve as predicative forms or tense formations in the different Altaic languages, i.e. which express our indicative, are historically and, for the most part, conceptually only different verbal nouns (Ramstedt 1952: 85–86). [additions in square brackets are mine, original in German]

It is questionable whether the basic linguistic parameter of the categories “noun” and “verb” can be determined. Thus, the question arises what the differences between these two categories are. Does the parameter “time/aspect” also apply to the linguistic category of “nouns”, or on the other hand, is the parameter “time/aspect” not an essential feature of the linguistics category “verb”? Whether the parameter “case” belongs to the nominal or verbal category, will be discussed in the following sections

based on the data from Middle Mongolian, whereby the verbs are classified into three main domains, namely participles, converbs and finite verbs. To approach this question, it is necessary to consider the investigations in the light of Cognitive Linguistics. Generally, terms like “verbs” and “nouns” are “linguistic tags” for concepts of dynamic and non-dynamic “event images” and related “object images”. Schulze’s notion of “event image” (2017a: 1) seems to be more appropriate than the notion of just “event” because it makes clear the important difference between the “events” as such happening in the world and the “mental construction” of these events as “images” through linguistic symbolization. In the imagination processes physical objects (coded as NP) are “bounded” in space. They profile a “bounded region” (cf. Langacker 1990: 63).⁷⁵ Following this assumption, I agree with the hypothesis that every language utterance is grounded on a simple scene or linguistically expressed on a simple clause, whose basic structure is relational (cf. Schulze 2010a: 55). In this relational structure, the category verbs as head of VP have the semantic operational function. The process or states embodied by verbs cannot be imagined without invoking referential concepts, whereas the verb is a meronymic expression of a simple clause (cf. Schulze 2010a: 55). The imagination of an event situation as whole should be located in a “bounded region”. In these cases, we have event images as units which we refer to. Since the linguistic categories “participles”, “converbs” and “finite verbs” are in my opinion syntactically driven in Middle Mongolian, which leads to their formal or morphological differences⁷⁶ and is the main subject of these sections, we must assume that all these categories are connected to relational structures, because all these categories deal with the operational category “verbs” not in a simple clause in a primary sense, but in a more complex clausal relation.

5.3.1 Participles

Just as in the case of the converbs, the participle shows both the properties of the verb and that of the noun (incl. verbal adjectives). They also have a modifier function. In contrast to the converbs, which are relations of “referential events”, participles have a specific function to form referential events as a clause member. Three main usages of participles are observed: attributive, referential GRs and finite or predicative. In terms of the “time/aspect” dimension, we have two distinctive suffixes: perfective and imperfective. Table 12 shows all markers and their frequency in the corpus data.

⁷⁵ Further evidence is shown by the *wh*-question word for an event image, which requires a nominal property such as <WHAT> in “what did they do?” or in “what happened next?” (cf. Jackendoff 1983: 53).

⁷⁶ If “participles”, “converb” and “finite verbs” are meant as morphological markers, I note them as P, C, PST or PRES.

P.IPFV	Frequency	P.PFV	Frequency
- <i>qu</i>	27,0 %	- <i>qsan</i>	40,8 %
- <i>gü</i>	14,7 %	- <i>ksen</i>	32,3 %
- <i>küi</i>	14,4 %	- <i>qsa</i>	17,4 %
- <i>qun</i>	10,8 %	- <i>kse</i>	9,1 %
- <i>qui</i>	10,7 %	- <i>san</i>	0,2 %
- <i>kün</i>	7,3 %	- <i>sen</i>	0,2 %
- <i>ķui</i>	4,7 %		
- <i>qüi</i>	3,8 %		
- <i>quy</i>	2,0 %		
- <i>küy</i>	1,4 %		
- 'u	0,7 %		
- <i>qüy</i>	0,7 %		
- <i>ķuy</i>	0,6 %		
- <i>güy</i>	0,4 %		
- <i>gün</i>	0,2 %		
- <i>kuy</i>	0,2 %		
- <i>kü</i>	0,2 %		

Table 12: Frequency of (im)perfective Participles

5.3.1.1 Usage 1: Attributive

The most common usage form of the participles is attributive (41 %). In the examples (26) to (35) shown below, they occur before the reference elements, which are usually nouns. In English, they are mostly represented by relative clauses.

(26) SHM § 279

ečige-yü- 'en *řoba-n* *bayyi- 'ulu-qsan* *ulus-i* *bü* *řobo- 'a-ya*
 father-GEN-POSS suffer-C.MOD be-CAUS-P.PFV people-ACC NEG.PROH suffer-FAC-VOL

'[We] shall not make to suffer the nation which my father established by suffering.' (FWC 223, mod.)

(27) SHM § 73

sayin ečige-yin *čin-u* *ğuriya-qda-qsan* *ulus-i*
 good father-GEN 2SG.OBL-GEN assemble-PASS-P.PFV people-ACC

man-u *bürin-ü* *ulus* *ab-ču* *newü-kde-riin*
 1PL.EXC.OBL-GEN all-GEN state take-C.IPFV move-PASS-C.PREP

'the people which have been assembled by your good father and the people of us all, they were taking journey,' (FWC 20, mod.)

(28) SHM § 96

qaqača-qsan *ulus-i* *čin-u* *qam-tu-t-qa-řu* *ök-sü*
 separate-P.PFV people-ACC 2SG.OBL-GEN together-ORN-VR-FAC-C.IPFV give-VOL

'I shall bring together for you your divided people' (IDR 30)

(29) SHM § 152

ger-tür *bü-kün* *haran* *bügüde- 'er* *bos-ču* *nilbu-řu 'ui*
 tent-DAT.LOC be-P.IPFV people all-INS stand.up-C.IPFV spit-PST

'the people who were in the tent all rose and spat [on them].' (IDR 75, mod.)

(30) SHM § 110

eri-gü kereg-i-yen ol-ba bi
look.for-P.IPFV issue-ACC-POSS find-PST 1SG
'I have found what I was looking for.' (IDR 40)

(31) SHM § 136

ügü-le-ksen üge-dür-iyen ba ese gü-bei
word-VR-P.PFV word-DAT.LOC-POSS 1PL.EXC NEG reach-PST
'We did not keep to the words we spoke.' (IDR 59)

(32) SHM § 170

Temüjin kö'ün-tür qatqu-ldu-qun metü-s ke-t büi
Temüjin son-DAT.LOC sting-REC-P.IPFV like-PL who-PL be
'Who are those with son Temüjin who are likely to fight?' (IDR 90)

(33) SHM § 56

Hö'elün üjin-i Yisügei-yin abčira-qsan yosun teyi-mü
Hö'elün lady-ACC Yisügei-GEN bring-P.PFV custom DIST-PRES
'Such [was] the manner in which Yisügei brought Hö'elün Üjin.' (FWC 13)

(34) SHM § 164

eči-ge kö'ün ke'e-ldü-küi yosun teyi-mü
father son say-REC-P.IPFV custom DIST-PRES
'Such [was] the manner in which they declared themselves father and son.'⁷⁷

(35) SHM § 203

ükü-'ül-de-kün yosu-tan-i ükü-'ül alda-'ul-da-qun yosu-tan-i alda-'ul
die-CAUS-PASS-P.IPFV rule-ORN-ACC die-CAUS lose-CAUS-PASS-P.IPFV rule-ORN-ACC lose-CAUS
'execute those who deserve death, punish those who deserve punishment.' (IDR 135)

5.3.1.2 Usage 2: Clause Complement

Clause participants are provided with relational values in the form of “cases” (cf. Schulze & Sallaberger 2007: 168) and are thus in a relational structure as clause-like members. In all relational structures, in which participles having the function of a clause member, a common structure regarding segmental word formation can be established:

VERB -P[±PFV] -CASE[NOM/ACC/GEN/INS/DAT/COM/ABL]

5.3.1.2.1 VERB-P-NOM

The case nominative is characterized by a zero suffix which is prototypical for the S/A.⁷⁸

⁷⁷“Such was the reason why they declared themselves father and son.” (IDR 83); “[As for] the reason for which they declared themselves father and son” (FWC 88).

⁷⁸ Applied only to S/A in non-subordinated clauses.

(36) SHM § 92

tusa bolu-qsan min-ü ya'un tusa bol-qu
help become-P.PFV 1SG.OBL-GEN what help become-P.IPFV

‘What sort of help would my help be?’ (IDR 28)

(37) SHM § 92

ečige-yin min-ü jü'e-ksen nad-a tüge-tele büy-yü
father-GEN 1SG.OBL-GEN convey-P.PFV 1SG.OBL-DAT spread-C.TERM be-PRES

‘That which my father hath laid up [for me] is enough for me.’ (FWC 31)

(38) SHM § 134

Megüjin-se'ültü-yi qam-sa-ju ala-qsan tan-u
Megüjin-se'ültü-ACC together-VR-C.IPFV kill-P.PFV 2PL.OBL-GEN

Altan qan-a maši yeke tusa ki-bei ta
Altan qan-DAT very big service make-PST 2PL

‘You have done a very great service to the Altan Qan by your joint attack on Megüjin Se'ültü and by killing him.’ (IDR 57)

5.3.1.2.2 VERB-P-INS

(39) SHM § 212

edö'-e ö'er-ün olu-qsan jö'e-ksen-iyer-iyen ö'er-ün minqa bol-ju
now-DAT self-GEN find-P.PFV transport-P.PFV-INS-POSS self-gen thousand become-C.IPFV

‘Now, with [all the people] which thou hast found and gathered of thyself, becoming [captain of thine] own thousand,’ (FWC 153)

(40) SHM § 187

oro'a görö'esün-tür abala-'asu ala-qa-'ar abu-tqun
wild beast-DAT.LOC hunt-C.COND slaughter-P.PFV-INS take-IMP

‘When [in a battue] you slaughter wild beasts, what you slaughter you shall take away.’ (IDR 108)

(41) SHM § 187

Ong qan-nu altan terme⁷⁹ sa'u-qa-'ar
Ong qan-GEN golden tent sit-P.PFV-INS

‘[they] shall have (lit. sit) Ong Qan’s golden tent [...]’ (IDR 108, mod.)

5.3.1.2.3 VERB-P-ACC

Participles in the following examples have the function of Objective (O) as a clausal unit:

(42) SHM § 105

Yisügei qan ečige-de min-ü tusa sayi ki-kde-ksen-i setki-ju
Yisügei qan father-DAT 1SG.OBL-GEN help good make-PASS-P.PFV-ACC think-C.IPFV

‘Remembering (lit. thinking) the help and good things done to me [in former days] by his father Yisügei Qan,’ (IDR 35, mod.)

⁷⁹ *terme* means “the wooden grate of the walls of a felt tent” (cf. Lessing 1960: 806).

(43) SHM § 224

ulus bayyi-'ulu-lča-qsat jobo-ldu-qsad-i
state be-CAUS-CO-P.PFV-PL suffer-REC-P.PFV-PL-ACC

minqa-d-un noya-t bol-qa-ju
thousand-PL-GEN commander-PL become-FAC-C.IPFV

‘[Činggis Qahan] made commanders of a thousand those who had established the state with him and who had suffered with him.’ (IDR 152, mod.)

(44) SHM § 54

Merki-d-ün Yeke-čiledü Oloqunu'u-t irgen-eče öki ab-ču
Merki-PL-GEN Yeke-čiledü Oloqunu'u-PL people-ABL girl take-C.IPFV

e'üs-ge-ju ayisu-qu-yi jolqa-ju
arise-FAC-C.IPFV approach-P.IPFV-ACC encounter-C.IPFV

‘[he] encountered Yeke Čiledü of the Merkid, which, having taken a maiden from the Oloqunu’ut people and having made [her] to arise, was drawing nigh.’ (FWC 12, mod.)

(45) SHM § 68

üčüge-t qočoru-qsat de'ü-ner-i-yen belbisiün
small-PL leave.behind-P.PFV-PL younger.brother-PL-ACC-POSS widowed

bergen-i-yen asara-qu-yi či mede
sister.in.law-ACC-POSS care-P.IPFV-ACC 2SG know

‘You should know [how to] take care of your younger brothers, the little ones that [I] leave behind, and of your widowed elder sister-in-law’ (IDR 16, mod.)

(46) SHM § 90

širqa aqta-tan naiman mori-t tere yeke
light.bay gelding-ORN eight horse-PL DIST large

güri'en-ü kija'ar-a ebesü-le-n bayyi-ju bü-küy-yi üje-be
circular-GEN edge-DAT grass-VR-C.MOD stand-C.IPFV be-P.IPFV-ACC see-PST

‘[They] saw the eight horses, the light-bay geldings, standing at the edge of that large circular [camp], grazing’ (IDR 27, mod.)

(47) SHM § 135

niken üčügen kö'ü-ken-i gē-ksen-i bidan-u čeri'ü-t nuntuq-ača ol-ju'ui
one little son-DIM-ACC forsake-P.PFV-ACC 1PL.INC.OBL-GEN soldier-PL camp-ABL find-PST.2H

‘our soldiers got (lit. found) from in the encampment a little boy – [one] which [Tatar] had forsaken.’ (FWC 63, mod.)

(48) SHM § 145

jalqi-qu-yi jalqi-'at asqa-qu-yi asqa-'at
swallow-P.IPFV-ACC swallow-C.PFV spit-P.IPFV-ACC spit.out-C.PFV

‘I swallowed what I could swallow and spat out what I could spit out’ (IDR 66)

(49) SHM § 26

činō-yin ide-ksen-ni temgü-ldü-ju ide-'et
wolf-GEN eat-P.PFV-ACC pick.up-REC-C.IPFV eat-C.PFV

‘He [also] gathered (lit. picked up) together [with his falcon] and ate [the remnants of that] which the wolves had eaten.’ (FWC 6, mod.)

5.3.1.2.4 VERB-P-GEN

In the example (50) the participle corresponds to a genitive attribute, which modifies the reference following it:

(50) SHM § 217

Quyildar anda qatqu-ldu-'an-tur ami-yan öre-ǰü
Quyildar sworn.friend sting-REC-NR-DAT.LOC life-POSS forsake-C.IPFV

urid-a aman ne'e-ksen-nü tusa-yin tul-a⁸⁰
front-DAT mouth open-P.PFV-GEN service-gen lean-DAT

‘Because of sworn friend Quyildar’ service of first opening his mouth [and speaking] at the time of battle, disregarding (lit. forsaking) his life,’ (IDR 148)

Genitive attributes can be based on participles. Nouns with positional semantics such as *urid-a* ‘front-DAT’, *qoyin-a* ‘behind-DAT’ have been grammaticalized or better recategorized as “postpositions” in the current Mongolian studies (cf. Tserenpil & Kullmann 2008: 290–292). Consider the following examples:

(51) SHM § 90

üdesi naran šingge-ksen-ü qoyin-a
evening sun sink-P.PFV-GEN behind-DAT

‘At eventide, after that sun was set,’ (FWC 29)

(52) SHM § 171

ǰürčedei-yi donggot-qu-yin urid-a
ǰürčedei-ACC utter-P.IPFV-GEN front-DAT

‘Before ǰürčedei could utter a word,’ (IDR 91)

(53) SHM § 278

olon tarqa-qsan-u qoyin-a
many disperse-P.PFV-GEN behind-DAT

‘After the multitude [of men] has dispersed,’ (IDR 209)

5.3.1.2.5 VERB-P-DAT

Participants with dative are most common. It mostly has a spatial/temporal relational structure (cf. Table 13).

(54) SHM § 181

tedüi Ong qan-nača Arqai-qasar qari-qui-tur
so Ong qan-ABL Arqai-qasar return-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC

‘And so Arqai Qasar returned from Ong Qan,’ (IDR 104)

⁸⁰ It can be assumed that there is a fusion of the verb stem with the meaning ‘lean on, touch, support’ and the DAT *-a* which has developed into a postpositional grammatical marker indicating “cause”. It governs a genitive (cf. Khalkha *tul* ‘because’).

(55) SHM § 97

Onan-nu Deli'ün-boldaq-a bü-küi-tür Temüjin-i törö-küi-tür
Onan-GEN Deli'ün-boldaq-DAT be-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC Temüjin-ACC bear-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC

buluqan nelkei ögü-le'e bi
sable sheepskin give-PST.1H 1SG

‘At the moment when [ye] were at Deli’ün Boldaq of the Onan [River] and at the moment when Temüjin was born, I gave [unto him] swaddeling clothes of sable (lit. sable sheepskin).’ (FWC 33, mod.)

(56) SHM § 110

Merki-d-ün ulus Selengge huru'u söni-de dürbe-ju yabu-qui-tur
Merki-PL-GEN people Selengge down night-DAT flee-C.IPFV go-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC

‘At night Merkid people fled in disarray down the Selengge [River],’ (IDR 40)

(57) SHM § 260

Sarta'ul irgen-i edüi doroyi-ta-'ulu-qsan-tur
Sarta'ul people-ACC so.much.as.this weak-VR-CAUS-P.PFV-DAT.LOC

‘when we have made the Sarta’ul people to stoop down so much as this,’ (FWC 201)

(58) SHM § 278

bidan-i şibawu-la-qui abala-qui-tur
1PL.INC.OBL-ACC falcon-VR-P.IPFV hunt-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC

‘At the moment when we are falconing or hunting,’ (FWC 221)

(59) SHM § 260

naran singge-gü-eče urqu-qu-da güir-tele dayyin irgen büi
sun sink-P.IPFV-ABL rise-P.IPFV-DAT reach-C.TERM enemy people be

‘From [the place] where the sun sets to [the place] where it rises there are enemy people.’ (IDR 193)

5.3.1.2.6 VERB-P-ABL

The participles encoded with ablative indicate the “source” in referential event relational structures. Based on a local dimension, a temporal relation can be established between two referential events by the ablative. Thus, an event can be related to another event by showing the starting point of an action, while another action takes place which is in relation to that action. Often the semantics of the relation can be reproduced or translated by ‘since’ or ‘because’ in English.

(60) SHM § 70

kö'ü-d-i min-ü yeke ülü bol-ıuy-yača
son-PL-ACC 1SG.OBL-GEN big NEG become-P.IPFV-ABL

‘because my sons are not yet big,’ (FWC 19)⁸¹

(61) SHM § 254

bi ber uridu-s-i ülü uda'ara-kuy-ača umarta-ju a-ju'u
1SG FOC front-PL-ACC NEG follow-P.IPFV-ABL forget-C.IPFV be-PST

‘I also was forgetting [it] as if [I] would not follow the forefathers.’ (FWC 190)

⁸¹ “as my sons are not grown yet” (IDR 17)

ükü-leng-e üli erüs-te-güy-eče umarta-ju a-ju'u
die-NR-DAT NEG forestall-PASS-P.IPFV-ABL forget-C.IPFV be-PST

‘[I] was sleeping as if [I] would not be seized upon by death’ (FWC 190)

(62) SHM § 257

čerik medegü-deče in-ü üli ere-’üle-ju baw-ül-bai
army know-ABL 3SG.OBL-GEN NEG punish-CAUS-C.IPFV descend-CAUS-PST

‘he punished him by demoting him from his command of the army.’ (IDR 191)

(63) SHM § 248

altan mönggün a’urasun et tabar čerig-ün gü’ün-e güčün-e
gold silver satin goods merchandise army-GEN man-DAT strength-DAT

mede-’ülü-n da’a-quy-ača Jungdu-ača qar-qa-ju
know-CAUS-C.MOD carry-P.IPFV-ABL Jungdu-ABL go.out-FAC-C.IPFV

‘from Jungdu he sent out to the men in [his] army gold, silver, satin and goods – as much as, in their judgement, their strength [and that of their horses] could carry.’ (IDR 177)

(64) SHM § 133

jürkin-e ire-kde-qüy-eče jırqo’an üdü-t güliče-ju yada-ju
jürkin-DAT come-PASS-P.IPFV-ABL six day-PL wait-C.IPFV be.unable-C.IPFV

‘Waiting six days from the [time when it was] to be come by the Jürkin, not be able [to wait any longer],’ (FWC 62)

(65) SHM § 244

ami-tu-da üli ila-qda-qu-ača bü-le’e či
life-ORN-DAT NEG win-PASS-P.IPFV-ABL be-PST 2SG

‘you would not be vanguished by [any] living being.’ (IDR 168)

(66) SHM § 145

čima-dača aljıya-quy-ača ayu-ju ya’ara-ju
2SG.OBL-ABL tire-P.IPFV-ABL fear-C.IPFV hurry-C.IPFV

‘I was afraid [that if I went too far,] you would get tired, being in haste’ (my translation)

(67) SHM § 207

nama-yi üčügen bü-qüy-eče
2SG.OBL-ACC little be-P.IPFV-ABL

‘from [the time when] I was little’ (FWC 147)

5.3.1.2.7 VERB-P-COM

With regard to the semantics of the relation between referential events, COM has a function comparable to that of the dative, which is to establish a spatial/temporal relation.

(68) SHM § 214

qar in-ü bari-ju tata-qui-lu’a kituqai-ban alda-ju’ui
hand 3SG.OBL-GEN seize-C.IPFV pull-P.IPFV-COM knife-POSS drop-PST.2H

‘[she] seized the hand [that was drawing the knife]. She pulled [it so hard that] he dropped the knife.’ (IDR 146–147, mod.)

(69) SHM § 171

bayyi-qui-lu'a *dayin* *ǰirgin-i* *manglai-la-ǰu* *gür-čü* *ire-bei*
 stay-P.IPFV-COM enemy ǰirgin-ACC forehead-VR-C.IPFV arrive-C.IPFV come-PST

‘[As they] stood, the enemy arrived with the ǰirgin as vanguard.’ (IDR 91, mod.)

ire-qüi-lü'e *Uru'u-t* *Mangqu-t* *esergü* *dobtol-ǰu* *ǰirgin-i* *daru-bai*
 come-P.IPFV-COM Uru'u-PL Mangqu-PL against rush-C.IPFV ǰirgin-ACC overcome-PST

‘When they came [forward], the Uru’ut and the Mangqut rushed against them, overcame the ǰirgin.’ (IDR 91)

(70) SHM § 55

morin de'er-eče *naruyit-ču* *ab-ǰui-lu'a*
 horse above-ABL outstretch-C.IPFV take-P.IPFV-COM

‘with [his] reaching forth [his hands] and taking [it] from upon [his] horse’ (FWC 12)

DAT is most frequently attached to participles, followed by ACC. They are at least affected by NOM.

Case	Frequency
DAT ⁸²	46,5 %
ACC	25,9 %
GEN	9,9 %
COM	5,5 %
INS	5,0 %
ABL	4,4 %
NOM	2,9 %

Table 13: Case Suffixes on Participles

5.3.1.3 Usage 3: Predicate with(out) COP

Predicatively used participles usually occur with a copular verb. Because of their semantics, copulas can often be left out in a linguistic expression. The connection between participles and copulas are often examined in the temporal/aspectual domain. According to Poppe (1955b: 561) in the Mongolic the “manner/kind of activity” is more important than the “time of activity”, which is rather not in focus. Together with COP verbs, participles are treated as a predicate (cf. “Compound Copula” Poppe 2006: 156 and “Nominal Predicate” Poppe 2006: 159). In the current Mongolic dialects (e.g. Khalkha -*san/-sen/-son*), perfective particles [P.PFV] can appear without a COP as predicative, which is a very productive usage of it. On the other hand, the imperfective participles [P.IPFV] seem to represent a finite predicate combined with a COP or other nominal elements (cf. “nominal clause” Janhunen 2012: 228):

(71) Khalkha (Janhunen 2012: 282):

ter xun *shooden-d* *yab-sen*
 that person post.office-DAT depart-PST

‘He went to the post office.’

⁸² All dative forms are included, i.e. including DAT and DAT.LOC, see Table 34.

(72) Khalkha

ter xun shooden-d yab-ax bai-x
 that person post.office-DAT depart-P.IPFV be-P.IPFV

‘[I guess] he will go to the post office.’

ter xun shooden-d yab-ax yos-toi
 that person post.office-DAT depart-P.IPFV rule-ORN

‘He must go to the post office.’

(Lit. ‘He is equipped with [the] rule/order to go to the post office.’)

In Middle Mongolian, contrary evidence is observed. Predicates as imperfective participles⁸³ without COP (50,4 %) are most common. Least of all are the combination of perfective participles without COP (2,9 %).

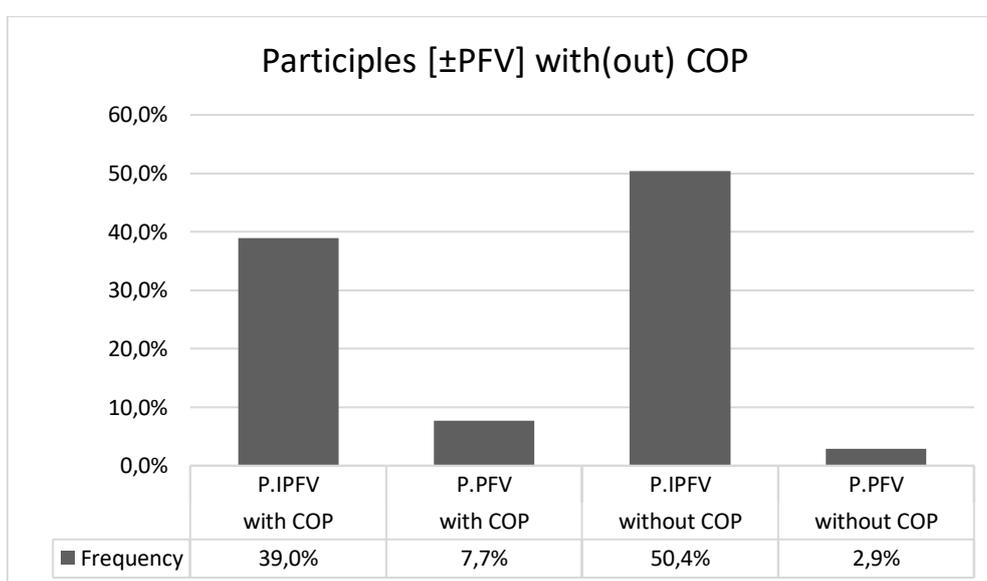


Figure 8: Participles with(out) COP

5.3.1.3.1 Participles with COP

Participles can occur as finite predicates with copulas, cf. examples (73) to (78).⁸⁴

(73) SHM § 244

Qasar bū-rün qoyar būri kökö-t min-ü bara-ju
 Qasar be-C.PREP two each breast-PL 1SG.OBL-GEN accomplish-C.IPFV

če'eji min-ü a'ui bol-tala amur-li-'ul-ju
 bosom 1SG.OBL-GEN great become-C.TERM rest-VR-CAUS-C.IPFV

če'eji a'ui bol-qa-qu bū-le'e
 bosom great become-FAC-P.IPFV be-PST

‘As for Qasar, he completely drained both my two breasts, and brought me comfort until my bosom relaxed.’
 (IDR 169)

⁸³ Sometimes, imperfective participles are noted or glossed as “noun future”, “participle future” “verbal noun”, I do not use these. See TAMC in Chapter 5.3.4 below.

⁸⁴ See also the detailed discussion on this issue in Chapter 7.3.1.

(74) SHM § 111

qatar mawui Čilger bi qatun üjün-tür qal-qu bolu-n
brutal base Čilger 1SG lady noble.lady-DAT.LOC come.near-P.IPFV become-C.MOD
'I, brutal and base Čilger, laying hand upon the lady Üjin,' (FWC 46, mod.; cf. IDR: 41)

(75) SHM § 46

Qači-külüg-ün kö'ün Qaidu Nomolun eke-deče töre-ksen bü-le'e
Qači-külüg-GEN son Qaidu Nomolun mother-ABL bear-P.PFV be-PST.1H
'Qaidu, the son of Qači Külüg, was born of Mother Nomolun.' (FWC 9)

(76) SHM § 111

Čiledü-yin de'ü Čilger-bökö-de asara-'ulu-qsan a-ju'u
Čiledü-GEN younger.brother Čilger-bökö-DAT care-CAUS-P.PFV be-PST.2H
'[they] made her to be cared for by Čilger Bökö, the younger brother of Čiledü.' (FWC 45)

(77) SHM § 96

erte üdür ečige-lü'e min-ü anda ke'e-ldü-ksen a-ju'u
early day father-COM 1SG.OBL-GEN sworn.friend say-REC-P.PFV be-PST
'in earlier days [he] declared himself sworn friends with my father.' (FWC 33, mod.)

(78) SHM § 154

erde üdür-eče Tatar irgen ebüge-s ečige-s-i bara-qsan bü-le'e
early day-ABL Tatar people forefather-PL father-PL-ACC accomplish-P.PFV be-PST
'From olden days the Tatar have destroyed our fathers and forefather' (IDR 77)

5.3.1.3.2 Participles without COP

Participles can occur as finite predicate without copulas.

(79) SHM § 83

edö'-e qara-ngkui söni ker ol-qun bida
now-DAT black-AR night how find-P.IPFV 1PL.INC
'how shall we find [him] now in the dark night?' (IDR 24, mod.)

(80) SHM § 172

a-ju ber ükü-ju ber ya'u qaqača-qun te-de
be-C.IPFV FOC die-C.IPFV FOC what part.from-P.IPFV DIST-PL
'How could they part from each other, whether living or dying?' (IDR 92)

(81) SHM § 167

tenggeri-de üliü ta'ala-qda-qun bida
heaven-DAT NEG favour-PASS-P.IPFV 1PL.INC
'we shall not be favoured by Heaven.' (IDR 85)

(82) SHM § 92

tusa bolu-qsan min-ü ya'un tusa bol-qu üliü ab-qu
help become-P.PFV 1SG.OBL-GEN what help become-P.IPFV NEG take-P.IPFV
'What sort of help would my help be? I won't take [them].' (IDR 28, mod.)

5.3.1.3.3 Summary

It can be concluded that participles have either a modifying or (finite) predicative functions or are clause members. The modifying function was most common (41 %, cf. Table 14). Among these two distinctive forms are available: perfective (36 %) and imperfective (64 %). These temporal/aspectual properties are present in all three usage groups. As sentence members, they are encoded with all identifiable case markers as relational values. This makes them involved in a complex clause relation (see “Complex Clauses” in Chapter 7.2). They were particularly frequent with DAT.LOC (47 % including other types of DAT). Predicates as imperfective participles without COP are most common. Least of all are the combination of perfective participles without COP.

Types of Use of Participles	
Attributive	41 %
Clause-like actants in relational structure	34 %
Finite	25 %

Table 14: Types of Use of Participles

5.3.2 Converbs

Haspelmath (1995: 2–3) points out that there is very little typological, cross-linguistic research on converbs, although the phenomenon of “converbs” is one of the central linguistic features of languages in Central Asia. The term was borrowed from Altaic linguistics (cf. Nedjalkov & Nedjalkov 1987, referred by Haspelmath 1995: 3) and is probably adapted by Mongolic studies (cf. Glück 2005: 350). In European languages there are various terms for converbs such as “gerund”, “(adverbial or indeclinable) participle” (Haspelmath 1995: 2)⁸⁵. A converb is defined as “*a nonfinite verb form, whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination*. Another way of putting it is that converbs are verbal adverbs, just like participles are verbal adjectives.” (Haspelmath 1995: 3).

A characteristic feature of converbs is that they cannot express an “absolute time of action”, but only the various types of “circumstances” under which the main event takes place (cf. Poppe 2006: 115). According to Poppe (2006: 115), converbs cannot behave like predicates of closed sentences, but they form a part of the predicate, depending on the temporal relation to the main action (cf. Poppe 2006: 115).⁸⁶ These and other features are treated extensively in the approaches of traditional grammar (see Poppe 1951, 1955b, 2006; Ramstedt 1952; among others). Functionally, converbs have a lot in common with participles e.g. specifying, clause member properties (through case-encoding).⁸⁷ Poppe (2006: 115) states that converbs cannot form finite forms. However, the hypothesis whether converbs can actually be predicatively used must be examined. The following sections address these questions by analyzing the different converb suffixes in their sentence structure.

⁸⁵ The Terminology problem is further discussed in Haspelmath (1995: 45).

⁸⁶ The functions of the different types of converbs correspond to those of the “junction” (see Raible 1992: 27–28).

⁸⁷ This does not mean that all their functions are the same, which certainly is not the case. However, despite the differences they have some functions in common.

5.3.2.1 Types of Converbs

Like participles, converbs share both the properties that can primarily assert a nominal paradigm (case⁸⁸) as well as those of the verbal paradigm (“relator” Schulze 2010a: 11, TAM). Within the converb types two subgroups are to be determined: “genuine converbs” and “pseudo converbs” (Poppe 2006: 95). Poppe considers those converb types as “genuine” whose nominal origin (coding ability of the “case”) can be traced back historically through examinations of the morpheme components (e.g. C.PREP, C.FIN, C.COND, see below).

5.3.2.1.1 C.PREP

The preparative converb⁸⁹ (C.PREP) with the marker *-run/-rün* seems to be a fusion whose components can be decomposed into the noun building suffix *-r* and the genitive suffix *-un/-ün* (cf. Poppe 2006: 183; Aalto 1970: 17–18). In pre-classic texts, it was not that productive, and its usage is limited to certain verbs (cf. Aalto 1970: 17). It is often used in the so-called speech act verbs as *ügüle-* ‘say, talk, utter’:

(83) SHM § 112

ǰewün e’üten-ber qaru-’at qadan-a busu gü’ün-ne ügüle-rün
left door-INS go.out-C.PFV outside-DAT other man-DAT say-C.PREP

‘[his mother] being gone out by the left door, when she spake unto another people outside, having said,’ (FWC 47, mod.)

The C.PREP shows a relation of two actions in which the action uttered by the *-run/-rün* has a function to indicate “preparation” for that which follows. Because the verb with the C.PREP immediately creates another action, it can have a parallel action chain as well as C.IPFV and C.MOD. In those cases, they can be translated into English with “after”, “when/as”:

(84) SHM § 278

basa kebte’ül-iün keşik keşik-iün noya-t tüši-rün
further nightguard-GEN company company-GEN commander-PL appoint-C.PREP

Qada’an Bulaqadar qoyar niken keşik bol-ǰu eye-tü-ldü-ǰü
Qada’an Bulaqadar two one company become-C.IPFV agreement-VR-REC-C.IPFV

‘Further, after he appointed the commanders of the various companies of nightguards, [he said], “Both Qada’an Bulaqadar, forming one company, shall consult together”’ (IDR 210, mod.)

The relation of actions often has the semantics “as he (said)”, “in consequence of (doing)” or “because he (did)” (cf. Poppe 2006: 98):

⁸⁸ These are mostly compositions from nouns forming derivatives and an opaque case. In the valency grammar one speaks of a “government”, which is controlled by a verb, whose verbalization can be e.g. in the form of morphological markers, called “case”. In the present work, by “cases”, in reference to Schulze (2010a: 63), “relational values” or “inheritance of relational values” of an event relation are meant those objects whose center is the verb in its basic structure.

⁸⁹ Term applied by Poppe (2006: 98).

(85) SHM § 155

ta'ala-qda-run *Yisügen qadun ügüle-rün*
love-PASS-C.PREP Yisügen lady say-C.PREP

‘[In consequence of] being loved [by Činggis Qahan] Lady Yisügen said,’ (IDR 78, mod.)

In many of these constructions, the nominal properties (e.g. encoding by cases) have become opaque in the current Mongolic languages and have therefore been re-categorized into the category of converbs (as nominalized verbs). The verb *ügüle-* is documented very often in this form (296 times), as it is a conventionalized opening element of direct and non-direct speeches.

5.3.2.1.2 C.FIN

The same can be observed for the final converbs (C.FIN) in combination with the marker *-ra/-re* to express “direction”, “goal” and or “purpose”, consisting of noun forming suffix *-r* and dative *-a* (cf. Poppe 2006: 180).

(86) SHM § 244

Güčü Kököčü qoyar Qasar-i bari-ra ot-ba ke'e-n eke-de ja'a-ju'u
Güčü Kököčü two Qasar-ACC seize-C.FIN go-PST say-C.MOD mother-DAT show-PST.2H

‘Güčü and Kököčü informed the mother that he had gone to seize Qasar.’ (IDR 168)

In sentence (87), *bolu-ra* is the destination of the motion verb *gür-* is ‘reach, arrive’. The relation between the *gür-* and *bolu-* is expressed by the C.FIN *-ra* and it gets consecutive semantics: *The mother reached the point that the sons became Qans:*

(87) SHM § 74

kö'ü-t qa-t bolu-ra gür-bi
son-PL qan-PL become-C.FIN reach-PST

‘the sons became Qans, [the mother] reached [to it]’ (my translation)

This consecutive or goal oriented relational structure between the events *üje-re* and *ile-be* is comparable to the following example in German: *Dobunmergen schickte seinen jüngeren Brüder zum [sie] Schauen.* In the scene, where the older brother of Dobun Mergen named Duwa Soqor, after looking down from the summit of Mount Burqan Qaldun, saw a horde of folk approaching the Tünggelik stream downwards, he said to his younger brother Dobun Mergen: “Among these people, who are approaching, there is a girl in the front part of a black cart, a beautiful one. If she has not yet been given to any man, we shall ask her for you my brother” and he sent him to have a look at her.

(88) SHM § 6

Dobun-mergen de'ü-yü-'en üje-re ile-be
Dobun-mergen younger.brother-ACC-POSS look-C.FIN send-PST

[he] sent his younger brother Dobun Mergen to have a look [at her].’ (IDR 2, mod.)

Such a relational structure “motion-destination” can also be observed in a construction with the verbs *abu-ra* and *ire-be* connected by the C.FIN marker as shown in example (89).

(89) SHM § 69

Yisügei aqa Temüjin-i möröl-ju
Yisügei elder.brother Temüjin-ACC desiderate-C.IPFV

maši öre-ben ebedü-mü Temüjin-i abu-ra ire-be
very breast-POSS ache-PRES Temüjin-ACC take-C.FIN come-PST

‘Elder brother Yisügei thinks constantly of Temüjin, his heart is aching and [I] came to get Temüjin.’ (IDR 17)

5.3.2.1.3 C.TERM

In the case of the terminal converb (C.TERM) with the marker *-tala/-tele*, there are etymological indications that it originally was attributed primarily to the nominal category. It is probably a fusion of the original DAT *-a/-e* and the nominalizing suffix *-tal/-tel* (cf. *surtal* ‘doctrine’ from *sur-* ‘learn’ Poppe 2006: 180). The proper function of the dative as directive is also recognizable here. In English this semantics “destination/direction/goal” can often be represented by “to”, “until” and “in order to”. Through the determination of a direction/goal, the matrix action can be considered to be limited (cf. Poppe 2006: 97). As the example (90) shows, the action *bülekü büle’e* ‘was churning’ is limited locally or temporally by the subordinating action *čayıtala* ‘lighten’:

(90) SHM § 85

esüg-i-yen söni-de üdür čayi-tala büle-kü bü-le’e
kumis-ACC-POSS night-DAT day lighten-C.TERM churn-P.IPFV be-PST

‘[they] used to churn their kumis [all] through the night until daybreak.’ (IDR 25)
(Lit. [they] are [those who usually] churned their kumis at night until the day lightened.)

The local/temporal limitation can also be seen in (91).

(91) SHM § 56

Onan-müren-ni tolkis-tala hoi jubur dawuris-tala
Onan-river-ACC stir-C.TERM forest valley resound-C.TERM

yeke dawu-bar uyyila-ju ayisu-ku-tur
big sound-INS wail-C.IPFV approach-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC

‘she went on wailing loudly until her voice stirred the waters of the Onan River, until it resounded throughout wood and valley.’ (IDR 12)

The following example (92) can also be interpreted as a temporary limit, where a “consecutive” interpretation is possible with the meaning “so that”:

(92) SHM § 104

bügüde Merkid-i bürel-tele
all Merkid-PL destroy.completely-C.TERM

Börte üjin-i čin-u abura-ju ök-sü bi
Börte lady-ACC 2SG.OBL-GEN rescue-C.IPFV give-VOL 1SG

‘I will rescue your lady Börte and give [you her] back so that all Merkit would be completely destroyed.’⁹⁰
(cf. my translation)

⁹⁰ “Even to the complete destruction of the Merkit, I shall rescue for you your Lady Börte.” (cf. IDR 34)

In the following sentence a “consecutive” semantics can be deduced, although a temporal limit in the sense of “until, to” can also be read. If one interprets the relational structure from a goal/effect-oriented perspective the consecutive semantics can be drawn up, which is caused by the main action of the verbal element *hawulu-* ‘destroy’:

(93) SHM § 105

eme kö'ün in-u ečül-tele hawulu-ya
 wife son 3SG.OBL-GEN finish-C.TERM destroy-VOL

‘We shall kill his wives and sons to the last one.’ (IDR 37, mod.)

(Lit. ‘We shall destroy until his wives and sons finish (be extinguished).’ (FWC 41, mod.)

qotola ulus-i in-u qo'osun bol-tala hawulu-ya
 entire people-ACC 3SG.OBL-GEN empty become-C.TERM destroy-VOL

‘We shall utterly destroy his people till nothing will be left.’ (IDR 37)

(Lit. ‘We shall wholly destroy so that (or until) there be [only] emptiness [there].’ (FWC 42, mod.)

5.3.2.1.4 C.ABT

Abtemporal converb (C.ABT) (cf. Poppe 2006: 97) is a fusion of an INS with the marker *-ar/-er/-iyar/-iyer* and a “*nomen perfecti*” (Poppe 2006: 180) *-qsa(n)/-kse(n)*. In the present corpus, it is analyzed as P-INS.⁹¹ The combined form *-saar/-seer* is considered as C.ABT in Mongolian (cf. Janhunen 2012: 299). C.ABT expresses a relation in which actions stand to one another in a “durative/frequent” semantics and can be expressed by ‘since’ in English like in (94) or verbal and adverbial units like ‘continue’ and ‘constantly’, cf. (95) to (97).

(94) SHM § 198

tere dayyiji-ju qaru-qsa-'ar čö'en gü'ün Merkid-ün Toqto'a qoyar neyile-ju
 DIST revolt-C.IPFV come.out-P.PFV-INS few man Merkid-GEN Toqto'a two join-C.IPFV

Erdis-ün Buqdurma huja'ur-a qamtu-t-ču čerig-i-yen jasa-ju a-ju'ui
 Erdis-GEN Buqdurma fountain-DAT together-VR-C.IPFV soldier-ACC-POSS set-C.IPFV be-PST.2H

‘since, revolting, he has gone out – few persons [in number] – both [he and] Toqto'a of the Merkid, joining [forces], uniting themselves at the Buqdurma Fountain of the Erdis, were setting their soldiers in order.’ (FWC 132)

(95) SHM § 212

edö'-e ö'er-ün olu-qsan jö'e-ksen-iyer-iyen ö'er-ün minqa bol-ju
 now-DAT self-GEN find-P.PFV transport-P.PFV-INS-POSS self-GEN thousand become-C.IPFV

Turuqan-tur eyetü-ldü-ju ülii-'ü a-qu či
 Turuqan-DAT.LOC agree-REC-C.IPFV NEG-Q be-P.IPFV 2SG

‘Now, will you not form your own thousand with [the people] since you have found and obtained them (lit. transported/carried) yourself, and constituted [as your own patrimony]?’ (IDR 144, mod.)

(96) SHM § 170

tere gödölü-kse-'er manaqarši üdür düli naran kebeli-'ülü-n
 DIST move-P.PFV-INS following day noon sun slant-CAUS-C.MOD

⁹¹ See also Narmandakh 2018.

Qalaqaljġit-elet gür-čü üderi-n ba'u-ba
 Qalaqaljġit-sands reach-C.IPFV have.noon.rest-C.MOD descend-PST

‘As he continued his advance, at noon of the following day he reached Qalaqaljġit Sands, where he halted to rest and eat, waiting for the sun to set.’ (IDR 89)

(97) SHM § 183

mori-la-qsa-'ar Kelüren-ü Arqal-geügi-d gür-be
 horse-VR-P.IPFV-INS Kelüren-GEN Arqal-geügi-DAT.LOC reach/arrive-PST

‘[he] rode constantly and arrived at Arqal Geügi on the [River] Kelüren.’ (my translation)

In the case of an immediate event relation, they can be interpreted as parallel actions, which is often expressed as ‘by doing this’ or connective elements like ‘and’ or ‘then’:

(98) SHM § 183

qaru-n mori-la-qsa-'ar Kelüren-ü Arqal-geügi-de gür-be
 come.out-C.MOD horse-VR-P.PFV-INS Kelüren-GEN Arqal-geügi-DAT arrive-PST

‘They rode out and arrived at Arqal Geügi on the Kelüren [River].’ (IDR 105)

In many of these constructions, the original nominal properties (e.g. being associated with “cases”) have become opaque in the current Mongolic languages, as the constituents have merged and are now counted among the types of the category “converb”. The components of the illustrated verb morphology within the category converb are partly recognizable as fusion of constituents, partly they are indeterminable. Compared to the other converb types (C.PREP, C.FIN, C.TERM), the components of C.ABT are somewhat weaker in their degree of “fossilization”, so that these components can be analyzed as such separately. Poppe categorizes the converbs into the subtypes “genuine” and “pseudo” converbs. The genuine converbs include these four types of verbs: C.PREP, C.FIN, C.TERM and C.APT. The two categories of converbs differ primarily syntactically. The actor (S/A in this work) is encoded with nominative case (marked by zero-suffix) in constructions with pseudo converb, he also can be associated with accusative or genitive in genuine converbs constructions (cf. Poppe 2006: 95).⁹²

In the following, I would like to look at so-called “pseudo converbs”, which have rather verbal characteristics in the foreground, and no nominal markers such as cases are recognizable.

5.3.2.1.5 C.COND

The conditional converb is marked by *-basu/-besü* in the Middle Mongolian. It expresses prototypically a condition under which the main action is performed (cf. Poppe 2006: 95).

(99) SHM § 121

Temüġin čġi ulus-un eġen bolu-'asu
 Temüġin 2SG people-GEN lord become-C.COND

nama-yi ġi'a-qsan-u tul-a ker ġirqa-'ul-qu čġi
 1SG.OBL-ACC show-P.PFV-GEN lean-DAT how pleasure-CAUS-P.IPFV 2SG

‘Temüġin, if you become lord of the people, how will you please me for [this] augury?’ (IDR 48)

⁹² It should be noted that this applies only to subordinated clauses.

ünen te-yin ulus mede-’ülü-’esü tümen-ü noyan bol-qa-su
 true DIST-GEN people know-CAUS-C.COND ten.thousand-GEN lord become-FAC-VOL

‘If it is indeed given to me to rule over the people [as you say], I will make you a leader of ten thousand.’ (IDR 48)

Sometimes, it has a temporal relational semantics like ‘as, when’ if it relates to past events. In these cases, it can be expressed by “when” in English.

(100) SHM § 85

tere belge sonos-ču yabu-basu büle’ür-ün dawu sonos-ču gü-čü
 DIST sign hear-C.IPFV go-C.COND churner-GEN sound hear-C.IPFV reach-C.IPFV

‘Listening for this sign, as he went, hearing the sound of the churner, he arrived [there].’ (cf. IDR 25, mod.; cf. FWC 28)

(101) SHM § 85

ger-tür in-ü oro-basu Sorqan-šira eke-ben de’ü-ner-i-yen
 yurt-DAT.LOC 3SG.OBL-GEN enter-C.COND Sorqan-šira mother-POSS younger.brother-PL-ACC-POSS

eri-n ot ese-’ü ke-le-lü’e bi yekin ire-be či ke’e-be
 look.for-C.MOD go NEG-Q say-PST.1H 1SG why come-PST 2SG say-PST

‘When [he] entered the yurt, Sorqan Šira said, “Didn’t I tell you to go and look for your mother and younger brothers? Why did you come here?”’ (cf. IDR 25, mod.)

5.3.2.1.6 C.IPFV

The imperfective converb (C.IPFV) with the formal marker *-ju/-jü/-ču/-čü* is the most productive suffix, representing almost half of all converbal suffixes (50,1 %, cf. Table 15). Verbs with C.IPFV can be regarded syntactically and semantically “subordinate” to the main event, which ends with a final predicate, because the temporal dimension “depends” on the main event expressed by main verb with the final tense markers (cf. Poppe 2006: 115). The connection between the “paratactic partial sentences” (cf. Senderjav 2003) is sometimes also known as “adverbial clauses” and express by means of converb suffixes the path/manner or “circumstances” (Poppe 2006: 115), under which main event takes place (see also Chapter 7.2 and 7.3).

(102) SHM § 108

Temüjin To’oril qan Ĵaqa-gambu qurban qamtu-t-ču
 Temüjin To’oril qan Ĵaqa-gambu three together-VR-C.IPFV

ten-d-eče gödöl-jü Onan-nu Botoqan-bo’orji-da gü-beresü
 DIST-DAT-ABL move-C.IPFV Onan-GEN Botoqan-bo’orji-DAT arrive-C.COND

Ĵamuqa bolĴāl qurban üdür urid-a gü-čü’üi
 Ĵamuqa appointed.meeting three day front-DAT arrive-PST.2H

‘Temüjin, To’oril Qan and Ĵaqa-gambu came together, starting off from there. When they arrived at Botoqan Bo’orji at the source of the Onan [River], Ĵamuqa had [already] reached the appointed meeting place three days before.’ (IDR 39, mod.)

(103) SHM § 31

hörene ümERE-ečē⁹³ kei bolu-'asu noqu-t qalawu-d-un
west north-ABL wind become-C.COND duck-PL goose-PL-GEN

ödün hüsün an-u burqaliq časun keyi-s-ǰü ire-mü
feather fluff 3PL.OBL-GEN swirling snow wind-VR-C.IPFV come-PRES

‘when the wind blows from the north-west, the fluff and feathers of the ducks and geese caught by his hawk are scattered and fly over here like swirling snow.’ (IDR 6)

The functions of the different types of converbs correspond to those of the “Junction” (cf. Raible 1992: 27–28). Junctors combine clause-like constructions like in the case of converbs. Linear (successive) units are set in relation to one another and are thereby arranged together into larger units. According to Raible’s “principles of aggregation and integration” (1992: 27–30), the relation called “junction” between the clause-like elements being connected with each other in a linear order can be expressed linguistically by some additional signals (“integration”) or can also be largely left to the communication partner (“aggregation”). This being the case, converbs are linguistically expressed by morphological markers for such relations between clause-like units.

In the case of C.IPFV, it is frequently observed that the main activity is carried out by COP as a semantical neutral verb. Due to their semantic content (compared to other verbs), copulas like *bü(i)/bayyi-/a-* ‘be, exist, live’ or *bol-* ‘become’ contribute to an aspectual character of the event (cf. Poppe 1955b). In these cases, semantically dominant verbs determine the meaning of the sentence, whereby the copular verbs obtain the status of “auxiliary” verbs, thus contributing to the aspectual property of the event structure caused by the narrowness in the linear verbal chain (see also Chapter 7.3.1).

(104) SHM § 43

tere Qabiči-ba'atur-un eke-yin inǰe ire-ksen-i Bodončar tata-ǰu bü-le'e
DIST Qabiči-ba'atur-GEN mother-GEN dowry come-P.PFV-ACC Bodončar pull-C.IPFV be-PST.1H

‘Bodončar took (lit. pulled) as concubine a housemaid of Qabiči-ba'atur's mother, who had come as dowry.’ (IDR 8, mod.)

The C.IPFV shares this functional property with the C.MOD, consider (105) and (106).

(105) SHM § 52

qamuq Mongqol-i Qabul-qahan mede-n a-ba
all Mongqol-ACC Qabul-qahan know-C.MOD be-PST

‘Qabul Qahan ruled over all Mongols.’ (IDR 10)

(106) SHM § 67

te-de Tatar tani-n a-ǰu'u
DIST-PL Tatar recognize-C.MOD be-PST.2H

‘those Tatars recognized [him].’ (IDR 16, mod.)

In this respect, C.IPFV and C.MOD behave similarly to a combined form of participles and COP as a predicate in its third functional usage like as discussed above. Some scholars regard this as “analytic

⁹³ Cf. Khalkha *baruun xoinoos* in Choimaa (2011: 16).

forms” or “combined forms” in the domain of the temporal/aspectual system (cf. Brosig 2014: 35; “analytic-synthetic cycle” Hsiao 2013: 1076).

(107) SHM § 181

qan ečiǵe bidan-u bida qoyar-i sača’u asara-qu bü-le’e
 qan father 1PL.INC.OBL-GEN 1PL.INC two-ACC equal look.after-P.IPFV be-PST.1H

‘Our father the Qan looked after both of us equally.’ (IDR 103, mod.)

(108) SHM § 57

Mongqol-un jırqa-lang debse-n qurim-la-n jırqa-qu bü-le’e
 Mongol-GEN rejoice-NR cover-C.MOD feast-VR-C.MOD rejoice-P.IPFV be-PST.1H

‘As for the rejoicing of the Mongyol, they were wont to rejoice, dancing and feasting.’ (FWC 13–14)

The slight difference between C.IPFV and C.MOD is that the former has a locally and temporally “simultaneous” semantics with the main action in the focus, while the semantics of the latter is the “manner” in which the main action is performed and is more in the foreground of relational events. In English both can be expressed by the suffix *-ing* appended to a verb (see more discussion on this issue in Chapter 7.2).

5.3.2.1.7 C.MOD

The modal converb is marked with *-n*. It expresses an event indicating the manner (cf. Poppe 2006: 96–97). The corresponding translation into English would be ‘where, by where, in which, by’ or just by *V-ing* like *gürü-n* ‘keeping’ in (104).

(109) SHM § 104

edö’e tere üge-dür-iyen gürü-n buluqan daqu-yin qari’u bügüde Merki-d-i
 now-DAT DIST word-DAT.LOC-POSS reach-C.MOD sable coat-GEN return all Merki-PL-ACC

bürel-tele Börte üjin-i čin-u abura-ju ök-sü bi
 completely.destroy-C.TERM Börte lady-ACC 2SG.OBL-GEN rescue-C.IPFV give-VOL 1SG

‘Now, keeping to that my word, in return for the coat of sables, I shall save and give [you] your lady Börte [back] [even] until I destroy wholly the Merkit.’ (FWC 38–39, mod.)

5.3.2.1.8 C.PFV

The perfective converbs are marked with *-’at/-’et*. C.PFV can be reproduced with temporal anteriority ‘after’:

(110) SHM § 93

Temüjin-ne tel qurıqan ala-ju günesü öǵü’et
 Temüjin-DAT offspring.sucking.two.ewes lamb kill-C.IPFV food give-C.PFV

nambuqa de’ürge jasa-ju günesü-le-’ül-be
 leathern.bucket load prepare-C.IPFV food-VR-CAUS-PST

‘After killing a lamb which had been suckled of two ewes⁹⁴ and having given it to Temüjin as provision [for the way] and he made ready a leathern bucket [full of milk] as lading and [so] made [him] to have provision.’ (FWC 31, mod.)

⁹⁴ stretched (=fat) lamb

The distance between the subordinate verb with the C.IPFV and the verb of the matrix clause can cause the actions to occur closer to each other and have a paratactic effect, although for a verb with the C.IPFV strictly anterior semantics are expected. In these cases, the actors of the events frequently coincide.

(111) SHM § 77

Bekter üje-’et ügü-le-riin
 Bekter see-C.PFV word-VR-C.PREP

‘Bekter saw [them] and said,’ (IDR 20–21, mod.)
 (Lit. After Bekter saw [them], he said,)’

(112) SHM § 32

Buqu-qatagi aqa in-ü üje-’et tani-ju abu-’at
 Buqu-qatagi elder.brother 3SG.OBL-GEN look-C.PFV recognize-C.IPFV take-C.PFV

udurit-ču Onan-müren ö’ede qatara-ju yorči-ju talbi-ba
 lead-C.IPFV Onan-river upstream trott.off-C.IPFV set.out-C.IPFV let.go-PST

‘As soon as his elder brother Buqu Qatagi saw [him], he recognized [him]; [he] led [him] away and set out, trotting off upstream along the Onan River.’ (IDR 7, mod.)

The verbs *abu-’at* in *taniju abu-’at* is a strongly grammaticalized form for the expression of a resultant action, which is additionally reinforced by the C.IPFV. Because the functionality is similar to that of a “light verb” construction acting as an “auxiliary-like” (cf. Wohlgemuth 2009: 102) verb, it has some kind of grammatical information like those of the TAMC-domain. As a result, the “heavy verb” *abu-’take* loses its “heavy” semantics of ‘take’ (cf. Chapter 7.3.3.4). Such a fading of the property of a “heavy verb” is often associated with an increased degree of usage of the verb, causing a general functional and operational meaning (grammatical meanings) in the process of grammaticalization (cf. Bybee & Pagliuca 1985: 72–76).

In line with cognitive processing mechanisms, the model of Dixon (2009: 2–3) assumes relational structure between “Focal clause” (FC) and “Supporting clause” (SC) with the various semantic types of clause linking (cf. Dixon 2009: 2). In the case of Middle Mongolian, there are converb types appended to verbs to mark these semantic relations between focal and supporting clauses. It is appropriate for many of such converb constructions to translate them into non-Mongolian languages with corresponding elements like ‘by’, ‘then’, ‘at that time’ and so on to express paratactic structures, in order to obtain the textual coherence and cohesion which are held by converbs.

Clause constructions linked by converbs are very productive in Middle Mongolian data. The names of these identified converb constructions are based on the terminology of Mongolian studies, applied by especially Poppe 2006 and Ramstedt 1952. The following table gives an overview on the types of converb in Middle Mongolian according to the identifiable morphemes and their productivity measured based on their occurrences.

Types of Converb	Markers	Frequency	Total
imperfective	<i>-ĵu</i>	51,7 %	50,1 %
	<i>-ĵü</i>	35,5 %	
	<i>-ĉu</i>	8,0 %	
	<i>-ĉü</i>	4,8 %	
modal	<i>-n</i>	99,9 %	22,1 %
	<i>-m</i>	0,1 %	
preparative	<i>-rün</i>	72,2 %	10,9 %
	<i>-run</i>	27,8 %	
conditional	<i>-'esü</i>	48,9 %	8,7 %
	<i>-'asu</i>	46,2 %	
	<i>-basu</i>	2,7 %	
	<i>-besü</i>	1,5 %	
	<i>-'esu</i>	0,4 %	
	<i>-lasu</i>	0,2 %	
perfective	<i>-'et</i>	61,4 %	5,1 %
	<i>-'at</i>	36,5 %	
	<i>-at</i>	1,1 %	
	<i>-et</i>	1,1 %	
terminal	<i>-tele</i>	59,6 %	2,5 %
	<i>-tala</i>	39,7 %	
	<i>-tal</i>	0,7 %	
final	<i>-ra</i>	57,9 %	0,7 %
	<i>-re</i>	31,6 %	
	<i>-ru</i>	7,9 %	
	<i>-rü</i>	2,6 %	

Table 15: Frequency of Converb Types

5.3.2.1.9 Summary

As discussed in the previous sections, both participles and converbs (especially genuine converbs) are regarded as verbal nouns, because of the encoding with case markers. While participles occur as adnominal modifiers, converbs occur adverbially. Both have a modifying function to the related elements. It is common to both categories that they can be involved as a clause member in a relational event structure. The relation between the subordinate and the matrix clause can be simplified as shown in Figure 9. In the field of complex clauses, we must deal with event images which are converted into a referential domain from a relational dimension (cf. Schulze 2008: 5). In the relational fields, both participles and converbs are associated with a matrix and subordinate or complex clause and simple clauses.

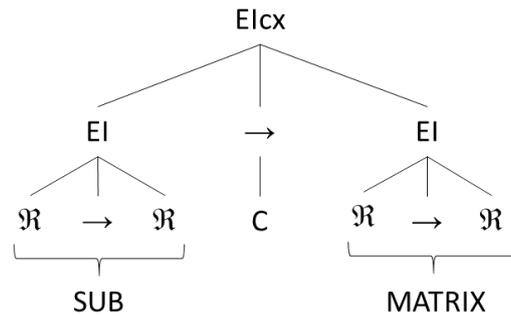


Figure 9: Converbs as Connector in the Matrix and Subordination Relations⁹⁵

The three main categories of verbs can be determined with regard to their associated parameters which are mostly morphologically expressed. All three are subject to the discussion about the verbal noun and thus related to the noun-verb distinction and have aspectual and temporal properties. From the cognitive linguistics point of view this means that they have relational and referential functions, which is achieved by “case”.

Furthermore, all three categories have in common that they are sentence closing units expressing event images. Aspectual/temporal semantics of participles and converbs are dependent on the temporal relation of their matrix clauses. At the same time, they form a finite verb (as relator) in their basal structure within their subordinate clause.

Associated Parameters	REF/REL [±N/V]	TIME [±PST]	ASPECT [±PFV]	CASE
Participles	+	+	+	+
Converbs	+	+	+	+/?
Predicate	+	+	+	?

Table 16: Constellation of three Main Syntactic Driven Categories

In the next section, we will discuss the indicative suffixes, which belong to the third derivation phase besides participles and converbs.

5.3.3 Finite Tense Markers

It is not certain at all whether one can speak of a finite tense marker in Middle Mongolian. In general, it is assumed that the current Mongolic languages do not have any agreement phenomena between the “finite” verb or predicate with respect to number and person (cf. Kausen 2013: 511).⁹⁶ Ramstedt (1952: 82–83) points out that in the Altaic languages, including the Mongolian languages, the term “finite verb” was used in the traditional grammar of the ancient languages in which there are no marks

⁹⁵ The symbol \mathfrak{R} stands for “referential unit” (cf. Schulze 2014: 24). “EIcx” stands for event image complex, and “C” for converb.

⁹⁶ Except some variation, e.g. in Buriat, one of the Mongolian languages, there is a person marker which has the same predicative suffixes. These personal marking suffixes are attached to all tense signs with a few exceptions (optative and imperative forms) (cf. Poppe 1960: 57).

on finite verbs for persons who perform the actions, unlike in Indo-European languages. He also notes that the person marks on the verb is a later development in Turkic.

In the Indo-European languages such verb forms, in which a person concept (I, you, he, etc.) is expressed, are called Verba finita. In the Altaic languages, on the other hand, this term can be used in a more general sense for all verb forms which indicate the sentence as completed. The verb of the Altaic languages is or was originally impersonal in its finite forms. A personal pronoun before the verb is, like any other noun, actually to be understood as a specific or limited attribute of the (nevertheless nominal) verb. This original and still recognizable basis has been preserved everywhere, only Turkish has evolved in the same direction as the European languages: it is the only one that has a personal conjugation. In Mongolian, the affirmation of the personal pronouns is only at its initial stage (as in Buryat and Kalmuck) [...] (Ramstedt 1952: 82–83) [Originally in German, my translation into English, slightly modified, e.g. Burj. to Buryat and Kalm. to Kamuck]

Street's research on Middle Mongolian shows some references to gender and number agreement, although they are not constant, which is certainly related to the practical use of the language. For example, plural markers are especially used in places where one can assume something or someone "respectful" or "official". On the other hand, some text passages are marked with feminine suffixes if the language producer assumes something or someone with "feminine like properties" (cf. Street 2008: 400, Street 2009: 127; Ozawa 1960: 205). These are particularly evident in the factual past tense marker *-ba/-be* (masculine), *-bi* (feminine), *-bai/-bei* (plural) which is the most common past tense marker in the Middle Mongolian (cf. Table 17 and Chapter 5.3.3.1.1).⁹⁷ The distinction between gender and number is also seen in other past indicator markers and non-past indicative markers (cf. Rybatzki 2003: 75). Rybatzki (2003: 75) points out:

The variation of the individual tense-aspect markers is partially with functional factors, the most important of which is the category of grammatical gender. Unfortunately, grammatical gender in Middle Mongolian is a feature only fragmentarily documented, little investigated, and poorly understood. On the basis of the documentary evidence it can only be said that there was a clear tendency to use some verbal forms specifically with a feminine subject (possibly also a feminine object), while other forms had mainly a masculine or neutral reference. Whether this was a temporary idiosyncrasy of Middle Mongol, or a receding major typological feature that had once been more generally characteristics of Pre-Proto-Mongolic, is for the time being impossible to determine. (Rybatzki 2003: 75)

In the following, all the finite tense markers are discussed that are investigated in the corpus. First, the indicative suffixes are presented, whereby they are subdivided into past and non-past. The most conclusive evidence for gender is proven in the past tense domain (cf. Rybatzki 2003: 75).

⁹⁷ In Khalkha this person and number indicating tense marker does not exist anymore, even it can be assumed that it is as one of the existing related dialects derived from the Middle Mongolian. It also has as a result of phonetical reduction in all three forms the same *-v* (cf. Tserenpil & Kullmann 2008: 186).

5.3.3.1 Past Indicatives

5.3.3.1.1 *-ba(i)/-be(i)/-bi*

The indicative past tense marker *-ba/-be* is the most common suffix of the category “PST” (54,23 %) documented in SHM (see also Street 2008: 400).⁹⁸ Its temporal/aspectual function corresponds to the “simple past tense” or “perfect tense” in English (cf. Street 2008: 407). It refers to events that took place at some point in the past. Its usage extends mainly to narratives and reports relating to historical events. Compared to other forms of PST markers is most neutral regarding the labeling of the speaker’s certainty or source of information (“simple or factual past” Street 2009: 132; “terminative” Rybatzki 2003: 75).

Like other indicative suffixes, the suffix *-ba/-be* has alternative forms for different gender and number of individual references regarding “feminine”, “singular”, and “plural forms” present in the sentence (cf. Street 2008: 399). The feminine suffix marked by *-bi* is the least productive according to its frequency (3,3 %) in the corpus. Prototypically, it refers to feminine actants.

(113) SHM § 20

ten-de Alan-qo'a eke in-ü ügü-le-bi
DIST-DAT.LOC Alan-qo'a mother 3SG.OBL-GEN word-VR-PST.F

‘Then their mother Alan Qo’a said,’ (IDR 4)

(114) SHM § 10

Alan-qo'a Dobun-mergen-tür ire-ǰü qoyar kö'ün töre-'ül-bi
Alan-qo'a Dobun-mergen-DAT.LOC come-C.IPFV two son bear-CAUS-PST.F

‘Alan Qo’a had come to Dobun Mergen, and [she] bore [him] two sons.’ (IDR 3, mod.)

(115) SHM § 99

Hö'elün eke öter gü bos-bi
Hö'elün mother quick also rise-PST.F

‘Mother Hö’elün also rose in a haste’ (IDR 31)

(116) SHM § 155

Yisügen qadun egeči-yen üje-'et
Yisügen lady elder.sister-ACC.POSS see-C.PFV

‘Yisügen Qadun, having seen her elder sister,

urid-a ügü-le-ksen üge-tür gürü-n bos-ču
front-DAT word-VR-P.PFV word-DAT.LOC reach-C.MOD rise-C.IPFV

keeping to the words which she had spoken before, arising,

sa'u-qšan sa'u-rin-dur-ıyan sa-'ül-ǰu mün ö'estün dōro sa'u-bi
sit-P.PFV sit-NR-DAT.LOC-POSS sit-CAUS-C.IPFV and self below sit-PST.F

making [her] to sit on her seat on which she had sat, she herself sat below.’ (FWC 84)

⁹⁸ According to Poppe (1955a: 267), this past suffix might have a relation to the primary unvocalized form of *-*b* that is still found in Mongolian as deverbal nouns (e.g. *tölob* ‘from’, *tösüb* ‘plan’ cf. Poppe 1955a: 267). However, further investigation is needed.

(117) SHM § 100

Temüjîn-i bü-küy-yi ügei ese uqa-bi

Temüjîn-ACC be-P.IPFV-ACC NEG.EX NEG notice-PST.F

‘whether Temüjîn is there or not I did not notice.’ (IDR 31)

qoyin-ača bosu-’at ire-bi bi ke’e-bi

behind-ABL arise-C.PFV come-PST.F 1SG say-PST.F

I arose and came from the back.” She said’ (IDR 31, mod.)

(118) SHM § 40

tere dumda ke’eli-tei eme Bodončar-tur ire-ǰü kö’ü-le-bi

DIST middle womb-ORN women Bodončar-DAT.LOC come-C.IPFV son-VR-PST.F

‘The woman who was mid-way through pregnancy came to Bodončar and gave birth to a son.’ (IDR 8)

The feminine suffix also occurs in cases where the actor is not directly feminine, but where the assumed female affinities may be in the form of genitive compounds to which the feminine suffix refers:

(119) SHM § 189

qadun-nu bidan-u Gürbesü-yin jasaq qurča bol-bi

queen-GEN 1PL.INC.OBL-GEN Gürbesü-GEN rule harsh become-PST.F

‘The rule of our queen Gürbesü has become harsh’ (IDR 111)

(120) SHM § 155

edö-’e maqa ene bodulqan-tur qa’aqši yorči-bi ke’e-bi

now-DAT perhaps PROX confusion-DAT.LOC where.to go-PST.F say-PST.F

‘[I wonder] now where she has gone in [all] this confusion, she said.’ (IDR 78, mod.)

Street (2008: 409) is of the opinion that the feminine suffixes are used in special places to give a sarcastic and ironic expression. In cases where a property associated with feminine such as “feminine weakness in a man” (Street 2008: 409) or “intimate connection with a woman or a feminine characteristic” (Street 2008: 421) is suspected or interpreted by the author of the text, the feminine suffix *-bi* is added to the final verb, cf. the scenario in (121).

(121) SHM § 194

edö-’e čī manaqar ert-e bö-’et yekin ĵirüge yada-mu čī
now-DAT 2SG morning early-DAT be-C.PFV how heart be.unable-PRES 2SG

čīma-yi e-yin ĵirüge yada-ķuy-yi mede-ksen bö-’esü
2SG.OBL-ACC PROX-GEN heart be.unable-P.IPFV-ACC know-P.PFV be-C.COND

qadun ber gü’ün bö-’esü eke-yi čin-u Gürbesü-yi abčira-ǰu
lady FOC human be-C.COND mother-ACC 2SG.OBL-GEN Gürbesü-ACC bring-C.IPFV

čerik ülü-’ü ĵasa-’ul-qu bü-le’e
army NEG-Q array-CAUL-P.IPFV be-PST

čīma qayiran Kōkse’ü-sabraqa ötöl-de-küi ya’un
what.a.pity poor Kōkse’ü-sabraqa become.old-PASS-P.IPFV what

čerig-iün bidan-u jasal sülber-güi bol-bi
 army-GEN 1PL.INC.OBL-GEN array slacken-AR become-PST.F

Mongqol-un čaq jaya'an büi je ese bol-bi
 Mongqol-GEN time destiny be yes NEG become-PST.F

ayyi turluq Tayang yada-qu metü ele büy-yü či
 ah weakling Tayang be.unable-P.IPFV like FOC.DL be-PRES 2SG

kē-'et qor-i-yan deledü-'et buru'u qatara-ba
 say-C.PFV quiver-ACC-POSS strick-C.PFV backwards trot.off-PST.M

“Now you, how can you lose heart when it is [still so] early in the morning? Had we known that you would have lost courage in this manner, shouldn't we have brought your mother Gürbesü, even though she is [only] a woman, and given her command of the army? What a pity, alas, that Kökse'ü Sabraq should have become [so] old! The discipline in our army has grown lax! [This] is, surely, the [favourable] time and the destiny of the Mongols [decreed by Heaven and Earth]. We are finished! Ah, weakling Tayang, it looks as if you are quite powerless.” Thus, he spoke and, having struck on his quiver, he trotted off [and went his] separate way.’ (IDR 117–118).

Plural markers *-bai/-bei/-'ai/-'ei* are used when there are multiple actors. In addition, they are used in certain pragmatically cultural cases, in which the language producer judges something as “respectful” (cf. “respect plural” Street 2008: 414, and “honorific” Ozawa 1960: 79⁹⁹, de Rachewiltz “plural of respect” (2004: 1332) and “pluralis majestatis” (2004: 742)) or “official” (cf. “jussive usage” Street 2008: 416). The plural suffix in the following text passages expresses some kind of respect while normally “singular” would be expected:

(122) SHM § 168

Činggis qahan Mönglik ečiǵe-yin ger-teče qari-bai
 Činggis qahan Mönglik father-GEN home-ABL return-PST.PL

‘from the tent of Father Mönglik Činggis Qahan returned home.’ (IDR 87, mod.)

(123) SHM § 272

bö'e-s jüger-'esü jüger-gen usu Tolui kö'ün u'u-bai
 shaman-PL make.incantation-C.COND make.incantation-AR water Tolui son drink-PST.PL

‘as the shamans made their incantations, Prince Tolui drank the magic water.’ (IDR 204)

(124) SHM § 117

Temüjin Merki-d-iün Toqto'a-yi arbila-ju abu-qsan altan büse
 Temüjin Merki-PL-GEN Toqto'a-ACC loot-C.IPFV take-P.PFV golden belt

ǰamuqa anda-da büse-le-'ül-bei
 ǰamuqa sworn.friend-DAT belt-VR-CAUS-PST.PL

‘Temüjin girdled (lit. made to girdle) his sworn friend ǰamuqa with the golden belt taken as loot from Toqto'a of the Merkit.’ (IDR 45, mod.)

Toqto'a-yin esgel qali'un-i ǰamuqa anda-da unu-'ul-bai
 Toqto'a-yin sour yellowish.white-ACC ǰamuqa sworn.friend-DAT ride-CAUS-PST.PL

‘He [also] gave (lit. let) sworn friend ǰamuqa to mount Toqto'a's yellowish white [mare] that had not foaled for several years.’ (IDR 45, mod.)

⁹⁹ He also refers it to the other indicative forms like *-mui*, *-ju'ui* (cf. Ozawa 1961: 79).

(125) SHM § 138

ger dotor-a teji'e-bei
tent inside-DAT rear-PST.PL

[Mother Hö'elün] reared in [her] tent [these four]' (IDR 60, mod.)

Sometimes, there are overt plural pronouns like in (126) and (127) or names like in (128) which are coincident with the plural suffix:

(126) SHM § 174

morin unu'u-tan modun nemiüre-ten bol-bai te-de
horse mount-ORN tree shelter-ORN become-PST.PL DIST-PL

'They became those who have [but] a horse as a mount, who have [but] a tree as a shelter.' (IDR 94, mod.)

(127) SHM § 149

kö'ü-t de'ü-ner in-ü ügü-le-ldü-rün
son-PL younger.brother-PL 3SG.OBL-GEN speak-VR-REC-C.PREP

ečiğe-yin amin in-ü abura-ya ke'e-n ire-bei bida
father-GEN life 3SG.OBL-GEN rescue-VOL say-C.MOD come-PST.PL 1PL.INC

'Sons and younger brothers conferred among themselves by saying "We came to save father's life"' (IDR 71, mod.)

(128) SHM § 120

Mangqud-ača Ĵetei Doqolqu-čerbi aqa de'ü qoyar ire-bei
Mangqud-ABL Ĵetei Doqolqu-čerbi elder.brother younger.brother two come-PST.PL

'From the Mangqud came the two brothers Ĵetei and Doqolqu Čerbi.' (IDR 47)

In the case of non-plural actors, the preceding reciprocal suffix can indicate the plurality of the actors.

(129) SHM § 146

Činggis qahan ene üge sonosu-'at qatara-ju gü-r-ju
Činggis qahan PROX word hear-C.PFV trot-C.IPFV reach-C.IPFV

Činggis qahan Qada'an-tur bawu-ju teberi-ldü-bei
Činggis qahan Qada'an-DAT.LOC descend-C.IPFV embrace-REC-PST.PL

'Hearing these words, Činggis Qahan rode at trot and reached her; Činggis Qahan dismounted near Qada'an and they embraced each other,' (IDR 68, mod.)

When the speech of Činggis Qahan is used in a non-formal way, the singular suffix *-be* in (133) and (134) is applied, while his official speech or commands are marked with the plural suffix *-bai/-bei* in (130) to (132) (cf. "jussive usage" of plural suffix Street 2008: 416).

(130) SHM § 224

doton-a bidan-u derge-de yabu-ju suru-lča-su ke'e-ju
inner-DAT 1PL.INC.OBL-GEN beside-DAT go-C.IPFV learn-CO-VOL say-C.IPFV

bidan-tur ire-kün haran-i bü itqa-tuqai ke'e-bei
1PL.INC.OBL-DAT.LOC come-P.IPFV people-ACC NEG.PROH hinder-IMP say-PST.PL

'[Činggis Qahan] said, "People who come to us in order to learn to serve inside [the tent] by our side shall not be hindered."' (IDR 154, mod.)

(131) SHM § 226

niken minqan turqa'u-d-i Dödei-čerbi mede-tügei
one thousand dayguard-PL-ACC Dödei-čerbi know-IMP

niken minqan turqa'u-d-i Doqolqu-čerbi mede-tügei ke'e-bei
one thousand dayguard-PL-ACC Doqolqu-čerbi know-IMP say-PST.PL

'He said, "Dödei Čerbi shall be in charge of one thousand dayguards and Doqolqu Čerbi shall be in charge of one thousand dayguards.'" (IDR 155)

(132) SHM § 226

niken minqan turqa'u-d-i Muqali-yin uruq-ača
one thousand dayguard-PL-ACC Muqali-GEN clan-ABL

Buqa niken minqan turqa'u-d-i mede-tügei ke'e-bei
Buqa one thousand dayguard-PL-ACC know-IMP say-PST.PL

'He said, "As for one thousand dayguards, Buqa from the family (lit. clan) of Muqali shall be in charge of one thousand dayguards.'" (IDR 155, mod.)

(133) SHM § 140

Činggis qahan niken üdür Büri-bökö Belgütei qoyar-i aba-ldu-'ulu-ya ke'e-be
Činggis qahan one day Büri-bökö Belgütei two-ACC take-REC-CAUS-VOL say-PST.M

'One day Činggis Qahan said, "Let us make Büri Bökö and Belgütei wrestle with each other!'" (IDR 61)

(134) SHM § 145

čisun haq-ču bara-ba umda'a-su-mu bi ke'e-be
blood dry.up-C.IPFV accomplish-PST drink-VR-PRES 1SG say-PST.M

'[Činggis Qahan] said, "The blood has dried up completely, I am thirsty.'" (IDR 65, mod.)

A sarcastic and ironic use of the plural suffix becomes clearer when there is an unexpected change between personal pronoun *či* 'you' (SG) and *ta* 'you' (honor, PL). (cf. "expressive usage" of plural suffix Street 2008: 417) For example, in the scene, after having obtained Onggirad's submission, Činggis Qahan sent a message to Ong Qan through Arqai Qasar and Sügegei Ĵe'ün, in which he said:

(135) SHM § 177

qan ečige min-ü ya'un čimar-tur nama ayu-'ul-bai či
qan father 1SG.OBL-GEN what grievance-DAT.LOC 1SG.OBL frighten-CAUS-PST.PL 2SG

'My father the Qan, out of what grievance did you frighten me?' (IDR 96)

After receiving this message, Ong Qan said repenting:

(136) SHM § 178

e-de üge-s-tür Ong qan ügü-le-rün ai soyiluq kö'ün-eče-'en
PROX-PL word-PL-DAT.LOC Ong qan word-VR-C.PREP oh sinful son-ABL-POSS

qaqača-qu-yū törö-deče qaqača-ba hiriče-gü-yū üyyile-deče hiriče-bei bi
abandon-P.IPFV-Q principle-ABL abandon-PST.M part-P.IPFV-Q duty-ABL part-PST.PL 1SG

'To these words, Ong Qan said, "Oh! Sinful [that I am]! By abandoning my son, I abandoned the norm; by parting from him I parted from [my] duty.'" (IDR 100–101).

The masculine (or singular) is expressed as the formal marker *-ba/-be* (70,6 %). It is used not only in the case of masculine, but is used particularly in all cases where these don't have to be marked in a

certain way. Thus, it can be assumed that this suffix is a basic or common indicative past tense marker. Goldberg (1996: 79) distinguishes between linguistic constructions with unmarked basic and marked complex patterns: “[...] constructions are invoked both for marked or especially complex pairing of form and meaning, and for many of the basic, unmarked pattern of language.” (Goldberg 1996: 70). Givón (1995: 27) points out regarding the markedness of linguistic contexts:

The assignment of markedness status of linguistic contexts must be justified by the very same criteria used to support the markedness of morphemes or constructions – most particularly frequency distribution. [...] (Givón 1995: 27)

As elsewhere in language and cognition, a category is not identified by the presence or absence of a single criterial feature. Rather, categories are defined by clustering of a number of central features, those that tend to characterize the **prototype**. This is important particularly in cases when structural markedness does not match distributional or substantive markedness. (Givón 1995: 29)

In this sense, both the feminine marker *-bi* and plural marker *-bai/-bei* can be regarded as a non-prototypical marker, thus marked with additional semantic properties that are considered sarcastic or ironic, and honorific usages for the expression.¹⁰⁰ The degree of markedness here is related to the “unexpected structure”, in order to highlight the contrast by the use of certain suffixes such as feminization of a man or plurality of the singular element. In examples (137) to (142), the masculine or singular forms are used.

(137) SHM § 52

qamuq Mongqol-i Qabul-qahan mede-n a-ba
all Mongol-ACC Qabul-qahan know-C.MOD be-PST.M

‘Qabul Qahan ruled over all Mongols.’ (IDR 10)

(138) SHM § 181

Arqai ire-jü e-de üge-s Činggis qahan-a ügü-le-be
Arqai come-C.IPFV PROX-PL word-PL Činggis qahan-DAT word-VR-PST.M

‘When Arqai arrived he reported these words to Činggis Qahan.’ (IDR 104, mod.)

(139) SHM § 171

Ĵürčedei basa Dongqayi-d-i daru-ba
Ĵürčedei also Dongqayi-PL-ACC crush-PST.M

‘Ĵürčedei crushed also the Dongqayid.’ (IDR 92)

(140) SHM § 11

tedüi a-tala Duwa-soqor aqa in-ü ügei bol-ba
so be-C.TERM Duwa-soqor elder.brother 3SG.OBL-GEN NEG.EX become-PST.M

‘Mean while, the elder brother Duwa Soqor passed away.’ (FWC 3)

¹⁰⁰ For the singular and plural system of Mongolian see Poppe (1955a: 175). Much of what is translated in English in plural, there must be no plural suffixes in Mongolian. Collective nouns often occur without plural markers, cf. *-s* in *ulus*, *-d* in *Merkid*, *-tan* in *aqtatan* ‘people with geldings’ or in *Temüjintan*. They are plural markers that are not read as such because they can be used as singular for the whole group.

(141) SHM § 99

Qasar niken mori unu-ba

Qasar one horse ride-PST.M

‘Qasar rode one horse.’ (IDR 31)

(142) SHM § 24

ten-de ebesiin nembüle ger ki-ǰü ten-de a-ba sa’u-ba

DIST-DAT grass hut tent make-C.IPFV DIST-DAT be-PST.M sit-PST.M

‘making a grass hut-tent, he lived there, he dwelt (lit. sit) [there]’ (FWC 5, mod.; cf. IDR 5)

Simple or factual past marker are summarized in the following Table 17.

Indicative past tense markers	Frequency	
<i>-ba</i>	38,2 %	70,6 %
<i>-be</i>	32,3 %	
<i>-bi</i>	3,3 %	3,3 %
<i>-bai</i>	13,5 %	26,1 %
<i>-bei</i>	12,6 %	

Table 17: Frequency of the Factual/Simple Past Marker *-ba(i)/-be(i)/-bi*

5.3.3.1.2 *-ǰu’u(i)/-ǰü’ü(i)/-čü’u(i)/-čü’ü(i)*

The second most common past tense marker is *-ǰu’u(i)/-ǰü’ü(i)/-čü’u(i)/-čü’ü(i)* (16,23 % of the category past indicatives). This one includes not only the past tense signal, but also shows the speaker’s knowledge based on “second-hand information knowledge acquired after fact, or on circumstantial evidence” (Street 2009: 141).¹⁰¹ This knowledge can derive from narratives or other cultural traditional sources (cf. Street 2009: 141). The suffix is called “PRESUMPTIVE PAST” (Street 2009: 141; cf. “resultative form” Rybatzki 2003: 74).

Bese (1970: 30) assumes that *-ǰu’u* is a complex morpheme consisting of a C.IPFV *-ǰu* and a P.IPFV *-’u*.¹⁰² On the other hand, Brosig’s (2014: 8 [footnote 5]) note is important that “no variety of Mongolic allows a converb and a participle to combine freely”. He suggests for that problem that it is presumably a fusion *-ǰu a-qu(i)* composed of C.IPFV *-ǰu* and a combination of COP *a-* and P.IPFV *qu(i)*. However, Brosig (2014: 8 [footnote 5]) considers the problem not completely solved because *a-* is older than *-ǰu’u* itself. In my opinion, it is important to note that the *a-* functions as a full verb, which cannot as easily be omitted as if it occurs as a COP in a combinational structure.

Prototypically, the presumptive past suffix (glossed as 2H) is therefore used in cases where the speaker narrates about events or situations with 3SG/PL S/A references:

¹⁰¹ In the present work, “evidentiality” associated with the certainty of a speaker’s knowledge is considered one of the verbal categories that can be expressed by morphological or other kinds of markers relating to a verb, which is indicating the “acquisition of knowledge” of situations and events (cf. Plungian 2010: 15–17). In Middle Mongolian, the single verb morpheme does not express the way and means of knowledge through various sense organs, such as “I saw it”, “I heard the noise” Aikhenvald 2004: 52; “visual” vs. “non-visual” evidences like through “acoustic, olfactory or tactile perception” Plungian 2010: 33). In these cases, lexical verbs *üǰe-* ‘see, look’, *sonos-* ‘listen, hear’, and *üǰüle-* and *ke’e-* ‘tell, say’ are used.

¹⁰² Noted as *ǰU.GU* by Bese (1970: 30). *GU* is seen as “futuri.potential” (Bese 1970: 30).

(143) SHM § 76

ditora niken gege'en soqosun oro-ju'ui
inside one shiny dace come.in-PST.2H

'a shiny dace came onto [the line].' (cf. IDR 20)

(144) SHM § 108

Ĵamuqa qoyar tüme-t čeri'ü-d-i-yen ĵasa-ĵu bayyi-ĵu'ui
Ĵamuqa two ten.thousand-PL troop-PL-ACC-POSS array-C.IPFV be-PST.2H

'Ĵamuqa was being there, preparing his two units of ten thousand troops [in battle order].' (IDR 39, mod.)

(145) SHM § 130

bawurči Šiki'ür-i ašgi-ĵu'ui
steward Šiki'ür-ACC thrash-PST.2H

'[they] thrashed the servant Šiki'ür.' (IDR 55, mod.)

(146) SHM § 108

Ĵamuqa bolĵāl qajār-a qurban üdür urid-a gür-čü'üi
Ĵamuqa appointed.meeting place-DAT three day front-DAT reach-PST.2H

'Ĵamuqa had [already] reached the appointed meeting place three days before.' (IDR 39, mod.)

(147) SHM § 110

Börte üĵin te-de dürbe-kün irgen-tür bü-ĵü'üi
Börte lady DIST-PL flee-P.IPFV people-DAT.LOC be-PST.2H

'Lady Börte was among those fleeing people.' (IDR 40)

(148) SHM § 129

Ikires-eče Mülke-totaq Boroldai qoyar Činggis qahan-ni
Ikires-ABL Mülke-totaq Boroldai two Činggis qahan-ACC

Gürelgü-de bü-qüi-tür kelen gür-ge-n ire-ĵü'üi
Gürelgü-DAT be-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC tongue reach-FAC-C.MOD come-PST.2H

'News of their approach was brought to Činggis Qahan, who was then staying in the Gürelgü [Mountains], by Mülke Totaq and Boroldai from the Ikires.' (IDR 54)

(149) SHM § 144

Naiman-u Buyıruq qan Altay-yin ebür Uluq-taq ĵori-n
Naiman-GEN Buyıruq qan Altay-GEN southern Uluq-taq aim-C.MOD

qaqača-n ködöl-ĵü'üi
separate-C.MOD move-PST.2H

'Buyıruq Qan of the Naiman separated [from the rest] and moved towards Uluq Taq on the southern side of the Altay [Mountains].' (IDR 64, mod.)

(150) SHM § 163

Ong qan Činggis qahan-tur elči ilē-ĵü'üi
Ong qan Činggis qahan-DAT.LOC envoy send-PST.2H

'Ong Qan sent an envoy to Činggis Qahan.' (IDR 81)

Some other suffixes *-ĵi'ai/-ĵe'ei* are identified as alternants of the presumptive past suffix.

(151) SHM § 72

če'el usun nidura-lu'a čeügen čilawun čewüre-lü'e ke'e-'et newü-je'ei
deep water dry.up-PST.1H shining stone shatter-PST.1H say-C.PFV move-PST.2H

‘‘The deep water has dried up, the shining stone is shattered.’’ Saying so, [he] moved off.’ (IDR 18, mod.)

(152) SHM § 155

nad-ača egeči Yisüi nere-tei nad-ača de'ere
1SG.OBL-ABL elder.sister Yisüi name-ORN 1SG.OBL-ABL above

qan gü'ün-e joki-qui a-ji'ai je
qan man-DAT suit-P.IPFV be-PST.2H yes

‘[But] my elder sister, who is called Yisüi, is superior to me: she is indeed [more] suitable for a Qan.’ (IDR 78, mod.)

5.3.3.1.3 *-la'a(i)/-le'e(i)/-lu'a(i)/-lü'e(i)*

With a percentage of 14,48 % within this category the past marker *-la'a(i)/-le'e(i)/-lu'a(i)/-lü'e(i)* occurs nearly as frequently as the previous one. According to Bese’s Hypothesis (1970: 34), that the past temporal marker *-la* ‘perfective’ derives from a noun forming *-l* (cf. Ramstedt 1902: 81; Poppe 1955a: 265) this perfective suffix can be traced back to the suffix *-lu'a/-lü'e* (cf. **-lŭya/-lŭyaj* Ramstedt 1902: 81).¹⁰³

The past tense marker *-la'a/-le'e* implicates that a speaker using the suffix claims to have personal, first-hand knowledge of the situations and events expressed by verbs (cf. ‘‘ATTESTIVE PAST’’ Street 2009: 131; ‘‘confirmative form’’ Rybatzki 2003: 75). In the sentences (153) to (162), the speaker claims that he was involved in the events and narrates firsthand (glossed as 1H) experience.

(153) SHM § 170

anda-tur bi qatqu-ldu-n yada-n yabu-lu'a
sworn.friend-DAT.LOC 1SG sting-REC-C.MOD be.unable-C.MOD go-PST.1H

‘I have never been able to fight against [my] sworn friend’ (IDR 91)

(154) SHM § 249

Činggis qa'an-u nere aldar sonos-ču ayu-ju a-la'ai ba
Činggis qa'an-GEN name fame hear-C.IPFV fear-C.IPFV be-PST.1H 1PL.EXC

‘Hearing of Činggis Qa’an’s fame we were in awe [of you].’ (IDR 177)

(155) SHM § 168

Buqatai Kiratai qoyar-i güir-küi-lü'e sere-kde-bei bida
Buqatai Kiratai two-ACC reach-P.IPFV-PST.1H suspect-PASS-PST 1PL.INC

‘With the arriving of both Buqatai and Kiratai, [they said], ‘‘We have been suspected.’’ (FWC 92, mod.)

(156) SHM § 197

Naya'a ügü-le'e Činggis qahan-nu yeke noyan büy-yü bi
Naya'a say-PST.1H Činggis qahan-GEN big lord be-PRES 1SG

‘Naya’a said [to my father], ‘‘I am a high officer of Činggis Qahan.’’ (IDR 123)

¹⁰³ In Ligeti’s version of SHM (Ligeti 1971) some letters (usually consonants) are marked with the apostrophe symbol.

(157) SHM § 203

ger dotor-a Šigi-qutuqu bü-le'e
tent inside-DAT Šigi-qutuqu be-PST.1H

‘Šigi Qutuqu was inside the tent.’ (IDR 134)

(158) SHM § 203

Šigi-qutuqu-da ügü-le-'esü Bo'orču Muqali-tan ken-eče hüle'ü
Šigi-qutuqu-DAT word-VR-C.COND Bo'orču Muqali-ORN who-ABL more

tusa ki-le'e ken-eče hüle'ü gücü ögü-le'e
help make-PST.1H who-ABL more strength give-PST.1H

‘When [he] told Šigi Qutuqu, [he said], “Have Bo'orču and Muqali been of greater assistance than others? Have they given better service than others?”’ (IDR 134, mod.)

(159) SHM § 214

qar in-ü bari-ju tata-qui-lu'a
hand 3SG.OBL-GEN seize-C.IPFV pull-P.IPFV-PST.1H

‘[when she] pulled by seizing the hand.’ (IDR 146–147, mod.)

(160) SHM § 133

mönggün ölegei tana-tu könjile in-ü Činggis qahan ten-de abu-la'ai
silver cradle pearl-ORN blanket 3SG.OBL-GEN Činggis qahan dist-DAT take-PST.1H

‘Činggis Qahan then took [as booty] his silver cradle and [his] blanket decorated with [big] pearls.’ (IDR 57, mod.)

(161) SHM § 201

qadaqa-tu üge-s ügü-le-ldü-le'e ke'e-n
weight-ORN word-PL word-VR-REC-PST.1H say-C.MOD

‘Saying [to myself] that we had exchanged weighty words’ (IDR 130)

(162) SHM § 206

Muqali-da üge bara-lu'a
Muqali-DAT.LOC word accomplish-PST.1H

‘[I] pledged (lit. completed or accomplished) my word to Muqali.’ (IDR 138, mod.)

Sometimes the suffix is used even when the speaker cannot have been there and therefore cannot have experienced the events by himself. However, the suffix expresses that in his opinion the knowledge comes from safe sources. Thus, it is rather a reference to the certainty of the speaker regarding the events without the necessity, that he has experienced them personally. This is especially common in stories about several generations and genealogy long before the birth of the narrator.

(163) SHM § 211

Onan-nu Deli'ün-boldaqa nama-yi töre-qüi-tür
Onan-GEN Deli'ün-boldaqa-DAT 1SG.OBL-ACC bear-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC

buluqan nelkei ök-čü bü-le'ei
sable swaddling.cloth give-C.IPFV be-PST.1H

‘[He] gave sable swaddling-clothes when I was born at Deli'ün Boldaqa on the Onan [River].’ (IDR 143, mod.)

(164) SHM § 3

Toroqoljin-nu kö'ün Duwa-soqor Dobun-mergen qoyar bü-le'e
Toroqoljin-GEN son Duwa-soqor Dobun-mergen two be-PST.1H

‘The sons of Toroqoljin were the the twain Duwa Soqor and the Dobun Mergen.’ (FWC 1, mod.)

(165) SHM § 1

Činggis qahan-nu huja'ur
Činggis qahan-GEN fountain

de'er-e tenggeri-eče jaya'a-tu töre-ksen Börte-činō a-ju'u
above-DAT heaven-ABL destiny-ORN bear-P.PFV Börte-wolf be-PST.2H

‘The origin of Činggis Qahan. [At the beginning] there was a blue-grey wolf, born with his destiny [obtained] by Heaven Above.’ (IDR 1).

The usages of COPs like *bü-*, *a-* ‘be, exist’ and *bol-* ‘become, happen’ show that there are different past markers preferred by each of these verbs. The formation of *bü-* with the simple past marker *-ba(i)/-be(i)/-bi* is not documented (cf. Street 2009: 129). However, the combinations *bü-le'e(i)* (202 times), *a-ju'u(i)* (95 times), *bol-ba(i)/bi* (*bol-ba* 148 times *bol-bi* 7 times, *bol-bai* 5 times) are very productive (cf. Street 2009: 129–130).¹⁰⁴

5.3.3.2 Non-Past Indicatives

In the indicative non-past domain, we have two suffixes that indicate the “present”, sometimes “future” under the subsumed category non-past. The usage as future occurs under certain conditions with a particle *je* ‘yes’ to express certainty with the meaning ‘indeed, surely, perhaps’. Brosig (2014: 14) shows that there are several examples with “potential ambiguity” between present imperfective and future reference and presumes that they are all imperfective (cf. Brosig 2014: 14).

(166) SHM § 241

hoy-yin irgen-ü yabu-dal Quduqa mede-mü je
forest-GEN people-GEN go-NR Quduqa know-PRES.PG yes

‘Quduqa knows indeed the ways [and matters] of the people of the Forest’ (IDR 166, mod.)

There are interjection particles that can express fear and sorrow. Poppe (2006: 91) calls such a construction “dubitative” (glossed as DUB) since it is expressing the fear that someone might perform an action that is considered undesirable or associated with worries. In these cases, events refer to the time point in the future connected with speculation about an unknown situation:

(167) SHM § 190

odu'asu olon adu'un an-u joqsa-ju üli-'ü qoçoru-'ujai
go-C.COND many horse 3PL.OBL-GEN stop-C.IPFV NEG-Q stay.behind-DUB

‘If we go forward, won’t their numerous herds come to a halt and stay behind?’ (IDR 113)

¹⁰⁴ The figures differ slightly from the data of Street (2009: 130). My data is based on the version of Ligeti (1971). But the preference of the copula with these suffixes is shown in both databases.

(168) SHM § 281

basa tenggeri qaġar-aċa ĵaya'a-tu törö-ksen görö'esün-i
further heaven earth-ABL destiny-ORN bear-P.PFV wild-ACC

aqa de'ü ĵük odu-'uĵi ke'e-n qaram-la-ĵu
elder.brother younger.brother direction go-DUB say-C.MOD jealous-VR-C.IPFV

'Further, being greedy and saying to [myself], "What if the wild animals born with their destiny [ordained] by Heaven and Earth go over to [the territory of] my brothers?"' (IDR 218)

(169) SHM § 174

te-yin bö-'esü kö'ün alĵa-'uĵai kö'ün-i ülü dengsel-ge-n asara-tqun
DIST-GEN be-C.COND son exhaust-DUB son-ACC NEG shake-FAC-C.MOD care-IMR.BEN

'[Right], if this is so, I fear my son may be exhausted. Take care of my son, and do not shake him [while you carry him]!' (IDR 94–95, mod.)

(170) SHM § 190

qor-i-yan ab-da-'uĵai ċi ke'e-ĵü ilē-ĵü'üi
quiver-ACC-POSS take-PASS-DUB 2SG say-C.IPFV send-PST.1H

'[I] fear that you may be robbed of your quivers.' (IDR 112, mod.)

The indicative present markers are *-mu(i)/-mü(i)* and *-yu/-yü* which is the subject of the following sections.

5.3.3.2.1 *-yu/-yü*

The indicative present marker *-yu/-yü* (4,41 % of the category of all indicative finite tense markers) is investigated as "praesens imperfecti" by Poppe (1955a: 264). Poppe (2006: 92) also treats it as "deductive present" (see also Rybatzki 2003: 75). Verbs with the suffix *-yu/-yü* express actions which are considered "a logical result of previous actions or antitheses to the later" (Poppe 2006: 92). The "deductive" semantics are observed in SHM.

(171) SHM § 147

*beye-'en ni'u-ĵu kele-ben buċa-ĵu ayu-yu*¹⁰⁵
body-POSS conceal-C.IPFV tongue-POSS go.back-C.IPFV be.afraid-PRES.D

'[an enemy] concealeth the fact he hath killed, that he hath been an enemy, and [even] his [own] body, and hideth his [own] words and is afraid.' (FWC 74–75, mod.)

(172) SHM § 254

Ĉa'adai yekin ya'ara-yu ċi
Ĉa'adai why hast-PRES.D 2SG

'Ĉa'adai, why are you so hasty?' (IDR 183)

(173) SHM § 276

aqa gü'ün-i aman dü'üren ügü-le-yü
elder.brother man-ACC mouth full word-VR-PRES.D

'[Following whose counsel does this mean [creature]] fill his mouth with talk against a person senior to him?' (IDR 207, mod.)

¹⁰⁵ Maybe it is *aju'u*, see comments of UO 56 [footnote 256].

It also has a “generic” meaning (cf. Brosig 2014: 8) according to Toytambayar (2012: 177–179) who argues that it is used to express events and customs in a timeless, abstract way compared to the other present tense marker *-mu(i)/-mü(i)* (referred by Brosig 2014: 11).

(174) SHM § 65

nu'un kö'ü-t man-u nuntuq qara-yu
male child-PL 1PL.EXC.OBL-GEN camp look-PRES.GN

ökin kö'ün man-u öngge üje-kde-yü
daughter child 1PL.EXC.OBL-GEN colour see-PASS-PRES.GN

Yisügei quda ger-tür min-ü odu-ya
Yisügei brother.in.law tent-DAT.LOC 1SG.OBL-GEN go-VOL.EMPH

ökin min-ü üčü'ügen büy-yü
daughter 1SG.OBL-GEN small be-PRES.GN

‘One looks at [the wealth of] our camp, with our girls, [when they are sought as brides], one considers [only] their beauty (lit. colour) Yisügei, brother-in-law, let us go to my tent!’ (IDR 15, mod.)

(175) SHM § 90

ečige min-ü Naqu-bayyan ke'e-kde-yü
father 1SG.OBL-GEN Naqu-bayyan say-PASS-PRES.GN

‘My father is called Naqu Bayyan (=Naqu the Rich).’ (IDR 27)

(176) SHM § 265

Alašai nuntuq-tu terme ger-tü teme'en ači'a-tu büy-yü
Alašai land-ORN thin.woolen tent-ORN camel load-ORN be-PRES.GN

‘[I] have an encampment in the Alašai, [I] have tents of thin woolen cloth (=latticed tents¹⁰⁶), I have camels laden [with goods].’ (IDR 197, mod.)

(177) SHM § 20

ken-ü ya'un-u kö'ü-t büy-yü
who-GEN what-GEN son-PL be-PRES.GN

‘Of whom, of what [clan], are they the sons?’ (IDR 4)

5.3.3.2.2 *-mu(i)/-mü(i)*

The indicative present markers *-mu(i)/-mü(i)* (“narrative”¹⁰⁷ Poppe 2006: 92; Rybatzki 2003: 75) are used if the speaker refers to present and future events and situations.¹⁰⁸ They represent 5,61 % of the category “indicative finite markers”. Toytambayar (2012: 171–185) suggests, that the imperfective present suffix *-mu(i)/-mü(i)* is a complex morpheme consisting of C.MOD *-n* and COP *bu-* with the generic suffix *-yu*¹⁰⁹ developed as present tense (referred by Brosig 2014: 8 [footnote]). Bese (1970: 34) references to the idea of Ramstedt (1902: 78) that it is a combination of *-mu* “imperfective” and *-m* or *-ma* “nomen descriptionis”. The *-mui* present is particularly characteristic for the written language (cf. Ramstedt 1902: 78), while the *-na* present tense is rather common in the current Mongolic dialects.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. UO 134.

¹⁰⁷ The term “narrative” is too general, because all predicate forms are inherently narrative in a story telling text.

¹⁰⁸ It includes the so-called “historical present” (cf. Rybatzki 2003: 76).

¹⁰⁹ *-n bu-yu* or *-n bu-i* (cf. Brosig 2014: 8 [footnote 5]).

Poppe (1955a: 261) points out that *-*m* is a verbal noun suffix in Common Altaic, e.g. Turkic *öl-* ‘die’ in *ölüm* ‘death’ (cf. Poppe 1955a: 261).

In reference to Schmidt (1831: 55), who analyzed the two present forms *-mui* and *-nam* as combined morphemes consisting of *-n* and *a-mui* in *magta-n a-mui*. Ramstedt (1902: 78) points out that it cannot be a historical derivation of *-nam* as “imperfektivisches präsens”. However, he suggests that it might be a combined morpheme consisting of *-na* und *-m* or *-n* and *am* (= *amui*) (cf. Ramstedt 1902: 79).

The suffix *-mu(i)/-mü(i)* has a “progressive-habitual” (Brosig 2014: 8) semantics which is related to present time actions. It occurs mostly in (in)direct speech in the form of dialog.

(178) SHM § 170

Ong qan ene čerig-i-yen nama-yi jasa ke’e-müi
 Ong qan PROX troop-ACC-POSS 1SG.OBL-ACC array tell-PRES.PG
 ‘Ong Qan tells me to set these troops of his in battle array’ (IDR 90)

(179) SHM § 155

nama-yi gü’ün-e bodo-da bol-qa-ju asara-mu
 1SG.OBL-ACC human-DAT substance/body-DAT become-FAC-C.IPFV care-PRES.PG
 ‘[he] will take care of [me], considering me as a human being and a thing [worth keeping].’ (FWC 83; cf. IDR 78)

(180) SHM § 77

nama-yi yekin nidün-ü surmusun aman-u qaqasun bol-qa-mui ta
 1SG.OBL-ACC why eye-GEN lash mouth-GEN thorn become-FAC-PRES.PG 2PL
 ‘why do you regard me as a lash in the eye, a thorn in the mouth? (IDR 21)

(181) SHM § 164

ken-ü emün-e quriya-ju ögü-n jobo-mui
 who-GEN front-DAT assemble-C.IPFV give-C.MOD suffer-PRES.PG
 ‘on whose behalf do they suffer, assembling and giving [them]?’ (FWC 88)

(182) SHM § 189

ene doron-a čö’eke-t Mongqol büi ke’e-kde-müi
 PROX east-DAT few-PL Mongqol be say-PASS-PRES.PG
 ‘It is said that there are very few Mongyols [in] the east.’ (FWC 117)

(183) SHM § 190

Naiman-u Tayang qan qor čin-u abu-ra ire-müi
 Naiman-GEN Tayang qan quiver 2SG.OBL-GEN take-C.FIN come-PRES.PG
 ‘Tayang Qan of the Naiman is coming to take your quivers.’ (IDR 112)¹¹⁰

(184) SHM § 194

hodun-nača olon qal-tan ke’e-müi
 star-ABL many fire-ORN say-PRES.PG
 ‘[but our patrolmen] say that their [camp] fires are more numerous than the stars.’ (IDR 116)

¹¹⁰ “Tayang Qan of the Naiman cometh for to take thy quiver.” (FWC 118)

5.3.3.2.3 *-t/-d*

The status of the suffix *-t/-d* has not been clarified. However, it is treated in the domain of indicative tense markers (cf. “indicative form of the present tense range” Rybatzki 2003: 76; “plural aoristic particle, unmarked for time” Street 1957: 18). Following the assumption of Rybatzki (2003: 76), *-n* as a singular marking suffix could be a C.MOD as a deverbal nominalizer.

Considering the fact that it normally refers to a plural subject, the suffix *-D* is likely to be identical with the plural markers **.d* of nominal morphology. If this is so, the corresponding singular form may have ended in **-n*, which would be natural to identify with the deverbal nominalizing suffix underlying the markers of the modal converb (**-n*) and the durative (**-n+a-m*). (Rybatzki 2003: 76)

The following examples show occurrences of plural markers added to an adjective plus COP in (185) and finite verbs as predicates in (186) to (190).

(185) SHM § 168

adu'un bidan-u turuqa-t büi
herd 1PL.INC.OBL-GEN lean-PL be
'our herds are lean.' (cf. IDR 87)

(186) SHM § 209

basa mono qoyin-a Bedü'ün-i uqa-t je bida
further same behind-DAT Bedü'ün-ACC observe-PL yes 1PL.INC
'[Here]after, we shall observe [how] Bedü'ün [doeth].' (FWC 152)

(187) SHM § 153

qubi-ya-ldu-t je bida
share-VR-REC-PL yes 1PL.INC
'We will indeed share [it] among ourselves'. (IDR 76, mod.)

(188) SHM § 190

ayyi yeke üge ügü-le-t ta ayyi torluq qan joki-qu-yü büi
ah big we word-VR-PL 2PL ah lazy¹¹¹ qan suit-P.IPFV-Q be
'Ayi, how boastfully you speak! (lit. say big words), ah, Torluq Qan, is it proper?' (IDR 112, mod.)

(189) SHM § 278

jasaq könte-'esü bidan-a ja'a-tuqai
law touch-C.COND 1PL.INC.OBL-DAT show-IMP.CONC

ükü-'ül-de-gü yosu-tu bö-'esü bida mököri-'ülü-t je
die-CAUS-PASS-P.IPFV way-ORN be-C.COND 1PL.INC execute-CAUS-PL yes
'If [any of them] breaks the law let it be reported to us. Those liable to death we shall certainly cut down.' (IDR 213)

(190) SHM § 195

kei unu-ju yabu-t te-de ala-ldu-qui üdür haran-u miqa ide-t te-de
wind ride-C.IPFV go-PL DIST-PL kill-REC-P.IPFV day man-GEN flesh eat-PL DIST-PL
'Those advance riding on the wind, on the day of killing those eat human flesh' (IDR 119, mod.)

¹¹¹ Cf. UO 79.

The following table lists some features that affect both the domain of the noun and the verb:

Noun (cognitive referential element)	Verb (cognitive relational element)
Adnominal	Adverbial
Participial	Participial
Infinitive	Infinitive
Plurality	Durative
Collective (no boundary of individuality)	Events of same category are unified
Dissolution of particular individualities	Repeat of same events: duration: habitual and continuous
Singularity and border	Past and non-past (point in the scale of time)
Pointed/framed	Perfect in the past or non-past
Plurality in the distance	Imperfect in the past or future (repeat of same events), Duration: habitual and continuous
Associated with case	Associated with case
Definiteness deixis	Definiteness through space/time-deixis

Table 18: Noun and Verb Overlapping Parameters

5.3.3.3 Summary

In the chapter on finite tense predicate marking suffixes, the indicative tense markers from the Middle Mongolian data were presented as sentence-closing elements, with a distinction between past and non-past categories. The treated suffixes are, in part, more complex morphemes whose origin indicates the separate elements which are to be identified as deverbal noun forming suffixes. The majority of this verb morphology is seen as not verbal but is assigned primarily to nouns. The examined morphemes are summarized in Table 19 and their alternants are shown regarding their frequency of occurrence in the following Table 20.

Indicatives		
PST	Type 1: <i>-ba(i)/-be(i)/-bi</i>	more “factual”
	Type 2: <i>-ǰu’u(i)/-ǰü’ü(i)/-čü’u(i)/-čü’ü(i)</i>	more “presumptive”
	Type 3: <i>-la’a(i)/-le’e(i)/-lu’a(i)/-lü’e(i)</i>	more “attestive”
N.PST	Type 4: <i>-mu(i)/-mü(i)</i>	more “habitual”
	Type 5: <i>-yu/-yü</i>	more “generic”
	Type 6: <i>-t/-d</i>	more “future”

Table 19: Indicative Finite Tense Markers

[±PST]	Type of finites	Marker	Frequency	Total
PAST	Type 1	<i>-ba</i>	37,0 %	54,23 %
		<i>-be</i>	32,2 %	
		<i>-bai</i>	11,9 %	
		<i>-bei</i>	11,9 %	
		<i>-bi</i>	2,7 %	
		<i>-'ai</i>	1,0 %	
		<i>-'a</i>	0,9 %	
		<i>-'ei</i>	0,7 %	
		<i>-ai</i>	0,7 %	
		<i>-i</i>	0,7 %	
		<i>-a</i>	0,3 %	
		<i>-'e</i>	0,2 %	
			Type 2	
<i>-ǰü'üi</i>	26,6 %			
<i>-ǰu'ui</i>	18,8 %			
<i>-ǰü'ü</i>	10,5 %			
<i>-čü'u</i>	4,2 %			
<i>-čü'ui</i>	3,6 %			
<i>-čü'üi</i>	1,1 %			
<i>-ǰi'ai</i>	0,6 %			
<i>-čü'üi</i>	0,3 %			
<i>-ǰiyi</i>	0,3 %			
<i>-čü'ü</i>	0,3 %			
<i>-ǰügü</i>	0,3 %			
<i>-ǰi</i>	0,3 %			
	Type 3	<i>-le'e</i>	58,7 %	14,48 %
		<i>-le'ei</i>	14,3 %	
		<i>-lü'e</i>	8,1 %	
		<i>-lu'a</i>	8,1 %	
		<i>-la'a</i>	6,8 %	
		<i>-lāi</i>	0,9 %	
		<i>-la'ai</i>	0,6 %	
		<i>-ligi</i>	0,6 %	
		<i>-lü'ei</i>	0,6 %	
		<i>-la</i>	0,3 %	
		<i>-lu'ai</i>	0,3 %	
		<i>-legei</i>	0,3 %	
		<i>-liyi</i>	0,3 %	
n.PAST	Type 4	<i>-mui</i>	27,6 %	5,71 %
		<i>-mü</i>	26,8 %	
		<i>-mu</i>	22,8 %	
		<i>-müi</i>	22,8 %	
	Type 5	<i>-yü</i>	67,3 %	4,41 %
		<i>-yu</i>	27,6 %	
		<i>-yi</i>	4,1 %	
		<i>-yü</i>	1,0 %	
	Type 6	<i>-t</i>	87,3 %	4,9 %
		<i>-d</i>	12,7 %	

Table 20: Frequency of Finite Tense Markers

Despite all the systematics shown, it must be noted that the meanings and usages of each individual verb form is based only on what is documented in the SHM with its historical subjects. One should reckon that with a certain freedom of speech of the language producer, he can choose forms among the existing expressions types which are most suitable for his purposes and concepts. Nevertheless, the language system is limited and controlled by the individual uses of the speaker despite his freedom to express his conceptual events freely, which is limited by necessity or wishes to be understood in his or her speaker community or audience on the basis of shared knowledge.

The assumption of Ramstedt (1952: 86) that the verbal forms in Altaic languages are nominal except for the imperative and optative forms can be attested by the historical surveys of some converb suffixes (cf. Poppe 2006: 180). This has also been observed in two usage types of participles (attributive, clause member) associated with primarily nominal parameters like “case” and finite tense markers.¹¹² Hence, the question arises why the speaker of Middle Mongolian prefers the nominalization of basic verbal units. The second question refers to the so-called analytic verbal forms consisting of verb and if COP plays a role in the dimension time/aspect (see also Chapter 7.3).

It seems important to me to understand what is meant by “future” if no indicative formal markers exist, but present suffixes are used for this temporal domain. In the next section, I would like to examine these questions, especially the imperative and optative forms of Middle Mongolian, since these are to be investigated in the assumed domain “future” as a non-past category.

5.3.4 Time, Aspect, Modality and Certainty

Modality is closely related to other categories such as tense and aspect and certainty¹¹³ of knowledge of the speaker. It can be distinguished between epistemic¹¹⁴ (expressing possibility and necessity regarding certainty of knowledge) and deontic modality (expressing permission and obligation related to rules and conventions).

Modal categories in Middle Mongolian are expressed by verbal morphology (mainly imperatives/hortatives/voluntatives) and other confirmative or clause closing particles like *je* ‘yes’ in the sense of ‘sure, indeed, maybe’. The speaker’s certainty and assumptions due to events in the future can be expressed by dubitative suffixes to show uncertainty by the utterance of being afraid and sorrows. Besides the indicative suffixes it belongs to the last of the verb formation derivational phases.

Modality within the Middle Mongolian language system is also expressed by lexical verbs and nouns which serve the semantics of modality such as *čida-* ‘can’ (facility) (see Chapter 7.3.3.1), *mede-* ‘know’ (facility), *yada-* ‘cannot, be unable’ (facility) (see Chapter 7.3.3.2), *bara-* ‘accomplish’ (facility) (see Chapter 7.3.3.3), *bol-* ‘become, happen’ (see Chapter 7.3.1.4) or ‘can, may’ (possibility, permission), *yosun* ‘rule, custom, tradition’ (necessity).

¹¹² Cf. Street’s (1957: 18) hypothesis about the *-d* “plural aoristic particle” as predicate marker. Poppe (1955a: 267) assumes that the primary unvocalized form of **-b* is a deverbal noun suffix, e.g. *tölöb* ‘from’, *tösüb* ‘plan’.

¹¹³ See “Grammaticalized evidentiality system of Khalkha” by Brosig & Skribnik (2017: 560).

¹¹⁴ Epistemic modality involves not only the status of the speaker’s understanding and knowledge, it also covers his assessment and presumption (cf. Palmer 1986: 51). In Middle Mongolian, we deal more with the speaker’s certainty than with the information source. That is why it is appropriate to speak of certainty as an evidentiality.

In Middle Mongolian, there are no indicative verb suffixes to distinguish between the present and the future, but differences between the past and the non-past can be observed (cf. Ramstedt 1902: 21). “Aktionsart” occurs more clearly than the relative time level (cf. Ramstedt 1902: 21). The idea of relative time steps such as future, present and past is, however, essential, since “Aktionsart” [\pm PFV] is included in every time step or better “references” it. Imperfective is considered in these works to be the counterpart of perfective within the category “aspect”¹¹⁵. Semantically, it refers to the event situation not as a “bounded whole”, but rather from within, with explicit reference to its “internal temporal structure” (Comrie 1976b: 24). Concretely, an imperfective event situation can be viewed as in progress at a certain reference point, either in the past or non-past (incl. present and future). It has the characteristics of a period of time that includes the reference time of event situations with “habitual”, “generic” or somehow “timeless”¹¹⁶ semantics (cf. Bybee & Perkins et al. 1994: 125–126).

[\pm PST]	Time references	[\pm PFV] with subtypes
[+PST]	Past	perfective (completed/pointed) imperfective (habitual/generic/progressive)
[-PST]	Present (current ego-reference)	perfective (completed/pointed) imperfective (habitual/generic/progressive)
	Future	perfective (completed/pointed) imperfective (habitual/generic/progressive)

Table 21: Time References and their Aspectual Features

Cognitive linguistic investigations have been made by Núñez and Sweetser (2006) and Evans (2004, 2013) on the structure of “time”, which refer to past, present and future in the sequential structure. Metaphorical concepts¹¹⁷ of “time” have focused on differences between a moving “ego” and “temporal reference points” with a cognitive semantics of “FUTURE IS IN FRONT OF EGO” and “PAST IS IN THE BACK OF EGO” (Núñez & Sweetser 2006: 401). Following this idea of temporal reference points, it is observed in Middle Mongolian that “future is in the back of ego” while “past is in front of ego” like in the Aymara language (referenced by Evans 2013: 4–5). Additionally, the assumption of Evans (2013: 4–5) states that a “deictic reference” encodes a future and past relationship, sequential reference facilitates an earlier and later relationship (cf. Evans, 2013: 4–5; Evans 2004). The following Figure 10 shows the organization of time references as deictic moment by distinguishing between “distal” and “proximal” due to the “conceptual ego”. It also shows that both times references “past” and “present” and “past” and “future” which are connected by an “interface”-domain in their sequential dynamicity measured by the space/time axis, are relational variables. The third assumed axis called “experience” with its perceptual organization besides the space and times axis is motivated by the assumptions made by

¹¹⁵ The durativity/intensity of an event can also be expressed by simply repeating the verbal lexeme: *čisun šimin šimin* ‘sucking sucking the blood (cf. § 214), *mö’eren mö’eren ayisurun* (cf. § 121) ‘approaching bellowing bellowing (=kept bellowing)’.

¹¹⁶ see discussion on non-dynamic event relation Chapter on “Simple Clauses” in 6.2.1.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Several studies of grammaticalization have claimed that the development of grammatical categories involves a metaphorical process (see Claudi & Heine 1986; Heine et al. 1991; Bybee & Pagliuca 1985). This was demonstrated in the shift of the English *be going to*-construction from a concrete/lexical meaning to the abstract/grammatical meaning of future tense as a “metaphorical base” (Heine 1995: 37); for thoughts on grammaticalization see also Lehmann 2017.

Johnson (1987: 41) and Lakoff & Johnson (1999: 19) who suggest categorization as the basic mechanism of the human being as a living system influenced by its perception.

Living systems must categorize. Since we are neural beings, our categories are formed through our embodiment. What that means is that the categories we form are *part of our experience!* They are the structures that differentiate aspects of our experience into discernible kinds. Categorization is thus not a purely intellectual matter, occurring after the fact of experience. Rather, the formation and use of categories is the stuff of experience. It is part of what our bodies and brains are constantly engaged in. We cannot, as some meditative traditions suggest, “get beyond” our categories and have a purely uncategorized and unconceptualized experience. Neural beings cannot do that. (Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 19)

This results in the conclusion that many of the presumptions and prognoses of event situations are located in the domain of “future” in which the ego was not yet seen before. Those kinds of presumptions and prognoses are caused/made by the experienced knowledge which was achieved in the domain of “past” in the time axis and is actually in the front of a body-based ego in the space axis. The certainty of knowledge depends on the distance between the referential location of ego and the deictic references both past and future which the present ego is related to.¹¹⁸

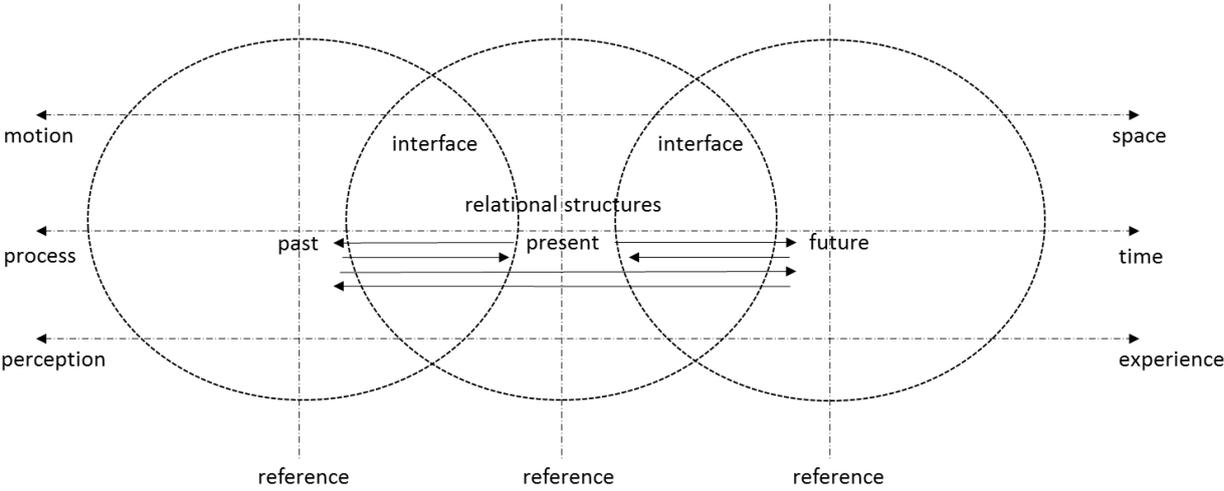


Figure 10: Relational Structures of Times

If we consider time references as relational variables, we obtain 6 potential relational structures. The symbol “→” stands for a dynamic relation while the symbol “/” represents a non-dynamic relation. The orientation of the relationship can vary according to the “viewpoint” (cf. Langacker 1987: 122).

¹¹⁸ Consider the freedom of a language producer in the case of SHM in choosing one of the referential points to locate its ego and therefore is imitating the current experiential situation of the scene roles he is talking about (cf. time references such as “preterite present”, “future past”, or “present perfect” and so on).

Relational Structure			
Possible Combinations	Reference	Relator	Reference
Type 1	past	/,→	present
Type 2	past	/,→	future
Type 3	present	/,→	past
Type 4	present	/,→	future
Type 5	future	/,→	past
Type 6	future	/,→	present

Table 22: Possible Combinations of Time-Relations

It is even more important to include an orientation point in a rather documentary narration such as SHM. Local nouns such as *urid-a* ‘front/early-DAT’, *edo’-e* ‘here/now-DAT’, *qoyin-a* ‘behind/later-DAT’ are often used.

(191) SHM § 278

qahan ečige-yin jarlig-iyar urid-a ker yabu-qun bü-le’ei
 qahan father-GEN order-INS front-DAT how go-P.IPFV be-PST.1H

edö’-e mün yosu’ar yabu-tuqai ke’e-n jarliq bolu-run
 now-DAT same rule-INS go-IMP.CONC say-C.MOD order become-C.PREP

‘I command that in what[ever] capacity they previously acted in accordance with the order of [my] father the Qahan, so shall they act in the same capacity now’ (IDR 209).

(192) SHM § 244

edö’-e daisun gü’ün-i muqu-t-qa-bai ke’e-ju
 now-DAT enemy man-ACC exhaust-VR-FAC-PST say-C.IPFV

‘now, saying that you have destroyed the enemy people,’ (IDR 169)

(193) SHM § 247

te’ün-ü qoyin-a Činggis qahan qonini jil Kitat irgen-tür mori-la-bai
 DIST.OBL-GEN behind-DAT Činggis qahan sheep year Kitat people-DAT.LOC horse-VR-PST

‘After that, in the Year of Sheep (1211), Činggis Qahan set out against the Kitat people.’ (IDR 175).

(194) SHM § 281

qahan ečige-yü’en qoyin-a dörben üyyile-s neme-be je
 qahan father-GEN-POSS behind-DAT four deed-PL add-PST yes

‘After my father the Qahan, I have indeed added four [good] deeds [to his].’ (IDR 217)

(195) SHM § 33

Bodončar Buqu-qatagi aqa-yu’an qoyin-ača daqa-ju
 Bodončar Buqu-qatagi elder.brother-GEN.POSS behind-ABL follow-C.IPFV

‘When Bodončar, following after his elder brother Buqu Qatagi’ (FWC 7)

(196) SHM § 56

qurba-’ula qoyin-ača neke-ju
 three-CN behind-ABL chase-C.IPFV

‘All three, [pursuing] from behind, chased’ (FWC 12, mod)

(197) SHM § 93

Naqu-bayyan ügü-le-rün qoyar jala'u-s büi ta üje-ldü-ktü-t
Naqu-bayyan word-VR-C.PREP two young-PL be 2PL see-REC-IMP.CONC-PL

mono qoyin-a büi tebči-ldü-ktü-t ke'e-be
also behind-DAT NEG.PROH abandon-REC-IMP.CONC-PL say-PST

‘Naqu Bayyan spake, he said “Ye are two youths. See [ye] each other. Abandon [ye] not each other hereafter.”’ (FWC 31)

(198) SHM § 171

mono qoyin-a öneči-t kö'ü-d-i min-ü asara-qu-yi
true behind-DAT orphaned-PL son-PL-ACC 1SG.OBL-GEN care-P.IPFV-ACC

anda mede-tügei ke'e-be
sworn.friend know-IMP.CONC say-PST

‘As for how one shall afterwards take care of my orphaned children, [my] sworn friend will decide (lit. know).’ (IDR 91, mod.)

(199) SHM § 121

Temüjin-ü qoyin-ača yeke terge'ür-iyer mö'ere-n mö'ere-n ayisu-run
Temüjin-GEN behind-ABL big wide.road-INS bellow-C.MOD bellow-C.MOD approach-C.PREP

‘[as he] proceeded following Temüjin on the wide road and kept bellowing,’ (IDR 48)

(200) SHM § 158

te'ün-ü qoyin-a Činggis qahan Ong qan qoyar
DIST.OBL-GEN behind-DAT Činggis qahan Ong qan two

Naiman-u Güčügüd-iin Buyiruč qan-tur mori-la-ju
Naiman-GEN Güčügüd-GEN Buyiruč qan-DAT.LOC horse-VR-C.IPFV

‘After that, Činggis Qa’an and Ong Qan rode against Buyiruč Qan of the Güčügüd [clan] of the Naiman.’ (IDR 80)

(201) SHM § 164

urid-a ert-e üdür Yisügei qan ečiǵe-lü'e Ong qan anda ke'e-ldü-ksen a-ju'u
front-DAT early-DAT day Yisügei qan father-COM Ong qan sworn.friend say-REC-P.PFV be-PST.2H

‘In early days, Ong Qan had declared himself as sworn friend with the father Yisügei Qan,’ (FWC 88, mod.)

(202) SHM § 192

urid-a kehte'ül-e jayı-la-ju aqta-s-tur-ıyan qaru-n qono-tuqai
front-DAT nightguard-DAT place-VR-C.IPFV gelding-PL-DAT-POSS go.out-C.MOD spend.night-IMP.CONC

‘[they] shall retire [lit. make place] for the nightguards; they shall go out to their geldings and spend the night [there]’ (IDR 114, mod.)

(203) SHM § 234

Arqai-yin ba'atu-t ordo-yin urid-a yabu-tuqai
Arqai-GEN brave.warrior-PL palace-GEN front-DAT go-IMP.CONC

‘Arqai’s brave warriors shall take up duty (lit. go) in front of the Palace.’ (IDR 162, mod.)

In addition, there is the possibility of establishing the referential or point of orientation by means of deixis such as distal *tende* ‘there’ and proximal *ende* ‘here’. Local and temporal differences can hardly be distinguished, unless they are made obvious by the semantics of the respective verbal relation, as in

examples (204) to (208). The ratio of all deictic units such as *ene/ende* ‘this/there (PROX)’ and *tere/tende* ‘that, there (DIST)’ in SHM is DIST (68.2 %) to PROX (31.8 %). Conclusively, the referents are more often related to what is far away from the viewpoint in the temporal referential sequence, namely past and future.

(204) SHM § 195

te'ün-tür *Tayang qan kiling-la-ju* *ügü-le-rün*
 DIST.OBL-DAT.LOC Tayang qan anger-VR-C.IPFV word-VR-C.PREP
 ‘At this Tayang Qan grew angry and said,’ (IDR 118)

(205) SHM § 198

ten-d-eče *Činggis qahan qari-ju*
 DIST-DAT-ABL Činggis qahan return-C.IPFV
 ‘After that, Činggis Qahan returned’ (IDR 126, mod.)

(206) SHM § 195

Ĵamuqa ten-de *Naiman-lu'a čerik mori-la-ju* *ire-ldü-ju* *ten-de* *a-ju*
 Ĵamuqa DIST-DAT Naiman-COM troop horse-VR-C.IPFV come-REC-C.IPFV DIST-DAT be-C.IPFV
 ‘At that time Ĵamuqa had [also] set forth with his troops and had come with the Naiman.’ (IDR 118)

(207) SHM § 245

dolo'an Qongqotan Otčigin-i *en-d-eče* *ten-d-eče* *qa'a-ju*
 seven Qongqotan Otčigin-ACC PROX-DAT-ABL DIST-DAT-ABL surround-C.IPFV

Soqor elči-yen *ilē-gü* *čin-u* *jöb* *büi* *ke'e-ju*
 Soqor envoy-ACC.POSS send-P.IPFV 2SG.OBL-GEN right be say-C.IPFV

‘[On that] the seven Qongqotan from all sides surrounded Otčigin, saying, “You were right to send your envoy Soqor.”’ (IDR 170, mod.).

(208) SHM § 265

ten-de *qatqu-ldu-ya*
 DIST-DAT sting-REC-VOL
 ‘Let us fight there!’ (IDR 197)

The deictic references are due to the “reference events” in the form of “finite clauses” which are marked by the verbal deixis *eyi-mü* ‘this-PRES’. The deictic units *eyi-* ‘so (PROX)’ and *teyi-* ‘so (DIST)’ are conjugated by finite tense. In these cases, the deictic unit functions like a verbal relator referring to the whole sentence.

(209) SHM § 9

Qori-Tümed-ün *Qorilartai-mergen-nü* *ökin* *Ariq-usun-na* *töre-ksen*
 Qori-Tümed-GEN Qorilartai-mergen-GEN daughter Ariq-usun-DAT bear-P.PFV

Alan-qo'a-yi *ten-de* *quyu-ju* *Dobun-mergen-nü* *abu-qsan* *yosun* *teyi-mü*
 Alan-qo'a-ACC DIST-DAT request-C.IPFV Dobun-mergen-GEN take-P.PFV custom/manner DIST-PRES

‘Such [was] the manner in which [Duwa Soqor] there requested, and Dobun Mergen took [to wife] wooed Alan Qo’a, daughter of the Qorilartai Mergen of the Qori Tümed and which was born at Ariq Usun.’ (FWC 2, mod.)

(210) SHM § 110

Börte üjün-i te-yin jolqa-ldu-ju
 Börte lady-ACC DIST-GEN encounter-REC-C.IPFV

Merkit irgen-eče abura-qsan yosun eyi-mü
 Merkit people-ABL save-P.PFV manner PROX-PRES

‘Such [was] the manner in which [Temüjin] so encountered Börte Üjin and [in which] he saved [her from] the Merkit people.’ (FWC 45, mod.)

Categories such as time, aspect, modality and certainty of knowledge (in the third derivational phase of the morphological chain) can only be seen as part of an interrelated relationship as shown below.

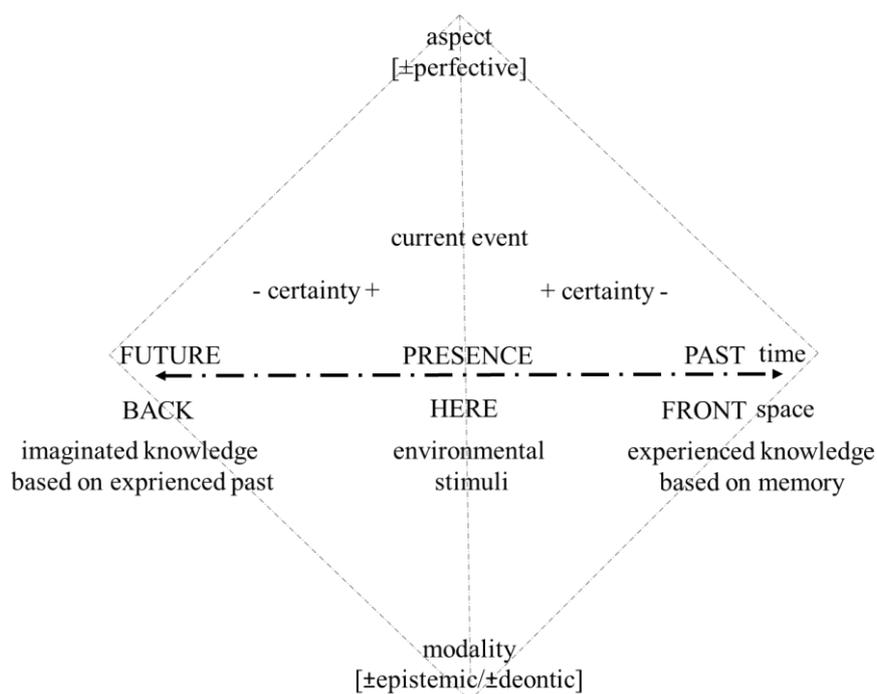


Figure 11: Interface of Time, Aspect, Modality and Certainty of Knowledge

Series of lexemes are to be regarded as measured variables, which can be made responsible for the spatial or temporal reference: *naran* ‘sun’, *sara* ‘moon’, *gegen* ‘bright’, *üdüür* ‘day’, *söni* ‘night’, *manaqar üdüür* ‘following day’ (=tomorrow).

(211) SHM § 81

naran šingge-’esü tarqa-ba
 sun sink-C.COND disperse-PST

‘At sunset [they] dispersed (lit. when the sun sank, [they] dispersed).’ (IDR 23, mod.)

(212) SHM § 145

üdüür geyi-ju gegen bol-ju
 day clear-C.IPFV bright become-C.IPFV

‘it was daybreak and growing light.’ (IDR 66)

(213) SHM § 83

manaqar üdür *çi'ul-ju* *eri-ye*
following day reassemble-C.IPFV search-VOL

‘Tomorrow we shall [re]assemble and look for him [again].’ (IDR 24)

(214) SHM § 21

naran sara-yin *kili-yer* *šira* *noqai metü*
sun moon-GEN border-INS yellow dog like

šičabalju-ju *qar-qu* *bü-le'e*
slink-C.IPFV go.out-P.IPFV be-PST.1H

‘[He] slunk away like a yellow dog by the border of the sun and moon.’ (UO 11, mod.)

(215) SHM § 204

hon-tur *sara-tur* *sata-ju* *ök-lige* *soyurqa čima-da* *ök-sü*
year-DAT.LOC moon-DAT.LOC bestow-C.IPFV give-NR favour 2SG.OBL-DAT give-VOL

‘Yearly and monthly I shall bestow you, and I shall give you gifts and favours.’ (IDR 136, mod.; cf. UO 94)

5.3.5 Hortatives

Imperative forms are considered “verbal final hortative particles” (Street 1957: 15). They can be differentiated with respect to the courtesy towards the person to whom the request or command is addressed. For example, the benedictives are more polite than the simple imperatives, cf. “prompt imperative” vs. “modest request” (cf. Ramstedt 1902: 8).

The prototypical property of all imperative aligned events is that the speaker (orderer) appeals to a direct conversation partner or a non-direct person (ADDRESSEE), singular or several persons, to perform actions. The appeals are future oriented.

5.3.5.1 Simple Imperatives

The simple imperative of the second person is indicated by a zero marker or corresponds to the verbal stem expressing a strict order addressed to one person or to several persons (cf. Poppe 2006: 89) like in example (216) to (219).

(216) SHM § 98

eke eke öter *bos qajar derbelü-müi* *tübüri'in* *sonos-ta-mu*
mother mother quick rise earth shake-PRES.PG trampling.hoof hear-PASS-PRES.PG

jalqamšiq-tan *Tayyiči'u-t* *ayisu-n* *a-qun-ü*
terrifying-ORN Tayyiči'u-PL approach-C.MOD be-P.IPFV-Q

‘Mother, mother, rise up quickly! The earth is shaking and one can hear the sound of trampling hooves: will they be the terrifying Tayyiči'ut approaching?’ (IDR 31, mod.)

(217) SHM § 79

aqā-ban *Temüjin-i* *ilē*
elder.brother-POSS Temüjin-ACC send

busu-d-i tan-u kerek ügei ke'e-n ungši-qda-ǰu
 other-PL-ACC 2PL.OBL-GEN need NEG.EX say-C.MOD shout-PASS-C.IPFV

‘They were shouted “Send out your elder brother Temüjin, we have no need for the other of you!”’ (IDR 22, mod.)

(218) SHM § 68

Temüjin-i ötörken ot-ču ab-ču ire
 Temüjin-ACC quickly go-C.IPFV take-C.IPFV come

‘Go quickly and bring back my son Temüjin!’ (IDR 16, mod.)

(219) SHM § 83

edö'e man-i tarqa-'ulu-n bara-ǰu
 now-DAT 1PL.EXC.OBL-ACC disperse-CAUS-C.MOD accomplish-C.IPFV

eke-ben de'ü-ner-i-yen eri-n ot
 mother-POSS younger.brother-PL-ACC-POSS seek-C.MOD go

‘Now let us be completely dispersed, then go and seek your mother and younger brothers.’ (IDR 24, mod.)

5.3.5.2 Benedictives

The benedictive¹¹⁹ suffix is marked by *-tqun/-tqün/-tkun/-tkün*.¹²⁰ It is especially used in the cases where one considers someone as respectful or it refers to events dealing with serious duties. Verbs with the benedictive suffix express a “polite entreaty” addressed to one person or to several persons (cf. Poppe 2006: 89).

(220) SHM § 72

e-den-i eke-s kö'ü-d-i nuntuq-tur ge-ǰü newü-tkün
 PROX-PL-ACC mother-PL son-PL-ACC camp-DAT.LOC leave-C.IPFV move-IMP.BEN

ta ber bü ab-ču yabu-tqun
 2PL FOC NEG.PROH take-C.IPFV go-IMP.BEN

‘Leave these, mother and sons in the camp and move on without them along!’ (IDR 18, mod.)

(221) SHM § 77

ta qolumta min-ü bü büre-l-ge-tkün
 2PL hearth.fire 1SG.OBL-GEN NEG.PROH complete-VR-FAC-IMP.BEN

Belgütey-yi bü tebči-tkün
 Belgütey-ACC NEG.PROH forsake-IMP.BEN

‘Do not obliterate my hearth-fire, do not forsake Belgütei!’ (UO 25; cf. FWC 23)

This is a well-known scene in the SHM, where the mother lets the children break the sole arrow shaft to teach them the story from old mother Alan, cf. (222) and (223).

¹¹⁹ Term applied by Ramstedt (1902: 6).

¹²⁰ See the assumption of Bese (1970: 27) who considers it a complex morpheme *gtu.d* consisting of *G* “third person hortative” plus *-tU* “third person optative” and the plural indicating suffix *-d*.

(222) SHM § 19

niji'el müsü-t ququlu-tqun
sole arrow-PL break-IMP.BEN

'Break [the] sole arrow shaft!' (IDR 4, mod.)

(223) SHM § 76

erte Alan eke-yin tabun kö'ü-t metü yekin eye üge'ün büi
early Alan mother-GEN five son-PL like how agreement NEG.EX be

ta bü-tügei ke'e-bi
2PL NEG.PROH-IMP.CONC say-PST

'“How can you be at odds with each other, like the five sons of Mother Alan of old? Stop it!”, she said.’ (IDR 20, mod.)

5.3.5.3 Conclusives and Voluntatives

The conclusives are marked with the suffixes *-tuqai/-tügei/-suqai/-sügei* as sentence closing verbal forms with a common optative-concessive semantics. The differentiation between the forms *-tuqai/-tügei* and *-suqai/-sügei* is that the latter one is related to events which should be executed by the first person whereas the first one refers to an order to be executed by a third person (cf. Bese 1970: 26; Poppe 2006: 90). Relating to non-first person, it has more imperative semantics. When it relates to the first person, it has a voluntative semantics expressing a wish to perform an action.¹²¹ Bese (1970: 26) assumes *-su* and *-tu* are co-variants of a single optative form. Poppe (2006: 90) categorizes them as pure “voluntative” forms. They are both on the interface between imperatives and voluntatives. While in the former direct communication partners are (SAP2) involved the focus of the latter is in the domain of ego (SAP1) like vocative within a category “hortative” (Street 1957: 15).

(224) SHM § 124

Belgütei Qaraldai-toqura'u qoyar-i aqta bari-tuqai aqta-čin bol-tuqai ke'e-be
Belgütei Qaraldai-toqura'u two-ACC gelding hold-IMP.CONC gelding-NA become-IMP.CONC say-PST

'[he] said, “Belgütei and Qaraldai Toqura'un shall be in charge of the geldings, be [my] equerries!” (IDR 51, mod.)

(225) SHM § 133

To'oril qan ečiğe öter ire-tügei
To'oril qan father quick come-IMP.CONC

'To'oril Qan, [my] father, should come quickly!' (IDR 56)

(226) SHM § 166

qar in-ü qar-da-ju köl in-ü köl-de-ju ök-sügei ke'e-ju'üi
hand 3SG.OBL-GEN hand-VR-C.IPFV FOOT 3SG.OBL-GEN foot-VR-C.IPFV give-OPT say-PST.2H

'“We shall seize his hands, and grasp his feet!” [he] said.’ (IDR 85, mod.)

¹²¹ Thoughts about the agent oriented vs. epistemic modality (see Heine 1995: 17–18).

(227) SHM § 213

soyurqa-'asu Baya'u-t aqa de'ü-yen čï'ul-qa-suqai
favour-C.COND Baya'u-PL elder.brother younger.bother-ACC.POSS gather-FAC-OPT

'by your favour let me bring together my Baya'ut brothers.' (IDR 144)

(228) SHM § 249

šibawun sur-qa-ǰu qura-'ul-ǰu
falcon learn-FAC-C.IPFV gather-CAUS-C.IPFV

sayi-d-i in-ü gü-r-ge-'ülü-n a-suqai
good-PL-ACC 3SG.OBL-GEN reach-FAC-CAUS-C.MOD be-OPT

'Training falcons we shall gather [them] and [all] the best ones we shall send (lit. made to bring) [to you]!' (IDR 178, mod.)

(229) SHM § 254

aba-ldu-ǰu ila-qda-'asu una-qsan qaǰar-ača bü bos-suqai
take-REC-C.IPFV win-PASS-C.COND fall-P.PFV place-ABL NEG.PROH rise-OPT

'If [we] wrestle and [I] am defeated [by you], [I] shall not rise from the place where [I] have fallen!' (IDR 183, mod.)

The voluntative and optative *-su/-sü* occur mostly if they refer to the first person showing willingness.

(230) SHM § 204

hon-tur sara-tur sata-ǰu ök-lige soyurqa čima-da ök-sü
year-DAT.LOC month-DAT.LOC bestow-C.IPFV give-NR favour 2SG.OBL-DAT give-OPT

mali'a-n a-suqai uruq-un uruq-a gü-r-tele ke'e-n ǰarliq bol-ba
give.gift-C.MOD be-OPT offspring-GEN offspring-DAT reach-C.TERM say-C.MOD order become-PST

'"Yearly and monthly I shall bestow you, and I shall give you gifts and favours which will continue unto the offspring of your offspring!" [So] he ordered.' (IDR 136, mod.)

(231) SHM § 177

Tayyiči'u-d-ača Qunan Baqajı qoyar-i udurit-ču ulus čin-u abura-ǰu ök-sü
Tayyiči'u-PL-ABL Qunan Baqajı two-ACC lead-C.IPFV people 2SG.OBL-GEN rescue-C.IPFV give-VOL

'Leading Qunan and Baqajı from the Tayyiči'ud, [he said], "I shall rescue your people for you!"' (IDR 98, mod.)

(232) SHM § 185

bi edö'-e ükü-'ül-de-'esü ükü-sü Činggis qahan-a soyurqa-qda-'asu güčü ök-sü
1SG now-DAT die-CAUS-PASS-C.COND die-VOL Činggis qahan-DAT favour-C.COND force give-VOL

'"Now, if I shall be made to die, I shall die, but if I will be favoured by Činggis Qahan, I will serve him!" [he said].' (IDR 107, mod.)

The suffix *-sun/-sün* was a productive noun forming suffix in Early Mongolian (cf. Choimaa 2011: 116). It is presumably composed of an optative form *-su/-su* and the C.MOD *-n*.

(233) SHM § 170

Mau-üündür-ün gerü-de Uriangqadai ǰelme-qo'a-yi itege-ǰu
Mau-height-GEN northern-DAT Uriangqadai ǰelme-qo'a-ACC trust-C.IPFV

qoyin-a-'an *čaqdu-'ul-su-n* *bol-qa-n*
behind-DAT-POSS guard-CAUS-OPT-C.MOD become-FAC-C.MOD

qara-'ul-su-n *talbi-ju* *gödöl-ju*
see-CAUS-OPT-C.MOD set.up-C.IPFV move-C.IPFV

‘[He] left behind Ĵelme Qo’a of the Uriangqadai, for [he] trusted him, as his rearguard on the northern of Mau Heights. [He] set up patrols and moved on.’ (IDR 89, mod.)

(234) SHM § 170

Alčiday-yin *aqta-s* *adu'u-la-'ul-su-n* *Čigidei Yadir*
Alčiday-GEN gelding-PL horse-VR-CAUS-OPT-C.MOD Čigidei Yadir

juyil-e *juyil-e* *noqo'an-tur* *aqta-s-i-yan* *yabu-qui-tur*
kind-DAT kind-DAT green-DAT.LOC gelding-PL-ACC-POSS go-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC

‘Čigidei and Yadir, the horse-herders of Alčiday, led their geldings to pasture, some here and some there, on the grass.’ (IDR 89, mod.)

(235) SHM § 86

nengji-'ül-sü-n *bawu-ju* *yorči-ba*
search-CAUS-OPT-C.MOD step.down-C.IPFV go.away-PST

‘The people, who were caused to search, stepped down and went away.’ (IDR 25, mod.)

The voluntative emphatic of the first person is formed with the suffix *-ya/-ye* (cf. Poppe 2006: 90). This suffix is very productive and expresses a wish to do something. It corresponds to the vocative construction ‘let’s do it!’ in English.

(236) SHM § 190

bi *en-d-eče* *qam-sa-ju*
1SG PROX-DAT-ABL together-VR-C.IPFV

te-de-ke-t *Mongqol-un* *qor* *an-u* *abu-ya*
DIST-PL-DIM-PL Mongol-GEN quiver 3PL.OBL-GEN take-VOL.EMPH

‘I shall join you from here and we will take the quivers of those few Mongols!’ (IDR 112)

(237) SHM § 197

ökin-i *čin-u* *bida* *qam-tu* *üje-'ülü-ye*
daughter-ACC 2PS.OBL-GEN 1PL.INC together-ORN see-CAUS-VOL.EMPH

‘Let us go together to offer (lit. let see or show) your daughter!’ (IDR 123, mod.)

(238) SHM § 200

umarta-qsan-i-yan *durat-qa-ldu-ju*
forget-P.PFV-ACC-POSS remind-FAC-REC-C.IPFV

umtara-qsan-i-yan *seri-'ülü-lče-ju* *a-ya*
fall.asleep-P.PFV-ACC-POSS wake.up-CAUS-REC-C.IPFV be-VOL.EMPH

‘Let us each remind the other of what he has forgotten, let us each wake up the other who has fallen asleep.’ (IDR 129)

(239) SHM § 224

nidün-e *ečin-e* *qolo qajar-a* *ilē-ye*
eye-DAT absence-DAT far place-DAT send-VOL.EMPH

‘let us send [them] to a distant place, out of [our] sight!’ (IDR 154, mod.)

(240) SHM § 235

Činggis qahan Arslan-i soyurqa-ju öki ögü-ye ke'e-n jarliq bol-ba
Činggis qahan Arslan-ACC favour-C.IPFV daughter give-VOL.EMPH say-C.MOD order become-PST
'Činggis Qahan showed favour to Arslan and ordered, "I shall give [him] a daughter [in marriage]"
(IDR 162, mod.)

5.3.5.4 Expression of Presumption

As the future refers to an unknown situation, event situations are associated with some assumed ideas. These are expressed with a question marker and/or some confirming particles such as *je* 'indeed, surely, perhaps' (lit. 'yes'). This affirmative particle *je* expresses the certainty of the speaker in terms of events to happen as imagined or assumed. This certainty can be based on preceding events, historical events or personal experience which cause the certainty of event situations in the future.

5.3.5.4.1 Certainty

Certainty regarding events in the future may arise through an additional affirmative particle *je* 'indeed, surely, perhaps' as closing unit in the clause which expresses presumptions like in (241) and (242).

(241) SHM § 96

ečiǵe-lü'e min-ü anda ke'e-ldü-ksen ečiǵe metü büi je
father-COM 1SG.OBL-GEN sworn.friend say-REC-P.PFV father like be yes

“As he and my father have declared themselves sworn friends, [Ong Qan] is indeed like a father for me” thinking so [Temüjin]’ (IDR 30, mod.)

(242) SHM § 103

Qaldun-burqan-a qarča-yin tedüi amin-i-yan qalqa-la-qda-ba je bi
Qaldun-burqan-DAT grasshopper-GEN so life-ACC-POSS shelter-VR-PASS-PST yes 1SG

‘Thanks to Qaldun Burqan (=Burqan Qaldun) my life like a grasshopper’s [life] was indeed shielded!’ (IDR 33, mod.)

However, in example (243) the *je* has its literal meaning.

(243) SHM § 108

boro'an ber bolu-'asu boljāl-tur qura ber bolu-'asu
rain FOC become-C.COND appointed.meeting-DAT.LOC blizzard FOC become-C.COND

qura-l-tur büi qojida-ya ese-'ü ke'e-ldü-le'ei bida
gather-NR-DAT.LOC NEG.PROH delay-VOL NEG-Q say-REC-PST 1PL.INC

Mongqol je anda-qar-tan busu-t-ü
Mongqol yes sworn.brother-NR-ORN other-PL-Q

je-deče qojida-qsan-i jerge-deče qar-qa-ya ke'e-ldü-le'ei ke'e-be
yes-ABL delay-P.PFV-ACC rank-ABL come.out-FAC-VOL say-REC-PST say-PST

“Did we not agree that we won’t be late at the appointed meeting, even if there be a blizzard; at the gathering, even if there be rain? Are we not Mongols, for whom a ‘yes’ is [the same] as being bound by an oath? We did agree that we shall reject (lit. bring out) from our ranks who[ever] remiss in his ‘yes’”, [he] said.’ (IDR 39, mod.)

5.3.5.4.2 Dubitative

The preoccupations of the future are partly connected with fear and worries that someone might perform an event which is seen as undesirable (cf. Poppe 2006: 91). In these cases, we probably have a combined morpheme including the confirmative particle *je* added to the preceding suffix (actually from the category “generic present”) *-yu/-yü* or *-qu/qü* (as participle imperfective) or the question marker which is marked as *-’u*. All three suffixes are possible since we find *-u* with the apostrophe symbol indicating that a letter, mostly a consonant is missing. Another reason for question markers is that the uncertainty can relate to ignorance (expressed by questions).¹²²

(244) SHM § 190

edö’-e bi čima-da sere-’ül-jü ilē-be
 now-DAT 1SG 2SG.OBL-DAT wake-CAUS-C.IPFV send-PST

qor-i-yan ab-da-’u-jai či ke’e-jü ilē-jü’üi
 quiver-ACC-POSS take-PASS-?P.IPFV-DUB 2SG say-C.IPFV send-PST

‘Now I am sending you this warning, for I fear you may be robbed of your quivers!’ (IDR 112, mod.)

(245) SHM § 260

kö’ü-t ayu-ju setkil-i-yen alqasa-’u-jai
 son-PL fear-C.IPFV thought-ACC-POSS neglect-?P.IPFV-DUB

‘We fear that [your] sons, being afraid, will neglect their thoughts.’ (UO 130)

(246) SHM § 91

min-ü tul-a či erüste-’ü-jei
 1SG.OBL-GEN lean-DAT 2SG injure-?P.IPFV-DUB

‘I do not want you hurt yourself for my sake.’. (UO 29)

Table 23 gives an overview of the frequency of the suffixes as they appear in the text. However, a strict distinction between the categories imperative, voluntary, certainty is not possible. Rather, they form interfaces. The first, second, and third person statements are understood only as a guideline, because the subjectives and agentives of an event structure in Middle Mongolian do not obligatory have to occur linguistically.

¹²² Cf. the notions of *-γūjai/-gūjei* Poppe (2006: 91).

Categories	Distinctive Features	Markers	Frequency	Total	
Imperative	optative	<i>-tuqai</i>	67,9 %	37,38 %	
		concessive (3SG/PL)	<i>-tügei</i>		30,3 %
			<i>-duqai</i>		1,5 %
			<i>-tulai</i>		0,4 %
	benedictive (2SG/PL)	<i>-tqun</i>	56,4 %	15,96 %	
		<i>-tkiin</i>	41,0 %		
		<i>-ktiüt</i>	1,7 %		
		<i>-tqiin</i>	0,9 %		
Voluntative	voluntative (1SG/PL)	<i>-ya</i>	65,6 %	26,19 %	
		<i>-ye</i>	34,4 %		
	voluntative (1SG/PL)	<i>-süi</i>	47,8 %	18,28 %	
		<i>-su</i>	32,1 %		
		<i>-suqai</i>	11,9 %		
	optative	<i>-sügei</i>	5,2 %		
		concessive (3SG/PL)	<i>-sun</i>		2,2 %
	<i>-sün</i>		0,7 %		
	Certainty	dubitative (2SG/PL)	<i>-jai</i>	56,3 %	2,18 %
		affirmative (3SG/PL)	<i>-jei</i>	37,5 %	
<i>-je'ei</i>			6,3 %		

Table 23: Frequency of Modality Markers

5.4 Summary

In the chapter on verb formation of Middle Mongolian using text data, it has been shown that the verbal word formation structure is suffixally organized. Three derivation phases have been identified. Various suffixes in the first derivation phase have the function of forming verbal stems, whereby primary and secondary verbal stems can be differentiated. On the verbal basis, further suffixes such as FAC, CAUS, REC/CO and PASS, which are to be classified into the second derivation phase, can be formed. They have the potential to form new lexemes. The last derivation stage forms participles, converb and finite tense markers including modality/certainty features as sentence-final markers.

In Middle Mongolian there are tendencies for a gender and person agreement between the actors and the verbal relators. This became especially clear for *-ba(i)/-be(i)/-bi* as the most common factual or simple finite past tense marker. Pragmatic factors such as respect (by use of plural) and properties associated with the “feminine” (considered by the language producer of SHM) play a greater role than rule-based grammatical use. The masculine forms *-ba/-be* as are thereby neutral or “unmarked”.

The linguistic categories “participles”, “converb” and “finite verbs” are syntactically or operationally driven in Middle Mongolian, which leads to their formal or morphological differences¹²³ in the third verb formation derivational phase, we must assume that all these categories are connected to the relational structures, because all of these categories deal with the operational category “verbs” not in a

¹²³ If “participles”, “converbs” and “finite verbs” are considered as morphological markers, I mark them as P, C, PST/PRES. Surely, they can only be treated together with the verb and clause.

simple clause in a primary sense, but in a more complex clausal relation. In referential event images scene integration is achieved by case-encoding/participial and converbial connectors.

Some verbal suffixes can be regarded as complex morphemes, if the individual components can be traced back historically. In all three main categories noun building suffixes such as “participles”, “converbs”, and eventually “finite tense markers” can be identified. Dealing with verbal semantics, all three categories should be in the referential time sequence. The markedness with the case-system of participles and converbs indicate that they are a part of the matrix clause domain as “referential events images” (see more Chapter 7.1.3). In the domain of TAMC, the certainty of the speaker is observed only in the past (cf. first-hand and non-firsthand knowledge) and future (cf. presumption, dubitative). Various imperatives and optative forms refer to the events in the future as hortative forms. Present as a time reference is associated with a current location of the conceptual ego (accompanied by its body) relating to the current event situations and environmental stimuli. Therefore, it has inherent progressive or timeless semantics, which is the primary distinctive feature of the linguistic category of “noun”. As shown above, all three time references are pointed or a referential property within a relational structure, whereby present reference can be considered as a bridge between the past and future.

6 SIMPLE CLAUSES AS BASIC KNOWLEDGE UNITS OF THE NARRATION

6.1 F/G-Alignment as Basic Organizing Structure

It is assumed that language and its structures are motivated in their foundations by cognitive processes and their interaction with the outside world. The organization of utterances is based both on universal process types of cognition as well as on the elaborations of these types of processes, which have been adapted in individual linguistic communities over long periods of time to their respective communication traditions (cf. Schulze 2012a: 10). Language is an expressive system of articulation-based symbolization of experiences generated by perception. Schulze (2012a: 4): “Clauses are not given as such, but necessary **procedural** features of perception and experience”. He also states that “Cognition does not process Outer World entities (word/environmental stimuli) as such. Rather: Cognition construes ‘**images**’ of a W[orld] S[timulus] (ws’) in accordance with ‘states’ [...] A construction is additionally structured by primary (pre-cognitive) schemas of perception (schemas of vision etc.)” (Schulze 2012a: 16, mod.). Following Schulze (2017a: 13) “cognition” is thus referred to the functional dimension of neuronal activities, that is, the neuronal substrate of an individual, which is processed when interacting with its environment, including physical objects and their relational structures.

The assumption is that each linguistic utterance represents, at the most basic level, a scene or “event image”¹²⁴ (EI).

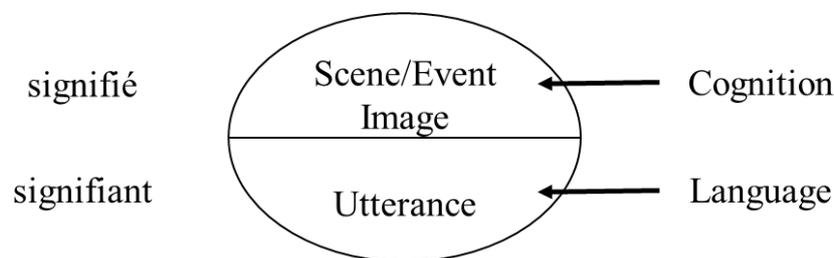


Figure 12: Simple Clause as Linguistic Sign (cf. Schulze 2010a: 21)

The “simple clause” is a symbolization of an event or scene image as a schematized cognitive image of the composition of a relation, the referential entities¹²⁵ (as objects) perceived by the outside world (cf. Schulze 2014: 27, 2012a: 35). It is crucial that the event or the scene in the perception world of the perceiver includes both directly experienced, fictional, as well as recalled or memory-based knowledge. The hypothesis is that every resulting image is scenically structured. The language producer or speaker is regarded as a stage observer or designer of the scene. In simple terms, a “simple clause” is a linguistic representation or symbolization of a scene (representation) whose nucleus is a relator, which is prototypically achieved by a verb and its relatives. The structure of a simple sentence depends not only

¹²⁴ The term “event images” is therefore appropriate (instead of using “events”), since the linguistic constructions about events are constructions of perception and not part of the extracognitive reality (Schulze 2012a: 16). Linguistic constructions are illustrations of events by language constructors in accordance with the routine convention of the respective linguistic community. The structure of events is derived from the experience or learned knowledge (cf. Schulze 2018: 191).

¹²⁵ See also Chapter 7.1.2. NPs can be expressed linguistically open or hidden (cf. Schulze 2010a: 27).

on the semantic properties of the verb semantics but also on the entire relational structure of the EI. Consider the Figure 5 in Chapter 3.3 illustrating an EI. Scenes or EIs are thus rendered by a verb or verb-like element and its operational values whose conceptual property lies in the fact that they differ from linguistic expressions of the object images (OIs)¹²⁶ and in particular that they cannot be understood semantically autonomously or conceivable, but always involve at least global knowledge about the factual objects and their functional properties within a given EI. An EI contains a structure in which certain prototypical OIs of the world are given and are constructed according to the principle of Figure-Ground relation (F/G). At the cognitive level, the actants of a clause are property assignments resulting from the schematization of the EI. For instance, linguistic expressions of verbs like *eat*, *speak*, *buy* are relators in an EI represented in cognition. The basic structure is therefore: $\mathfrak{R}.F \rightarrow \mathfrak{R}.G$. This relational unit (verbs marked as “ \rightarrow ”) is the central element of an EI and its schematized structures, e.g. *John eats an apple*. “Grammatical Relations” (GRs) are the linguistic coding of the cognitive schemata in terms of $F \rightarrow G$ and $C \rightarrow E$ relation (cf. Schulze 2010a: 26).

Because of the unavoidable link between cognition and language, the hypothesis is made that the structural properties of simple clauses reflect (in part) the schematic dimensions of those cognitive units. It is assumed that a “structural iconicity” (Schulze 2010a: 47, 53) between cognition and language exists to a certain extent. This can be seen from the hypothesis about the visual perceptual mechanism (F/G) that objects of the world are perceived only in an EI as a relation. Each EI is based on the structuring through the perception of its basic structure. The mechanisms of visual perception are structurally reflected in simple clauses on the basal level.

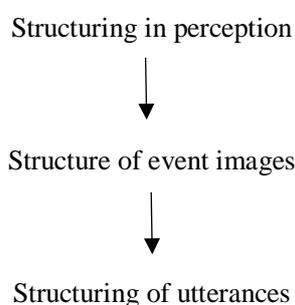


Figure 13: Structural Iconicity (Schulze 2010a: 47)

The perception of these environmental stimuli captured by the various sensorimotor organs of humans as “neural beings” (cf. Lakoff 1999: 17) is shaped by the underlying perception mechanism and caused by the Figure-Ground-Alignment (F/G) (cf. Schulze 2000: 122; Talmy 2000a: 311). This is a fruitful insight in the light of Cognitive Linguistics. According to the general principle of F and G as a human universal cognitive mechanism, the different qualities of F and G are related to linguistic utterances. Qualities like foregrounding and backgrounding (up to masking) are processes associated with F/G

¹²⁶ In perception, objects are recognized as such by certain mechanisms of object recognition. This pattern recognition process is already activated and processed in the earlier phase of language acquisition. Objects are considered to be stable in time in the sense of “object permanence” (Piaget 1975: 14).

where F is usually smaller, and G is bigger (cf. Talmy 2000a: 315–361). These are issues which should be considered for the investigation of every language system.

According to Talmy (2000a: 12), in the F/G organization the entity which functions as the figure of a situation attracts focal attention whereas the entity which is in the ground is in the periphery of attention. The main hypothesis is that a real-life situation is grasped by a human being in the shape of some kind of cinematic sequences and is then interpreted to form conceptual structures. Vision is a fundamental sense for the human cognition and language processing and thus plays a crucial role in perception by giving images to the outside substance (cf. Durst-Andersen 2011: 5). The characteristics of F and G as fundamental cognitive functions for linguistic expressions and the sentence structure are decisive: “[...] the **figure** within a scene is a substructure perceived as “standing out” from the remainder (the **ground**) and accorded special prominence as the pivotal entity around which the scene is organized and for which it provides a setting” (Langacker 1987: 120). The relational property is that F without G is not defined and vice versa, G without F does not have the ground function “anchor” (cf. Talmy 2000a: 312). These pairs of concepts are the images of two objects relating to each other in space in an event of motion or location. They are represented by nominal elements in a single clause (cf. Talmy 2000a: 311). Talmy’s classification (2000a: 315–316) of the properties of F and G is summarized in Table 24 below:

Figure (NP)	Ground (NP)
more movable	more permanently located
smaller	larger
geometrically simpler (often pointlike) in its treatment	geometrically more complex in its treatment
more recently on the scene/in awareness of greater concern/relevance	more familiar/expected of lesser concern/relevance
more salient	more backgrounded
more dependent	more independent

Table 24: Properties of Figure and Ground (Talmy 2000a: 315–316, mod.)

A further feature of F/G-Alignment is the dependency of relational structures between F and G. F does not exist without G, or G is unimaginable without F (see Ehrenfels & Weinhandl 1960; Metzger 1975). They own their quality only through the existence of others in the imagination as primary location of proceeding semantics or conceptual imaginations that will be captured in linguistic expressions.

Being connected with the semantic world, linguistic utterances make the mental world of language producers, grounded on their EIs, accessible. However, there is no strict one-to-one correspondence between the linguistic expression and the mechanism of cognition (cf. Schulze 2017a: 7). On its conceptual signifié side, a simple clause represents conceptual relational templates which are operated by the principles of perception, experience processing and pragmatic/communicative routines (cf. Schulze 1998, 2012a), see also Chapter 3.5. While the expressive side of a language is first and foremost shaped or restricted by the principles of linearization (cf. Presch 1977), social norms (“conventional linguistic units” Langacker 1987: 62: “Conventionality implies that something is shared – and further, that it is recognized as being shared – by a substantial number of individuals.”), and the principles of

language economics (cf. the law of least [mental] effort Zipf 1965), the conceptual side is more dynamic and organized by a network-like system. On the linguistic expression side, we have thus to deal with the omission of expressing something from cognition if it can be inferred from the co- and contextual environment. This can be assumed for *wh*-questions¹²⁷ because they are regarded as “specific anaphoric elements” which refer to a referential or relational “dummy” (cf. Schulze 2011a: 5). They presuppose a “givenness of an object”.

SAP1: *Ich gehe [Ø]!*
I go! ↗
 SAP2: *Wohin?*
Where.to?

The non-overt units are inferred through the global knowledge about the givenness of the object and the knowledge that is derived through the co- and contextual environment.

	<i>eat</i>	
who? (=> A)		what? (=> O)
	<i>go</i>	
who? (=> S)		to where? (=> LOC)

Consequently, the linguistic expression-based system is a learned standardized usage, depending on the knowledge of EIs in a given language. Empirical data are thus important to figure out the basic types of clauses and their conventionalization. Looking at the basic argument structures of simple clauses from SHM, we observe the following event relation types.

(247) SHM § 10–11

Alan-qo'a Dobun-mergen-tür ire-jü qoyar kö'ün töre-'ül-bi
 Alan-qo'a Dobun-mergen-DAT.LOC come-C.IPFV two son bear-CAUS-PST
 ‘Alan Qo’a had come to Dobun Mergen, [she] bore [him] two sons.’ (IDR 3, mod.)

Bügünütei Belgünütei nere-ten bü-le'e
 Bügünütei Belgünütei name-ORN be-PST
 ‘who were named Bügünütei and Belgünütei.’ (IDR 3)

Duwa-soqor aqa in-ü dörben kö'ü-tü bü-le'e
 Duwa-soqor elder.brother 3SG.OBL-GEN four son-ORN be-PST
 ‘Duwa Soqor, his elder brother, had four sons’ (IDR 3, mod.)

tedüi a-tala Duwa-soqor aqa in-ü ügei bol-ba
 so be-C.TERM Duwa-soqor elder.brother 3SG.OBL-GEN NEG.EX become-PST
 ‘Meanwhile, the elder brother Duwa Soqor passed away’ (FWC 3, mod.)

¹²⁷ Jackendoff (1983: 53) states that the “*wh*-word is of the same syntactic category as the corresponding pragmatic anaphor”, for instance, *What did you buy?* [THING], *Where is my coat?* [PLACE], *Where did they go?* [DIRECTION], *What did you do?* [ACTION], *What happened next?* [EVENT] *How did you cook the eggs?* [MANNER], *How long was the fish?* [AMOUNT] (ibid.).

Duwa-soqor ügei bolu-qsan-nu qoyin-a
 Duwa-soqor NEG.EX become-P.PFV-GEN behind-DAT
 ‘After that, Duwa Soqor passed away,’ (FWC 3, mod.)

dörben kö`ü-t in-ü Dobun-mergen abaqa-yu-`an uruq-a üliü bol-qa-n
 four son-PL 3SG.OBL-GEN Dobun-mergen uncle-ACC-POSS clan-DAT NEG become-FAC-C.MOD
 ‘his four sons, not looking upon their uncle as a kinsman,’ (FWC 3)

doromji-la-ju qaqača-ju ge-ju newü-be
 despise-VR-C.IPFV separate-C.IPFV leave-C.IPFV journey-PST
 ‘despised [him], separating themselves, leaving [him], [they] journeyed ’ (FWC 3 mod., cf. IDR 3)

It can be seen that the clauses in the surface structure are realized differently with respect to the argument structures. The following relational event types can be observed in the short text section above. The symbol apostrophe stands for a subordinative (dependent) clause.

Clause No.	Clause Types ¹²⁸	Phrases	SS/DS	Event types	State vs. Dynamic
1	S→'LOC	NP VP NP		Vi	dynamic
2	A.Ø→O	NP.Ø VP NP	SS	Vt	dynamic
3	S.Ø/LOC	NP.Ø VP NP	DS	Vi	state
4	S/LOC	NP VP NP	DS	Vi	state
5	S→LOC.Ø	NP VP NP.Ø	SS	Vi	dynamic
6	S→'LOC.Ø	NP VP NP.Ø	SS	Vi	dynamic
7	A→'O, LOC	NP VP NP	DS	Vt	dynamic
8	A.Ø→'O.Ø	NP.Ø VP NP.Ø	SS	Vt	dynamic
9	S.Ø→'LOC.Ø	NP.Ø VP NP.Ø	SS	Vi	dynamic
10	A.Ø→'O.Ø	NP.Ø VP NP.Ø	SS	Vt	dynamic
11	S.Ø→'LOC.Ø	NP.Ø VP NP.Ø	SS	Vi	dynamic

Overt and non-overt NPs in the whole text corpus:

	Overt	Inferred
NP	59,27 %	40,72 %

Table 25: Overt and inferred NPs in SHM

Having this data in mind, Figure 14 shows that the O-range has a relatively high proportion of overt NPs. In the LOC area, more than half of the NPs are overt, too.

¹²⁸ “→” stands for a verbal relator with a dynamic meaning (motion or cause relation) and “/” stands for a non-dynamic relation. For the individual clause types see Chapter 6.2.

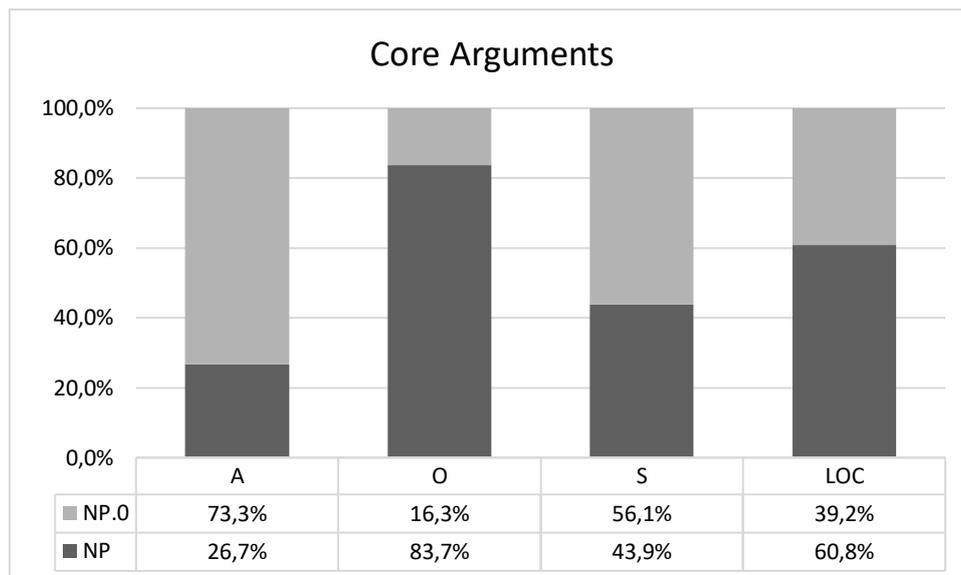


Figure 14: Overt and inferential GRs as Core Arguments

The A and S regions are largely inferred. Their share of overt-linguistic representations compared to inferential NPs is very low, which means that they are derived through zero-anaphora from the previous context and knowledge of the whole text. However, the question arises why A and S are not realized linguistically despite their salient¹²⁹ conceptual foregrounding. A tendency observable in Middle Mongolian (like Modern Mongolian) is that the information that is present in cognition is not necessarily repeated. In addition, a series of strategies are used for Middle Mongolian by the operational methods of the event chain to reflect the event flow performed by the same S/A. The more a unit of information is conceptually expected in an actual EI, or in other words, appears obvious, the less it needs to be verbalized. Linguistic explicitness seems to be necessary to mark the relational counterpart of A and S, though. Generally, markedness is a very important concept in linguistic theory and cross-linguistic studies (cf. Bybee 2011: 131). From the morpho-syntactic point of view, it is assumed that only the unmarked member of a category may have zero expression (ibid). When comparing the occurrence of overt and inferential GRs, the “core arguments”¹³⁰ (cf. Dixon & Aikhenvald 1997: 72) have a higher total number.

In the extended simple clause structures, further GRs AO, IA, SO, IO, LOC are involved in a C and E dimension with their multigrading functions of scene architecture, as will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.2.3. In the next section, I will discuss the basic property of information processing from a perceptual and processing point of view, based on a scene model.

Each scene is constructed by the scene viewer/language constructor from a near and a far area (Figure and Ground or foreground and background (cf. Schulze 2010a: 38).

¹²⁹ The degree of attention is an important mechanism for the information processing in cognition and depends on effort. The more salient an element is cognized in cognition, the faster it is processed. “The higher energy level in the focal area facilitates the activation within it of a more elaborate and richly articulated set of cognitive events; the result is greater **acuity**, i.e. fuller, finer-grained, more precisely specified mental experience.” (Langacker 1987: 116).

¹³⁰ S, A and O are considered core arguments (cf. Dixon & Aikhenvald 1997: 72).

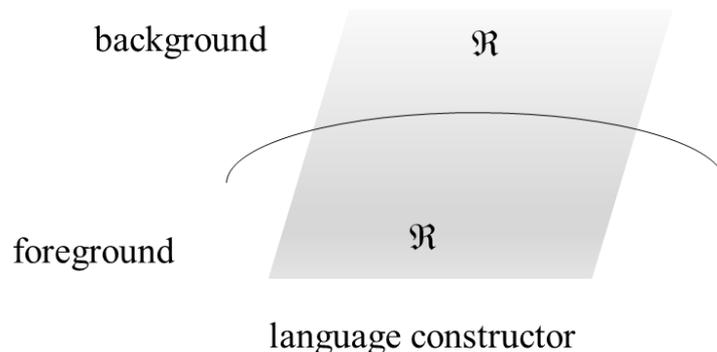


Figure 15: Foreground and Background in the Stage Model (Schulze 2010a: 38)

In the case of a motion EI, the centrality and periphery of the individual elements are, therefore, largely decided by the conventionalization of these structures and their practicing. However, observation shows that humans are more in the forefront of a scene (cf. “animacy hierarchy” suggested by Silverstein 1976) compared to other features of the scene participants and setting elements. For example:

(248) SHM § 129

*Onon-u Ĵerene-de qorqa-bai bida*¹³¹

Onon-GEN Ĵerene-DAT refuge-PST 1PL.INC

‘We refuged at the Ĵerene of the Onon’ (IDR 54, mod.)

Cognitive schema: F→G

Semantically: TR→LM

Syntactically¹³²: S→_{qorqa}-LOC

Due to the properties of F/G, also in the case that both references are human, one is in the foreground and therefore more salient than the one in the background, which is less salient:

(249) SHM § 136

Činggis qahan Ĵürkin-tür mori-la-bai

Činggis qahan Ĵürkin-DAT.LOC horse-VR-PST

‘Činggis Qahan rode to the Ĵürkin’¹³³ (IDR 59, mod.)

Cognitive schema: F→G

Semantically: TR→LM

Syntactically: S→_{morila}-LOC

In the motion event, there is a relation between an object (S as figure) that moves and the location (ground) to which it moves. The directionality can also be given by LOC (see Chapter 6.2.2.1). The LOC encoded by the case ABL indicates the source from which the motion event of S starts:

¹³¹ The position of S and A at the end of a clause is typical of direct speeches to emphasize the action initiator.

¹³² Although a connection between semantics and syntax is inevitable, the distinction is made for reasons of representation.

¹³³ *morila*- “set forth against” (FWC 64); “moved against” (IDR 59)

Temüjin Burqan de'er-eče bawu-ju
Temüjin Burqan above-ABL dismount-C.IPFV

'Temüjin, descending¹³⁴ from on [Mount] Burqan' (FWC 36, mod.)

Cognitive schema: F→G

Semantically: TR→LM

Syntactically: S (Temüjin)→' *bawu*-LOC (Burqan)

F and G can be read semantically as “Trajector” (TR) and “Landmark” (LM) (cf. Langacker 1987: 217) in a space-related relation. Langacker’s “view point” (cf. Langacker 1987: 122) to the basic principles of F/G-alignment in the relation between cognition and language:

Figure/ground organization is pervasive in human cognition, so we expect it to be operative in language; the trajector/landmark asymmetry – virtually universal for relational predications – seems a natural place to look. Moreover, our capacity for dealing with hierarchies of figure/ground organization can be related to the simultaneous trajector/landmark alignment found at different hierarchical levels within a clause. (Langacker 1987: 233)

Assuming a “Stage Model” (cf. Schulze 2010a: 41; Langacker 1991: 124), the scene observer has the “vantage point”¹³⁵ (cf. Langacker 1987: 123) to access the motion event in the relation of foreground and background only with respect to the space/time axis:

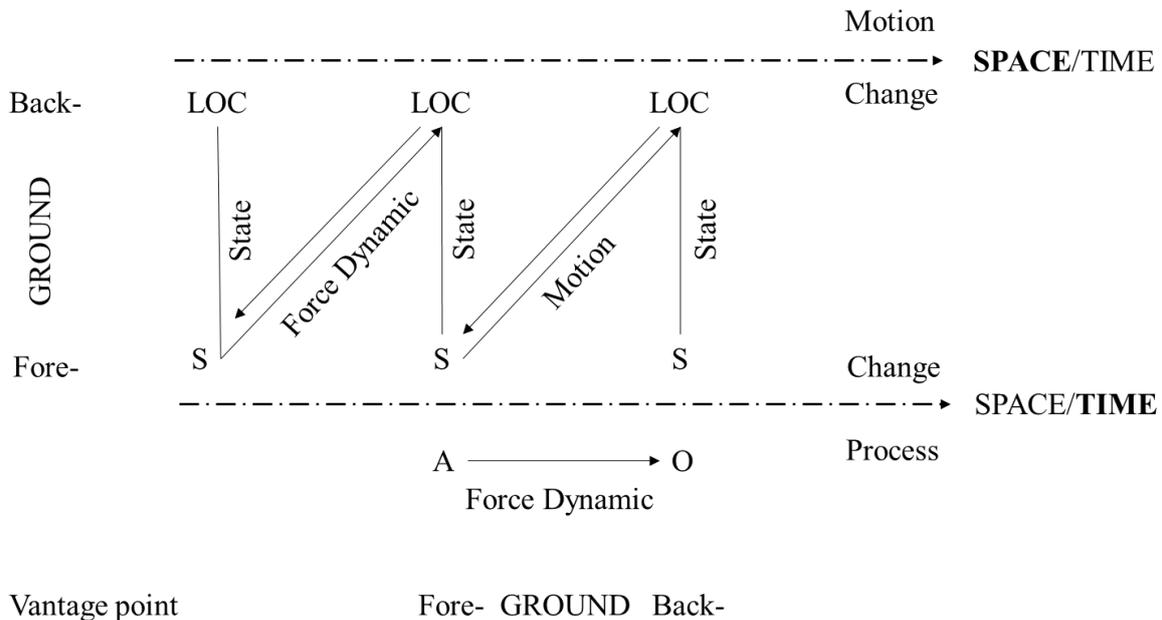


Figure 16: Position of GRs as foregrounded and backgrounded References

In Middle Mongolian which has a nominative-accucative system, from the viewpoint both S and A are in the foreground while their counterparts LOC and O are located in the background. In the following chapter, the properties of OIs as references of a basic event relation are discussed.

¹³⁴ “came down” (IDR 33)

¹³⁵ Langacker (1987: 123) understands “viewpoint” as subsuming “vantage point” and “orientation” where he considers “vantage point” as the “position from which a scene is viewed”. “Orientation thus pertains to alignment with respect to the axis of the visual field [...]”.

OIs of the world such as *ger* ‘yurt’, *morin* ‘horse’, *a’ula* ‘mountain’ etc. are diverse and differ from each other by certain characteristics. The recognition of these distinctive objects is largely visual. GRs are schematic values assigned to NPs expressing OIs. The OIs representing scene roles are represented linguistically by NPs. OIs can only attain their formality and patterns in their grounding locality dimension. Figure 17 illustrates NP.S, NP.LOC, NP.A, NP.O as space-bound OIs:

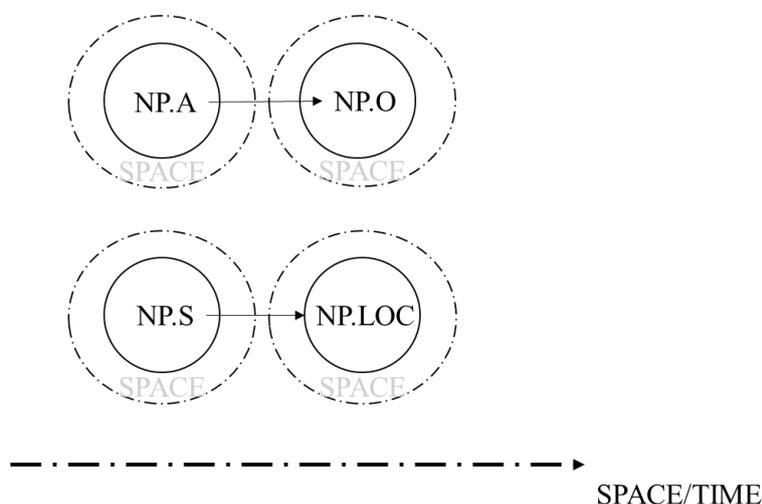


Figure 17: Profiled Object Images as Scene Roles expressed by NP

Objective (O) is the counterpart of A as a grammatical relation (see Chapter 3.2.2). NPs expressing OIs associated with the schematic values such as A, O, S, LOC, AO, IA, SO, IO are sensomotorically perceptible and recognizable objects or to use Piaget’s term, permanent objects (cf. Piaget 1975: 14–15) and therefore affected. The roles in a simple clause are represented as “thematic relation” (cf. Jackendoff 1983: 188; Van Valin 2005: 53), “notional roles” (cf. Palmer 1994: 241), “role archetypes”¹³⁶ (cf. Langacker 1991: 285). Since they are parts of a relational event structure, they are subsumed in the present work as “Grammatical Relations” (GRs). I treat the GRs in accordance with Schulze (2014: 12) where “Grammatical Relations” (GRs) are understood as the “relational values” of a schema ($X \rightarrow Y$).

6.2 Non-Directness and Directness of an Event Relation

In a simple clause expressing a basal EI, at least two referential units are related by assigning corresponding roles/values to them entailed in the schmea that is activated while processing a given scene. Therefore, each EI consists of a relational event structure of at least two reference values in EI. These reference roles as GRs can be involved in a directed or non-directed relation. Each of the grammatical relations is basal in a binary structure, either in a state relation or a dynamic (here directed) relation or in a force-dynamic relation. The number of scene roles is not decisive as criteria for differentiating between intransitivity and transitivity. This implies that in both types of event schemata at least two reference variables need to be set in relation with each other. It is often assumed that intransitivity of an event is characterized by its single-digit verbal valence. While an intransitive

¹³⁶ These are conceptual in nature, not specifically linguistic (cf. Langacker 1991: 285).

clause¹³⁷ has a single core argument S and the transitive clause has two core argument A and O (cf. Dixon & Aikhenvald 1997: 72 and cf. Palmer 1994: 8). Especially the transitive event structure is seen as a “prototype concept” (cf. Næss 2007). Prototypical transitive constructions are investigated in more detail in the work of Givón 1990 and Hopper & Thompson 1980. The question of the one or two-digit clause constructions cannot to be answered based on the surface structure, but rather based on its conceptual nature. Each EI is conceptually two-digit (cf. Schulze 2011a). The linguistic representation of the conceptual scene structures is not a one-to-one image with respect to the fact of the speech economy and linearization and convention of the language practice (cf. Schulze 2017a). The Middle Mongolian data shows that the so-called intransitive event structures are not characterized by a core argument. Instead the space/time grounding dimension is necessary to distinguish the structures within a category of so-called intransitive clause in terms of dynamic and non-dynamic relations. This type of dynamics (see “dynamic force” Talmy 2000a: 409) is observed in both the motion and so-called transitive event structure. The current hypothesis is that there is a causal relation when an EI is situated in the dynamicity of a space/time dimension. The directionality of a relation (hereinafter symbolized by \rightarrow) implies a motive/intention (cause) of an action.¹³⁸

In Middle Mongolian, both in the $S \rightarrow \text{LOC}$ and $A \rightarrow O$ event structure, LOC and O are affected. However, the LOC in the dynamic $S \rightarrow \text{LOC}$ is in a profiled space dimension whereas O in the dynamic $A \rightarrow O$ is situated in a profiled time scale (cf. “active zone” Langacker 1984: 177). This is depicted in the rounded frames as profiling, which also implies activation:

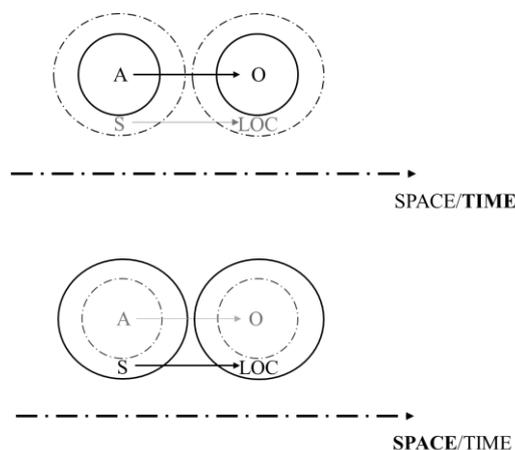


Figure 18: Parallism of $S \rightarrow \text{LOC}$ and $A \rightarrow O$ ¹³⁹

¹³⁷ Croft argues that an intransitive clause belongs to the one-participant event type. They do not transmit force onto another entity and are “default inherent states”, mostly intransitive, and are generally autonomous from the causative network because they do not undergo change (cf. Croft 2012: 357).

¹³⁸ An action is only rationalized by a cause if it shows us something in the action of the executing person what the person himself has intended or seems to be intended (cf. Davidson 1985: 19). Constructing a cause is an individual phenomenon that can be highly formed by convention of a community.

¹³⁹ This applies, of course only to a nominative-accusative system. Middle Mongolian belongs to the type of accusative nominative systems because A and S are both marked with the nominative, expressed as a zero morpheme, where O is encoded by the so-called accusative, which mainly can be observed in simple sentences. Relational subordinated clauses on the other hand show different markings on S and A, which in these cases can be marked with nominative, accusative, genitive and ablative.

Furthermore, there is another difference between event structures $S \rightarrow \text{LOC}$ and $A \rightarrow \text{O}$ due to the grammatical encoding of relational values of LOC and O. The first is prototypically marked with DAT or DAT.LOC and the latter is prototypically marked with ACC. This kind of parallelism between intransitive and transitive schemas can also be found in English (cf. Givón 1989: 60).

(251)

He rode on the horse. $S \rightarrow \text{LOC}$

He rode the horse. $A \rightarrow \text{O}$

Every action motivated by humans (S/A)¹⁴⁰ prototypically contains a motive and/or intention which usually aims for a result. In comparison to other GRs, both S and A are characteristic of the property [+HUM]. In direct comparison, however, the A is more strongly marked with [+HUM]. This implies that an EI, executed by A, is more involved in the force-dynamic, causative actions than in that of S. This is also supported by their frequency in the SHM as depicted in Figure 19:

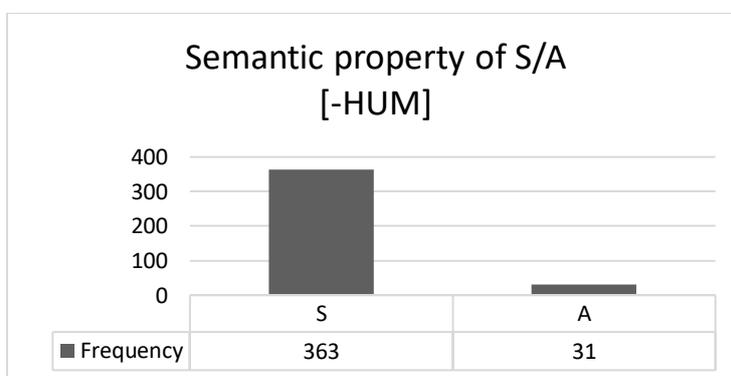


Figure 19: Semantic Property of S and A

Due to the different semantic properties of the verbs and their relational reference elements in the text corpus SHM, the following picture shows the event dynamics with respect to the space/time dimension. In the space-dominant scale apparently two types of EIs can be distinguished, namely the non-dynamic (which is called “state”) and the dynamic EIs within the so-called intransitive clause. From the viewpoint of a scene observer, F depicts a TR in relation to its background (LM). A directed dynamic action can be observed in the motion-event as well as in the transitive A and O relation (cf. Figure 16).

This is based on the hypothesis that every dynamic, directed action is in a cause-effect relationship (cf. Davidson 1985) which is not a phenomenon of a single event. Rather, it is a relationship between an action and another event that represents a moved or altered stationary event in which someone and

¹⁴⁰The relationship between the actors is strongly determined by the experienced knowledge or/and uses of the speaker community (Schulze 1998: 518). The actors in a scene are organized in a language-specific manner, although a universal tendency can be observed. There is a tendency cross-linguistically that, for example, humans are frequently observed in the figure region or perceived as the more salient figure. This can also be observed in Middle Mongolian data.

something is moved/changed. Thus, for a causal relation¹⁴¹, a minimum of two EIs is necessary¹⁴², which can be inserted verbally overt or non-overt.

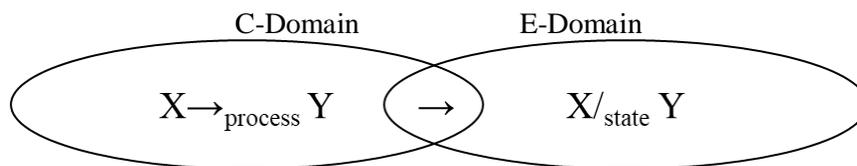


Figure 20: C and E Relation

(252)

A man kills a bear. $A \rightarrow O \rightarrow_{S/LOC}$

A man goes to town. $S \rightarrow LOC \rightarrow_{S/LOC}$

In both dynamic EIs, O and LOC are affected. The situation of O and LOC are changed by the action *kill* and *go* (*a killed bear (by a man)* and *a gone town (by a man)*)¹⁴³ as well as those of A and S (someone who has killed and someone who has gone). In the E-domain this may eventually result in a state event, or an action which can cause another dynamic action, and this in turn creates another, so that a chain of actions is formed which is not unusual in story-telling continuous narratives. This cause-effect continuum can be illustrated as follows:

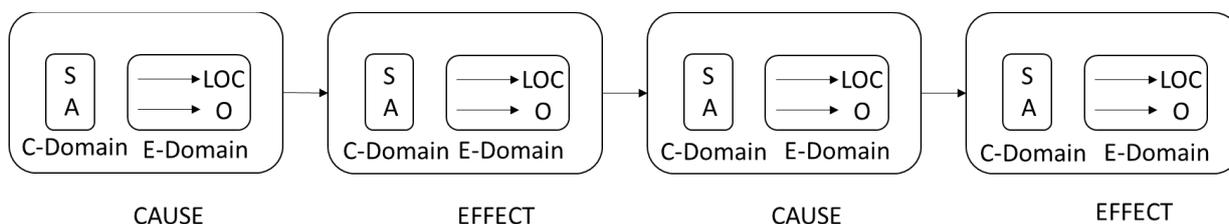


Figure 21: Cause-Effect Chain¹⁴⁴

A typical cause-effect chain is exemplified by the following scenarios from the SHM:

(253) SHM § 53

Tatar jüyin irgen Ambaqai qahan-ni bari-ju
Tatar jüyin people Ambaqai qahan-ACC seize-C.IPFV
‘the Tatar Jüyin¹⁴⁵ people seized Ambaqai Qahan’ (FWC 11)

¹⁴¹ Schulze differentiates in terms of CAUSE-relation between $EI \rightarrow EI$ and a EI -internal CAUSE-vector ($A \rightarrow O$), cf. Schulze 2012c. In this work, the latter cause relation $A \rightarrow O$ is considered a cause-relation in the time-focused axis, see Figure 30.

¹⁴² The compositional elements of the *wh*-question *why* in Mongolian gives us a further clue because of its functionality as “anaphoric reference”. The question construction *ye-ki-n* in the meaning ‘what-make-C.MOD’ (=why) as “referential dummy” (cf. Schulze 2011a: 5) in Middle Mongolian indicates that *wh*-question *why* refers to a whole event image which builds the background “cause” for the affected event image.

¹⁴³ town (prior without man) to town (later with man).

¹⁴⁴ Here, it is important to distinguish between the dynamic S/LOC and non-dynamic $S \rightarrow LOC$. The latter one is affected in the domain of $C \rightarrow E$.

¹⁴⁵ UO 16: “The Joeyin was a frontier army of the Jin Dynasty (1115–1234); it consisted of Kitans and Tatars in the Khoeloen Buir area.”

A→'O

Kitad-un Altan qahan-na ab-ču ot-qui-tur
Kitad-GEN Altan qahan-DAT take-C.IPFV go-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC

'At the moment when they were taking [him] unto the Altan Qahan of the Kitad'
S.Ø→'LOC (FWC 11)

Ambaqai qahan Besütei gü'ün Balaqači elčün-i'er ügü-le-ju ilē-rün
Ambaqai qahan Besütei man Balaqači messenger-INS word-VR-C.IPFV send-C.PREP

'when Ambaqai Qahan sent, speaking by the messenger Balaqači, a person of the Besüt' (FWC 11, mod.)
A→'AO, O.CLAUSE, LOC.Ø

(254) SHM § 58

Qutula qahan bolu-'at
Qutula qahan become-C.PFV

'Qutula having become Qahan,' (FWC 14)
S→'LOC (=S')

Qada'an-taisi qoyar Tatar irgen-tür morila-ba
Qada'an-taisi two Tatar people-DAT.LOC ride-PST

'both [he and] Qada'an Taisi set forth against the Tatar people.' (FWC 14)
S→LOC

Tatar-un Kötön-baraqa Ĵali-buqa qoyar-tur harban qurban-ta qatqu-ldu-ju
Tatar-GEN Kötön-baraqa Ĵali-buqa two-DAT.LOC ten three-FR sting-REC-C.IPFV

'Thirteen times they joined battle with both Kötön Baraqa and Ĵali Buqa of the Tatar,' (FWC 14)
S.Ø→'LOC

Ambaqai qahan-nu ösöl ösö-n
Ambaqai qahan-GEN avengement avenge-C.IPFV

A.Ø→'O

kisal kisa-n yada-ba
requital requite-C.MOD struggle-PST

'[but] they were not able to avenge the avengement to requite the requital of Ambaqai Qahan' (FWC 14, mod.)
A.Ø→O

In summary the following Cause-Effect chain can be inferred from the sequence of events:

destroying ancestors	→	slaying vengeance	→	riding to Tatar people
C(A→O)		E(A→O)		E(S→LOC)

Another text example (255) refers to events which are recalled through the direct speech of Činggis Qahan:

(255) SHM § 133

Činggis qahan ügüle-rün erte üdür-eče
Činggis qahan say-C.PREP early day-ABL

'Činggis Qahan said, "From old days (IDR 56, mod.)

Tatar irgen ebüge-s ečige-s-i bara-qa-t
 Tatar people ancestor-PL father-PL-ACC destroy-P.PFV-PL

the Tatar people who have destroyed our ancestors and fathers (IDR 56, mod.)

öš-ten irgen bü-le'e
 mortal.enemy-ORN people be-PST

[they] have been our mortal enemies (IDR 56, mod.)

edö'-e ene qanalqa-tur qamsa-ya bida ke'e-'et
 now-DAT PROX I-DAT.LOC do.together-VOL 1PL.INC say-C.PFV

Now at this opportunity we shall attack [them] together!”, [he] said’ (IDR 56, mod.; cf. FWC 62)

Chronologically, the cause-events occur before the effect-events. In the narrative, however, the narrator has the freedom to change the sequence and to predict events in the future or to bring events in the past into the current narrative sequence so that the effect event is presented before the cause event.

Table 26 provides an overview of the relational EIs regarding their dynamics in the space/time dimension:

Figure/Ground	Space/Time-Dimension	Semantic	Syntactically	Verb Types
F/G	Non-dynamic Relation	TR/LM	S/LOC	state
F→G	Dynamic Domain: Movement Force Dynamic/Directness/Causation	TR→LM	S→LOC	motional
	Metaphorical Extension ¹⁴⁶ of Movement-Relation: Transitivity Force Dynamic/Directness/Causation	C→E	A→O	transitive

Table 26: Non-directness and Directness of EIs

A closer investigation of the S and LOC-relation reveals that this seems to be an important issue with respect to event dynamicity. In the next section, this issue is discussed in more detail based on the text data.

6.2.1 Non-Dynamic Relation

S is someone (or something) who is involved in a non-dynamic event relation (state event). It is a trajector, attributed in different ways in his landmark. Its relation is created prototypically by so-called copula or existential verbs like *a-*, *bü-/bö-*, *bayyi-* ‘be, exist, live’ in relation to its reference element. The referential counterpart LOC is very different from a conceptual point of view. However, its attributive function in relation to S is common for all its conceptual characteristics. Within this subgroup there are two main types of LOC¹⁴⁷:

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Schulze (2011a: 8 [footnote 15]): “[...] ‘causality’ is not a ‘basic’ human concept. This hypothesis is corroborated by the fact that lexical expressions of causality concepts are usually derived via metaphorization or represent more recent borrowings based on source terms such as Latin *causa*, Arabic *sabāb* etc.”

¹⁴⁷ LOC in a non-dynamic relation is not to be interpreted as a LOC in the sense of the LOCATION/SPACE. Rather, it concerns the cognitive schema Background-LOC. ID means “identity-related attribute”. S/LOC (=S’) includes sentences of the type such as: *Paul is a doctor, Paul is tall, That is Paul, Paul is like Max, Paul is two-legged* (possession or associative, in Middle Mongolian as ORN).

Type 1: S/LOC_{ID} (=S')

Type 2: S/LOC_{LOCAL}

LOC_{IDENTICAL} in S/LOC_{IDENTICAL} refers to the features of S, whereas LOC_{LOCAL} in S/LOC_{LOCAL} is an attribute with a local property. This type of LOC can be masked in a way if LOC_{LOCAL} contains general information which is accessible from the co- and context or which is not processed directly in the visual and imagination sketch.¹⁴⁸

6.2.1.1 Type 1: S/LOC_{ID}

On the basis of some examples from Middle Mongolian, I would like to illustrate this type of non-dynamic relation S/LOC_{ID}.

(256) SHM § 40

tere Ĵadaraday-yin kō'ün Tügü'üdei nere-tü bü-le'e
DIST Ĵadaraday-GEN son Tügü'üdei name-ORN be-PST

'The son of that Ĵadaraday was named Tügü'üdei.' (IDR 8, mod.)
(Lit.: The son of that Ĵadaraday was equipped with [the] name Tügü'üdei.)¹⁴⁹
S/LOC_{ID} (=S')

(257) SHM § 41

Čiduqul-bökö eme-s olo-tu bü-le'e
Čiduqul-bökö woman-PL many-ORN be-PST

'Čiduqul Bökö had many wives (lit. who is with many women/wives)' (IDR 8, mod.)
S/LOC_{ID} (=S')

(258) SHM § 193

Mongqol-un aqta-s turuqa-t a-ĵu'u
Mongqol-GEN gelding-PL lean-PL be-PST

'The Mongols' geldings are lean' (IDR 115)
S/LOC_{ID} (=S')

In all the clauses, LOC (=S') describes the properties as identity-related features/attributives of S. Certain linguistic procedures and word formation techniques such as COM, ORN, ADJ¹⁵⁰ are characteristic for this type.

In the scenario (259), where Činggis Qahan considers who is going to be his successor, Činggis Qahan said "The eldest of my sons is Joči. What do you, Joči, say? Speak up!" But before Joči could utter a sound, Ča'adai said "When you say 'Joči, speak up', do you mean by that that you will appoint

¹⁴⁸ This applies, however, to all GRs.

¹⁴⁹ Most of such constructions with the suffix ORN (or COM) correspond to 'have/possess something' in English or German. Khalkha functions the same as Middle Mongolian in this regard, cf. *Bayarmaa xoyor xüü-tei* 'Bayarmaa has two sons' or lit. 'Bayarmaa is equipped with two sons', cf. "the companion schema", i.e. X is with Y > X has, owns Y (Heine 1997: 53).

¹⁵⁰ Comitative and Ornative actually belong to the same category, but some regular differences can be observed so that they can be considered separate due to their functionality. The functionality of ORN is closer to the ADJ, while COM is counted as a registered case in the Middle Mongolian case system. The Comitative markers are *-lü'e/-lu'a* and the Ornative markers are *-tai/-tei, tan/-ten, -tu/-tü*.

Ĵoči as your successor? How can we let ourselves be ruled by this bastard offspring of the Merkit?”. At these words, Ĵoči rose and grabbing Ča’adai by the collar, said “I have never told by my father the Qahan that I was different from my brothers. How can you discriminate against me?”

(259) SHM § 254

yambar erdem-iyer hüle’ü či
which skill-INS more 2SG

‘In what skill [are] you better [than I]’ (IDR 183, mod.)¹⁵¹
S/LOC_{ID} (=S’)

qaqča kečewü-ber-iyen maqa hüle’ü ele či
only obstinacy-INS -POSS perhaps more FOC 2SG

‘Only in your obstinacy you [are], perhaps, better.’ (IDR 183)
S/LOC_{ID} (=S’)

In the scenario about the birth and naming of Temüĵin, we find the following clause structures:

(260) SHM § 59

ten-de Hö’elün üĵin ke’eli-tei bü-rün
DIST-DAT Hö’elün lady belly-ORN be-C.PREP

‘There, Lady Hö’elün was pregnant (lit. with belly) (IDR 13, mod.)’
S/LOC_{ID} (=S’)

(261) SHM § 60

Temüĵin-ni yisün nasu-tu bü-küi-tür
Temüĵin-ACC nine year-ORN be-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC

‘When Temüĵin was nine years old,’ (IDR 13)
S/LOC_{ID} (=S’)

Ĵoči-qasar dolo’an nasu-tu bü-le’e
Ĵoči-qasar seven year-ORN be-PST

‘Ĵoči Qasar was seven.’ (IDR 13)
S/LOC_{ID} (=S’)

In the preceding examples, we could observe the property description for S encoded by some typical markers like COM, ORN, and ADJ. Frequently, property description can be provided also by the relations between entities that have identical character as in the example below:

(262) SHM § 242

kö’ü-d-ün min-ü aqa Ĵoči büi je
son-PL-GEN 1SG.OBL-GEN elder.brother Ĵoči be yes

‘The eldest of my sons is Ĵoči.’ (IDR 166)
S/LOC_{ID} (=S’)

¹⁵¹ Or ‘By/through/in what ability are you better than me?’, cf. “By what ability [art] thou more [able than I]?” (FWC 191).

(263) SHM § 216

Ba'arin aqa-yin uruq¹⁵² bü-le'ei
Ba'arin elder.brother-GEN fetus be-PST

‘[Üsün] is the seed of the elder brother Ba'arin.’ (FWC 157, mod.)
S.Ø/LOC_{ID} (=S')

Type 2 of LOC differs from type 1 in the way that LOC has local properties. All these clauses have in common that S is attributed by LOC that contributes to the fact that in considering S, S' obtains identity-related features in LOC as a grounding function, cognitively due to the relation of background (LOC) and foregrounding (S). Another form of attribution with regard to the identity relation is achieved by ‘like’¹⁵³:

(264) SHM § 78

qarbisu-ban qaĵa-qu qasar noqai metü
afterbirth-ACC.POSS snap-C.IPFV beast dog like

‘like a Qasar dog snapping at its own afterbirth’ (IDR 21)
S.Ø'/LOC_{ID} (=S')

(265) SHM § 96

eĉige metü büi ĵe
father like be yes

‘[He] is indeed like [my] father.’ (IDR 30, mod.)
S.Ø'/LOC_{ID} (=S')

A possessive nominal relation, marked by the suffix -'ai, can also be counted as part of this group:

(266) SHM § 153

tere olĵa bidan-u-'ai büi ĵe
DIST booty 1PL.INC.OBL-GEN-?NR be yes

‘that booty will surely be ours’ (IDR 76)
S/LOC_{ID} (=S')

After the subtypes of LOC as grounding attributive with the specific semantics “identity”, I would like to consider the property of LOC with a local semantics in the non-dynamic relation.

6.2.1.2 Type 2: S/LOC_{LOCAL}

Type 2 S/LOC_{LOCAL} also exhibits an attributive function, but in a local sense as illustrated by the following examples. Consider the following scenes: As Temüĵin was pursued by Tayyiĉi'ut and Tayyiĉi'ut asked the Old Qo'aqĉin where Temüĵin is.

(267) SHM § 100

Temüĵin ger-tür büy-yü-'ü
Temüĵin home-DAT.LOC be-PRES-Q

‘Is Temüĵin at home?’ (IDR 31)

¹⁵² “descendant” (IDR 148); “fetus” Lessing (1982: 885).

¹⁵³ To the subtype *X is like Y*, see Schulze (2017b).

S/LOC

The LOC in these constructions is marked with DAT or DAT.LOC¹⁵⁴.

(268) SHM § 104

Ĵamuqa de'ü Qorqonaq-ĵubur-a bii ĵe
Ĵamuqa younger.brother Qorqonaq-valley-DAT be yes

'Younger brother Ĵamuqa must now be in the Qorqonaq Valley' (IDR 35, mod.)

S/LOC

(269) SHM § 118

kelen bida-tur bö-'et
tongue 1PL.INC-DAT.LOC be-C.PFV

'The speech is directed (lit. is to/for us) against us [as part of conspiracy]' (UO 42, mod.)

S/'LOC

(270) SHM § 59

Onan-nu Deli'ün-boldaq-a bü-küi-tür
Onan-GEN Deli'ün-boldaq-DAT be-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC

'as [she] was [staying] at Deli'ün Boldaq by the Onan,' (IDR 13)

S/'LOC

ĵöb ten-de Činggis qahan tore-ĵü'üi
right DIST-DAT Činggis qahan bear-PST

'it was right there that Činggis Qahan was born.' (IDR 13)

S/LOC

(271) SHM § 131

Činggis qahan se'üder-tür sa'u-ĵu
Činggis qahan shade-DAT.LOC sit-C.IPFV

'Činggis Qahan, sitting in the shade,' (IDR 55)

S/LOC

Based on the text data, there exist 2 types of LOC on the non-dynamic scale. They are expressed by different linguistic procedures. All these types of LOC_{id} are common in a grounding attributive function related to the identity of S due to the underlying cognitive relation of foregrounding (S) and backgrounding (LOC) as shown in Figure 22.

¹⁵⁴ There is no clear difference between the functionalities of DAT and DAT.LOC. They are used alternately. IO is more regularly marked with DAT.

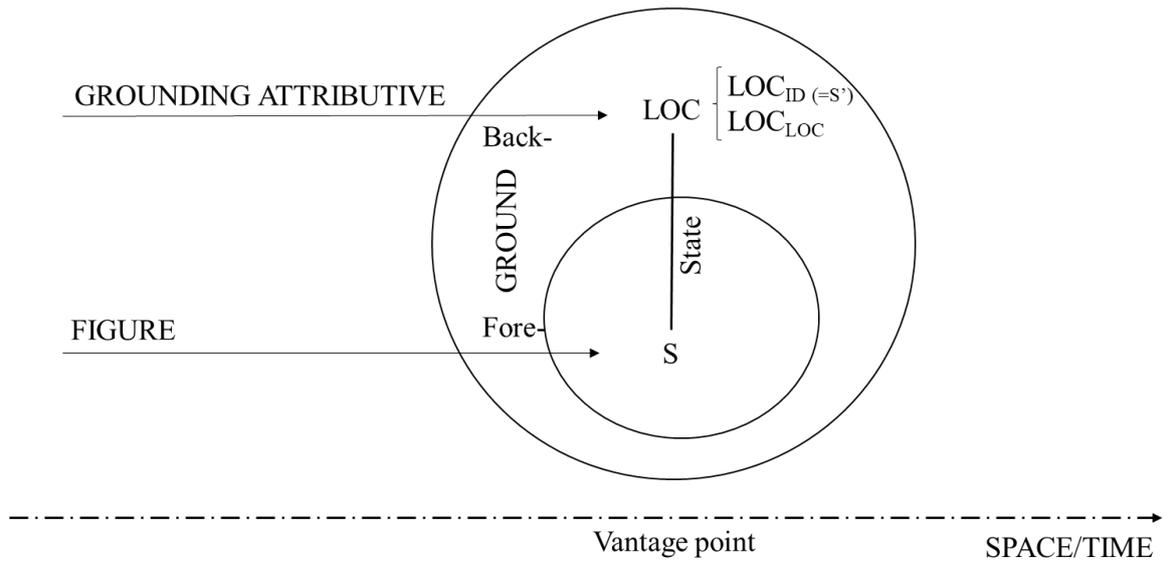


Figure 22: S and LOC in non-dynamic Relation

Although all subcategorizations as attributes concern the identity properties of S, it seems to be important to place them in their subgroups, as they show formal and semantic regularities in the occurrence. The frequency of $LOC_{IDENTICAL}$ with different linguistic procedures is substantial higher than of LOC_{LOCAL} , cf. Table 27.

Types of LOC	Frequency
$LOC_{ID(=S')}$	77,99 %
LOC_{LOCAL}	22,01 %

Table 27: Subtypes of LOC in a non-dynamic Relation

To summarize this chapter, it can be said that S can be attributed by its counterpart LOC in many respects. However, all these structures are characterized by existential verbs such as *a-*, *bü-/bö-*, *bayyi-* in the meanings of ‘be, exist, live’. Their main feature is that they are non-dynamic (or better, non-causal) in the space/time dimension. The dynamic relation will be discussed in the following chapter.

6.2.2 Dynamic Relation

6.2.2.1 S→LOC

In the motion relation, there is a connection between an object (S as figure) that moves and the location (ground) to which it moves. S in the structure of $S \rightarrow LOC$ ¹⁵⁵ is regarded as someone or something that initiates motion dynamics. The dynamics implies that the state of the LOC domain is changed by S as well as the state of S by the LOC domain. In contrast to the S/LOC relation, which is characterized by non-dynamics, this relation is characterized by its directionality as shown below:

¹⁵⁵ This differs from the “related to →” by Schulze. I am of the opinion that it is important to differentiate $S \rightarrow LOC$ from S/LOC according to the space/time axis and $C \rightarrow E$ domain.

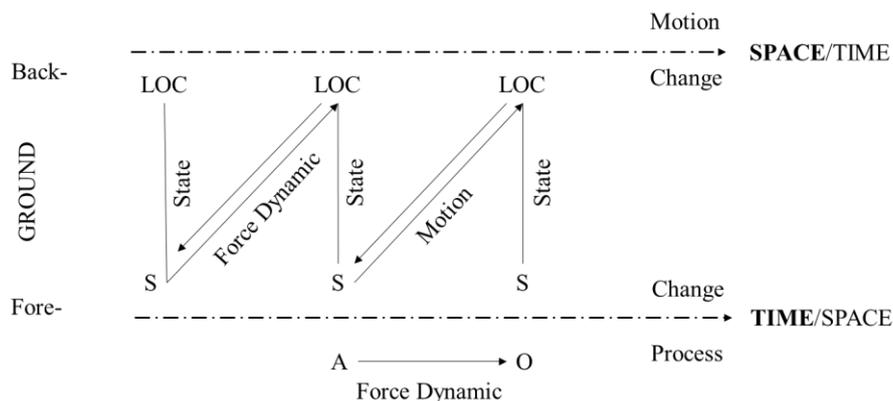


Figure 23: Directness of Event Images

The dynamics of the movers (S) can be directed from LOC_{SOURCE} and/or to LOC_{TARGET} . The grammatical encodings of LOC_{SOURCE} and LOC_{TARGET} are very systematic:

LOC-Grounding in Dynamic S→LOC-Relation		
TYPES OF LOC	SUBTYPES	CASE
Profiled Space	SOURCE	ABL
	TARGET	DAT.LOC, DAT/DIR

Table 28: LOC-Grounding in the Dynamic Relation

The above can be demonstrated by text examples from the SHM:

(272) SHM § 60

Yisügei-ba'atur-un Hö'elün üjin-eče
 Yisügei-ba'atur-GEN Hö'elün lady-ABL

'From the Lady Hö'elün of Yisügei Ba'atur

Temüjin Qasar Qači'un Temüge e-de dörben kö'ü-t töre-be
 Temüjin Qasar Qači'un Temüge PROX-PL four son-PL bear-PST

Temüjin, Qasar, Qači'un [and] Temüge, these four sons were born.' (IDR 13, mod.)
 S→ LOC_{SOURCE}

(273) SHM § 120

Barulas-ača Suqu-sečen Qaračar kö'ün-lü'e-ben ire-bei gü
 Barulas-ABL Suqu-sečen Qaračar son-COM-POSS come-PST also

'From Barulas came also Suqu Sečen with his son Qaračar.' (IDR 47)
 S→ LOC_{SOURCE}

In the following clause, the structure S→' LOC_{TARGET} ' is present:

(274) SHM § 7

Dobun-mergen te-de irgen-tür güri-'esü
 Dobun-mergen DIST-PL people-DAT reach-C.COND

'When Dobun Mergen reached those people,' (IDR 2)
 S→' LOC_{TARGET} '

Since $S \rightarrow \text{LOC}_{\text{TARGET}}$ share properties with $A \rightarrow O$ in Middle Mongolian, I would now like to shed some light on $A \rightarrow O$ structures.

6.2.2.2 $A \rightarrow O$

The $A \rightarrow O$ construction is well known through the works of Hopper & Thompson (1980: 5) (“Transitivity Hypothesis”) and Givón 1989; Comrie (especially “animacy” 1989: 129–130 and 185)¹⁵⁶. The acting role of the construction A is characterized by a highly salient, volitional, acting causer of the action while the counterpart O is non-volitional, non-acting, affected “patient/effect” (cf. Givón 1989: 59–60) e.g. *Mary cut the meat* or *John destroyed the house*. In the present work, I consider A the intentional action initiator, from which the causal relation proceeds. Its relational counterpart is O as it is directly affected in the force dynamic and $C \rightarrow E$ dimension. A and O represent the counterpoles of a relation in which they are directly related to each other. The phenomenon “transitivity” is explained by Hopper and Thompson (1980) by means of a set of morphosyntactic criteria such as the number of participants, agentivity, and individuation of the object to determine the high and low transitivity scale. For example, two participants show high-transitivity, while a clause with one participant shows low-transitivity. A highly-individuated object is high in transitivity, a non-individuated object is low. In their typologically oriented studies, they want to figure out why such characteristics regularly co-occur in the languages of the world and why “transitivity” occurs in such systematics. A possible explanation can be found in the foregrounding and backgrounding of certain clause information. Thus, foregrounded clauses show more transitivity from the language constructor’s viewpoint:

[F]rom the performer’s viewpoint, the decision to foreground a clause will be reflected in the decision to encode more (rather than fewer) Transitivity features in the clause. [...] This hypothesis is born out by the numerical correlation between grounding and degree of Transitivity. (Hopper & Thompson 1980: 284)

Transitivity causes the basal $S \rightarrow \text{LOC}$ (in the space dimension) to be transformed into the $A \rightarrow O$ (in the time dimension)¹⁵⁷. From the perspective of the viewpoint in which the scene viewer is located, both S and A in Middle Mongolian are in the foreground because of the high-human property. Only in the dynamic EIs is there a causativity, which is the main characteristic of transitive clauses.

Foreground (Figure)	Relator Type	Background (Ground)
S	/state	LOC
S	\rightarrow dynamic	LOC
A	\rightarrow dynamic	O

Table 29: Dynamic and Non-Dynamic S and LOC -Relation in Middle Mongolian

¹⁵⁶ In his terminology $A(\text{gent})$ and $P(\text{atient})$.

¹⁵⁷ This is based on the assumption that there is a correlation between $C \rightarrow E$ and $F \rightarrow G$ (Schulze 2010a: 26; 2012c: 3: “[...] das Konzept ‘Kausalität’ is eine mentale ‘Spiegelung’ von Prozesseigenschaften, die mit einem bestimmten Typ von Ereignissen und den Verhaltenstypen von in diesen Ereignissen involvierten Objekten verbunden sind”).

Observe the following data to understand the dynamic A→O event relation. O is prototypically encoded by ACC, where O can remain unmarked (by NOM)¹⁵⁸:

(275) SHM § 274

Orusu-d-i kidu-ǰu
russian-PL-ACC kill-C.IPFV

‘[they] slaying the Orusud,’ (FWC 215, mod.)
A→’O

(276) SHM § 133

Tatar-i qam-sa-ya bida
Tatar-ACC together-VR-VOL 1PL.INC

‘Let us jointly attack the Tatars’ (IDR 56, mod.)
A→’O

(277) SHM § 149

Temüǰin nama-yi ülü ala-qun
Temüǰin 1SG.OBL-ACC NEG kill-P.IPFV

‘Temüǰin will not kill me’ (IDR 71)
A→’O

(278) SHM § 248

ǰebe Dungčang balaqasun-i ab-ču
ǰebe Dungčang city-ACC take-C.IPFV

‘ǰebe, taking the city of Dungčang,’ (FWC 184)
A→’O

(279) SHM § 188

Qori-sübeči Ong qan-ni bari-ǰu’u
Qori-sübeči Ong qan-ACC seize-PST

‘Qori Sübeči seized the Ong Qan’ (IDR 109)
A→O

To illustrate the parallelism between the dynamic S→LOC and A→O, see an example with the structure S→LOC_{TARGET} below:

(280) SHM § 141

Činggis qahan-tur Ong qan güre-čü ire-bei
Činggis qahan-DAT.LOC Ong qan arrive-C.IPFV come-PST

‘Ong Qan, arriving, came unto Činggis Qahan’ (FWC 69)
S→LOC

Because of the common characteristics of S→LOC and A→O regarding dynamics/directionality in the space/time dimension and as both are causing S and A, a structural parallelism between the two event

¹⁵⁸ According to Schulze (2010a: 87), it can be subcategorized by the system of O-Split. The different markings of O are affected mainly in connection with the phenomenon of DOM (Differential-Object-Marking). Recent work has been done by Guntsetseg (2016) on Khalkha Mongolian.

relations can be established. The A→O relation is seen as a metaphorical derivation of the S→LOC structure, based on the F/G-Alignment (cf. Schulze 2011a: 8 [footnote 15], 2012c)

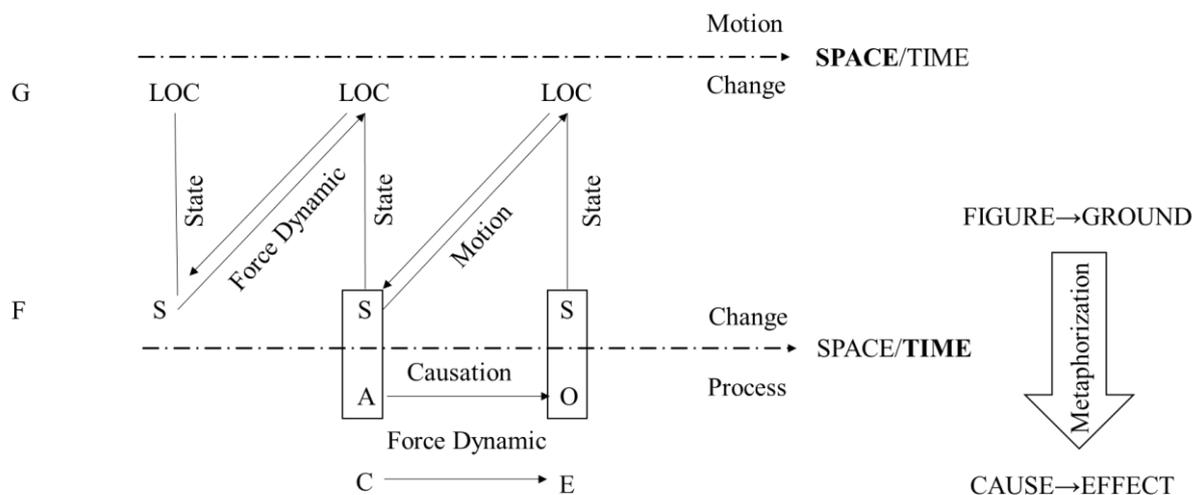


Figure 24: Metaphorization of C→E based on the F→G

On the basis of Bunge’s (1979) hypothesis that causal connections are a mental concept of the “real world”, Schulze (2012c: 3) argues that the concept “causality” is a mental “mirroring” of process properties associated with a certain type of events and the behavioral types of objects which are involved in such events (see Schulze 2012c: 3). But again, a causal relation (C→E) has to consist of at least two EIs. That is, O alone is not the affectee of the caused action. The underlying event schema can form a state event S/LOC or dynamic event relation S→LOC or A→O as its effect domain.¹⁵⁹

S → LOC→S/LOC

A → O→S/LOC or →S→LOC or →A→O

There is, however, a difference between the two dynamic relations. While A can cause further causal relations (embedded causative structure), S certainly needs to be located low in the degree of causality (see Figure 28).

6.2.2.2.1 Simple O

The main feature of O is that it is directly involved in the effect domain of the causing A. There are some types of O observed whose relational structure highly depend on the semantics of the verbal relator as a meronymic relational part of the whole structure. Having a highly individuated O argument is one of the properties listed as characteristics of a canonical or prototypical transitive clause (cf. Hopper & Thompson 1980: 252). The term individuation is used to refer to some features like “definiteness” and “animacy” which determine the extent to which a clause participant is perceived as an independent entity in the context (cf. Næss 2007). On the other hand, Comrie argues that “the most natural kind of transitive construction is one where the A is high in animacy and definiteness, and the affected one, the O¹⁶⁰ is

¹⁵⁹ This is often not expressed overtly on the linguistic side.

¹⁶⁰ P in his terminology.

lower in animacy and definiteness. Any deviation from this pattern leads to a more marked construction” (Comrie 1989: 128; cf. Næss 2007: 17–18).¹⁶¹ This generalization cannot be found in the Middle Mongolian data. Rather, the properties of O depend on the semantics of the verbal relators and their whole relational event structure. Moreover, the O-range must be examined more closely and subclassified as the examples below show:

(281) SHM § 188

Qori-sübeči Ong qan-ni bari-ju’u
 Qori-sübeči Ong qan-ACC seize-PST
 ‘Qori Sübeči seized Ong Qan’ (IDR 109)
 A→O

(282) SHM § 197

Činggis qahan Qulan qadun-ni soyurqa-ju ta’ala-ba
 Činggis qahan Qulan qadun-ACC favour-C.IPFV love-PST
 ‘Činggis Qahan showed favour to Qulan Qadun and loved her.’ (IDR 124, mod.)
 A→O

(283) SHM § 265

Činggis qahan Ĵosotu-boro-yi unu-ju bü-le’e
 Činggis qahan Ĵosotu-boro-ACC ride-C.IPFV be-PST
 ‘Činggis Qahan was riding Ĵosotu Boro.’ (FWC 205)
 A→O

(284) SHM § 52

Senggüm-bilge-yin kö’ün Ambaqai-qahan qamuq Mongqol-i mede-n a-ba
 Senggüm-bilge-GEN son Ambaqai-qahan all Mongqol-ACC know-C.MOD be-PST
 ‘Ambaqai Qahan, son of Senggüm Bilge, ruled all the Mongqol.’ (FWC 11, mod.)
 A→O

The O.CLAUSE is explained in more detail in the next section.

6.2.2.2.2 O.CLAUSE

A distinctive feature of O is that it represents clause-like entities when the verbal relator is from the category of mental events such as *tell, see, hear, know, ask* and so on. There seem to be many languages that have this construction, called “complement clause” (Dixon 2008: 1). Cross-linguistically, there are some criteria observed regarding complement clauses in that they have an internal constituent structure consisting of at least core arguments like S, A, O and others (cf. Dixon 2008: 15). One of the prototypical structures of the A→O.CLAUSE relation in Middle Mongolian is the A→*ügüleriin* O.CLAUSE complementizer *ke’e-n* (say-C.MOD) in the sense of *that* and the speech closing element ‘*ke’e*-PST’. Consider the following data:

¹⁶¹ In the present work, O is not understood purely semantically like Comrie does, but also in a more global sense (cf. Schulze 2000: 75).

(285) SHM § 62

Dei-sečen ügüle-rün Yisügei quda ken-tür jori-ju ayisu-la'a ke'e-jü'ü
Dei-sečen say-C.PREP Yisügei brother.in.law who-DAT.LOC aim-C.IPFV come-PST say-PST

‘Dei Sečen said, “Yisügei, brother-in-law, in whose direction are you going, coming this way?”’ (IDR 14, mod.)

A→O.CLAUSE

Another example with the same formal structures:

(286) SHM § 62

Yisügei-ba'atur ügüle-rün
Yisügei-ba'atur say-C.PREP

ene kö'ün-ü min-ü naqaču-nar Olqunu'ut irgen-tür
PROX son-GEN 1SG.OBL-GEN uncle-PL Olqunu'ut people-DAT.LOC

öki quyu-su ke'e-n ayisu-la'a ke'e-jü'ü
girl request-VOL say-C.MOD come-PST say-PST

‘Yisügei Ba'atur said, “[I] have come here [on my way] to the Olqunu'ut people, the maternal uncle of this my son, saying that [I] want to request for a girl [in marriage for him.]’ (IDR 14, mod.)

In the scenario (287) Temüjin said to To'oril Ong Qan of the Kereyid that he has been robbed by the Merkit People:

(287) SHM § 104

ügü-le-rün qurban Merkit-te genen bü-küi-tür
word-VR-C.PREP three Merkit-DAT unexpected be-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC

ire-jü eme kö'ü-ben dauli-ju ab-da-ba
come-C.IPFV woman son-POSS seize-C.IPFV take-PASS-PST

‘when we were unprepared, the three Merkit came, my wife and son were seized and carried off [by them].’ (IDR 34, mod.)

qan ečige min-ü eme kö'ü abura-ju ök-tügei
qan father 1SG.OBL-GEN woman son rescue-C.IPFV give-IMP

*ke'e-n ire-be ba ke'e-be*¹⁶²
say-C.MOD come-PST 1PL.EXC say-PST

‘We have come [now] to ask (lit. say), “My father the Qan shall rescue and give [to me my] wife and son [back], he said’ (IDR 34, mod.)

A peculiarity of the text is the change of speaker¹⁶³ (speaker X narrates to speaker Y) who is directly involved in the speech situation during the narration, for example in the scenes of direct or indirect

¹⁶² In FWC 38, IDR 34 and Pelliot 1949: 145, there are only *eme* ‘women’ (=wife) who are seized by the Merkit. «Les Trois Märkit sont venus à l'improviste nous piller et ma femme a été prise. Et nous sommes venus en disant: Que le *qan* mon père sauve et rente [ma] femme». But in the German version by Haenisch, both *eme* and *kö'ü* are noted like in the mongolian version: „Von den drei Merkit sind wir unversehens überrascht und unserer Frauen und Kinder beraubt worden. Wir kommen mit der Bitte: O, mein königlicher Vater, verschaffe uns unsere Frauen und Kinder wieder!“ (cf. Haenisch 1948: 24).

¹⁶³ Change of the “vantage point” (Langacker 1987: 123). This is a point or a position from which a scene is viewed. That means that the vantage point of the talker or language construct is changed.

speech transmitted by an *elči* ‘messenger’. The direct and indirect speeches are characterized through the use of the speech act participants shown as personal pronouns of the first (SAP1) and second persons (SAP2). The amount of textual material containing direct and indirect speech takes up a large part of the entire text body. The proportion of direct and indirect speech is more than one half (53,6 %) of all simple clauses. Accordingly, the frequency of occurrence of *ke-* ‘say/utter’ is very high, due to the fact that *ke-* has the grammaticalized function of a complementizer in the sense of ‘that’. It is the most frequently occurring verb.

Verb <i>ke'e-</i>	Glossar	Frequency
<i>ke'e-n</i>	say-C.MOD	42,68 %
<i>ke'e-ǰü</i>	say-C.IPFV	14,98 %
<i>ke'e-be</i>	say-PST	13,63 %
<i>ke'e-ǰü'üi</i>	say-PST	3,38 %
<i>kē-'et</i>	say-C.PFV	2,70 %
<i>kē-'esü</i>	say-C.COND	2,59 %
<i>ke'e-'et</i>	say-C.PFV	2,03 %
<i>ke'e-bei</i>	say-PST	1,91 %
<i>ke'e-mü</i>	say-PRES	1,69 %
<i>ke'e-kde-ǰü</i>	say-PASS-C.IPFV	1,58 %
<i>ke'e-ldü-ǰü</i>	say-REC-C.IPFV	1,46 %
<i>ke'e-ldü-bei</i>	say-REC-PST	1,24 %
<i>ke'e-'esü</i>	say-C.COND	1,13 %
<i>ke'e-gü</i>	say-P.IPFV	1,13 %
<i>ke'e-ǰü'ü</i>	say-PST	1,13 %
<i>ke'e-ldü-ksen</i>	say-REC-P.PFV	1,13 %
<i>ke'e-kde-müi</i>	say-PASS-PRES	1,01 %
<i>kele-le-ǰü</i>	tongue-VR-C.IPFV	1,01 %
<i>ke'e-bi</i>	say-PST	0,90 %
<i>ke'e-müi</i>	say-PRES	0,79 %
<i>kele-le</i>	tongue-VR	0,79 %
<i>ke'e-ldü-le'ei</i>	say-REC-PST	0,56 %
<i>kele-le-n</i>	tongue-VR-C.MOD	0,56 %

Table 30: Verb *ke'e-*

Linguistic features of these constructions are the structural complexity of the EIs that they contain. Their prototype structure is A→O.CLAUSE, which has the following structural characteristics: The direct speech starts with the opening verb *ügüle-rün* ‘utter-C.PREP’, followed by the whole speech as an O.CLAUSE and the end is indicated by the closing verb *ke-* ‘say-’:

(288) SHM § 118

ǰamuqa ügü-le-rün *Temüǰin anda* *anda* *a'ula* *šiqā-n* *bawu-ya*
ǰamuqa word-VR-C.PREP *Temüǰin* sworn.friend sworn.friend mountain pitch-C.MOD set.up-VOL

adu'u-čin *bidan-u* *alačuq-a* *gür-tügei* *qol-tur* *šiqā-n* *bawu-ya*
horse-NA 1PL.INC.OBL-GEN shelter-DAT attain-IMP stream-DAT.LOC pitch-C.MOD set.up-VOL

qonin-či-t quriqa-či-t bidan-u qo'olay-a gür-tügei ke'e-be
 sheep-NA-PL lamb-NA-PL 1PL.INC.OBL-GEN gullet-DAT attain-IMP say-PST

‘Ĵamuqa said:

“Sworn friend, sworn friend Temüĵin

Let us camp near the mountain:

There will be enough shelter

For our horse-herders!

Let us camp near the river:

There will be enough [food for] the gullet

For our shepherds and lamb-herds!” (IDR 45, mod.; cf. FWC 50)

Mental verbs, the so-called verbs of the *verbum dicendi* such as *ke-* ‘say’, *üğüle-* ‘say’, in contrast to other transitive structures A→O, are characterized by the fact that the O-range has massive clause properties. These properties are shared with other mental verbs like *think*, *remember* and so forth. In contrast to non-subordinated clauses, the relational coding of the S and A within an O.CLAUSE can vary. Derived from the frequency of occurrence especially the verbs are affected and have O as clause (Table 31):

Mongol	Correspondings
<i>qara-</i>	see, look, watch, view, gaze, guard
<i>üğüle-</i>	say, utter, tell
<i>ke'e-</i>	say, tell
<i>(h)asa-</i>	ask, request
<i>uqa-</i>	understand, comprehend (<= dig)
<i>üĵe-</i>	see, look
<i>sura-</i>	seek, ask, inquire
<i>mede-</i>	know, decide, rule, govern, feel, judge, learn
<i>setki-/sedki-</i>	think, remember, mind, wish
<i>ungši-</i>	shout, call
<i>ĵeši-</i>	repent, allude
<i>dongqodu-/dongqot-</i>	utter, rail, rebuke, scold
<i>sonos-</i>	hear, listen
<i>ilē-</i>	send
<i>umarta-</i>	forget
<i>ayilatqa-</i>	report
<i>ĵasaqla-</i>	decree, order
<i>quyi-/quyu-</i>	request, ask
<i>soyurqa-</i>	favour, please, reward
<i>duratqa-</i>	advice, utter, remind, inform, reponse, mention
<i>itqa-</i>	persuade, try, warn, restrain, withstand, plead
<i>öči-</i>	report, convey, request, petition, advise
<i>tungqa-</i>	proclaim, declare, promulgate

Table 31: Verbal Relators with the Reference of O.CLAUSE

In general, all GRs can be associated with clause-like structures, but the O range is more frequently affected. This is illustrated by another type of O.CLAUSE which differs in that the verbal relators are not mental verbs like the above. Therefore, a distinction must be made between this complement-clause and another O.CLAUSE type which has the structure A→O.CLAUSE.

(289) SHM § 198

Toqto'a Qudu Čila'un kö'ü-d-iyer-iyen čö'en beye-s
 Toqto'a Qudu Čila'un son-PL-INS-POSS few body-PL

dayyiji-ju qaru-qsan-i Činggis qahan neke-ju
 escape-C.IPFV come.out-P.PFV-ACC Činggis qahan pursue-C.IPFV

‘[Unwilling to submit], Toqto’a with his sons Qudu and Čila’un – [only] a few men [altogether] – had escaped with their bare lives (lit. bodies). Činggis Qahan pursued them.’ (IDR 125, mod.)

Actually, it is a complex clause with an integrated EI. This will be covered in detail in the discussion of complex clause structures (see also Chapter 5.3.1.2).

Although a generalization with respect to the semantic properties [\pm ANIM] of the GRs is not possible, the following tendencies can be found in non-subordinated simple and extended simple clauses:

Object Images (NPs) associated GRs [+SHAPED]	Semantic Features	Prototypical associated case(s) as relational value(s)
A	more [+ANIIM]	NOM
S	more [+ANIM]	NOM
O	[+ANIM] and [-ANIM]	NOM, ACC
IO	more [+ANIM]	DAT, DAT.LOC
LOC	[+ANIM] and [-ANIM]	DAT, DAT.LOC
IA	more [-ANIM]	INS
SO	more [+ANIM]	NOM, ACC, INS, DAT
AO	more [+ANIM]	NOM, ACC, INS, DAT

Table 32: Semantic and grammatical Properties of GRs

6.2.2.3 Transformation of A→O into S/LOC and S→LOC

In the passive construction, we deal with the constructions that have a S/LOC and S→LOC¹⁶⁴ structure with an underlying dynamic A→O, the backgrounding of A and the foregrounding of O so that a relational structure of S and LOC appears. This transformation is known as an interchangeable construction of a so-called “active clause” and “passive clause”. This can also be observed in the following passive clauses found in Middle Mongolian data:

(290) SHM § 143

tenggeri-de ese ta'ala-qada-ba bida
 heaven-DAT NEG favour-PASS-PST 1PL.INC

‘We were not loved by Heaven!’ (IDR 64, mod.)
 [O>]S/[A>]LOC

¹⁶⁴ Cf. “Zustandspassiv” vs. “Vorgangspassiv” in German, e.g. *Die Tür ist geöffnet* vs. *Die Tür wird geöffnet*. In German, lexical verbs (*sein* ‘be’ and *werden* ‘become’) are used for passive constructions. In the Khalkha as well as in Middle Mongolian these are marked morphologically by *-gda* at the verb. The dynamicity (*sein* for non-dynamic S/LOC relation and *werden* for the dynamic S→LOC relation) is more obvious in the German examples, but difficult to differentiate in Mongolian.

(291) SHM § 198

Toqto'a ten-de šiba-yin sumun-a tus-da-ju
 Toqto'a DIST-DAT stray-GEN arrow-DAT shoot-PASS-C.IPFV
 'Toqto'a, being shot there by a straw arrow' (FWC 132)
 S'/LOC

The interchangeability of perspectives in such “active” and “passive” constructions is visualized in Table 33.

Foregrounding of A	Linguistic Technique		Backgrounding of A
A→O	passivization	morphologically	O>S→A>LOC ¹⁶⁵
	=> reduction of causation		
A<S→O<LOC	transitivization	morphologically	S→LOC
	<= increase of causation		

Table 33: Change of Perspectives¹⁶⁶

The above can be observed for example in scenario (292) after 50 men of Činggis Qahan were robbed by the Jürkin People at Lake Hariltu where the base camp was located:

(292) SHM § 136

Jürkin-ne kereyin ki-kde-n bü-le'ei bida
 Jürkin-DAT how make-PASS-C.MOD be-PST 1PL.INC
 'How could we be made in such a manner by the Jürkin?' (IDR 58)
 S'/LOC

In another scenario (293), Duwa Soqor went up Mount Burqan Qaldun with his younger brother Dobun Mergen. While Duwa Soqor was looking out from the peak of the mountain, he saw a band of people moving along the Tünggelik Stream and said “Among those people on the move who are coming this way, there is a fine girl in the front seat of a cart covered with black felt”, cf. IDR 2 (§ 6 *niken qara'utai tergen-ü öljige-de niken sayin büy-yü*). He suggested that they shall ask her for the younger brother Dobun Mergen. In multiple grounded “active” clause structures like A→O, IO, a clause with multiple backgrounding structures in the passive construction can be observed in (293):

(293) SHM § 6

gü'ün-ne ese ök-te-ksen bö-'esü
 man-DAT NEG give-PASS-P.PFV be-C.COND
 '[if she] has not [already] been given to [another] man' (IDR 2, mod.)
 S.Ø'/LOC, LOC.Ø
 Backgrounding of A>LOC
 Foregrounding of O>S
 Backgrounding of IO>LOC

In (294), there is A→O, IO in an active clause.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Schulze 2011b: 7.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Schulze 2010b: 17.

(294) SHM § 243

bi eke-de Otčikin-a tümen irge ök-čü
1SG mother-DAT Otčikin-DAT ten.thousand people give-C.IPFV

‘I, giving to mother and to Otčikin ten thousand people’ (FWC 176, mod.)
A→’O, IO

Passive constructions are characterized by the fact that A goes into the background and O appears in the foreground of perception or it becomes more salient. These changes of perspectives are therefore an interesting issue because grammatical encodings as relational values can lead to a better insight in the affected GRs regarding the background and foreground dimension. This will be discussed especially with regard to the extended simple clause construction with multiple backgrounding references.

6.2.3 Clause Sets with Multiple Backgrounds

While a reduction of causation is achieved by passivation, causative constructions can be interpreted as an extended simple clause by adding a cause. In contrast to simple causative structures such as A→O, A→AO, O¹⁶⁷ or A→SO, LOC represents complex constructions to express a chain of events which are emdedded¹⁶⁸. A causative derivation occurs in the vast majority of languages. A set of criteria for causative is provided. For example, derivational transitive clauses are derived from underlying intransitive clauses whereas the S function changes to an O function in the causative construction and a new argument is introduced in the A function (cf. Dixon & Aikhenvald 1997: 81). In Middle Mongolian, there is some explicit formal marking of the causative construction made by FAC and CAUS¹⁶⁹. The Causees AO and SO¹⁷⁰ in Middle Mongolian are the NPs having either A or S function in an embedded clause, and are marked prototypically by ACC, NOM, DAT and INS (cf. Figure 29).

(295) SHM § 142

Činggis qahan Altan Qučar Dāritai qurban-i manglai¹⁷¹ yabu-’ul-ba
Činggis qahan Altan Qučar Dāritai three-ACC vanguard go-CAUS-PST

‘Činggis Qahan made Altan, Qučar, Dāritai, [and] Dāritai [all] three to go as vanguards.’ (FWC 69, mod.)
A_{NOM}→SO_{ACC}, LOC_{NOM}

¹⁶⁷ The causative construction A→AO, O or A→SO, LOC can also be shown as A→AO→O or A→SO→LOC. The symbol “→” stands for the semantic relator of the clause (VERB with dynamic and motion semantics). Because the CAUS-relator is integrated in the verbal derivation, I use the symbol “→” in Middle Mongolian just once in a clause. One should, however, consider it to be double causes. I am aware that this does not directly show the cause-relation between AO and O. For this reason, I would like to point out that the reader should be aware of the double causation in these cases.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. “mono- vs. biclausality” in causative constructions in Kalmyk (Say 2013: 269).

¹⁶⁹ Although FAC (intransitive to transitive) and CAUS (transitive to causative) have different functions, they are not uniquely separate. Both cause a causation (cf. Ramstedt 1902), see also Chapter 5.2.1 and 5.2.2.

¹⁷⁰ Terms and definitions are Schulze’s, cf. Schulze 2011b: 7.

¹⁷¹ The primary meaning is actually “forehead” (Lessing 1982: 527). *Магнай* (magnai) in Khalkha is still used with this primary meaning.

(296) SHM § 177

Činggis qahan Arqai-qasar-a Sügegei-je'ün qoyar-a dawu bari-'ulu-run

Činggis qahan Arqai-qasar-DAT Sügegei-je'ün two-DAT message carry-CAUS-C.PREP

'Činggis Qahan gave Arqai Qasar and Sügegei Je'ün (lit. made to hold) a verbal message to deliver [to Ong Qan]' (IDR 96, mod.)

A_{NOM}→'AO_{DAT}, O_{NOM}

IA is considered a GR that is part of the A-domain. Conceptually, it is a NP-internal copulative GR. This means it is connected, strung together with A (cf. Schulze 2010a: 77). We thus have the pattern A, IA→O¹⁷².

(297) SHM § 195

Temüjin anda min-ü dörben noqai-s-i gü'ün-nü miqa-'ar teji'e-jü

Temüjin sworn.friend 1SG.OBL-GEN four dog-PL-ACC man-GEN flesh-INS nourish-C.IPFV

'My sworn friend, Temüjin, had been nourishing four dogs¹⁷³ with the flesh of men' (FWC 125, mod.; cf. IDR 119)

A, IA_{INS}→'O

Same structure:

(298) SHM § 195

Hö'elün eke niken kö'ü-ben gü'ün-ü miqa-bar teji'e-jü bü-le'e

Hö'elün mother one son-POSS man-GEN flesh-INS nourish-C.IPFV be-PST

'Mother Hö'elün has been nourishing one of her sons with human flesh.'¹⁷⁴ (IDR 121, mod.)

A, IA_{INS}→O

The action caused by A is, however, executed by IA. In this regard, embedded causers (called causees) such as SO and AO have common features with IA.

(299) SHM § 177

ten-de bi Bo'orču Muqali Boroqul Čila'un-ba'atur

DIST-DAT 1SG Bo'orču Muqali Boroqul Čila'un-ba'atur

e-de dörben külü'ü-d-iyer-iyen čeri'ü-t jasa-ju

PROX-PL four steed-PL-INS-POSS troop-PL array-C.IPFV

'There, I arrayed [my] troops through these four steeds of mine Bo'orču, Muqali, Boroqul, [and] Čila'un Ba'atur' (IDR 100, mod.; cf. FWC 106)

A, IA_{INS}→'O¹⁷⁵

DAT is prototypically coded on the IO (recipient who receives something, the meronymic relator is *ök-* 'give'). This property of a recipient is also reflected in AO (*Temüjin*), who receives in this case *ebertü ünügün čaqa'ani* 'kid-white horse'. This can mitigate the compulsion causation by the recipient semantics.

¹⁷² {A & IA}→O, cf. *The man chops wood with the ax*. Cf. Schulze (2010a: 80).

¹⁷³ Jebe, Qubilai, Jelme, and Sübe'etei are meant (cf. FWC 125).

¹⁷⁴ "on human flesh" (IDR 121); "with the flesh of men" (FWC 127).

¹⁷⁵ In that case, it is not sure if this could be A→AO, O if one reads that "these steeds" (AO) arrayed the troops under the command of A (*bi* 'I'). However, these causative constructions are additionally marked by verb morphology (CAUS).

(300) SHM § 117

Dayyir-usun-u gü eber-tü üüügün čaqa'an-i Temüjin-e unu-'ul-bai
Dayyir-usun-GEN also horn-ORN kid white-ACC Temüjin-DAT mount-CAUS-PST

‘[Ĵamuqa] let Temüjin mount the kid-white [horse] with a horn also of Dayyir Usun.’ (IDR 45, mod.)
A.Ø→’AO_{DAT}, O

The similarities between the embedded GRs need to be discussed in greater detail considering the C→E relationship, because it is very relevant for the scene architecture and so far, has not been investigated in the data from a Middle Mongolian text corpus from a cognitive linguistic point of view. But before that, the question of foregrounding and backgrounding as the structuring of information stored in memory should be addressed.

The hypothesis that any object or gestalt-like entity of the world can be perceived either in the foreground or background leads to the question of how objects in the scene architecture are located with respect to the foreground and background. According to Givón (1989), objects that have properties like humans are more salient and therefore at the foreground of a scene imagination. Another question that arises, however, is why objects like humans are more salient than other objects and how these foregrounding of the concepts are linguistically marked. Because of the “memory storage capacity” (Givón 1989: 65) “relevance” is a crucial aspect for the language recipient and producer and the assessment of both the recipient’s and producer’s linguistic production. Perceptual objects of the world are categorized according to the principles of long-term knowledge, which are experience-based. Objects that are salient are also interpreted as core and vice versa.

Linguistic constructions can be interleaved in complex structures or multiple background constructions and can be categorized into a clause unit property with more than two scene participants. This can be observed in the following example in German¹⁷⁶:

(301)

Der Mann läd-t das Heu.
the.SG.M.NOM man load-3SG.PRES the.SG.N.ACC hay

‘The man loads the hay.’
A→O

Der Mann läd-t das Heu auf den Wagen.
the.SG.M.NOM man load-3SG.PRES the.SG.N.ACC hay onto the.SG.M.ACC carriage

‘The man loads the hay onto the carriage.’
A→O, LOC

Der Mann läss-t den Fahrer
the.SG.M.NOM man let-3SG.PRES the.SG.M.ACC driver

das Heu auf den Wagen laden.
the.SG.N.ACC hay onto the.SG.M.ACC carriage to.load

‘The man lets the driver load the hay onto the carriage.’
A→AO, O, LOC

¹⁷⁶ These clauses were tested with native speakers.

The basic patterns S→LOC and A→O in the simple foreground/background constellation can be expanded by further backgroundings like in the German example: *Der Mann lädt das Heu auf den Wagen* ‘The man loads the hay onto the carriage’ with the relational structure A→O, LOC which is visualized as follows:

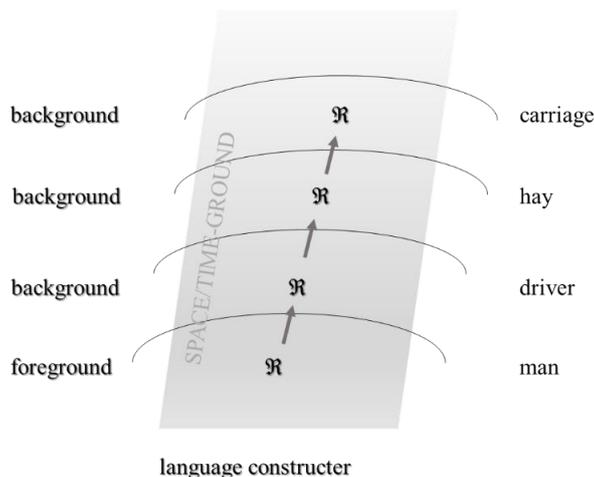


Figure 25: Setting of a Scene with Multiple Backgrounding (cf. Schulze 2010a: 38)

The number of multiple backgrounds appears to be limited by the number of scene participants. Therefore, it has to be assumed that too many participants cannot be involved in a scene.

In the battle scene (§194), Tayang Qan sent a message to his son Güčülük¹⁷⁷ Qan, saying that ‘*The geldings of the Mongols are lean, but our patrolmen say that their camp fires are more numerous than the stars. The Mongols are, therefore, many*’ (cf. UO 81; IDR 116). Because they were afraid of this knowledge, Tayang Qan ordered to withdraw his people crossing the Mount Altai:

(302) SHM § 194

bida ulus-i-yan Altai daba-'ulu-n
 IPL.INC people-ACC-POSS Altai cross-CAUS-C.MOD

‘We, making our people cross the Altai [Mountains]’ (FWC 122, mod.)
 A→’AO_{ACC}, ONOM

(303) SHM § 105

Temüjin Ĵamuqa-tur Qasar Belgütei qoyar-i ilē-rün
 Temüjin Ĵamuqa-DAT.LOC Qasar Belgütei two-ACC send-C.PREP

‘Temüjin sent both Qasar and Belgütei to Ĵamuqa’ (FWC 39, mod.)
 A→’AO_{ACC}, LOC_{DAT.LOC}

(304) SHM §163

Ong qan Činggis qahan-tur elči ilē-ĵü'üi
 Ong qan Činggis qahan-DAT.LOC convey send-PST

‘Ong Qan sent an envoy to Činggis Qahan’ (IDR 81, mod.)
 A→AO_{NOM}, LOC_{DAT.LOC}

¹⁷⁷ *Güčülük* is used here as a proper name. In fact, it means ‘strong’ in the Orkhon Turkish dialect (see UO 81 [footnote 366]).

As well as this event structure:

(305) SHM § 170

Ĵamuqa doru'un Činggis qahan-tur kele oro-'ul-ĵu
 Ĵamuqa secretly Činggis qahan-DAT.LOC tongue come.in-CAUS-C.IPFV
 'Ĵamuqa secretly sent (lit. made to come) the message (in)to Činggis Qahan' (IDR 90, mod.)
 ANOM→'SONOM, LOC_{DAT.LOC}

(306) SHM § 239

ta'ulai ĵil Ĵoči-yi bara'un
 hare year Ĵoči-ACC right

qar-un čeri'ü-d-iyer hoy-yin irgen-tür morila-'ul-bai
 hand-GEN troop-PL-INS forest-GEN people-DAT.LOC set.forth-CAUS-PST
 'In the Year of the Hare (1207), [Činggis Qahan] sent (lit. made to set forth) Ĵoči with the troops of the right wing on an expedition against the people of the forest' (IDR 163, mod.)
 A.∅→SO_{ACC}→LOC_{DAT.LOC}

Figure 26 shows all extended simple clause constructions with multiple backgrounds found in the text corpus SHM.

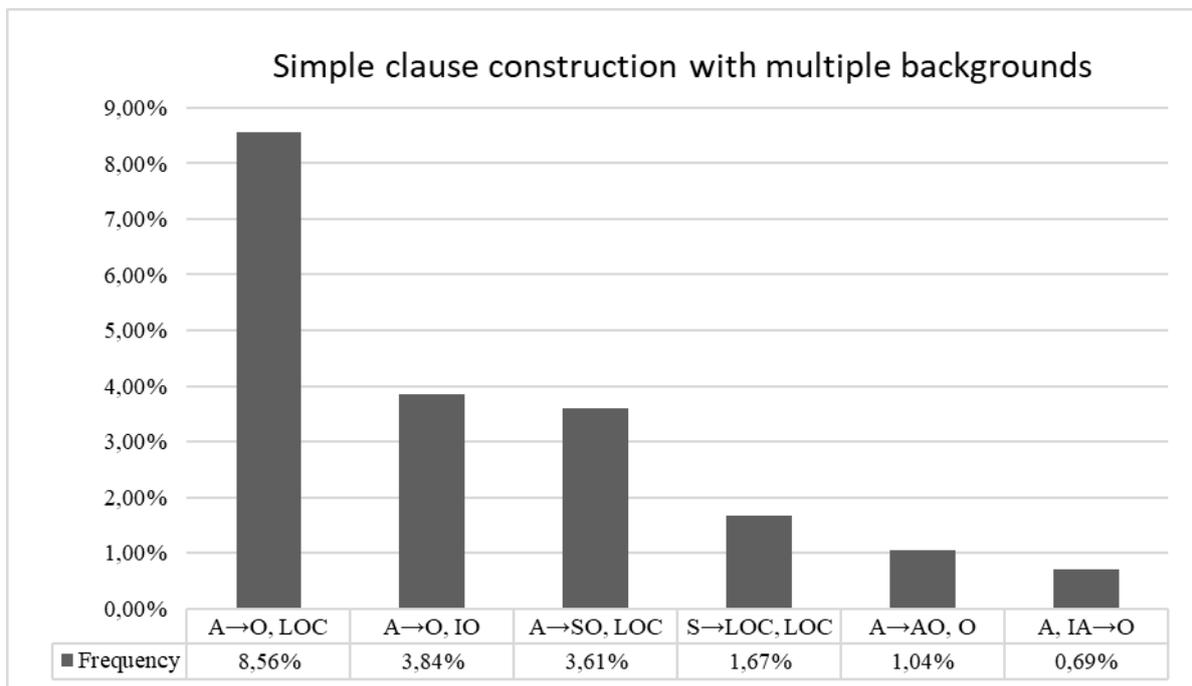


Figure 26: Simple Clause Constructions with Multiple Backgrounds

From the diagram, it is apparent that the construction A→O, LOC occurs most frequently, followed by A→O, IO and A→SO, LOC. In the following, the prototypical properties of embedded GRs are explained and classified according to similarity.

6.2.3.1 Properties of AO and SO

Grammatical relations, which are located in a transitional region of C and E, are discussed in cross-linguistic investigations in connection with causative constructions. Comrie (1976a: 275–280) has discussed causative constructions in Mongolian (e.g. Buryat, Khalkha). He states the following:

A more complex causative construction to analyze is provided by Mongolian, although the embedded subject of a verb that also has a **direct object** does appear in the **dative case**, which is also **the case of the indirect object** [...] The **embedded subject** of an intransitive verb appears as a **direct object**, i.e., in the accusative if definite, in the nominative (absolute) case if indefinite [...] Where the embedded verb has a direct object, one very occasionally finds the embedded subject also expressed as a direct object [...] More typically, the **embedded subject** appears in **the dative** [...] Unfortunately, the polysemy of the Mongolian dative case does not enable us to say unequivocally that the dative in such sentences is the exponent of an indirect object. In Mongolian, as in many other languages, the **dative case** also represents motion toward more generally (as also in Turkish and Tagalog, to cite a possibly related and an almost certainly unrelated language); this does not cause great problems, since **indirect object** and **goal of motion** are certainly **very close semantically**, and we may hope that ultimately linguistic theory will be able to account for this similarity while still being able to describe the differences between them, differences that are represented in the surface morphology of other languages. However, the Mongolian dative has yet another use, namely, as **agent of passive** sentence [...] note that this dative expresses the underlying subject in the passive construction; it is **not a general instrumental case**, since Mongolian has a separate instrumental case, used in both active and passive sentences. In other words, we cannot be absolutely sure whether **the dative** [...] represents **an indirect object** or **a passive agent**, the latter possibility not being an indirect object. [...] In fact, in most forms of Mongolian the dative as **passive agent** or as **embedded subject of causative construction** may be replaced by the instrumental, though this is the less usual construction [...] Comrie (1976a: 275–280); **Indirect object** and **passive agent** are **morphologically identical**. (Comrie 1976a: 308) [My highlights, EN]

In summary, Comrie (1976a: 275–280 and 308) addresses the following problems of causative constructions:

- Semantic narrowing of the IO and LOC encoded by DAT
- Different case encodings of the AO and SO by ACC, NOM, DAT
- Identical morphological marking of the IO and A by DAT of passive construction
- Functions of the ACC, INS and DAT

I would like to illustrate these issues in the following text examples from Middle Mongolian:

(307) SHM § 117

Dayyir-usun-u gü eber-tü ünügün čaqa'an-i Temüjin-e unu-'ul-bai
Dayyir-water-GEN also horn-ORN kid white-ACC Temüjin-DAT ride-CAUS-PST

‘[He] made Temüjin to mount the kid-white horse with a horn, also of Dayyir Usun’ (IDR 45, mod.; cf. FWC 49)

A.∅→AO_{DAT}, O_{ACC}

The properties of SO can be shown in scenario (308) where the Lady Yisüi Qatan, the daughter of Yeke Čeren of the Tatars, was pleased by Činggis Qahan:

(308) SHM § 155

Činggis qahan oyin-dur-ıyan oro-'ul-ju

Činggis qahan mind-DAT-POSS come.in-CAUS-C.IPFV

‘Činggis Qahan was pleased with her (lit. made [her] come into (=keep) his mind/thought)’ (IDR 78, mod.; cf. FWC 84)¹⁷⁸

A→’SO.Ø, LOC_{DAT.LOC}

jerge-tür sa-'ül-ba

rank-DAT.LOC sit-CAUS-PST

‘[and he] let [her] sit in the rank [of imperial wives] (IDR 78, mod.; cf. FWC 84)

A.Ø→SO.Ø, LOC_{DAT.LOC}

6.2.3.2 Properties of IA

One of the primary features of IA is that it is involved as a mediator in the action execution of A in the cause-effect dimension. While there is a CAUS-relator between A and AO/SO, IA is an integral part of the NP in A-domain without a cause relator (A, IA→O). In Middle Mongolian, the INS-encoding shares IA with other GRs such as SO and AO. In some cases, INS on IA is associated with COM having additive relation within a complex NP. Compared to AO or SO, IA is mostly [-ANIM], cf. (309) to (312).

(309) SHM § 214

Tatar-un Qargil-šira-yi süke-ber kituqai-bar mün ten-de ala-ju'ui

Tatar-GEN Qargil-šira-ACC axe-INS knife-INS right DIST-DAT slay-PST

‘Right there, they slew Qargil Šira of the Tatar with axe and knife.’ (IDR 147, mod.)

A.Ø, IA_{INS}→O_{ACC}

(310) SHM § 145

čisun-i ama-'ar šimi-ju

blood-ACC mouth-INS suck-C.IPFV

‘[Jelme], sucking the blood with his mouth’ (IDR 65, mod.)

A.Ø, IA_{INS}→’O_{ACC}

(311) SHM § 200

basa Naiman irgen-i üge-'er ükü-'ül-ju

also Naiman people-ACC word-INS die-CAUS-C.IPFV

‘[you had frightened the Naiman people] slaying them with your words,’ (IDR 130, mod.)

A.Ø, IA_{INS}→’SO_{ACC}, LOC.Ø

ama-'ar ala-ju

mouth-INS kill-C.IPFV

‘killing [them] with your mouth’ (IDR 130, mod.)

A.Ø, IA_{INS}→’O.Ø

¹⁷⁸ “Činggis Qahan took her into his heart.” (UO 61)

(312) SHM § 277

Orusut irgen-i qaqča-'ar oro-'ulu-qsan
Orusut people-ACC alone-INS come.in-CAUS-P.PFV
A.∅, IA_{INS}→'SO_{ACC}, LOC.∅

metü setki-jü omoq dura bari-ju
like think-C.IPFV pride desire hold-C.IPFV

'thinking as if you have brought the Orusut people [by yourself] alone under submission, speak [such] provoking words' (IDR 208, mod.; cf. UO 140)

In all the examples shown above IA is encoded by case INS, e.g. *kituqai* 'knife', *ama* 'mouth', *turqa'ud* 'dayguards', *üge* 'word', *elčin* 'envoy', and *qaqča* 'single/alone', mostly [-ANIM].

6.2.3.3 Properties of IO and LOC

The GRs IO and LOC have a feature in common, namely that they both form the background in the multiple backgrounding of stage imagination. Grammatical encoding is DAT *-a* and DAT.LOC *-tur*.¹⁷⁹ Often, the NP of the O-range in A → O, IO corresponds to SO in A → SO, LOC. The difference between IO and LOC lies in the semantic feature of IO being [+ NUM] and representing someone who receives O and therefore it is a recipient, cf. *qan-a* in (313), *Činggis qa'an-a* in (314), *Qasar-a* in (315). In (316), *Činggis qahan-tur* (marked by DAT.LOC), *balaqa-t-tur* in (317) are seen as LOC in A → SO, LOC.

A	→	O	[→]	IO
A	→	SO	→	LOC
CAUSE		EFFECT		

(313) SHM § 248

qan-a in-ü öki ögü-ye
qan-DAT 3SG.OBL-GEN daughter give-VOL
'[We] shall give their Qan a daughter'¹⁸⁰ (my translation)
A.∅→'O, IO_{DAT}

(314) SHM § 249

Čaqa nere-tei öki Činggis qa'an-a qar-qa-ju
Čaqa name-ORN daughter Činggis qa'an-DAT go.out-FAC¹⁸¹-C.IPFV
'[he] brought forth and gave unto (lit. cause [her] to go out to) Činggis Qahan his daughter, called Čaqa'
(FWC 185, mod.)
A.∅→'SO, LOC_{DAT}

(315) SHM § 244

Qasar-a mingan dörben ja'u-t irge ök-be
Qasar-DAT thousand four hundred-PL people give-PST
'[He] gave [unto] Qasar one thousand four hundred people' (FWC 178, mod.)
A.∅→O, IO_{DAT}

¹⁷⁹ Also other variations of DAT and DAT.LOC.

¹⁸⁰ "Let us give a princess to their ruler." (IDR 176)

¹⁸¹ In some cases, FAC has a similar function to CAUS in building a causative construction.

Regarding the case-coding and backgrounding, the SO and IO and LOC are closely related to each other:

$$A \rightarrow 'O_{\text{NOM/ACC}}, IO_{\text{DAT/DAT.LOC}}$$

$$A \rightarrow 'SO_{\text{NOM/ACC}}, LOC_{\text{DAT/DAT.LOC}}$$

(316) SHM § 248

Činggis qahan-tur Ongging-čingseng gür-ge-ǰü
Činggis qahan-DAT.LOC Ongging-čingseng reach-FAC-C.IPFV

‘[He also] sent Ongging Čingseng (lit. cause Ongging Čingseng to reach/arrive) to Činggis Qahan.’
 (IDR 177, mod.)
 A.∅ → 'SO_{NOM}, LOC_{DAT.LOC}

(317) SHM § 247

qoto-t qoto-t balaqa-t-tur čeri'ü-t ilē-ǰü
 town-PL town-PL city-PL-DAT.LOC troop-PL send-C.IPFV

‘[he] sent troops to various towns and cities,’ (IDR 175, mod.)
 A.∅ → 'SO_{NOM}, LOC_{DAT.LOC}

IO and LOC are represented in the space/time dimension as profiling or activation respectively:

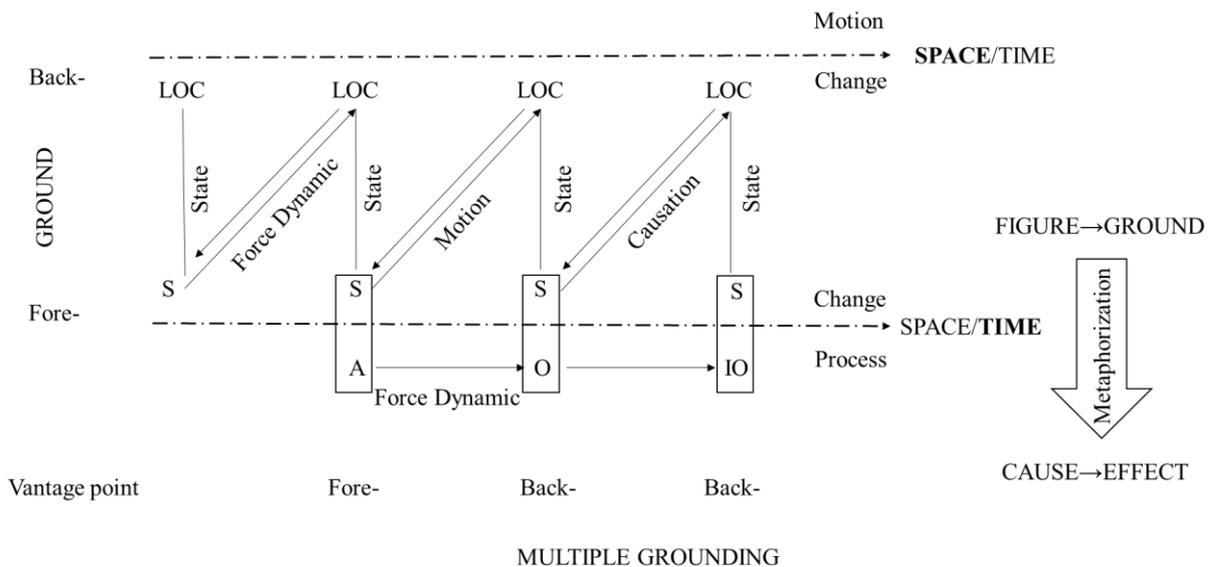


Figure 27: GRs as Multiple Groundings

The following figure shows the involvement of the scene roles in the C and E areas whereby the GRs, which are located in the C and E-interface area, are characterized by the fact that they have both the properties of C and also those of the E-domain. In a multidimensional causal event chain structure, the S is stated as the interface area between C and E, and the A determines the highest level of the causative degree.

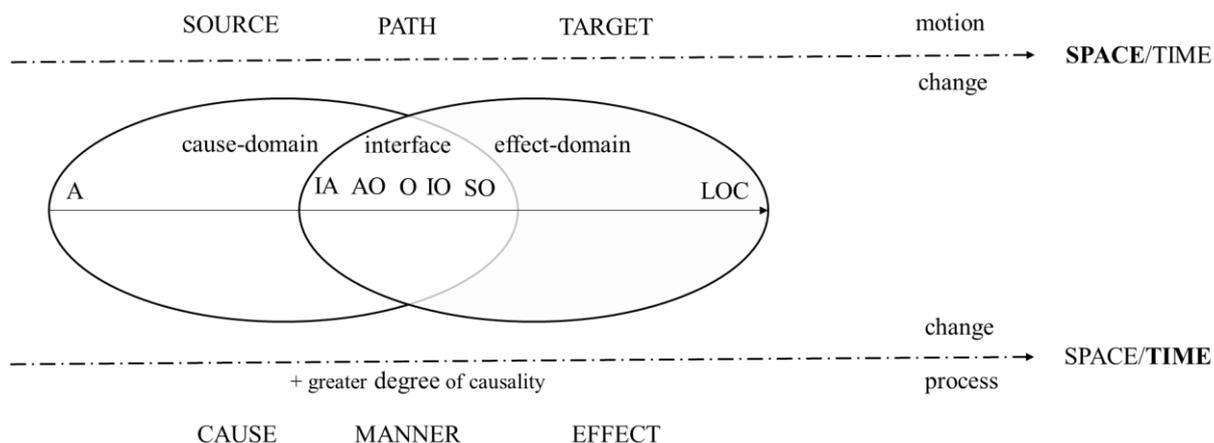


Figure 28: GRs in the Cause and Effect-Interface

Multiple backgrounded EIs are entrenched constructions of compositions of underlying figure and ground constellations in the time-profiled dimension. The distinctive feature of IA, AO, O, IO, and SO is that they belong to both the C-domain and the E-domain. In the space-profiled dimension they form the paths of the action, in the time-profiled dimension they form the manner of the action through which A reaches the O-oriented intention which is in its basal relation structure $S \rightarrow \text{LOC}$ and S/LOC .

6.2.4 Cases as Relational Values of an Event Image

Traditionally, the category “case” is seen in many languages as a central linguistic paradigmatic categorization of nominal morphology. In “Case Grammar”, Fillmore (1968: 21) deals with questions concerning the case of semantic notions and syntactic functions in clause structure. The basic terms such as agent, patient, goal, location and instrument are problematic on closer examination since they do not relate to the relational properties of a scene with regard to cognitive mechanisms. Like any other linguistic element, case is a “linguistic sign” with its symbolic properties “signifié” and “signifiant” (cf. Schulze 2012b: 1). Since they are directly involved in a relational event structure, it is necessary to ask which functions they fulfill with respect to the scene architecture. Formally, the following case types with their allomorphs can be found in Middle Mongolian based on the text corpus and their prototypical functions regarding the relational values encoded by cases in simple clauses:

Cases	Formal Marker and their Variations	Associated GRs
NOM	Unmarked	S, A, O
ACC	<i>i, yi, ni, yü</i>	O
DAT	<i>-a/-e, -da/-de, -d, -na/-ne, -ta/-te</i>	IO, $\text{LOC}_{\text{TARGET/LOCAL}}$
DAT.LOC	<i>-tür/-tur, -dur/-dür</i>	$\text{LOC}_{\text{TARGET/LOCAL}}$
ABL	<i>-ača/-eče, -dača/-deče, -nača/-neče, -ča/-če</i>	$\text{LOC}_{\text{SOURCE}}$
COM/ORN	<i>-lü'e/-lu'a, -tai/-tei, -tan/-ten, -tu/-tü</i>	LOC_{ID}
INS	<i>-ber/-bar, iyar/-iyer, -'ar/-'er, -ba/-be, -yar/yer, -i'er, -ir, -ār</i>	IA
GEN	<i>-yin, -nu/-nü, -un/-ün, -u/-ü, -'un/'ün, -yu/-yü, -ai/-ei, -ni, -in, -ün</i>	internal relation of NP

Table 34: Case system of Middle Mongolian based on Data

Morphologically, they are primarily marked on the noun, but they share the operational function with the verbs (see also Chapter 5.3). Functionally, they place the relational values at the respective NPs (cf.

“relational value” or “relational echos” or heredity of the verbs by Schulze & Sallaberger 2007: 176) and make the GRs distinctive (mong. *Tiin yalgal* in the sense ‘ways of differentiation’).

Case	Tiin yalgal	Ways of differentiation	Prototypical <i>wh</i> -questions
NOM	<i>nerlex</i>	appoint	who
ACC	<i>zaax</i>	show, point	whom
DAT/DAT.LOC	<i>ögöx oršix</i>	give, exist	to.whom; where
ABL	<i>garax</i>	come.out	from.whom
COM	<i>xamtrax</i>	do.together, equipment	with.whom
INS	<i>üildex</i>	act, do	by.whom
GEN	<i>xariyaalax</i>	belong.to	whose

Table 35: Case System in Khalkha

As in modern Mongolian, this categorization plays a significant role in both the scene as well as the scene integration of the matrix-domain. Cross-linguistically, the relational values of a scene of a language can be organized through different procedures, such as agreement, word order and case (cf. Palmer 1994: 6–7). In Middle Mongolian, the scene organization and its internal relational structure is coded mainly by cases (cf. “dependent-marking” Nichols 1986).

Relational Structure			
	F-Domain	VALUERelationVALUE	G-Domain
TYPE	REFERENT/OV	RELATOR	REFERENT/OV
Simple Clause (EI)	NP1 _{CASE}	→VERB	NP2 _{CASE}
Embedded Clause	NP1 _{CASE}	→VERB	NP2 _{CASE} NP3 _{CASE} NP4 _{CASE}
Complex Clause	EI1	→CASE	EI2
	EI1	→CONVERBILIZER	EI2

Table 36: Relational Structure of Simple and Complex Clauses

Consider the clauses (318) to (324).

(318) SHM § 94

Dei-sečen Temüjin-i üje-jü
 Dei-sečen Temüjin-ACC see-C.IPFV
 ‘Dei Sečen saw Temüjin’ (IDR 29)
 A→’O_{ACC}

(319) SHM § 220

ba Činggis qa’an-a güčü ögü-re ire-be
 1PL.EXC Činggis qa’an-DAT strength give-C.FIN come-PST
 ‘[we] came to offer our services to Činggis Qa’an.’ (IDR 151, mod.)
 (Lit. we came to give our strength (=force) to Činggis Qahan.)
 A_{NOM}→’O_{NOM}, IO_{DAT}

(320) SHM § 124

Tatar-un Qargil-šira-yi süke-ber kituqai-bar mün ten-de ala-ju’ui
 Tatar-GEN Qargil-šira-ACC axe-INS knife-INS right DIST-DAT slay-PST
 ‘Right there, they slew Qargil Šira of the Tatar with axe and knife.’ (IDR 147, mod.)

A, IA_{INS}→O_{ACC}

(321) SHM § 10

Alan-qo'a Dobun-mergen-tür ire-jü

Alan-qo'a Dobun-mergen-DAT.LOC come-C.IPFV

'Alan Qo'a, coming to Dobun Mergen,' (FWC 2, mod.)

S→'LOC_{DAT.LOC}

(322) SHM § 117

Temüjin altan büse Ĵamuqa anda-da büse-le-'ül-bei

Temüjin golden girdle Ĵamuqa sworn.friend-DAT girdle-VR-CAUS-PST

'Temüjin caused to girdle his sworn friend Ĵamuqa with a golden girdle' (FWC 49, mod.; cf. IDR 45)

A→AO_{DAT}, O_{NOM}

(323) SHM § 117

Dayyir-usun-u gü eber-tü ünügün čaqa'an-i Temüjin-e unu-'ul-bai

Dayyir-usun-GEN also horn-ORN kid white-ACC Temüjin-DAT mount-CAUS-PST

'[He] made Temüjin to mount the kid-white horse with a horn, also of Dayyir Usun' (IDR 45, mod.; cf. FWC 49)

A.Ø→AO_{DAT}, O_{ACC}

(324) SHM § 239

ta'ulai Ĵil Ĵoči-yi bara'un qar-un

hare year Ĵoči-ACC right hand-GEN

čeri'ü-d-iyer hoy-yin irgen-tür mori-la-'ul-bai

troop-PL-INS forest-GEN people-DAT.LOC horse-VR-CAUS-PST

'In the Year of the Hare (1207), [Činggis Qahan] caused to set up Ĵoči with the troops of the right hand [on an expedition] to (=against) the people of the forest' (IDR 163, mod.)

A.Ø, IA_{INS}→SO_{ACC}, LOC_{DAT.LOC}

AO, SO and IA can be encoded differently in the cause-effect-interface. As shown, SO and AO can be encoded by relational values such as NOM, ACC, DAT while IA is encoded by the relational value INS only. It is noticeable that SO is often labeled with the value ACC which is prototypical for the O-range. That means O is more dominant in the SO: A→SO_{ACC}, LOC than A→SO_{NOM}, LOC. It is also remarkable that INS is the common encoding of AO, SO and IA. All are situated in the interface between C-domain and E-domain. They are in an intermediate stage between the beginning of action and the end of action. The action is carried out through them, initiated by A to reach O_{S/LOC}.

Figure 29 shows the different types of encoding on the GRs as relational values, which can be considered significant indices for the C and E-Interface dimension.

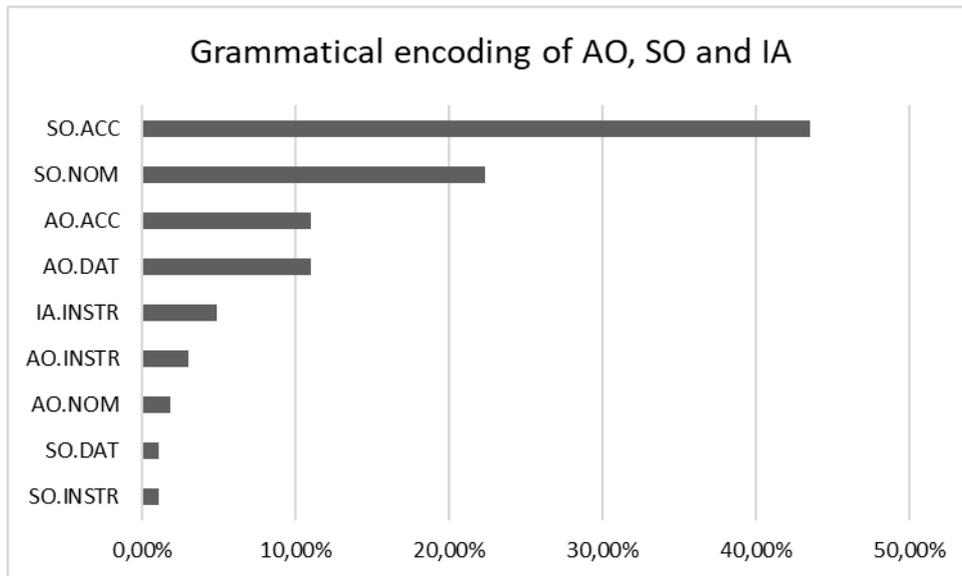


Figure 29: Grammatical Encoding of AO, SO and IA

Grammatical encodings in causative constructions can have different relational properties between the GRs with respect to degree coerciveness, and directness (cf. Wierzbicka 1988: 240).

(325)

John made Mary type the letters.
John had Mary type the letters.
John let Mary type the letters.

English uses the lexical verbs *make*, *get*, *have* and *cause* to express causation (cf. Palmer 1987: 172–174), whereas the Middle Mongolian causative constructions can express these semantic differences morpho-syntactically encoded by different case types.

(326) SHM § 170

Ĵamuqa doro'un Činggis qahan-tur kele oro-'ul-ĵu
 Ĵamuqa secretly Činggis qahan-DAT.LOC tongue come.in-CAUS-C.IPFV
 'Ĵamuqa secretly caused to come the message (in)to Činggis Qahan' (IDR 90, mod.)
 A_{NOM}→'SO_{NOM}, LOC_{DAT.LOC}

(327) SHM § 194

bida ulus-i-yan Altai daba-'ulu-n
 1PL.INC people-ACC-POSS Altai cross-CAUS-C.MOD
 'We, making our people cross the Altai [Mountains]' (IDR 116, mod.)
 A_{NOM}→'AO_{ACC}, O_{NOM}

In example (327) O (*ulus*) encoded by ACC is directed in the C and E relation and therefore more controlled by action of A, whereas SO (*kele*) marked by NOM in the clause (326) is rather non-directed.

6.3 Summary

Argument structures can be implemented differently depending on language practice. According to the “Preferred Argument Structure” (Du Bois 2003: 33), “certain configurations of arguments are systematically preferred”. In summary, it can be observed that S and A as initiators of EIs are modified in both a static and dynamic sense. Existential verbs such as *a-*, *bü-/bö-*, *bayyi-* ‘be, exist, live’ are thereby main relators of a state modification with their backgrounding subtypes. As a distinguishing criterion between the intransitive and transitive clause construction, the number of scene participants cannot be utilized. Rather, the entrenched pattern of constructions, which are based on the underlying cognitive procedure F and G and its metaphORIZATION C and E regarding the space/time dimension, provides an indication on transitivity. The linguistic notion of events does not necessarily lead one-to-one to a correspondence of concepts, since language is subject to the law of linearization (both in oral and written form) and principles of linguistic economy. The question arises as to why certain conceptual units are not linguistically expressed. It should be noted that generic information (generic knowledge) or conceptual salient information need not be repeated linguistically, if the narrator presupposes this from the recipient or it can be obtained from the co- and contextual environment. Especially, S and A ranges are affected in this respect because they are strongly salient in conceptualization. Since each EI has an S or A, regardless of the overt and non-overt realization, it is assumed that each EI represents an attribution in relation to S and A, both in the vertical “non-dynamic” (S/LOC) and horizontal scale “dynamically” (S→LOC, A→O) in the space/time-axis.

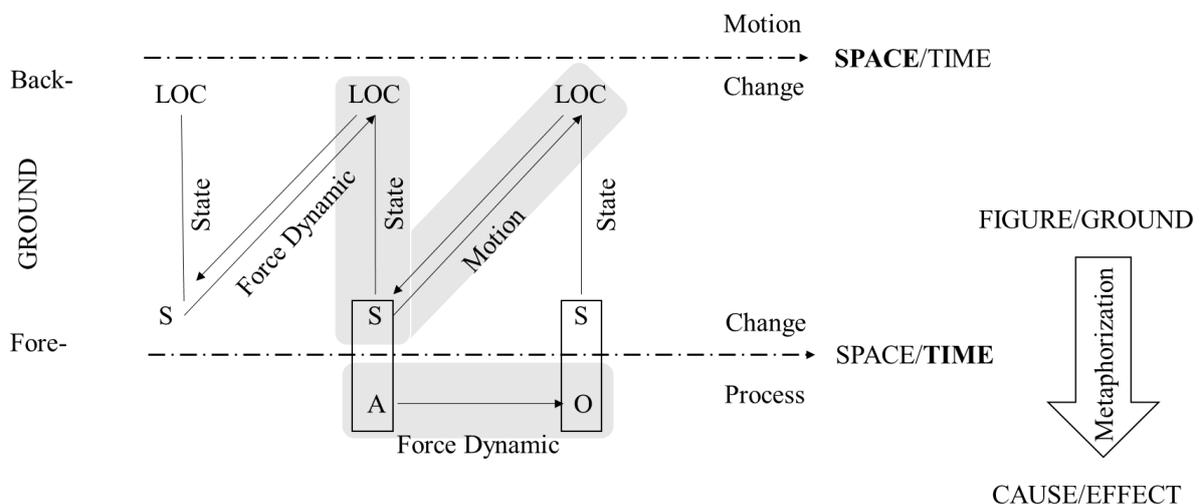


Figure 30: Event Images in the Space/Time Profiling

Based on the simple relational EI, additional scene roles with multiple backgrounds in terms of embedded causative constructions can be interpreted as extended simple clause constructions, extending the C and E-interface domain.

Clause Types	Frequency
A→O	39,93 %
S→LOC	39,54 %
A→O, LOC	8,56 %
A→O, IO	3,84 %
A→SO, LOC	3,61 %
S→LOC, LOC	1,67 %
A→AO, O	1,04 %
A, IA→O	0,69 %
A→IO, O, LOC	0,35 %
A→AO, O, LOC	0,24 %
A→O, LOC, LOC	0,19 %
A, IA→O, LOC	0,09 %
A, IA→SO, LOC	0,09 %
A→SO, LOC, LOC	0,07 %
A, IA→O, IO	0,02 %
A→AO, IA, O, LOC	0,01 %
A→AO, O, IO	0,01 %
A, IA→O, IO, LOC	0,01 %
A→O, IO, LOC, LOC	0,01 %
A→O, LOC, LOC, LOC	0,01 %
S→LOC, LOC, LOC	0,01 %

Table 37: Clause Types and their Frequency in the SHM

Table 37 shows all clause types found in the text corpus based on the SHM. Most of these constructions are two-digit. Including the overt- and non-overt NPs, the ratio of VP to NP is 2,19 per clause structure. A→O and S→LOC¹⁸² occur in roughly the same frequency although A→O is slightly more preferred by the Middle Mongolian speaker. In the SHM the percentage of transitive events (Vt) is 59,01 % while intransitive events (Vi) are 40,98 % including dynamic and non-dynamic events structures.

¹⁸² S/LOC and S→LOC are subsumed.

7 PHRASE TYPES

For the examination of a text grammar of the SHM, which starts from the simple clause, the determination of constituent structures is of central importance. In this work, which outlines an investigation of text grammar based on verb analysis, the assumption of a phrasal typology consisting of the noun phrase and verb phrase should be considered. It is assumed that the noun phrase (NP) is the linguistic correlate of the dimension OBJECT IMAGE or REFERENT (\mathfrak{R}), while VPs map the dimension RELATOR (\rightarrow) of an EVENT IMAGE SCHEMA (cf. Schulze 2012a: 35). “Every linguistic symbolization of an event image includes as least a **referential unit** (expressed in terms of an NP) and a **relational unit** (expressed in terms of a VP). NP and VP are the immediate **linguistic signs** for the **givenness** of a referent and a relator” (Schulze 2012a: 35). For example, the clause [*The man*]_{NP} [*has seen*]_{VP} [*the brown horse*]_{NP} can be represented in phrases like $\mathfrak{R}(\text{NP})\rightarrow(\text{VP}) \mathfrak{R}(\text{NP})$.

It can be supposed that there are two major types of NP in Middle Mongolian. The first type of NP expresses entities such as the physical world while the second type of NP expresses the non-physical world. Both types can be covered by the term referent: “Noun phrases are referring expressions, but the entities they refer to are not entities in the external physical world. Referents of NPs are rather mental representations of entities as they are created, stored, and retrieved in the minds of the speech participants” (Rijkhoff 2002: 27).

According to the proximity principle, “Entities that are closer together functionally, conceptually, or cognitively will be placed closer together at the code level, i.e. temporally or spatially” (Givón 1990: 970). For instance, lexical units that are connected are closer to each other. In the present work, a formal distinction between these two central variables such as NP and VP requires further semantically motivated investigation based on knowledge from Construction Grammar and Cognitive Linguistics. I consider the approaches of *Gestalt* perception and pattern recognition and especially the principles of proximity and distance as fruitful for the present study. This is also particularly important when it comes to the question of which elements are seen as chunks such as verbal phrases having various modificational functions. Schematization and categorization are primary processes in human cognition. Thus, it is assumed that these processes are also partly expressed in the expressive side of language, namely in linguistic structures. Maximum generalizations are observed: NPs as referential units having a noun as head (or center) of the construction and VPs as relational units having a verb as head. In dependency grammar, sentences have verbal nodes (“le nœud verbal” Tesnière 1976: 102) provided with certain valence values filled in by actants. Likewise, a verb-central approach can be established in the case grammar of Fillmore, where it is stated that “the sentence in its basic structure consists of a verb and one or more noun phrases, each associated with the verb in a particular case relationship” (Fillmore 1968: 21).¹⁸³ Based on the verb-central approaches, in the following sections, I would like to analyze the linguistic data with respect to the frequency with which certain types of phrases occur. To approach the phrase structure of Middle Mongolian, usage types and their frequency must be evaluated.

¹⁸³ See also Abraham (1978: 695–729).

In Middle Mongolian, modifying units precede the head of the phrase, i.e. Middle Mongolian is head-final. Observe the following sentences, heads are highlighted in bold:

(328) SHM § 90

<i>niken üdiir</i> one day ATTR HEAD	<i>širqa aqta-tan</i> light.bay gelding-ORN ATTR ATTR	<i>naiman mori-t</i> eight horse-PL ATTR HEAD	<i>ger-ün derge-de</i> tent-GEN beside-DAT ATTR HEAD
NP.TIME	NP.S		NP.LOC

<i>bayyi-ju</i> stay-C.IPFV MODIFIER	<i>bü-küi-yi</i> be-P.IPFV-ACC HEAD	<i>de'erme</i> robbery HEAD	<i>ire-ju</i> come-C.IPFV MODIFIER	<i>üje-tele</i> see-C.TERM HEAD	<i>de'erme-t-čü</i> robbery-VR-C.IPFV MODIFIER	<i>yorči-ba</i> go.off-PST HEAD
VP=NP.O		NP.S	VP		VP	

‘One day [some] robbers came and robbed the eight horses, the light-bay geldings, that were standing beside the tent, went off [with them] before their very eyes (until they saw (=realized) it)’ (IDR 26, mod.)

In this example we have the following NPs and VPs, heads are underlined:

NP1: *niken üdiir* ‘one day’

NP2: *širqa aqtatan naiman morit* ‘eight pale bay gelded horses’

NP3: *gerün derge-de*¹⁸⁴ ‘beside/next to yurt’

NP4: *bayyiju büküi-yi* ‘being staying_{ACC}’

NP5: *de'erme* ‘robbery’

VP1: *bayyiju büküi* ‘being staying’

VP2: *ireju üjetele* ‘until [they] see [it] by coming’

VP3: *de'ermetčü yorčiba* ‘went off by robbing [them]’

It can be seen that NPs in Middle Mongolian are relatively transparent whereas the following questions on VPs have not been discussed and tested on corpus data yet: Which units belong to a verbal phrase? Is a construction such as *bayyiju büküi* in the example above a phrase? Why do the so-called copulas occur as a kind of supporting element so that they are called auxiliaries? What exactly do they support? How can the head of such verb chain constructions be determined? In the case of NPs, the latter could be easily answered, as the heads all follow the attributive units. Following a well-known terminological convention, I refer to these specifying units in a NP as “attributes” (ATTR). To differentiate, I call the specifying units in a VP “modifiers”¹⁸⁵ (MODIF). In the case of *de'ermetčü yorčiba*, there are two possibilities for categorizing them in terms of phrase structure. We can consider them one verbal phrase unit having the head *yorči*. Then, the converbialized verb *de'ermet-* with the imperfective converb suffix *-čü* is a modifying unit like an adverb. But how can they be related via verbal parameters such as time, aspect, modality and certainty? Or: We consider them as separate VPs in a relational dependency structure such as Matrix- and Subordination (MATRIX-SUB) clauses. In this case, the verbs *de'ermet-* and *yorči-* are heads by themselves in their VPs. In the following sections, I will mainly focus on the VP and

¹⁸⁴ This may be analysed in modern grammar as a PP, but in Middle Mongolian, we do have an obvious case-marked noun with locational meaning (here, DAT) as a relational value showing the referential units. Thus, it should be analysed as a NP.

¹⁸⁵ Although this can be a cover term for both adnominal and adverbial function because of the specifying property.

its head and modifying functions. Before we turn to questions about the VP, NP types have to be introduced because the EIs in their entirety appear in the form of NPs. Furthermore, they are involved in the issue of space/time as a localization, which is one of the main topics in the context of verbs. Last but not least, NPs are used to symbolize scene roles in a relational event structure.

7.1 Noun Phrases

Three types of NP are observed in Middle Mongolian: NPs that express space/time¹⁸⁶, a scene role, and a referential EI. The last one belongs to the domain of complex sentences.

7.1.1 Space and Time Expressions

Compared with the other groups of NPs, this type of NP is not directly dependent on the verb valence of a given clause. They have, rather, a space/time framing function within a scene or also some scene linking function because of their relational values, especially encoded through dative and its variants. The whole EIs are involved in the primary container-like locational groundings (cf. “container” schema cf. Johnson 1987: 23; Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 31) in the frame of which the actions take place. This basic scheme can be assumed for instance for the DAT markers *-a/-e* in combination with the space/time-deixes *edö’-e* and *urid-*, cf. (329) and (330). Such grounding NPs are mostly positioned at the beginning of sentences in terms of linguistic linearization. Typically, they are expressions with local meanings which are additionally marked by the dative cases.

(329) SHM § 203

edö’-e na-da yambar soyurqal ögü-mü ke’e-jü’üi
 now-DAT 1SG.OBL-DAT what.kind.of reward give-PRES say-PST
 ‘[He] said, “Now, what kind of reward will you give me?”’ (IDR 135, mod.)

(330) SHM § 18

urid-a Dobun-mergen-eče töre-ksen Belgünütei Bügünütei qoyar kö’ü-t
 front-DAT Dobun-mergen-ABL bear-P.PFV Belgünütei Bügünütei two son-PL
 ‘Belgünütei and Bügünütei, the two sons born earlier to Dobun Mergen,’ (IDR 4)

In current Mongolian Grammar, these positional units such as *urida*, *edö’e* are considered part of a grammatical category called “postposition” claiming certain cases as relational values, while the dative suffixes *-a/-e* are not regarded as such anymore (cf. Tserenpil & Kullmann 2008: 282–318).

(331) SHM § 11

te-d-üi a-tala Duwa-soqor aqa in-ü ügei bol-ba
 dist-PL-GEN be-C.TERM Duwa-soqor elder.brother 3SG.OBL-GEN NEG.EX become-PST
 ‘Duwa Soqor died (lit. became nothing) soon afterwards.’ (UO 10, mod.)

(332) SHM § 112

Merkid-i uruq-un uruq-a gür-tele
 Merkid-ACC offspring-GEN offspring-DAT reach-C.TERM

¹⁸⁶ See “NP-based time adverbials” by Haspelmath (1997: 3–8).

hünesü-'er keyi-s-tele üli-t-ge-be
 ash-INS wind-VR-C.TERM NEG-VR-FAC-PST

‘Merkid exterminated down to the offspring of their offspring so that they were blown [to the winds] like [hearth-]ashes’ (IDR 42, mod.)

In examples (331) and (332), *atala* and *qürtele* are grammaticalized forms based on verbal bases such as *a-* ‘exist, be’ and *qür-* ‘reach, arrive’ combined with a terminal converb suffix such as *-tale/-tele* meaning ‘until’ expressing the endpoint of the events in the space/time axis. Therefore, one can consider them to be a whole NP expressing space/time like *uruqun uruqa gürtele* ‘until the offspring of offspring’. On the other hand, it is also possible to treat them as simple clauses by considering them a basic verb with its own meaning ‘to reach something, to arrive at something’. The locative is achieved by the dative suffix *-a* in *uruq-a* which is attributed by the genitive suffix *-un* added to *uruq-* ‘offspring’. This would result in: ‘[They] reached [Merkid] to the offspring of offsprings’.

Space/time expressing NPs can typically also be expressed by deictic elements such as proximal *e(n)-* and distal *te(n)-* like in examples (333) and (334):

(333) SHM § 190

bi en-d-eče qam-sa-ju te-de-ke-t Mongqol-un qor an-u abu-ya
 1SG PROX-DAT-ABL together-VR-C.IPFV DIST-PL-DIM-PL Mongqol-GEN quiver 3PL.OBL-GEN take-VOL
 ‘I shall join you from here and [we] will take the quivers of those few Mongols!’ (IDR 112, mod.)

(334) SHM § 20

ten-de Alan-qo'a eke in-ü ügü-le-bi
 DIST-DAT Alan-qo'a mother 3SG.OBL-GEN word-VR-PST
 ‘At that, their mother Alan Qo’a said.’ (IDR 4, mod.)

In other cases, space/time expressing NPs are realized by lexical space/time denoting units like *manaqaši* ‘following day’ in (335), *čaq* ‘time’ in (338), *ja'ur* ‘moment’ in (339), or time duration *qurban qonoq* ‘spending three nights’ in (336), *üdir* ‘day’ in (340) to (344), *söni* ‘night’ in (337):

(335) SHM § 66

manaqaši öki in-ü quyubasu
 following.day daughter 3SG.OBL-GEN request-C.COND
 ‘the following morning, when [he] requested his daughter [for Temüjin]’ (IDR 15, mod.)

(336) SHM § 67

qurban qono-q yabu-ju ger-tür-iyen gürü'-et mawui bol-ju
 three spend.night-NR go-C.IPFV home-DAT.LOC-POSS arrive-C.PFV bad become-C.IPFV
 ‘he went on, going three days, being arrived at his home, becoming worse’ (FWC 18, mod.)

Frequently happening events are also expressed by the additional lexeme *büri* ‘every’ in *sönit büri* ‘every night’ which can be included in the time duration category:

(337) SHM § 21

söni-t büri čeügen šira gü'ün ger-ün erüge dotoqa-yin gegē-'er oro-ju
night-PL every shiny yellow man yurt-GEN smokehole lintel-GEN light-INS come.in-C.IPFV

‘Every night, a shiny yellow man came into the yurt through the light of the smoke-hole and over the top of the door.’ (UO 11; cf. FWC 4)

Punctual events which can be translated into English with prepositions like *at*, *in*, *on* and so on are mostly expressed in Middle Mongolian by the pattern “lexeme-DAT”, sometimes without dative suffixes:

(338) SHM § 207

či Qorči tere čaq-tur ügü-le-rün jöng jöb bolu-'asu
2SG Qorči DIST time-DAT.LOC word-VR-C.PREP prophecy right become-C.COND

‘At that time, you, Qorči said, “If the prophecy comes true”’ (IDR 139, mod.)

(339) SHM § 14

Dobun-mergen tere čö'e buqu-yi ači-ju ayisu-run ja'ur-a
Dobun-mergen DIST three.years.old deer carry-C.IPFV approach-C.PREP moment-DAT

‘Dobun Mergen went on, carrying the three-years-old deer on the back [of his horse]. On the way (during that time) [he met]’ (IDR 3, mod.)

(340) SHM § 5

niken üdür Duwa-soqor Dobun-mergen de'ü-lü'e-be'en
one day Duwa-soqor Dobun-mergen younger.brother-COM-POSS

Burqan-qaldun de'er-e qar-ba
Burqan-qaldun above-DAT go.up-PST

‘One day Duwa Soqor went up Burqan Qaldun with his younger brother Dobun Mergen.’ (IDR 1, mod.)

(341) SHM § 12

te'ün-ü qoyin-a niken üdür
DIST.OBL-GEN behind-DAT one day

Dobun-mergen Toqočağ-üüdiür de'er-e görö'e-le-re qar-ba
Dobun-mergen Toqočağ-high above-DAT wild-VR-C.FIN go.out-PST

‘After that, one day Dobun Mergen went out (=climb) for hunting on the Toqočağ Heights.’ (IDR 3, mod.)

(342) SHM § 19

qabur niken üdür köngšilemel qonin čina-ju
spring one day dried sheep boil-C.IPFV

‘One spring day, [she was] boiling some dried sheep’ (IDR 4, mod.)

Space/time expressing NPs can sometimes be very long due to the attributes preceding the head of the NP building a left-branching attributive chain. This is illustrated below by an example with the head *üdiür* ‘day’:

tergel üdiür ‘full moon day’

hula'an tergel üdiür ‘red full moon day’

harban jırwa'ana hula'an tergel üdiür ‘red full moon day on the sixteenth’

teri'ü-n sara-yin harban jırwa'ana hula'an tergel üdiür ‘red full moon day on the sixteenth of the first month’

jun-u teri'ü-n sara-yin harban jirwa'ana hula'an tergel üdür 'red full mood day on the sixteenth of the first month of summer'

(343) SHM § 81

jun-u teri'ü-n sara-yin harban jirwa'an-a hula'an tergel üdür
summer-GEN head-GEN month-GEN ten six-DAT red full.moon day

'on the sixteenth of the first month of summer, the day of the full red moon' (IDR 23, mod.)

All the presented space/time expressing NPs can be associated with cases. Most frequent is the dative with its variants in order to indicate the framing or grounding basis. To show the source and target, depending on the verb semantics, ablative and dative (including allative) are used.

(344) SHM § 64

ba Onggirat irgen ert-e üdür-eče
1PL.EXC Onggirat people early-DAT day-ABL

je'e-yin jisün ökin-ü öngge-ten ulus
granddaughter-GEN complexion daughter-GEN Color-ORN nation

'We, Onggirat people, from old days, having the good looks of our granddaughters and the beauty of our daughters [is enough]' (IDR 14, mod.; cf. FWC 15)

7.1.2 Scene Roles

The scene roles representing NPs are the focus of the following section which is the second type of linguistically expressed NPs. In all types of NPs, we deal with an attributive chain preceding the NP-head. Scene roles are dependency units in an event relational structures. They own their roles only in involving their counterparts. That means, there is no NP.A without NP.O because the function of O exists only by virtue of the existence of A. Likewise, NP.S exists only by virtue of the existence of NP.LOC. Depending on the semantics of the verb, there are prototypically 1-3 scene roles represented by a NP in a simple clause. Unlike space/time representing NPs, they are directly involved in the event relational structure. One can call them scene participants.

(345) SHM § 191

<i>Belgütei-noyan-u ene üge-yi</i>	<i>jöb-šiye-jü</i>
Belgütei-lord-GEN PROX word-ACC	right-VR-C.IPFV
NP.O _{ACC}	VP

'Approving these words of Belgütei Noyan,' (IDR 113, mod.)

(346) SHM § 194

<i>Tayang qan</i>	<i>kangqay-yin Qaçir-usun-a</i>	<i>a-ju'ui</i>
Tayang qan	kangqay-GEN Qaçir-usun-DAT	live-PST
NP.S _{NOM}	NP.LOC _{DAT}	VP

'Tayang Qan lived at the Qaçir Usun in the Qangqai [Mountans]' (IDR 116, mod.)

(347) SHM § 202

<i>Ĵebe-yi</i>	<i>Naiman-nu Güčülük qan-i</i>	<i>neke-'ülü-n</i>
Ĵebe-ACC	Naiman-GEN Güčülük qan-ACC	pursue-CAUS-C.MOD
NP.AO _{ACC}	NP.O _{ACC}	VP

'Making Ĵebe to pursue Güčülük Qan of the Naiman,' (FWC 141, mod.; cf. IDR 133)

(348) SHM § 235

<i>Qarlu'ud-un</i>	<i>Arslan qan</i>	<i>Qubilai-tur</i>	<i>else-n</i>	<i>ire-jü'üi</i>
Qarlu'ud-GEN	Arslan qan	Qubilai-DAT.LOC	submit-C.MOD	come-PST
NP.S _{NOM}		NP.LOC _{DAT.LOC}	VP	

‘Arslan Qan of the Qarlu’ud came to submit to Qubilai.’ (IDR 162)

(349) SHM § 239

<i>ta'ulai jil</i>	<i>Joči-yi bara'un qar-un</i>	<i>čeri'ü-d-iyer</i>
hare year	Joči-yi right hand-GEN	troop-PL-INS
NP.TIME	NP.IA _{INS}	

<i>hoy-yin</i>	<i>irgen-tür</i>	<i>mori-la-'ul-bai</i>
forest-GEN	people-DAT.LOC	horse-VR-CAUS-PST
NP.LOC _{DAT.LOC}		VP

‘In the Year of the Hare (1207), [Činggis Qahan] sent Joči with the troops of the right wing on an expedition against the people of the forest.’ (IDR 163, mod.)

(350) SHM § 260

<i>Öteged-ei</i>	<i>Čormağan-i</i>	<i>Baqtat irgen-tür</i>	<i>Qalibai-soltan-tur</i>	<i>ayala-'ul-bai</i>
Öteged-GEN	Čormağan-ACC	Baqtat people-DAT.LOC	Qalibai-soltan-DAT.LOC	go.on.campaign-CAUS-PST
NP.SO _{ACC}		NP.LOC _{DAT.LOC}		VP

‘[He] sent (lit. caused to go on campaign) Čormağan of the Öteged on a campaign against the Baqtat people and the Qalibai Soltan.’ (IDR 193–194, mod.)

In the case of *verbum dicendi* there is a complex clause structure with an integrated NP.O.CLAUSE consisting of its own phrase constructions. The end of such a NP.O.CLAUSE is mostly signaled by *ke'e-n* ‘say-C.MOD’ with the meaning ‘saying’. In English, it corresponds often to the complementizer ‘that’.

(351) SHM § 203

<i>tusa-tan-a</i>	<i>soyurqal</i>	<i>ök-sü</i>	<i>ke'e-n</i>
support-ORN-DAT	reward	give-VOL	say-C.MOD
NP.IO _{DAT}	NP.O _{NOM}	VP	VP
NP.O.CLAUSE			VP

‘saying, “[I] shall [now] reward those among them who are [most] deserving”’ (IDR 134, mod.)

(352) SHM § 242

<i>eke-de</i>	<i>kö'ü-t</i>	<i>de'ü-ner-e</i>	<i>irge</i>	<i>qubi-ya-ju</i>	<i>ögü-ye</i>	<i>ke'e-n</i>
mother-DAT	son-PL	younger-brother-DAT	people	share-VR-C.IPFV	give-VOL	say-C.MOD
NP.IO _{DAT}			NP.O _{NOM}	VP		VP
NP.O.CLAUSE				VP		VP

‘saying, “[I] shall apportion the [subject] people among [his] mother, children and younger brothers.’ (IDR 166, mod.)

NP.O.CLASSES are not only restricted to these types of expression verbs. All scenes roles can have NP.CLASSES (e.g. NP.S.CLAUSE, NP.A.CLAUSE, NP.LOC.CLAUSE, NP.IA.CLAUSE etc.) which I will show with examples for referential EIs in the shape of NP.

7.1.3 Referential Event Images

Clause constructions having a verbal relator can themselves be expressed as a NP integrated into complex sentences. They can be encoded by various types of cases like any other NP in a simple clause.

In examples (353) to (355) the relator *abčira-* ‘bring [something]’, *yabu-* ‘go [to somewhere]’ and *morila-* ‘set on horse’ are encoded by the dative locative case *-tur* which expresses the subordinated locative clause (NP.LOC.CLAUSE).

(353) SHM § 59

<i>Tatar-un</i>	<i>Temüjün-üge-yi</i>	<i>ab-č-ira-qsan-tur</i>	<i>töre-be</i>	<i>ke'e-n</i>
Tatar-GEN	Temüjün-üge-ACC	take-C.IPFV-come-P.PFV-DAT.LOC	bear-PST	say-C.MOD
NP.O _{ACC}		VP	VP	VP
		NP.LOC.CLAUSE _{DAT.LOC}		
		NP.O.CLAUSE		

‘saying that [he] was born when the Temüjün Üge of Tatar had been brought [captive]’ (IDR 13, mod.)

(354) SHM § 233

<i>šibawu-la-n</i>	<i>aba-la-n</i>	<i>yabu-qui-tur</i>	<i>jobo-ldu-mui</i>
falcon-VR-C.MOD	hunt-VR-C.MOD	go-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC	toil-REC-PRES
VP			VP
NP.LOC.CLAUSE _{DAT.LOC}			

‘When [I] go falconing or hunting, they toil with [me]’ (IDR 161)

(355) SHM § 157

<i>Činggis qahan-ni</i>	<i>Tatar irgen-tür</i>	<i>mori-la-qsan-tur</i>
Činggis qahan-ACC	Tatar people-DAT.LOC	horse-VR-P.PFV-DAT.LOC
NP.S _{NOM}	NP.LOC _{DAT.LOC}	VP
NP.LOC.CLAUSE _{DAT.LOC}		

<i>Ong qan</i>	<i>Merkit irgen-tür</i>	<i>mori-la-ju</i>
Ong qan	Merkit people-DAT.LOC	horse-VR-C.IPFV
NP.S _{NOM}	NP.LOC _{DAT.LOC}	VP

‘When Činggis Qahan rode against the Tatars, Ong Qan rode against the Merkit.’ (IDR 79, mod.)

In (356), *tul-* ‘lean on [something], base upon [something]’ with the dative case expresses the cause in the subordinated NP.CLAUSE structure. The translation of this subordinated clause corresponds to ‘because’ in English.

(356) SHM § 147

<i>aman čaqān qula-yi</i>	<i>min-ü</i>	<i>aman niru'u</i>	<i>qarbu-qsan-u</i>	<i>tul-a</i>
mouth white	tawny-ACC	1SG.OBL-GEN	mouth spine	shoot-P.PFV-GEN
NP.LOC _{NOM}			VP	
NP.LOC.CLAUSE _{DAT}				

‘because [he] shot an arrow at the neckbone of my tawny war horse with the white mouth’ (cf. IDR 69; FWC 74)

Subordinated O.CLAUSES are mostly encoded by the accusative case, whereas the subordinated S/A in those cases is marked by the NOM in (357), GEN in (358) and ACC in (359) and (360).

(357) SHM § 114

<i>kö'ü-ken-i</i> son-DIM-ACC	<i>bidan-u</i> 1PL.INC.OBL-GEN	<i>čeri'ü-t</i> soldier-PL	<i>nuntuq-tur</i> camp-DAT.LOC	<i>qočoru-qsan-i</i> leave.behind-P.PFV-ACC
NP.O _{ACC}	NP.A _{NOM}		NP.LOC _{DAT.LOC}	VP
NP.O.CLAUSE _{ACC}				

<i>ol-ju</i> find-C.IPFV	<i>ab-č-ira-ju</i> take-C.IPFV-come-C.IPFV
VP	VP

‘Our soldiers found a little boy who had been left behind in the camp.’ (IDR 43, mod.)

(358) SHM § 245

<i>Otčigin-u</i> Otčigin-GEN	<i>uyyila-qu-yi</i> weep-P.IPFV-ACC	<i>üje-ju</i> see-C.IPFV
NP.S _{GEN}	VP	VP
NP.O.CLAUSE _{ACC}		

‘Seeing Otčigin weep,’ (IDR 171)

The markedness of scene roles in a grammatical relation encoded by certain types of cases applies not only to N.O.CLAUSE but also to other subordinated N.CLAUSES, cf. (359) and (360).

(359) SHM § 105

<i>qotola ulus-i</i> entire people-ACC	<i>in-u</i> 3SG.OBL-GEN	<i>qo'osun</i> empty	<i>bol-tala</i> become-C.TERM	<i>hawulu-ya</i> smite-VOL
NP.S _{ACC}		NP	VP	VP
NP.LOC.CLAUSE				

‘We shall smite his entire people till nothing will be left!’ (IDR 37, mod.)

(360) SHM § 97

<i>Temüjin-i</i> Temüjin-ACC	<i>törö-küi-tür</i> bear-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC	<i>buluqan nelkei</i> sable sheepskin	<i>ögü-le'e</i> give-PST	<i>bi</i> 1SG
NP.S _{ACC}	VP	NP.O _{NOM}	VP	NP.A _{NOM}
NP.LOC.CLAUSE				

‘When Temüjin were born, I gave [you] sable sheepskin (=swaddling-clothes) [as a gift].’ (IDR 30, mod.)

If subordinated S/A are linguistically omitted, their case-encoding obviously cannot be seen.

(361) SHM § 272

<i>umarta-qsan-i</i> forget-P.PFV-ACC	<i>duratqa-ju</i> remind-C.IPFV	<i>umtara-qsan-i</i> fall.asleep-P.PFV-ACC	<i>seri-'ül-ju</i> wake.up-CAUS-C.IPFV	<i>yabu</i> go
VP	VP	VP	VP	VP
NP.O.CLAUSE _{ACC}		NP.O.CLAUSE _{ACC}		

‘Do remind [him] of what [he] has forgotten, do wake [him] up when [he] has fallen asleep.’ (IDR 204, mod.)

(362) SHM § 116

<i>erten-ü</i> early-GEN	<i>anda</i> sworn.friend	<i>bolu-lča-qsan-i-yan</i> become-REC-P.PFV-ACC-POSS	<i>duradu-lča-n</i> recall-REC-C.MOD
NP.S _{NOM}		VP	
NP.O.CLAUSE _{ACC}			VP

<i>anda</i> sworn.friend	<i>tungqu-ldu-ju</i> renew-REC-C.IPFV
NP.O _{NOM}	VP

‘recalling how earlier on they became sworn friends, [they] renew the sworn friendship’ (IDR 44, mod.)

(363) SHM § 163

<i>hači</i> gratitude	<i>qari-'ulu-qu-yi</i> return-CAUS-P.IPFV-ACC	<i>tenggeri qajar-un</i> heaven earth-GEN	<i>ihe'el</i> protection	<i>mede-tügei</i> know-IMP	<i>ke'e-be</i> say-PST
NP.O _{NOM}	VP	NP.A _{NOM}		VP	
NP.O.CLAUSE				VP	VP

‘As to my repaying [these] gratitude, let [only] the protection of Heaven and Earth decide [how, and in what measure.]’ (IDR 82, mod.)

In examples (364) and (365), we have some N.LOC.CLAUSE-like constructions expressing space/time orientation. Because there are no overt verbal relators, they are classified as “clause-like” constructions. Verbal relators are very rarely omitted (only in the case of existential or basic verbs in the non-dynamic dimension). Due to reduced clause structures, constructions like in *Ĵoči-yi dongqotquyın urida* (364) and *qaruqsanu qoyına* (365) can be identified as simple NPs. In modern Mongolian grammars, they are subsumed under the term “postpositions” (cf. Tserenpil & Kullmann 2008: 287–293).

(364) SHM § 254

<i>Ĵoči-yi</i> Ĵoči-ACC	<i>dongqot-qu-yin</i> utter-P.IPFV-GEN	<i>urid-a</i> front-DAT	<i>Ča'adai</i> Ča'adai	<i>ügü-le-rin</i> word-VR-C.PREP
NP.A _{GEN}	VP		NP.A _{NOM}	VP
NP.LOC.CLAUSE _{DAT}				

‘before Ĵoči could utter [a sound], Ča'adai said,’ (IDR 183)

(365) SHM § 268

<i>qaru-qsan-u</i> ascend-P.PFV-GEN	<i>qoyın-a</i> behind-DAT	<i>Yisüi</i> Yisüi	<i>qadun-a</i> queen-DAT	<i>Tangyut</i> Tangyut	<i>irgen-eče</i> people-ABL	<i>maši</i> great	<i>ök-be</i> give-PST
VP							
NP.LOC.CLAUSE _{DAT}		NP.IO _{DAT}		NP.LOC _{ABL}		NP.O _{NOM}	VP

‘After [he] had ascended [to Heaven] a great part of the Tangyut people was given to Yisüi Qadun.’ (IDR 200, mod.)

7.1.4 Summary

In sum, three types of NPs can be differentiated. The first type of NPs are space/time representing units for the localization and orientation of scenes. The second type are scene role representing NPs in relational event structures encoded by cases according to event schematic constructions operated by the

VP in the clauses. The last type are called referential EI representing NPs because here we can see that event relators occur in a relational structure between subordinated clauses and matrix sentences. This can be shown in the relational values expressed by a variety of cases just like grammatical relations in a simple clause. The S/A can be encoded by cases that show the subordination or dependency of the much bigger constructions that they are part of. The consideration of NPs is important for the present investigation on VPs, because interfacing parameters like relational values for the analysis of phrase constructions both in simple clauses and complex sentences lead necessarily to NP structures.

7.2 Verb Chain – Verb Phrase(s)

7.2.1 Manner/Path-expressing LOC-Modifiers

Just like with NPs, we deal here with modifying elements and the head of the entire phrase, as long as such a structure can be considered a VP. Because of the basic pattern of the phrase structure, Middle Mongolian belongs to the left-branching class of languages. For NPs the common term for the modifying elements is “attributes”. In the case of VPs, I call those modifying elements just “modifiers” as all involved verbs are in some way semantically and grammatically dependent in a part/whole structure.¹⁸⁷ In Middle Mongolian, in both cases, the preceding elements have the property of making the heads more distinguishable. This qualifying property is achieved by the linguistic category “adjectives” which express concepts referring to properties, qualities, and characteristics of referents (cf. Thompson 1989: 245). They are defined as “Property Concepts” (Thompson 1989: 247). Dixon (1977: 62–63) suggests that a class of adjectives is a “set of items, distinguished on morphological and syntactic grounds from the universal classes noun and verb”. On the functional side, adjectives are specifiers to the head they belong to within a phrase structure cf. SHM § 184 *altan eme’eltü qara aqta* ‘gold-saddled black gelding’, SHM § 197 *qarqam sayin aqta* ‘gelding with fine rumps’, SHM 205: *širqa aqta* ‘pale bay gelding’, SHM § 216 *čaqān aqta* ‘white gelding’. Physical objects expressed in a NP can be differentiated from other physical objects due to characteristic features such as color, shape, size and other quality features. While adjectives are strongly related to nominal units (in the present work referential units), modifying elements related to verbal units are often called “adverbs”, cf. SHM § 41 *barižu abu-* ‘take capturing’, SHM § 76 *buližu abu-* ‘take snatching’, SHM § 110 *sundula’ulžu abu-* ‘take riding behind, SHM § 245 *to’orin bayyi-*, ‘stay surrounding’, SHM § 171 *jasaju bayyi-* ‘be arranging’, SHM § 195 *abarin bayyi-* ‘be climbing’. These additional verbal elements cause a verbal relator to be seen as a unified single VP. The expression of unification of single EIs is caused by the principle of proximity, cf. “The closer two linguistic entities are functionally, the more they are likely to be coded contiguously” (Givón 1990: 542).

Not only in constructions with existential verbs, but also in constructions with other verbs (known as light-verbs, see Chapter 7.3.2 to 7.3.4) where multiple verbs occur in a serialization structure, we deal with multiple EIs that are cognitively in a part-whole relationship with each other. Certainly, such

¹⁸⁷ Although I do not differentiate between the two domains “grammatically” and “semantically”, in some cases it is useful to apply the term to specify the domains. If I use these terms, “grammatically” means more functional in a relational/operational sense (e.g. TAM etc.), whereas “semantically” is used more in the sense of lexical semantics. Of course, these terms do not exclude each other.

serialized EIs are based on a dependency structure, whereby the subordinate clause (SUB-clause) is hierarchically structured with respect to the spatial and temporal relation of the matrix-clause (MATR). All subordinated clauses are parts of the whole sentence, namely the matrix clause. They build a relation of part/whole caused by underlying cognitive bases of foregrounding/backgrounding. This dependency between the foregrounding and backgrounding clauses is expressed mostly by certain types of converbalizers. Whereas these types of converbalizers tend to show that the related verbs form a unit-like structure (phrase), other types of converbalizers do not allow a unification of the verbs into a sequence (see below). In unit-like constructions of two verbs (which is the basic structure), they share the same Grammatical Relations S/A, and thus some LOC/O coincides. As in an event structure one can expect a starting point (START), a way of executing the action (Manner/Path) (=METHOD/WAY)¹⁸⁸, and an end point of the action (END).

In a serialization of verbs, there are two main types of VP. The first type consists of head-verbs from the category <LIVE>, <EXIST>, <BE>, and the dynamic one <BECOME> with existential meanings, so that the subordinated verb (preceding lexical verb¹⁸⁹) can present the main semantics of the whole phrase construction. As the existential verbs move into the background because of their basic relational semantics, the lexical verbs which precede them seem to take over the head function. The other type of VP consists of head-verbs from other categories such as MOTION (Chapter 7.3.2), ACCOMPLISHMENT/FACILITY (Chapter 7.3.3), and TRANSFER (Chapter 7.3.4). Because of their frequency within the corpus data, some verbs from these categories are picked up. These two mentioned types of VP differ from other verb sequences in that they include a significant feature, namely the phenomenon “same subject (SS) and different subject (DS)”.¹⁹⁰ The tendency is shown that verb elements in a chain can be considered a phrase unit if these verbs share a SS related to the SS in the Matrix Clause. In this case, the preceding verb modifies the head just like attributes in a noun phrase. In Non-VP constructions, the verbs must not share the SS. They can have SS as well as DS. EIs executed by SS can often occur in an immediate order. Some sorts of verbs such as *think, say, look* can take place roughly at the same line on the space/time axis. The two types of VP are illustrated in Figure 31. The first type includes a VP construction with existential verbs as AUX (including AUX-like elements) while the second type comprises a series of verbs that do not make phrase-like constructions. In both types of verbs, there is an underlying matrix-subordination dependency structure.

¹⁸⁸ For the manner/path conflation in the space/time-axis refer to the Chapter on the “Simple Clauses” in 6.2.

¹⁸⁹ Although I do not agree with the term “lexical” verbs, I use it in this case, because it is known in the literature.

¹⁹⁰ In the present work this commonly used term refers to Same Subjective/Agentive and Different Subjective/Agentive according to the schematic types of verbs.

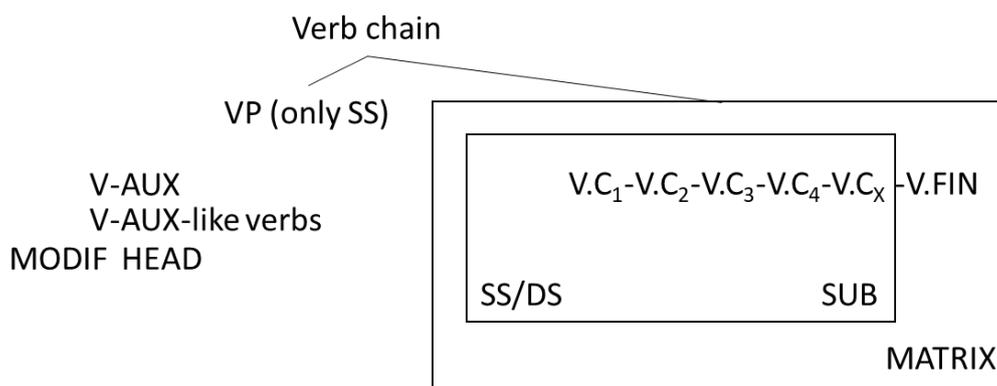


Figure 31: Subtypes of Verb Chain

The dependency between matrix and subordinated clauses is shown in more detail in Figure 32. In a verb chain, we can have numerous verbs connected by different types of converbalizers. At the end of the verb chain, there is the final verb which has the TAMC-function to which the TAMC of all the subordinated clauses relates. Often, EIs that have happened previously in space/time precede the immediately following EIs (e.g. SHM § 200 *uqulĵa ala-ĵu šira-ĵu ide-riin* wild sheep kill-C.IPFV roast-C.IPFV eat-C.PREP lit. ‘When he was eating a wild sheep by roasting [it] after killing [it]’). Subordinated clauses show the manner/path by which the main action is achieved.

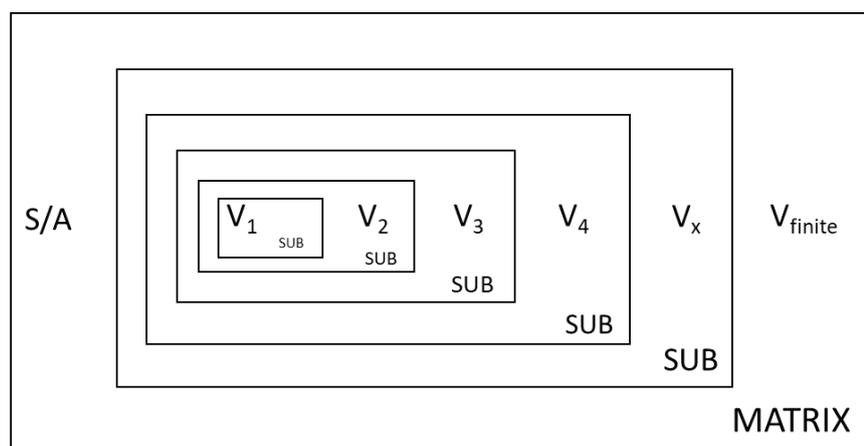


Figure 32: Modifying Verbs in a Matrix-Subordination Relation¹⁹¹

Like for NPs in a simple clause the pairs of Figure and Ground can also designate the conceptualization of two EIs related to each other in a special, temporal, causal, or other type of situation. They can be called the main (in the present work matrix) and subordinate clauses of a complex sentence (cf. “event integration” Talmy 2000b: 213). If we look at the complex sentence structure consisting of numerous verbal element in a multiple backgrounded LOC or subordinated clauses of example (366), we can identify the verbs *bayyi*- ‘be’, *yada*- ‘be unable’, *gödöl*- ‘move’, *tuta’a*- ‘flee’, *qar*- ‘come out’, and *ot*- ‘go’. The last one has the finite past tense marker *-ba* that closes the complex sentence. The other verbs are added with modal and imperfective converb markers as connectors. All the verbs share the same S;

¹⁹¹ This can be considered as a combined structure of “Container” and “Source-Path-Goal” schemas (cf. Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 32–33).

each preceding EI modifies the following EI. For example, *bayyin* is the modifier of its head *yadaǰu*, and both *bayyin yadaǰu* are the modifier of their head *gödölǰü*, and this modified head with its modifiers *bayyin yadaǰu gödölǰü* is the modifier of its head *tuta'aǰu* and so on.¹⁹² As a consequence all these connected EIs are dependent on each other semantically.

(366) SHM § 196

tere güre'en-dür-iyen

DIST circular.camp-DAT.LOC-POSS

<i>bayyi-n</i>	<i>yada-ǰu</i>	<i>gödöl-ǰü</i>	<i>tuta'a-ǰu</i>	<i>qar-ču</i>	<i>ot-ba</i>
be-C.MOD	be.unable-C.IPFV	move-C.IPFV	flee-C.IPFV	go.out-C.IPFV	depart-PST
MODIF	MODIF	MODIF	MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
VP					

‘Not being able to stand in that his camp, removing, fleeing away, he went out and departed.’ (FWC 129)

Although the events are located in the verb chain according to their spatial and temporal sequences, one can translate these subordinated events into English with the paratactic connector ‘and’ relating to other subordinated clauses: [He] has gone by coming out and fleeing, and moving, not being able (see *yada*-below in 7.3.3.4). Sometimes they correspond to “adverbs”. For the conception of a verbal phrase, it is important that RELs share the same S/A and that they belong to the same verb type (transitive, intransitive). In the sentence above the verbs are all intransitive and share the same S (*Güçülük* achieved by pervious text).¹⁹³ Verbs added with converb suffixes represent “medial clauses” while the last verb with the finite tense suffix constitutes the finite clause (cf. “clause-chaining” Givón 1990: 865). The last closing clause is thus associated with the TAMC-domain, to which the medial clauses relate. Givón (1990: 891) notes: “When no provisions are made for an explicit “switch-reference” marking system, chain-medial clauses tend to be equi-subject or same subject (SS). They project cataphoric referential continuity in the subsequent clause.”

According to Schulze (1998: 493), serialization techniques are based on central mechanisms of cognition for processing information. These mechanisms are conditioned by preconceptual procedures of space-time interpretations. In other words, what is perceived earlier is processed earlier and is therefore in relation to what is later perceived and processed: ANTE-POST. Since scenes are not a one-to-one correspondence of event experiences, but instead undergo a reduction, they become a series of “fragments of non-linguistically constructed scenes” (Schulze 1998: 493) in their linguistic serialization according to the principle of space-time-relation and law of proximity-distance processing. In the literature several thoughts on issues dealing with a couple of verbs in sequential occurrence can be found. Haspelmath (2016: 296) defines a “serial verb construction” (SVC): “A serial verb construction is a monoclausal construction consisting of multiple independent verbs with no element linking them and with no predicate-argument relation between the verbs. [...]”. Aikhenvald & Dixon (2007: 1) see a serial verb construction as “a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any

¹⁹² For the sake of simplicity and for reasons of space, I have not specified all these subordinate heads in the examples. However, it should be emphasized that multiple hierarchical structures can occur in a verbal chain. In line with the definition of left-branching modifiers they can be seen as multiple non-paratactic modifiers.

¹⁹³ For the Zero S/A refer to the Chapter on “Simple Clauses” in 6.

overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort. Serial verb constructions describe what is conceptualized as a single event”. In both definitions of serial verb constructions, they emphasize the property of “construction” and monoclausality of several verbs occurring in a sequence whereby there should not be any overt marker of linking elements between the serialized verbs. According to this categorization, the verbal chain in the examples above does not belong to this type of verb chain, although in certain respects such as “construction” and subsuming of these verbs “single event” Converb Constructions (CC) are compatible with this definition. At these points, CCs are very similar to SVCs. Both construction types have a verbal chain structure, in which verbal elements are lined up. The integration of the involved verbal dimensions is a subject that has been discussed cross-linguistically and partially within the framework of “complex predicates”. In contrast to SCVs, linguistically expressing linking elements such as “converb markers” are present in CC (cf. “aggregation and integration” Raible 1992: 27–28).¹⁹⁴ The narrower they are in the linear order, the more closely they are related to the clause unity. This applies to the connection of subordinate sentences to each other, but also to matrix sentences. In the Middle Mongolian data, the verbs are connected by the converb markers overtly, if two or more verbs occur frequently they tend to coincide with each other’s domain on both sides of the linguistic sign which can result in a single verb integrating both meanings. On the expression side, they can coincide with respect to the rules of vowel harmony. In example (367) we do have a coincided verb *abčira-* ‘bring [something]’ where the *a* in *ira-* matches to the preceding *a* in *ab(u)-* vowel harmonically. In (368) *ire-* is modified by the verb *keyišjü-* which itself is modified by the preceding verb in a verb chain.

(367) SHM § 189

<i>teri’ü in-ü</i>	<i>hoqtol-ju</i>	<i>ab-č-ira-’ul-ju</i>
head 3SG.OBL-GEN	cut.off-C.IPFV	take-C.IPFV-come-CAUS-C.IPFV
	MODIF	HEAD
		VP

‘[She] had him cut off and bring back his head.’ (IDR 110, mod.)

(368) SHM § 31

noqu-t qalawu-d-un ödiin hüsiin an-u
 duck-PL goose-PL-GEN feather fluff 3PL.OBL-GEN

<i>burqaliq časun metü</i>	<i>butara-ju</i>	<i>keyi-s-jü</i>	<i>ire-mü</i>
swirling snow like	scatter-C.IPFV	wind-VR-C.IPFV	come-PRES
	MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
		VP	

‘the fluff and feathers of the ducks and geese [caught by his hawk] are scattered and fly over here like swirling snow.’ (IDR 6, mod.)

The relational structure between subordinated modifying and adverbial clauses can have different values of meaning regarding the matrix sentences (e.g. and, then, because, in order to, when etc. cf. “clause linking” Dixon 2009: 2). A cognitively important distinctive property between the subordinated clause

¹⁹⁴ The phenomenon “verb serialization” is defined by Givón (1991: 137): “An event/state that one language codes as a simple clause with a single verb, is coded in another language as a complex clause with two or more verbs”.

and a matrix clause is achieved in terms of the “focal clause” and “supporting clause” (cf. Dixon 2009: 3). In a syntactic analysis, a distinction is usually made between a “main clause” and “non-main clause”, which is subordinated to the main clause. In the present work, the main clause corresponds to the matrix sentence and the supporting clause to the backgrounding and modifying clauses whose subordination is expressed by converbalizers related to the matrix clause. Poppe (2006: 95) states that converbs do not serve as a predicate of the complex sentence, but only as an attribute of the verb, indicating the manner in which the action is performed, or as a logical predicate of the subordinated clauses in European languages. Within the category of converb there are different types of subordinate clauses (see Converb Types in Chapter “TAMC” in 5.3.2). Some of these types of the category “genuine converb” (Poppe 2006: 95) show their historical nominalization such as cases (more obviously C.TERM, C.FIN). Subordinated clauses can have zero subordination conjunction with a gerundive (cf. Talmy 2000a: 355: *Having stopped at the store, she went home* or *Feeling tired, they stayed home*).

In the next section, I would like to discuss so-called “analytical forms” of verbs which are a combined predicate of a sentence. This term was used in most modern linguistic models dealing with patterns such as V-Auxiliaries. On the surface, they can be considered a construction. The interesting question on this issue is to ask how these kinds of constructions can be explored from a cognitive linguistic point of view. To approach the question, it is important to analyze the types of all corresponding verbs regarding the coincided phrase construction due to the dynamicity and semantic coincidences of verbs as expressions of EIs in terms of usage and frequency. First, we look at the most frequent VP consisting of modifying (qualificatory) verbs and their head from the category “existential verbs”. After dealing with this, we will look at the other verbs which also frequently occur as heads within the corpus data.

7.2.2 LOC-Incorporation

A subordinate clause is backgrounding information expressing manner/path (LOC) and modifies the matrix clause. Because of the syntactic proximity between the subordinate/modifying clause and the matrix clause, a unification of these two takes place, resulting in a phrasal unit. The background scene is incorporated into the foreground scene via locality (cf. “Background Incorporation” or “Amalgamierung” Schulze 2015/16: 44). In a German sentence, there are manner/path clauses expressing the method of the act like *die Flasche öffnen* ‘open the bottle’ in order to target it. Such manner/path clauses are achieved in Middle Mongolian by different types of converbalizers, in particular modal (C.MOD) and imperfective converbs (C.IPFV). Compare e.g. German (ibid): *Die Frau öffnete die Flasche, indem sie einen Korkenzieher benutzte* ‘The woman opened the bottle by using a corkscrew’. The whole sentence consists of a Target clause (or Main Clause) *Die Frau öffnete die Flasche* ‘The woman opened the bottle’, Manner clause *Sie benutzte einen Korkenzieher* ‘She used a corkscrew’, and a connector *indem* ‘in that’ or ‘by’ which shows the container semantics of a part/whole-relation. This part of the whole (the subordination) can be integrated into the backgrounding domain of an event relation because of the close connection of LOC or O-domain with the verbal relator. For example, in the A→O relation there is a O-incorporation (e.g. *radfahren, staubsaugen*) into the domain of the verbal relator. In such cases, the type of verb tends to change (the original V_T becomes V_I so that S/LOC as a non-dynamic event relation results). Schulze (1998: 463 and 101) hypothesizes that the weakness of the

E-domain (here, the O, LOC in a corresponding intransitive schemata construction) is a result of the agency-dominated scene architecture. Fillmore argues that “an argument is obligatorily left out of the surface structure because it is subsumed as a part of the meaning of the predicate” (cf. Fillmore 1971: 379): *He ate dinner* vs. *He dined*. In the second examples *dine* doesn’t allow a direct object (in this work O).

This applies not only in the basic schematic structure of the simple clause, but also for the relational structure of a complex event relational structure where at least two EIs are connected. In Middle Mongolian, there are two types of techniques to make this locality incorporation into the verbal relational range: converbalizers and the participilizer¹⁹⁵. In constructions in which the number of verb elements occurs in a sequence/chain in the linearization having the same S/A, they tend to be considered a unit forming a VP. Due to the nominalization property of converb types (see Chapter on “TAMC” in 5.3.2) and participles we can assume this kind of backgrounded locality to be nominalized or referential EIs.

In the following section I will concentrate on verbs in a chain connected by converbalizers and participilizers. First, the periphrastic VP with existential verbs will be treated.

7.3 Periphrastic Verb Phrases

In a verbal phrase construction consisting of modifying and head elements, there are two possibilities to determine the head as the central element of a VP. According to Anderson (2006: 30), auxiliary verbs can be defined as follows: “auxiliary verbs can be considered to be an element that in combination with a lexical verb forms a monoclausal verb phrase with some degree of (lexical) semantic bleaching that performs some more or less definable grammatical function [...]” (Anderson 2006: 4–5). It is emphasized that cross-linguistically the most widespread functions of AVCs are to encode categories such as time, aspect, and mood (cf. Anderson 2006: 30). With respect to the definition of the head of the VP, there are two main types: the AUX-headed pattern and LEX-headed pattern (cf. Anderson 2006).

In Middle Mongolian, the main functional category (TAMC) is marked on the last closing or finite predicate that can be expressed by existential verbs. Periphrastic VPs can be shown in the following patterns: V.C-AUX.FIN in (369) and V.P-AUX.FIN in (370). Modifying elements (MODIF) can be achieved through morphological techniques such as with the converbalizer and participilizer. The head of such construction-like units consists of existential verbs *a-* ‘live, exist’ (see 7.3.1.1), *bü-/bö-* ‘be’ (see 7.3.1.2), *bayyi-* ‘be, stay’ (see 7.3.1.3), *bol-* ‘become’ (see 7.3.1.4). Although the existential verbs function as heads of their VPs, they can have a supporting function in terms of TAMC. They can thus be called “AUX”.

Morphological Techniques	Modifier	Head
Converbalizers	MODIF	AUX
Participilizer	MODIF	AUX

Table 38: Morphological Techniques as Connector of Event Image Chaining

¹⁹⁵ Glossed as P.IPFV or P.PFV in the present work, it means the suffixes in their functional sense.

In example (369) *unu-* modifies the *bü-*. Literally it can be translated as Činggis Qahan was there, where [he] was riding Ĵosotuboro. In example (370) we can observe the same modifying function in *asara-* related to *bü-*. In both sentences, the subordinated modifying clauses are dependent on the TAMC which is expressed mostly by the finite verb *bü-*.¹⁹⁶ The underlying two simple clauses with the verb relator *unu-* ‘ride’ and *bü-* ‘be’ are gathered into one single unit: *Činggis Qahan was there, where he rode his steed Ĵosotuboro*.

(369) SHM § 265

<i>Činggis qahan Ĵosotu-boro-yi</i>	<i>unu-ĵu</i>	<i>bü-le’e</i>
Činggis qahan Ĵosotu-boro-ACC	ride-C.IPFV	be-PST
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘Činggis Qahan was riding [his steed] Ĵosotu Boro’ (IDR 196, mod.)

(370) SHM § 181

ĵe qan ečige bidan-u
yes qan father 1PL.INC.OBL-GEN

<i>bida qoyar-i sača’u</i>	<i>asara-qu</i>	<i>bü-le’e</i>
1PL.INC two-ACC equal	look.after-P.IPFV	be-PST
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘Indeed, our father the Qan has been looking after both of us equally.’ (IDR 103, mod.; cf. FWC 109)

Because of the intransitive schematization of the verb *bü-* having a non-dynamic relational structure, those constructions can be considered “continuous” in time reference (cf. English present and past continuous etc.). In combination with the connector verbalizer, we have a more verb-like event connection (cf. *Činggis Qahan was there, where he rode his steed Ĵosotuboro*). In constructions with the connector participilizer, we have a more noun or referent-like event connection. *Indeed, our father the Qahan was someone who looked after both of us equally*. In the first example, there is a manner expressing LOC-clause while in the second one, an attributive modifier to the referential unit, in this case the father, the Qahan, can be observed.

7.3.1 Existential Verbs as Auxiliaries

Presently, grammarians consider existential verbs in many languages to be AUXs having some supporting function due to their time, aspect and modality category. Because of their frequent occurrence together with other lexical verbs in the form of sequences, showing thus a patterned structure, they are seen as “constructions”¹⁹⁷ (Goldberg 1995: 4). In Middle Mongolian the data show the same

¹⁹⁶ Here, the category of Certainty in the domain of TAMC is not only expressed by finite tense markers. It can be expressed by other additional affirmation particles such as *ĵe* ‘yes’ in terms of “surely, indeed” and so on (see Chapter 5.3.4 on “TAMC”).

¹⁹⁷ In the case of Middle Mongolian VP constructions, I am using an extended definition by stating that the individual elements (here, modifying and head verb) certainly have their own prototypical semantics, which can be more or less reflected in the composition in terms of the surrounding components (according to proximity and similarity principle) so that there is a close relation between the parts of the whole.

construction-like patterns that can be achieved also by the four types of copulas (COP) that occur in a verb chain as a finite closing verb.¹⁹⁸ The first three of them, *a-*, *bü-/bö-*, and *bayyi-/bai-* belong to the non-dynamic intransitive schematization from the verb category <BE> with different semantic subtleties. This results in an interesting question: How can they be considered so-called AUXs in the world's languages and why do they occur frequently in the final clause position? To approach these questions, cognitive schematic basic underlying structures such as backgrounding and foregrounding schematization of information processing should be taken into account.

In one of the typical patterns in terms of VP-like structures, we have numerous verbs occurring in a sequence where each preceding verb modifies the immediately following verb. Because of their similarity and due to the shared SS these verbs tend to blend in the side of both the signifié as well as the signifiant (cf. vowel harmonic adaptation from *ire-* to *ira-* in *abčira-* 'bring' in 7.3.2.6). Semantically, this results in a blended single EI consisting of more than two EIs in a multiple event referential modifying locality structure. The COP expressing an existential meaning occurs frequently in a so-called finite and complex sentence closing EI. This is marked by the suffixes from TAMC. The whole construction can be visualized as depicted in Figure 33.

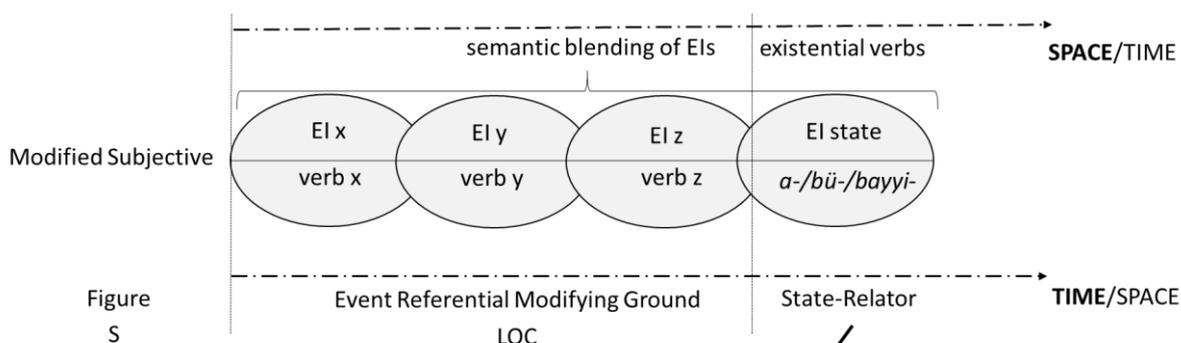


Figure 33: Event Referential Modifying Locality with Non-Dynamic Relators *a-/bü-/bayyi-*

From the corpus data, it can be seen that only certain types of EI connectors allow VP-like constructions. These types are the imperfective converbalizer (C.IPFV), the modal converbalizer (C.MOD) and the imperfective (P.IPFV) as well as the perfective participilizer (P.PFV). In the case of other types of converbalizers, the unification of the EIs is hindered by either an SS-switch or by different space/time localizations, cf. example (371). Here, the C.TERM (consisting of nominalizer *tel-* and dative *-e*, cf. Chapter on “Basic Typology of Verb Formation” in 5.3.2.1.3) expresses the locality that does not belong to the VP in the narrower sense, despite the backgrounding manner/LOC-modification and having the same subject. Just like in (371) verbs in a chain with DS showing the multiple manner/LOC-modification in subordination can be found in example (372). In this case, the dative locative *-tür* case marks the subordination which corresponds to ‘when, as, where, by where’ in English.

¹⁹⁸ See investigation on Copulas by Pustet (2003).

(371) SHM § 218

či uruq-un uruq-a gür-tele mede-ǰü ülü-'ü a-qu
 2SG offspring-GEN offspring-DAT reach-C.TERM know-C.IPFV NEG-Q live-P.IPFV
 ‘you will be in charge of them to the offspring of [your] offspring, won’t you?’ (IDR 149)

(372) SHM § 67

Tatar irgen qurim-la-n bü-küi-tür ǰolqa-ǰu umdās-ču
 Tatar people feast-VR-C.MOD be-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC meet-C.IPFV thirst-C.IPFV
 ‘[Yisügei Ba’atur] met some Tatar people when they were having a feast.’ (IDR 16, mod.)

In the following section I will focus on the construction of verbs in a chain that is related to a matrix-verb with existential meanings and connected by the above-mentioned types of converbalizer and participilizer as this pattern occurs most frequently. Due to the complex multiple sub-locality structures, just the immediately preceding modifiers are treated concerning the head-verb. For reasons of clarity and comprehensibility the four existential verbs have been investigated only when they occur as finite verbs, (AUX.FIN, see all finite tense markers in the Chapter on “TAMC” in 5.3.4) although, they can certainly also appear as modifying verbs. The affected verbs are marked in bold.

7.3.1.1 a-

Out of all VP constructions with *a-* ‘live, exist’ in finite predication, 36,36 % of the constructions consist of modifying clauses (immediately preceding verbs) and heads (matrix-clauses) that are connected by the imperfective converbalizer *-ǰu/-ǰü-/ču-/čü-*, cf. examples (373) to (377). This is the second most frequent connector in a VP construction.

(373) SHM § 260

<i>ba olon ere aqta čin-u</i>	<i>bayas-ču</i>	<i>maqai-ǰu</i>	<i>a-mui</i>
1PL.EXC many man gelding 2SG.OBL-GEN	rejoin-C.IPFV	be.content.with-C.IPFV	be-PRES
	MODIF	MODIF VP	HEAD

‘We, your many men and geldings are rejoicing [and] are content with ourselves.’ (IDR 192, mod.; cf. FWC 201)

(374) SHM § 198

<i>Erdis-ün Buqdurma huǰa’ur-a qam-tu-t-ču</i>	<i>čerig-i-yen</i>	<i>ǰasa-ǰu</i>	<i>a-ǰu’ui</i>
Erdis-GEN Buqdurma source-DAT together-ORN-VR-C.IPFV	troop-ACC-POSS	array-C.IPFV	be-PST
		MODIF VP	HEAD

‘[They] came together at the Buqdurma source of the Erdis [River] and were arraying their troops.’ (IDR 125, mod.)

(375) SHM § 254

<i>bi ber uridu-s-i ülü uda’ara-kuy-ača</i>	<i>umarta-ǰu</i>	<i>a-ǰu’u</i>
1SG INS front-PL-ACC NEG follow-P.IPFV-ABL	forget-C.IPFV	be-PST
	MODIF VP	HEAD

‘I [also] was forgetting, as if I would not follow the forefathers.’ (IDR 182, mod.)

(376) SHM § 80

<i>Tayyiči'ut</i>	saki-ju	a-ju'u
Tayyiči'ut	keep.watch-C.IPFV	be-PST
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

'the Tayyiči'ut were keeping a watch' (IDR 23)

(377) SHM § 149

<i>ežen ügei nuntuq-tur</i>	qočor-ču	a-mui
lord NEG.EX camp-DAT.LOC	remain.behind-C.IPFV	be-PRES
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

'He is remaining behind in an encampment without a lord' (FWC 77)

In examples (378) to (386) the event clauses are connected by the modal verbalizer *-n*. This type of connection is the most frequent one in this VP construction, making up 43,18 % of all connections. This type of connector expresses the real manner/path. The corresponding translation into English would be 'where, by where, in which, by' or through the pattern 'be.(NON)PST-V.ing'. *Ĵamuqa was advancing* in (378), *Ong Qan was feasting* in (379).

(378) SHM § 170

<i>Ĵamuqa Ong qan-lu'a qam-tu</i>	<i>ayisu-lča-ju</i>	ayisu-n	a-ju'ui
Ĵamuqa Ong qan-COM together-ORN	advance-CO-C.IPFV	advance	be-PST
	MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
	VP		

'Ĵamuqa was advancing together with Ong Qan.' (IDR 90)

(379) SHM § 184

<i>Ong qan altan terme</i>	<i>bos-qa-ju</i>	<i>genet</i>	qurim-la-n	a-ju'ui
Ong qan golden tent.of.thin.wooden.cloth	rise-FAC-C.IPFV	suddenly	feast-VR-C.MOD	be-PST
			MODIF	HEAD
			VP	

'Ong Qan had set up his golden tent of thin wooden cloth and was feasting, not suspecting anything.' (IDR 105)

Because of the basic semantics of *a-* in the sense of 'live', 'exist', or just 'be' (only applies to human beings), in some cases the lexical modifying verbs define the overall meaning of the VP (semantic blending of EIs in LOC-incorporation) like *meden aba* 'lived (by) knowing(=ruling)' into 'ruled' in (380) and *tanin aju'u* 'lived (by) recognizing' into 'recognized' in (381).

(380) SHM § 52

<i>Senggüm-bilge-yin kö'ün Ambaqai-qahan qamuq Mongqol-i</i>	mede-n	a-ba
Senggüm-bilge-GEN son Ambaqai-qahan all Mongqol-ACC	know-C.MOD	be-PST
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

'Ambaqai Qahan, the son of Senggüm Bilge became the ruler of all the Mongols.' (IDR 10, mod.)

(381) SHM § 67

<i>te-de</i>	<i>Tatar</i>	<i>tani-n</i>	<i>a-ju'u</i>
DIST-PL	Tatar	recognize-C.MOD	be-PST
		MODIF	HEAD
		VP	

‘Those Tatars recognized [him].’ (IDR 16, mod.)

The existential verb *a-* occurs often with the motion verb *ayisu-* ‘approach, advance’ cf. *nekežü ayisun aju'ui* ‘was approaching (by) pursuing’ in (382), *newüžü ayisun aju'u* ‘was approaching (by) moving’ in (383).

(382) SHM § 170

<i>Ong qan tere</i>	<i>neke-žü</i>	<i>ayisu-n</i>	<i>a-ju'ui</i>
Ong qan DIST	pursue-C.IPFV	approach-C.MOD	be-PST
	MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
		VP	

‘Ong Qan, that one, was drawing near, pursuing [us]’ (FWC 95, mod.)

(383) SHM § 9

Burqan-qaldun-nu eže-t Burqan-bosqaqsan Šinči-bayyan Uriyangqai-tur
 Burqan-qaldun-GEN lord-PL Burqan-bosqaqsan Šinči-rich Uriyangqai-DAT.LOC

<i>newü-žü</i>	<i>ayisu-n</i>	<i>a-ju'u</i>
move-C.IPFV	come-C.MOD	be-PST
MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘[Saying] “the land of Burqan Qaldun was good, and it was suitable for game hunting, he was [now] moving into [the territory of] the Uriyangqai, Burqan Bosqaqsan and Šinči Bayyan, lords of [mountain] Burqan Qaldun.’ (IDR 2, mod.; cf. FWC 2)

In (384), the modifying verb *ayisu-* with its head *a-* is modified itself by *ayisu-* in *ayisulčaju ayisun aju'u* ‘Ĵamuqa was approaching (by) advancing together with Ong Qan’ whereas the main action *aju'u* of *sayin nökör* ‘good companion’ is event-modified by *mungtanižu ayisun* ‘coming/approaching (closer) exhausting’ in (385).

(384) SHM § 170

<i>Ĵamuqa Ong qan-lu'a qam-tu</i>	<i>ayisu-lča-žu</i>	<i>ayisu-n</i>	<i>a-ju'ui</i>
Ĵamuqa Ong qan-COM together-ORN	advance-CO-C.IPFV	approach-C.MOD	be-PST
	MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
		VP	

‘Ĵamuqa was advancing together with Ong Qan.’ (IDR 90)

(385) SHM § 93

<i>sayin nökö-r</i>	<i>mungtani-žu</i>	<i>ayisu-n</i>	<i>a-ju'u</i>
good match-NR	exhaust-C.IPFV	come.to-C.MOD	be-PST
	MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
		VP	

‘A good companion was coming to me exhausted (=in trouble).’ (IDR 28, mod.)

Another VP construction with *a-* modified by motion events such as in *iren* ‘was coming’ which by itself is modified by the verb *oron* ‘entering (=flowing into)’ is represented in (386). Here, we have a SS-switch in the subordinated clauses.

(386) SHM § 88

<i>hörön-eče</i>	<i>Kimurqa-qoroqan</i>	<i>oro-ju</i>	<i>ire-n</i>	<i>a-ju'u</i>
west-ABL	Kimurqa-stream	come.in-C.IPFV	come-C.MOD	be-PST
		MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
		VP		

‘the Kimurqa Stream flowing into [it] from the west’ (IDR 26, mod.; cf. UO 28)

In some cases, where the basic verb *a-* is incorporated into the domain of LOC-referentialization (subordinate locality clauses), the translation could be more nominalized in English such as *tenggeri itqan aquyū* ‘warning from Heaven’ in (387).

(387) SHM § 80

<i>tenggeri</i>	<i>itqa-n</i>	<i>a-qu-yū</i>
heaven	warn-C.IPFV	be-P.IPFV-Q
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘Is this a warning from Heaven?’ (IDR 23)

According to time references, *a-* can be used as an AUX to mark the memorized event (past tense and speaker certainty *-ju'u*, see Chapter 5.3.3 on “Finite Tense Markers”), where the modifying verb *tülešilen* in (388) and *ješin* in (389) take over the meaning of the whole VP.

(388) SHM § 177

<i>e-de</i>	<i>či</i>	<i>bidan-i</i>	<i>tüleši-le-n</i>	<i>a-ju'u</i>
PROX-PL	2SG	1PL.INC.OBL-ACC	burn-VR-C.MOD	be-PST
			MODIF	HEAD
			VP	

‘These here had made burnt [offering] of you and us.’¹⁹⁹ (UO 73, mod.)

(389) SHM § 111

<i>qun</i>	<i>toqura'un-i</i>	<i>ide-sü</i>	<i>ke'e-n</i>	<i>ješi-n</i>	<i>a-ju'u</i>
swan	crane-ACC	eat-VOL	say-C.MOD	repent-C.MOD	be-PST
			MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
			VP		

‘He repented by saying “[the bad bird, the buzzard, though fated to eat rats and mice,] [I] wished to eat swan and crane.”’ (UO 39, mod.)

EIs can be also connected by the imperfective (5,68 %) and perfective participilizer (14,77 %). In such cases, the literal translation corresponds to relative clauses in English with a relative clause pronominalization such as *talbiqsat aju'u* ‘those who had left’ in (390) or in the imperfective sense

¹⁹⁹ “They certainly treat us like burnt offerings *at the sacrifice for the dead*,” (cf. IDR 99); “These here look upon us as if we were burnt-offerings” (FWC 105).

dayyisurqan aju'u 'He [was someone] who had rebelled/turned against' which can be simplified to 'He has turned against [...]' in (391).

(390) SHM § 145:

<i>ge'ü-d-i-yen</i>	<i>ülü sa'a-n</i>	<i>talbi-qa-t</i>	<i>a-ju'u</i>
mare-PL-ACC-POSS	NEG milk-C.MOD	leave-P.PFV-PL	be-PST
		MODIF	HEAD
		VP	

'those who had left the mares without milking them.' (IDR 66, mod.)

(391) SHM § 276

<i>mün aqa</i>	<i>gü'ün-ü</i>	<i>ebče'ün-tür</i>	<i>dayyisu-r-qan</i>	<i>a-ju'u</i>
same elder.brother	man-GEN	bosom-DAT.LOC	enemy-VR-P.IPFV	be-PST
			MODIF	HEAD
			VP	

'He has turned against the bosom of a person who is senior to him.' (IDR 207)

In summary, it can be concluded that the pattern C.MOD-AUX.FIN is the most common occurrence of the VP construction with existential verbs and AUX followed by V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN.

Types of Connector in VP with <i>a-</i>	Frequency
V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN	43,18 %
V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN	36,36 %
V.P.PFV-AUX.FIN	14,77 %
V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN	5,68 %

Table 39: Pattern of VP with *a-* as AUX

Table 40 presents all patterns of VP constructions with the verb *a-* in a finite clause.

Modifying Verbs	Head	Types of Connector
<i>abu-n</i>	<i>a-tuqai</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>abu-n</i>	<i>a-tuqai</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>amara'ali-n</i>	<i>a-ldu-bai</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>aqala-ju</i>	<i>ülü'ü a-qun</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>aqala-ju</i>	<i>a-tuqai</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>aqala-ju</i>	<i>a-tuqai</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>a-qsan</i>	<i>a-ju'u</i>	V.P.PFV-AUX.FIN
<i>asara-'ulu-qsan</i>	<i>a-ju'u</i>	V.P.PFV-AUX.FIN
<i>ayisu-n</i>	<i>a-ju'u</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>ayisu-n</i>	<i>a-ju'u</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>ayisu-n</i>	<i>a-ju'ui</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>ayisu-n</i>	<i>a-ju'ui</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>ayu-ju</i>	<i>a-la'ai</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>berke-šiyen</i>	<i>a-ju'u</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>berke-šiyen</i>	<i>a-ju'u</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>bol-qa-n</i>	<i>a-qu-yü</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>bolu-n</i>	<i>a-ju'u</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>bolu-n</i>	<i>a-tuqai</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>büšire-ksen</i>	<i>a-ju'u</i>	V.P.PFV-AUX.FIN
<i>butara-'ul-ča-ju</i>	<i>a-tuqai</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN

Modifying Verbs	Head	Types of Connector
<i>dayyiji-n</i>	<i>a-ju'u</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>dayyisu-rqa-n</i>	<i>a-ju'u</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>ese-n</i>	<i>a-tuqai</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>eye-tii-ldii-ju</i>	<i>a-tqun</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>eye-tii-ldii-ju</i>	<i>a-tqun</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>eye-tii-ldii-ju</i>	<i>a-tuqai</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>ile-n</i>	<i>a-tqun</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>ire-kse-t</i>	<i>a-ju'u</i>	V.P.PFV-AUX.FIN
<i>ire-n</i>	<i>a-ju'u</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>itqa-n</i>	<i>a-qu-yu</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>itqa-n</i>	<i>a-qu-yu</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>ja'aqa-qsan</i>	<i>a-ju'u</i>	V.P.PFV-AUX.FIN
<i>jasa-ju</i>	<i>a-ju'ui</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>jesi-n</i>	<i>a-ju'u</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>jesi-n</i>	<i>a-ju'u</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>joki-qui</i>	<i>a-ji'ai</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>ke'e-ju</i>	<i>a-mu</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>ke'e-ldii-ksen</i>	<i>a-ju'u</i>	V.P.PFV-AUX.FIN
<i>ke'e-ldii-ksen</i>	<i>a-ju'u</i>	V.P.PFV-AUX.FIN
<i>ke'e-ldii-ksen</i>	<i>a-ju'u</i>	V.P.PFV-AUX.FIN
<i>ke'e-n</i>	<i>a-qun-u</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>kele-le-n</i>	<i>a-tuqai</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>kele-le-n</i>	<i>a-tqun</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>kiling-la-ju</i>	<i>a-qui</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>kiling-la-ju</i>	<i>a-mu</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>kiling-la-ju</i>	<i>a-mu</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>mali'a-n</i>	<i>a-suqai</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>maqai-ju</i>	<i>a-mui</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>mede-ju</i>	<i>a-tuqai</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>mede-ju</i>	<i>a-ju'u</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>mede-kiin</i>	<i>a-ju'ui</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>mede-n</i>	<i>a-ba</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>mede-n</i>	<i>a-ba</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>mede-n</i>	<i>a-qsan</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>naita-qda-n</i>	<i>a-ju'u</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>nitulu-n</i>	<i>a-bai</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>nokci-n</i>	<i>a-ba</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>odu-qsan</i>	<i>a-ju'u</i>	V.P.PFV-AUX.FIN
<i>odu-qsan</i>	<i>a-ju'u</i>	V.P.PFV-AUX.FIN
<i>ok-de-ksen</i>	<i>a-ju'u</i>	V.P.PFV-AUX.FIN
<i>oro-ju</i>	<i>a-mu</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>qaqa-lda-ju</i>	<i>a-qda-ju'u</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>qara-n</i>	<i>a-ju'u</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>qara-qu</i>	<i>a-ju'u</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>qocor-cu</i>	<i>a-mui</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>qocor-cu</i>	<i>a-mu</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>qona-n</i>	<i>a-tuqai</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>qurim-la-n</i>	<i>a-ju'ui</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>quriya-ju</i>	<i>a-qsan</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>saki-ju</i>	<i>a-ju'u</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN

Modifying Verbs	Head	Types of Connector
<i>saki-ǰu</i>	<i>a-tuqai</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>sengtere-ǰü</i>	<i>a-mu</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>seri-’ülü-lǰe-ǰü</i>	<i>a-ya</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>talbi-’ul-ǰu</i>	<i>a-’ul-ba</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>talbi-qa-t</i>	<i>a-ǰu’u</i>	V.P.PFV-AUX.FIN
<i>tani-n</i>	<i>a-ǰu’u</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>te’e-ǰü</i>	<i>a-mu</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>te’e-ǰü</i>	<i>a-mu</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>töde’e-ǰü</i>	<i>a-ba</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>töre-gü</i>	<i>a-ǰu’u</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>tüle-ši-le-n</i>	<i>a-ǰu’u</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>tüle-ši-le-n</i>	<i>a-ǰu’u</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>ügü-le-n</i>	<i>a-ǰu’u</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>üǰe-ǰü</i>	<i>a-mu</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>üǰe-ksen</i>	<i>a-ǰu’u</i>	V.P.PFV-AUX.FIN
<i>umarta-ǰu</i>	<i>a-ǰu’u</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>umtara-ǰu</i>	<i>a-ǰu’u</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>uqa-ǰu</i>	<i>a-tuqai</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN

Table 40: VPs with the Existential Verb *a-* as final Head

7.3.1.2 *bü-/bö-*

While the usage of the verb *a-* is restricted to the existence of human beings, *bü-* represents ‘existence’ for both human and non-human entities. It has a more general meaning of ‘being’ (see further arguments for the differentiation between these two verbs in Ozawa 1965: 112). The form *bö-* is only used in certain cases where it occurs more grammaticalized as a VP-head. The first one is *bö-’esü* be-C.COND (78,95 % of all *bö-* as Head in a VP) meaning ‘if’, cf. SHM § 149 *irekset bö’esü* ‘If [you] had come’, SHM § 179 *tani qat boluqsan bö’esü* ‘If you become Qans’, SHM § 214 *kituqai ese aldaqsan bö’esü* ‘if the knife had not been dropped’, SHM § 155 *egeči činu čimadača sayin büksen bö’esü* ‘If your elder sister is better than you’, *či ayu’ulqu bö’esü* ‘If you must frighten [me]’ in (392), *Senggümi ese širqaqsan bö’esü* ‘Had Senggüm not been wounded’ in (393), and *gü’ünne ese ökteksen bö’esü* ‘If [she] has not already been given to anyone’ in (394).

(392) SHM § 177

<i>či</i>	<i>ayu-’ul-qu</i>	<i>bö-’esü</i>	<i>mawun kö’ü-d-i-yen</i>	<i>mawun</i>
2SG	frighten-CAUS-P.IPFV	be-C.COND	poor son-PL-ACC-POSS	poor
	MODIF	HEAD		
	VP			

berine-d-i-yen *nuyir kangqa-n* *yekin ülü* *ayu-’ulu* *či*
daughter.in.law-PL-ACC-POSS sleep satisfy-C.MOD why NEG frighten-CAUS 2SG

‘If you must frighten [me], why don’t you frighten me in such a way [at least] as to let your poor sons and poor daughters-in-law to have their fill of sleep?’ (IDR 96, mod.; cf. FWC 102)

(397) SHM § 200

<i>ala-ldu-qui</i>	<i>üdir a'ušgi jürüge-ben</i>	<i>ebet-gü</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	<i>či</i>
kill-REC-P.IPFV	day lung heart-POSS	ache-P.IPFV	be-PST	2SG
		MODIF	HEAD	
		VP		

‘The day when [in the field] the one killed the other, thou wast pained as to thy lungs and heart.’ (FWC 137).

The verb *bü-* can be modified by the other existential verb *a-* ‘be’ (more like live/exist) as in the VP *aqu büle'e* in (398) and the plural form *aqun büle'ei* in (399). In both cases, the preceding modifying verbs *huyaju* ‘leashing’ and *ji'an* ‘showing (=reporting)’ take the main TAMC property because of their semantic specification whereas the existential basic meanings of *a-* as well as of *bü-* are blended into the modifying verb semantics incl. expressing of TAMC.

(398) SHM § 195

Temüjin anda min-ü dörben noqai-s-i gü'ün-nü miqa-'ar
 Temüjin sworn.friend 1SG.OBL-GEN four dog-PL-ACC man-GEN flesh-INS

<i>teji'e-jü</i>	<i>ginji-le-jü</i>	<i>huya-ju</i>	<i>a-qu</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>
feed-C.IPFV	iron.chain-VR-C.IPFV	leash-C.IPFV	be-P.IPFV	be-PST
MODIF	MODIF	MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
		VP		

‘My sworn friend Temüjin has been leashing ‘four hounds’ with iron chains by feeding them on human flesh.’ (IDR 119, mod.)

(399) SHM § 216

e-de dörben üje-ksen-i-yen sonosu-qsan-i-yan
 PROX-PL four see-P.PFV-ACC-POSS hear-P.PFV-ACC-POSS

<i>ülü</i>	<i>ni'u-n</i>	<i>qabči-n</i>	<i>ji'a-n</i>	<i>a-qun</i>	<i>bü-le'ei</i>
NEG	hide-C.MOD	conceal-C.MOD	show-C.MOD	be-P.IPFV	be-PST
	MODIF	MODIF	MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
		VP			

‘these four, without hiding or concealing, have always reported to me what they saw and heard’ (IDR 148)

In (400), *bü-* occurs with with motion verb *yabu-* (see *yabu-* as head below 7.3.2.1). Here it also comes with a past ‘progressive/durative’ meaning in the VP which refers to the most specifying verb *setkiju* ‘thinking’.

(400) SHM § 208

<i>Jürcedey-yi ündür a'ula-yin nemüre metü</i>	<i>setki-jü</i>	<i>yabu-qu</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	<i>bi</i>
Jürcedey-yi high mountain-GEN shelter like	think-C.IPFV	go-P.IPFV	be-PST	1SG
	MODIF	MODIF	HEAD	
		VP		

‘I constantly thought of Jürcedey as if he were the shelter [afforded] by a high mountain.’ (IDR 140)

In the narration, the past tense marker *-lee* in *bülee* in combination with P.IPFV, which is added to modifying verbs, can be neutralized in the time references. Rather, the certainty of a speaker is in focus (cf. *lee-* “attestive past” Street 2009: 131; “confirmative form” Rybatzki 2003: 75, see more on “Finite Tense Marker”). The whole VP has a more generic or habitual semantics (at least when Činggis qahan

was alive or in his lifetime). The decree which Činggis Qahan ordered in (401) (*ke'erün üyyile ke'ere gü noyalaqu büle'e* 'The field matters should be decided in the field') was remembered or advised by Mönggei from among the princes, and Alčidai, Qongqortai, ǰanggi and other commanders from among the commanders to the Batu Qahan.

(401) SHM § 277

<i>ke'er-ün</i>	<i>üyyile</i>	<i>ke'er-e</i>	<i>gü</i>	<i>noya-la-qu</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>
field-GEN	act	field-DAT	even	lord-VR-P.IPFV	be-PST
				MODIF	HEAD
				VP	

'field matters should be decided in the field' (IDR 207)

A hypothetical meaning in the past time reference is expressed in the VP consisting of *bülee* and *gürgeqü* connected by the imperfective participilizer in (402). This hypothetical meaning of the whole matrix sentence is caused by the subordinate conditional clause *kituqai ese aldaqsan bö'esü* 'If the knife had not dropped'.

(402) SHM § 214

kituqai ese alda-qsan bö'esü ǰetei ǰelme qoyar-i gür-čü
knife NEG draw-P.PFV be-C.COND ǰetei ǰelme two-ACC reach-C.IPFV

<i>ire-tele</i>	<i>kö'ün-ü</i>	<i>amin-tur</i>	<i>qor</i>	<i>ülü-'ü</i>	<i>gür-ge-gü</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>
come-C.TERM	son-GEN	life-DAT.LOC	harm	NEG-Q	reach-FAC-P.IPFV	be-PST
				MODIF	HEAD	
				VP		

'if the knife had not dropped, wouldn't have done harm to the child's life before ǰetei and ǰelme arrived?' (IDR 147)

Together with resultative EIs, *bü-* merges into a resultative meaning where its past attestive meaning of *-lee* applies to the entire VP, although the verbs are connected by the C.IPFV cf. (403).

(403) SHM § 43

<i>tere</i>	<i>Qabiči-ba'atur-un</i>	<i>eke-yin</i>	<i>inje</i>	<i>ire-ksen-i</i>	<i>Bodončar</i>	<i>tata-ju</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>
DIST	Qabiči-ba'atur-GEN	mother-GEN	dowry	come-P.PFV-ACC	Bodončar	pull-C.IPFV	be-PST
						MODIF	HEAD
						VP	

'Bodončar [also] took (lit. pulled) [as concubine a housemaid] of Qabiči Ba'atur's mother, who had come as dowry.' (IDR 8)

Unlike in (403), a past continuous is one of the main usages of the VP construction with *bü-* as head such as *unuju büle'e* 'was riding' in (404). The third most frequent type of *bü-* as head of finite predication is V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN. It makes up 18,27 % of all such VP patterns.

(404) SHM § 265

<i>Činggis qahan Ĵosotu-boro-yi</i>	<i>unu-ĵu</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>
Činggis qahan Ĵosotu-boro-ACC	ride-C.IPFV	be-PST
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘Činggis Qahan was riding [his steed] Ĵosotu Boro.’ (IDR 196, mod.)

The second most frequent type is the C.MOD-AUX.FIN, accounting for 24,04 %, cf. examples *bayyin büle'e* ‘was holding’ in (405) and *ügülekden büle'ei* ‘being spoken’ in (406).

(405) SHM § 131

<i>Činggis qahan-nu aqta</i>	<i>bari-ĵu</i>	<i>bayyi-n</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>
Činggis qahan-GEN gelding	hold-C.IPFV	be-C.MOD	be-PST
	MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
	VP		

‘[Belgütei] was holding Činggis Qahan’s gelding [ready]’ (IDR 55, mod.)

(406) SHM § 256

<i>Aša-gambu-da ker e-yin</i>	<i>ügü-le-kde-n</i>	<i>bü-le'ei</i>
Aša-gambu-DAT how PROX-GEN	word-VR-PASS-C.MOD	be-PST
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘How can we [bear] being spoken to in this manner by Aša Gambu?’ (IDR 189)

Table 41 summarizes the types of the connector in VP with *bü-* as head and their frequency of occurrence.

Types of Connector in VP with <i>bü-</i>	Frequency
V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN	18,27 %
V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN	55,77 %
V.P.PFV-AUX.FIN	1,92 %
V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN	24,04 %

Table 41: Types and Frequency of Connectors in VP with *bü-* as final Head

The pattern type V.P.PFV-AUX.FIN is the least frequent one, cf. SHM §154 *erde üdüreče Tatar irgen ebüges ečigesi baraqsan büle'e* ‘From early days the Tatar have destroyed our fathers and forefathers’, SHM § 46 *Qačikülügün kö'ün Qaidu Nomolun ekedeče töreksen büle'e* ‘The son of Qačikülüg, Qaidu, was born of Mother Nomolun’.

In Table 42 a summary of all patterns of VP constructions with the existential verb *bü-* as head in the final clause construction can be found. This table does not include VP constructions with *bü-* in non-finite position, though.

Modifying Verb	Head	Types of Connector
<i>abč-ira-ĵu</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>ab-č-ira-ĵu</i>	<i>bü-le-'e</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>ab-qu-'ü</i>	<i>bü-le-'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>amu-qu</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN

Modifying Verb	Head	Types of Connector
<i>a-qu</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>a-qu</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>a-qun</i>	<i>bü-le'ei</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>a-qun</i>	<i>bü-le'ei</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>asara-qu</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>asara-qu</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>bara-qsan</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.PFV-AUX.FIN
<i>bara-qu</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>bara-qu</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>baruq</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>bayyi-n</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>bol-qa-qta-qun</i>	<i>bü-le'ei</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>bol-qa-qu</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>bol-qun</i>	<i>bü-le'ei</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>büile-kü</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>čitqu-n</i>	<i>bü-küi</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>daru-qu</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>denggeče-kün</i>	<i>bü-le'ei</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>ebet-gü</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>ebet-gü</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>ere-ǰü</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>eri-'ül-gü</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>eri-'ül-gü</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>görülde-ldü-n</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>gür-ge-gü</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>gür-ge-gü</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>horči-ǰu</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>hulalu-n</i>	<i>bü-küi</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>huyilu-n</i>	<i>bü-küi</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>ibulu-n</i>	<i>bü-küi</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>ide-n</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>ide-n</i>	<i>bü-küi</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>ila-qda-qu</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>ire-gü</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>ire-ǰü</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>ire-ǰü</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>ire-kün</i>	<i>bü-le'ei</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>ǰasa-'ul-qu</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>ǰasa-n</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>ǰetkü-n</i>	<i>bü-legei</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>ǰi'a-qu</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>ǰırqa-qu</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>ǰuqulu-n</i>	<i>bü-küi</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>ke'e-gü</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>ke'e-ǰü</i>	<i>bü-le'ei</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>ke'e-ǰü</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN

Modifying Verb	Head	Types of Connector
<i>ke'e-kde-n</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>ke'e-n</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>ke'e-n</i>	<i>bü-le'ei</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>ki-kde-n</i>	<i>bü-le'ei</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>ki-kde-n</i>	<i>bü-le'ei</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>körbe-ǰü</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>mede-gü</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>mököri-'ül-de-gü</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>mökö-ri-'ül-de-kiin</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>mültüre-gü</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>namančila-n</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>nökö-če-gü</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>noya-la-qu</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>noya-la-qu</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>ök-čü</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>olǰa-la-ldu-n</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>oro-'ul-qu</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>oro-'ul-qu</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>ot-ču</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>qaqača-ǰu</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>qara-qu</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>qar-qu</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>qatqu-ldu-qun</i>	<i>bü-le'ei</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>qodoli-t-qu</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>qono-ldu-qun</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>qono-qu</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>sa'u-ǰu</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>setki-ǰü</i>	<i>bü-le'ei</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>šilǰiri-n</i>	<i>bü-kiü</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>šingge-gü</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>šitü'ele-ldü-ǰü</i>	<i>bü-kiü</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>tasu-lda-n</i>	<i>bü-le'ei</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>tata-ǰu</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>teǰi'e-ǰü</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>töre-ksen</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>u'u-qu</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>u'uqu-n</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>üǰü-le-kde-n</i>	<i>bü-le'ei</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>üǰü-le-n</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>üǰe-kde-n</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>üliü öǰü-n</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>üliü qabči-qun</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>unu-ǰu</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>uri-qun</i>	<i>bü-le'ei</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>yabu-qu</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>yabu-qu</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>yabu-qui</i>	<i>bü-le'ei</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>yabu-qun</i>	<i>bü-le'ei</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>yada-qu-yü</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>ye'ütke-ǰü</i>	<i>bü-le'e</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN

Table 42: VPs with the Existential Verb *bü-* as final Head

Another VP pattern with *bü-qüi-tür* ‘v.P.IPFV-DAT.LOC’ is very often used in the SHM. These are subordinated clauses connected to the main clause by dative locative, accusative and other cases, cf. SHM § 183 *Činggis qahan mün Baljuna usulan бүкүитүр* ‘When Činggis Qahan was also watering [his animals] at the same [Lake] Baljuna’, SHM § 163 *morinu’an quya qağdaju abda-qu bolju бүкүитүр* ‘When his horse had been shot in the thigh by an arrow and [Senggüm] himself was about to be captured’, SHM § 214 *geriün ümERE Ĵetei Ĵelme qoyar muqular qara hūker Ĵemlen alaju бүкүитүр* ‘At that very moment, north of the tent, Ĵetei and Ĵelme were slaughtering a hornless black of for provisions’, SHM § 259 *Čuqčerenbalaqasu ebdEN бүкүитүр elčIN ene kelen gürge’esü* ‘[Isebür and others] were just destroying the city of Čuqčeren, when the envoy brought [him] the message [...], SHM § 12 *hoi dotora Uriangqadai gü’ün čö’e buqu alaju qabirqas inü abit inü širaJU bÜgüyi jolqaju* ‘In a forest, [he] met an Uriangqadai man who had killed a three years-old deer and was roasting its ribs and entrails’.

7.3.1.3 *bayyi-/bayi-/bai-*

VPs with *bayyi-* ‘be’ have similar construction patterns to VP constructions with other existential verbs expressing finite clauses. The pattern V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN is not used. The most frequent pattern is the V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN (60 %), followed by the pattern V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN (33,33 %).

In examples (407) to (409), the second most frequent VP patterns V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN are presented. The function of the modal converbalizers is to express “an action indicating the manner in which the main action is performed” (Pope 2006: 96). This subtype of converbalizers is the most adverb-like event which can be easily integrated into the domain of the main event. The corresponding translation in English can be achieved by the pattern (by) V-ing which is applicable for both subtypes of converbalizers (C.MOD and C.IPFV). *sačun sačun*²⁰⁰ *bayyimu* ‘was hoofing’ in (407), *to’orin bayyibai* ‘were surrounding’ (lit. ‘stood by surrounding’) in (408), *a’ula abarin bayyiba* ‘were/stood by climbing up the mountain’ in (409).

(407) SHM § 121

<i>Ĵamuqa-yin Ĵük</i>	<i>mö’öre-n</i>	<i>mö’öre-n</i>	<i>širo’ai</i>	<i>saču-n</i>	<i>saču-n</i>	<i>bayyi-mu</i>	
Ĵamuqa-GEN	direction	bellow-C.MOD	bellow-C.MOD	dust	raise-C.MOD	raise-C.MOD	be-PST
				MODIF	MODIF	HEAD	
					VP		

‘[fallow cow] was bellowing and bellowing toward Ĵamuqa, she standeth, raising and raising the dust’ (FWC 53, mod.; cf. IDR 48)

(408) SHM § 245

<i>Činggis qa’an-i</i>	<i>horčIn</i>	<i>qor-čIn</i>	<i>turqa’u-t</i>	<i>to’ori-n</i>	<i>bayyi-bai</i>
Činggis qa’an-ACC	surrounding	quiver-NA	daygaurd-PL	circle-C.MOD	be-PST
				MODIF	HEAD
					VP

‘The quiverbearer and dayguards stood by surrounding Činggis Qahan.’ (IDR 173, mod.)

²⁰⁰ The repetition of a verb expresses the repetition or continuation of the action.

(409) SHM § 195

<i>basa qoyina-qši a'ula</i> again behind-DIR mountain	<i>abari-n</i> climb-C.MOD	<i>bayyi-ba</i> be-PST
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘[he took up his position,] retreating further by climbing up the mountain.’ (IDR 120, mod.)

The most frequent VP pattern with *bayyi-* as head in the final clause is the v.c.IPFV-AUX.FIN. The function of the imperfective converbalizer is to express “an action performed simultaneously with the main action” (Poppe 2006: 96). Because of the certain parallelism of events in space/time axis and the case of SS, these events have more unit-like constructions, cf. *Kereyit bügüde'er Senggümün de'ere eke'ertčü bayyibai* ‘All the Kereyit stood [guard over] by turning back’ or ‘All the Kereyit stood [guard over] whereby [they] turned back’ in (410), *belet-čü bayyi-bai* ‘stood by preparing’ in (411).

(410) SHM § 171

<i>Kereyit bügüde-'er Senggüm-ün de'ere</i> Kereyit all-INS Senggüm-GEN above	<i>eke'ert-čü</i> turn.back-C.IPFV	<i>bayyi-bai</i> stay-PST
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘all the Kereyit turned back and stood [guard] over Senggüm.’ (IDR 92, mod.)

(411) SHM § 245

te-'ün-tü Otčigin bosu-'at nilbusu-'an arči-'at qar-ču
DIST-GEN-DAT Otčigin rise-C.PFV tear-POSS wipe-C.PFV go.out-C.IPFV

<i>qurban bökö-s-i</i> three wrestler-PL-ACC	<i>belet-čü</i> prepare-C.IPFV	<i>bayyi-ba</i> stay-PST
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘Thereupon Otčigin rose, wiped away his tears and going out [of the tent], stood in readiness with three strong men.’ (IDR 172, mod.)

Like existential verbs, *bayyi-* can be reduced and integrated into the semantic domain of specific modifying verbs, cf. *jasaju bayyibai* ‘stood/were by arranging’ into ‘arranged’ in (412) and *dokižu bayyiba* ‘was/stood by touching’ into ‘touched’ in (413).

(412) SHM § 171

Žürčedei Quyildar qoyar Uru'ut Mangqud-iyar-iyar
Žürčedei Quyildar two Uru'ut Mangqud-INS-POSS

<i>Činggis qa'an-u emün-e</i> Činggis qa'an-GEN front-DAT	<i>jasaju</i> array-C.IPFV	<i>bayyi-bai</i> be-PST
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘Žürčedei and Quyildar arranged themselves in battle order in front of Činggis Qahan with their Uru'ut and Mangqud [troops].’ (IDR 91)

(413) SHM § 91

<i>tere</i>	<i>čaqā'an</i>	<i>mori-tu</i>	<i>gü'ün</i>	<i>u'urqa-bar-ıyan</i>	<i>doki-ju</i>	<i>bayyi-ba</i>
DIST	white	horse-ORN	man	pole.lasso-INS-POSS	touch-C.IPFV	be-PST
					MODIF	HEAD
					VP	

'that man on the white horse touched at him with his pole-lasso.' (IDR 28, mod.)

Table 43 summarizes the frequency of VP patterns including the type of the preferred connector between the modifying and the head verb.

Types of Connector in VP with <i>bayyi-</i>	Frequency
V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN	60,00 %
V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN	33,33 %
V.P.PFV-AUX.FIN	6,67 %

Table 43: Types and Frequency of Connector in VP with *bayyi-/bai-* as final Head

A question to ask would be why converbalsizers as connectors between the verbs in a VP are favored while the participilizer is less preferred. Although all three non-dynamic existential verbs *a-*, *bü-/bö-*, and *bayyi-/bai-* can be classified into the same verbal semantic category <BE>, there are certain semantic subtleties. From the data analysis, these semantic subtleties can be summarized. Formerly, the usage of *bü-* seems to be quite restricted to certain forms whereas *a-* can be conjugated in all finite clause closing forms in a periphrastic VP.

Existential verbs (COP)	Subtypes	Semantic subtleties	Finite Forms in VP
Non-dynamic Relator			
<BE>	<i>a-</i>	be, exist, live (more human beings)	<i>atuqai, atqun, aba(i), aqu(n)/aqui, aju'u(i), ala'ai, ji'ai, amu(i), asuqai, aqsan, aya</i>
	<i>bü-</i>	be (some usages are more grammaticalized, cf. if, and, then, after that)	<i>büle'e(i), бүкүи, бүлегеи</i>
	<i>bayyi-</i>	be, stay, stand, wait, stop	<i>bayyiba(i), bayyiju'u(i), bayyimu, bayyiqun, bayyiju'u</i>

Table 44: Existential Verbs (non-dynamic) <BE> and their Forms in final Clause as VP

The previously asked question, why VP constructions with *bayyi-* with the preceding modifying verb as participilizer represents the least preferred pattern, could be explained if we consider the schematic relational structure of the main verb *bayyi-* taking into account its own semantics. Like other existential verbs such as *a-* and *bü-*, *bayyi-* is a non-dynamic verbal relator which has the basic schematization S/LOC. All three verbs share the same functional property, namely to integrate EIs by which they modify a manner/path-locality relation into a S/LOC_{referential event}. An incorporation of the referential event localization by a major connector such as a converbalsizer or participilizer of modifying verbal relator(s) within a VP (as the dative (locative) case does) can be found for both. In case of converbalsization of the modifying verb by the main verb, here *bayyi-*, there is a more LOC spatial/temporal relation associated

with the S. This can be explained in fact by the primary meaning of the verb *bayyi-* ‘be [in somewhere]’. Because of the “real” locality operated by the verb *bayyi-*, it is more connected to the converbalization as a process of EIs into referential event units. The combination of *bayyi-* with the modifying verb and appended participializers ranges from very rare to not used at all. This is caused by the kind of LOC. Here, the LOC is more related to a certain event referentialization referred to S, not the whole event (cf. the types of participles in Chapter “Participles” in 5.3.1 and also chapter on Subtypes of LOC in “Simple Clauses” in 6.2).

Modifying Verbs	Head	Types of Connector
<i>doki-ju</i>	<i>bayyi-ba</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>řasa-ju</i>	<i>bayyi-ju’ui</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>saču-n</i>	<i>bayyi-mu</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>řitü-ldü-řü</i>	<i>bayyi-qun</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>řasa-ju</i>	<i>bayyi-bai</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>eke’ert-čü</i>	<i>bayyi-bai</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>řasa-ju</i>	<i>bayyi-bai</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>kiji-n</i>	<i>bayyi-ju’ui</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>a-san</i>	<i>bayyi-ba</i>	V.P.PFV-AUX.FIN
<i>abari-n</i>	<i>bayyi-ba</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>abari-ju</i>	<i>bayyi-ju’u</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>abari-n</i>	<i>bayyi-ba</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>belet-čü</i>	<i>bayyi-ba</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>to’ori-n</i>	<i>bayyi-bai</i>	V.C.MOD-AUX.FIN
<i>řasa-ju</i>	<i>bai-ju’ui</i>	V.C.IPFV-AUX.FIN

Table 45: VPs with Existential Verb *bayyi-* as final Head

Like other existential verbs, *bayyi-* as head of VP can also have various syntactically driven functions according to the position and associated case. In (414), a referential EI in an A→O schematization in complex sentence structure can be observed.

(414) SHM § 188

<i>qula-t</i>	<i>hilu’a-tu-řu</i>	<i>bayyi-qun-i</i>	<i>Senggüm bawu-řu</i>	<i>mariya-řu’u</i>
ass-PL	gnat-VR-C.IPFV	be-P.IPFV-ACC	Senggüm dismount-C.IPFV	stalk-PST
	MODIF	HEAD		
		VP		
		NP.O.CLAUSE		

‘Senggüm dismounted and stalked [some] wild asses that were standing [there], plagued by gadflies.’ (IDR 109, mod.; cf. FWC 115)

The whole VP construction with *bayyi-* as head verb has an attributive function referring to the following NP *e’üten daruřu bayiqsat kebte’ül* ‘nightguards who stand guarding the door’ in (415), *čurama ničügün řitü-ldü-řü bayyi-qun dayyin* ‘the enemies which were standing, propped the one over against the other to’ in (416).

(415) SHM § 229

<i>kebte-’ül söni ordo horčın</i>	<i>gebte-’jü</i>	<i>e’üten</i>	<i>daru-’ju</i>	<i>bayi-’qsa-t</i>	<i>kebte-’ül</i>
lie-CAUS night palace surrounding	lie-C.IPFV	door	press-C.IPFV	stand-P.PFV-PL	lie-CAUS
			MODIF	HEAD	
				VP	
			ATTR		HEAD
				NP	

‘The nightguards at night lie down all around the Palace; [you], nightguards who stand guarding the door,’ (IDR 158)

(416) SHM § 145

<i>ten-d-eče</i>	<i>Ĵelme maqalai qudusun</i>	<i>de’el qubčasan-i-yan</i>	<i>bügüde-yi tal-’ju</i>		
DIST-DAT-ABL Ĵelme hat	boot	coat clothes-ACC-POSS	all-ACC strip.off-C.IPFV		
<i>qačča doto’a-’ji-tu</i>	<i>čurama</i>	<i>ničügün</i>	<i>šiti-ldü-’jü</i>		
sole inside-NR-ORN	bare	naked	prop-REC-C.IPFV		
			MODIF		
				HEAD	
				VP	
	ATTR	ATTR		ATTR	
				NP	
					HEAD

‘Then Ĵelme stripped off his hat, boots and clothes – everything – [and] almost bare naked but for his breeches [running] among the enemies which were standing, propped the one over against the other’ (IDR 65–66, mod.; cf. FWC 71)

7.3.1.4 *bol-*

Within the category of existential verbs, *bol-* ‘become’ differs from the others due to its dynamic relational structure measured in the space/time dimension (see “dynamic event relation” in the Chapter on “Simple Clauses” in 6.2.2). However, it belongs to the same category with other existential verbs because they are all supporting or auxiliary verbs in the form of a VP (cf. Poppe 2006: 102–103). In this function, they are all located in the final or main clause closing the matrix sentence. As we have seen in above sections, the main relator *bol-* can also be modified by several types of modifying referential EIs. The main difference between the dynamic and non-dynamic existential EIs lies in the “Directness” and thus variability of an event situation (see “non-directness and directness of an event relation” in Chapter “Simple Clauses” in 6.2), which belongs to the domain of the S→LOC schematization.

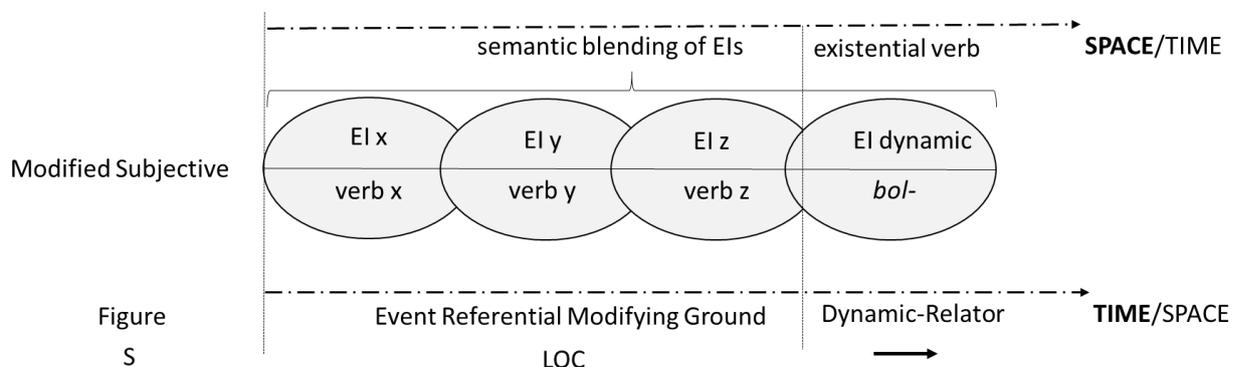


Figure 34: Event Referential Modifying Locality with dynamic Relator *bol-*

The most frequent VP pattern is the V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN. Compared with other existential verbs, the occurrence of *bol-* as finite verb in periphrastic VP modified by the other verbs is not very common (*bol-* 5,05 %, *bayyi-* 6,88 %, *a-* 40,37 %, and *bü-* 47,71 %).

Types of Connector in VP with <i>bol-</i>	Frequency
V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN	90,91 %
V.P.PFV-AUX.FIN	9,09 %

Table 46: Types and Frequency of Connector in VP with *bol-*

Formally, the finite verb is restricted only to the factual past tense *-bi/-ba(i)* (see more on finite tense marker in Chapter “Finite Tense Markers” in 5.3.3).

Modifying Verbs	Head	Types of Connector
<i>newü-kün</i>	<i>bol-bai</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>ke'e-kde-küi</i>	<i>bol-bi</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>gür-te-gü</i>	<i>bol-ba</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>gür-te-gü</i>	<i>bol-ba</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>bari-qu</i>	<i>bol-ba</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>gür-ge-gü</i>	<i>bol-ba</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>bari-qu</i>	<i>bol-ba</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>bari-qu</i>	<i>bol-ba</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>quri-qun</i>	<i>bol-bai</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN
<i>duratqa-qsan</i>	<i>bol-ba</i>	V.P.PFV-AUX.FIN
<i>bol-qu</i>	<i>bol-ba</i>	V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN

Table 47: VPs with the Existential Verb *bol-* as final Head

In the VP pattern V.P.IPFV-AUX.FIN, *bol-* in *bari-qu bolba* can be translated in its literal sense as ‘became (in)to one who seizes’ in (417), or as a perfective localization *duratqaqsan bolba* ‘became (in)to one who has advised’ in (418).

(417) SHM § 200

<i>bo'ol nekün</i>	<i>büdin</i>	<i>ejen-i-yen</i>	<i>boso-ju</i>	<i>nende-ju</i>	<i>bari-qu</i>	<i>bol-ba</i>	
slave	servant	one's.own	master-ACC-POSS	raise-C.IPFV	surround-C.IPFV	seize-P.IPFV	become-PST
			MODIF	MODIF	MODIF	HEAD	
							VP

‘Slaves and servants have gone so far as seizing their own master, surrounding him and conspiring against him.’ (IDR 129, mod.)

(418) SHM § 254

uqa-qsan-i-yan *duratqa-qsan bol-ba*
understand-P.PFV-ACC-POSS advise-P.PFV become-PST

‘[I] have advised our understanding [of the matter].’ (UO 124, mod.; cf. FWC 190)

The dynamicity of *bol-* can be weakened if the previous modifying verb is passivized into a non-dynamic event situation like *eyin ke'ekdeküi bolbi* ‘[we] are being spoken to in this way’ (lit. ‘we became (in)to one who is spoken to in this way’).

(419) SHM § 71

Ambaqai qahan-ni ükü-be'-ü či ke'e-jü
 Ambaqai qahan-ACC die-PST-Q 2SG say-C.IPFV

<i>Hö'elün-ne gür-tele e-yin</i>	<i>ke'e-kde-küi</i>	<i>bol-bi</i>
Hö'elün-DAT reach-C.TERM PROX-GEN	say-PASS-P.IPFV	become-PST
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

'Is it because you say to yourself that Ambaqai Qahan is dead, that we are being spoken to in this way, even by [one like] you, Hö'elün?' (IDR 17–18, mod.)

Another frequent usage of *bol-* as an event-modified head in a non-finite predication is the pattern V.P.IPFV-AUX.C.MOD, cf. examples (420) to (428). Being added by the C.MOD suffix *bol-* states that the whole VP headed by *bol-* is a subordinate clause which is integrated into its own matrix clause and its dependency.

(420) SHM § 281

<i>quru'a yo'urqa</i>	<i>nödü-'ül-jü</i>	<i>jetgü-jü</i>	<i>a-qu</i>	<i>bolu-n</i>
fence wall	hammer-CAUS-C.IPFV	prevent-C.IPFV	be-P.IPFV	become-C.MOD
	MODIF	MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
	VP			

'[I] had fences and walls built of [pounded] earth [to prevent the animals from straying].' (IDR 218, mod.)

(421) SHM § 257

<i>Šin-müren-tür</i>	<i>čübtüs-čü</i>	<i>oro-qun</i>	<i>bolu-n</i>
Šin-river-DAT.LOC	throw-C.IPFV	come.in-P.IPFV	become-C.MOD
	MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
	VP		

olon Sarta'ul-i-yan ten-de Šin-müren-tür sö'e-be
 many Sarta'ul-ACC-POSS DIST-DAT Šin-river-DAT.LOC perish-PST

'being pressed, the Sarta'ul started throwing themselves into the Šin River, many of them did indeed perish there, in the Šin River' (IDR 190)

(422) SHM § 160

ažira-qu bildü'ür anda min-ü büy-yü Naiman-tur
 migrate-P.IPFV lark sworn.friend 1SG.OBL-GEN be-PRES Naiman-DAT.LOC

<i>ot-ču'ui je</i>	<i>oro-qu</i>	<i>bolu-n</i>	<i>qočor-ba ke'e-jü'üi</i>
go-PST yes	come.in-P.IPFV	become-C.MOD	remain-PST say-PST
	MODIF	HEAD	
	VP		

'My sworn friend is the migratory lark. He must have gone [over] to the Naiman and has remained behind with intention of submitting to them.' (IDR 81)

(423) SHM § 101

Qo'aqčın emegen bö'ere alağ hūker-i-yen deledü-'et
 Qo'aqčın old.woman kidney spotted ox-ACC-POSS beat-C.PFV

<i>öter-le-n</i>	<i>ne'ü-gü</i>	<i>bolu-n</i>
fast-VR-C.MOD	move-P.IPFV	become-C.MOD
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘Old Qo’aqčın beat the ox with dappled loins (lit. kidney) so that they would move along faster’ (UO 31, mod.; cf. FWC 35)

(424) SHM § 196

<i>tere söni Naiman buru'u-yıla-n</i>	<i>gödöl-kün</i>	<i>bolu-n</i>
DIST night Naiman wrong-VR-C.MOD	move-P.IPFV	become-C.MOD
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘That night the Naiman moved [from their position] and [tried] to escape.’ (IDR 122, mod.)

(425) SHM § 240

üde jilda uqa-msar berke hoi-tur
evening late understand-NR difficult forest-DAT.LOC

<i>horum-iyar</i>	<i>yabu-qun</i>	<i>bolu-n</i>
trail-INS	go-P.IPFV	become-C.MOD
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘In the evening, as they were going along a trail in the dense forest’ (IDR 165)

(426) SHM § 143

<i>jada-la-qun</i>	<i>bolu-n</i>
rainmaking.by.use.of.magic.spell-P.IPFV	become-C.MOD
MODIF	HEAD
VP	

jada hurba-ju mü-t
rainmaking.by.use.of.magic.spell turn-C.IPFV same-PL

an-u de'er-e jada bol-ju'u
3PL.OBL-GEN above-DAT rainmaking.by.use.of.magic.spell become-PST

‘started to conjure the magic storm up, the magic storm turned (=rolled) back and it was right upon themselves that it fell.’ (IDR 64, mod.)

(427) SHM § 140

<i>bi qahan-nača</i>	<i>ayu-ju</i>	<i>arqada-n</i>	<i>una-qu</i>	<i>ariya-qu</i>	<i>bolu-n</i>
1SG qahan-ABL	fear-C.IPFV	appease-C.IPFV	fall-P.IPFV	hesitate-P.IPFV	become-C.MOD
	MODIF	MODIF	MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
	VP				

amin-dur-ıyan gü-r-te-bei bi
life-DAT.LOC-POSS reach-PASS-PST 1SG

‘fearing the Qahan, I took a fall on purpose. I hesitated, so I lost my life.’ (IDR 62, mod.)

<i>ö'esün ökin-i-yen</i>	<i>hüde-ju</i>	<i>ot-qu</i>	<i>bolu-n</i>
self daughter-acc-poss	conduct-C.IPFV	go-P.IPFV	become-C.MOD
	MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
	VP		

Tatar jüyin irgen Ambaqai qahan-ni bari-ju

Tatar jüyin people Ambaqai qahan-ACC capture-C.IPFV

‘As he was conducting his daughter to them in person, the people of Tatar Jüyin captured Ambaqai Qahan.’
(IDR 10, mod.)

7.3.1.5 Summary

Verbs in sequence have a modifying function related to their heads by being an event referential grounding locality. Same subjectivity (SS) is the major prerequisite for the unification of EIs. Verbs from the category “existential verbs” have the basic meaning <BE> and <BECOME>. The similarity of the verbs belonging to <BE> including its subtypes <LIVE>, <EXIST>, <STAY> and the verb belonging to <BECOME> is that both have the function of COP with the basic schematization of S/LOC and S→LOC. In both schematization types we have seen, at the level of complex sentences, there are modifying referential EIs which precede the head EI which they refer to. The modifying verbs show multiple localization into each other. Here, we have a LOC-incorporation into the domain of the relator.

There are certain types of connectors between these modifying EIs and head EIs. In the corpus data different preferences of VP patterns were observable, which were illustrated by examples. Because existential verbs in such final periphrastic constructions play a significant role in the determination of TAMC, I have focused on their usage as finite predications.²⁰¹ Table 48 summarizes the results.

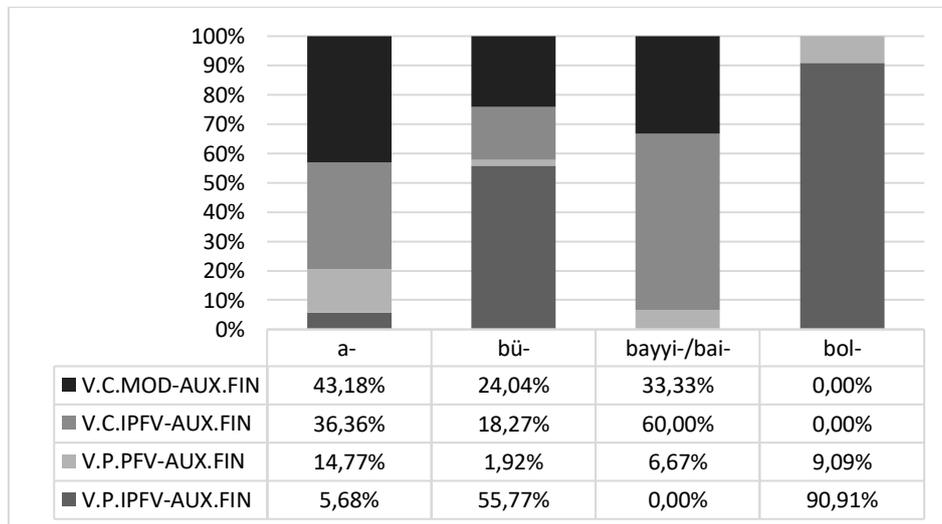


Table 48: Types and Frequency of Connectors between Modifier and Existential Verbs as AUX

²⁰¹ However, other syntactic usages of VPs with existential verbs as head in a non-final predication have been indicated in the corresponding passages, too.

7.3.2 Motion Verbs

In the following sections, I will present some verbs which occur as head of a VP. Unlike existential verbs, VP constructions with these verbs are not restricted to final clause constructions. Because of their frequency, these verbs have an auxiliary-like function bearing all the “grammatical information” of the resulting compound predicate.

These AUX-like verbs are classified due to their semantic similarity into categories like MOTION (including *yabu-*, *ot-/odu-*, *ködöl-/götöl-*, *yorči-*, *ĵori-*, *ire-/ira-*, *ayisu-/aisu-/ayis-/ayiš-*, *bawu-/ba'u-*) ACCOMPLISHMENT (*bara-*), FACILITY (*abu-*, *yada-*, *čida-*) and TRANSFER VERB (*ile-/ilē*, *ök-/ögü-*, *talbi-*).

7.3.2.1 *yabu-*

The motion verb *yabu-* has the meaning ‘go, walk’. This meaning refers to the action of living beings. However, the activity of going can as well be used for “existing” or “living” of human beings (cf. metaphorization of motion event *go* “Person Living a Life as Traveler” Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 60–62). Like other existential verbs, *yabu-* in *kötölĵü yabuqu-* ‘was leading’ in (429) and *qadaraĵu yabu-* ‘was trotting’ in (430) can be considered supporting verbs.

(429) SHM §: 14

<i>ĵa'ur-a</i> on.the.way-DAT	<i>niken yadangi</i> one poor	<i>gü'ün kö'ü-be'en</i> man son-POSS	<i>kötöl-ĵü</i> lead-C.IPFV	<i>yabu-qu-yi</i> go-P.IPFV-ACC	<i>ĵolqa-ĵu</i> meet-C.IPFV
			MODIF	HEAD	
				VP	

‘On the way, Dobun Mergen met a poor man who was leading his son.’ (IDR 3, mod.)

(430) SHM § 33

<i>Bodončar</i> Bodončar	<i>Buqu-qatagi</i> Buqu-qatagi	<i>aqa-yu-'an</i> elder.brother-ACC-POSS	<i>qoyin-ača</i> behind-ABL	<i>daqa-ĵu</i> follow-C.IPFV	<i>qadara-ĵu</i> trot-C.IPFV	<i>yabu-ĵu</i> go-C.IPFV
				MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
					VP	

‘Bodončar, who was trotting behind his elder brother Buqu Qatagi,’ (IDR 7)

Because of its own progressive semantics and P.IPFV, *yabu-* can be used to refer to actions in the past continuous. In the following examples, VPs headed by *yabu-* are subordinated clauses marked by the DAT.LOC. Furthermore, they all are connected by the C.MOD, cf. (431) to (434), and C.IPFV in (435).

(431) SHM § 146

<i>dürbe-kün irgen-i</i> flee-P.IPFV people-ACC	<i>iču-'a-n</i> withdraw-FAC-C.MOD	<i>yabu-qui-tur</i> go-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC
	MODIF	HEAD
		VP

‘As [he] was bringing back the fugitives,’ (IDR 67, mod.)

(432) SHM § 152

<i>teme'e-d-i-yen</i> camel-PL-ACC-POSS	<i>adū-la-'ulu-n</i> stallion-VR-CAUS-C.MOD	<i>yabu-ḱui-tur</i> go-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘When [Ajai Qan] made him look after his camels,’ (IDR 74–75)

(433) SHM § 81

<i>ayil-tur</i> family-DAT.LOC	<i>niken</i> one	<i>qono-'ulu-n</i> sleep.night-CAUS-C.MOD	<i>qono-'ulu-n</i> sleep.night-CAUS-C.MOD	<i>biti-'ülü-n</i> be.in.turn-CAUS-C.MOD	<i>yabu-qui-tur</i> go-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC
		MODIF	MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
			VP		

‘[Tarqutai Kiriltuq] caused [him] to spend one night in each family in turn.’ (IDR 23, mod.)

(434) SHM § 175

<i>günesün-e</i> food-DAT	<i>abala-n</i> hunt-C.MOD	<i>yabu-qui-tur</i> go-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘hunting for provisions as they went,’ (IDR 95)

(435) SHM § 110

<i>Merkid-ün</i> Merkid-GEN	<i>ulus</i> people	<i>Selengge</i> Selengge	<i>huru'u</i> downstream.along	<i>söni-de</i> night-DAT	<i>dürbe-jü</i> flee-C.IPFV	<i>yabu-qui-tur</i> go-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC
					MODIF	HEAD
					VP	

‘At the night Merkid people fled [in disarray] downstream along the Selengge [River]’ (IDR 40, mod.)

The primary meanings of *yabu-* ‘go’ and ‘walk’ are expressed as *dergečeju yabuju* ‘walking by being beside’ (436), *yadaju yabumu* ‘going being distressed’ in (437) and *horčiju yabuju* ‘went by circling’ in (438).

(436) SHM § 56

<i>Dāritai-otčigin</i> Dāritai-otčigin	<i>derge-če-jü</i> beside-VR-C.IPFV	<i>yabu-ju</i> go-C.IPFV	<i>ügi-le-riin</i> word-VR-C.PREP
	MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
	VP		

‘Dāritai Otčigin said by riding (lit. going) beside her’ (IDR 12, mod.)

(437) SHM § 15

<i>bi</i> 1SG	<i>Ma'aliq Bayya'udai</i> Ma'aliq Bayya'udai	<i>yada-ju</i> distress-C.IPFV	<i>yabu-mu</i> go-PRES
		MODIF	HEAD
		VP	

‘I am a man of the Ma'aliq Bayya'udai, and I am going distressed.’ (IDR 3, mod.)

(438) SHM § 121

<i>horči-ju</i>	<i>yabu-ju</i>
circle-C.IPFV	go-C.IPFV
MODIF	HEAD
VP	

‘[A fallow cow] went by circling Ĵamuqa.’ (IDR 47, mod.)

The metaphorical meaning of *yabu-* ‘live’ based on the source meaning ‘go, walk’ is applied in sentences like *andatur bi qatquldun yadan yabulu’a* ‘I have never been able to fight against my sworn friend’ in (439), *qan andayiyān qala’un čirai üjen yadaju yabuba je bi* ‘I have been living unable to see the friendly face of my sworn friend the Qan’ in (440), *amaraju ese yabuba je* ‘[She] was not in love with someone else’ in (441).

(439) SHM § 170

<i>anda-tur</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>qatqu-ldu-n</i>	<i>yada-n</i>	<i>yabu-lu’a</i>
sworn.friend-DAT.LOC	1SG	sting-REC-C.MOD	be.unable-C.MOD	go-PST
		MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
		VP		

‘I have never been able to fight against [my] sworn friend.’ (IDR 91)

(440) SHM § 201

<i>qan anda-yi-yan</i>	<i>qala’un čirai</i>	<i>üje-n</i>	<i>yada-ju</i>	<i>yabu-ba</i>	<i>je bi</i>
qan sworn.friend-ACC-POSS	warm face	see-C.MOD	be.unable-C.IPFV	go-PST	yes 1SG
		MODIF	MODIF	MODIF	
		VP			

‘I have been living unable to see the friendly face of my sworn friend the Qan.’ (IDR 131)

(441) SHM § 254

<i>amara-ju</i>	<i>ese yabu-ba</i>	<i>je</i>
love-C.IPFV	NEG go-PST	yes
MODIF	HEAD	
VP		

‘[She] was not in love [with someone else]’ (IDR 184)

The whole VP is an attribute to the VP-head *tede* with which it agrees in plurality *kei unuju yabut tede* in (442).

(442) SHM § 195

<i>kei</i>	<i>unu-ju</i>	<i>yabu-t</i>	<i>te-de</i>
wind	ride-C.IPFV	go-PL	DIST-PL
	MODIF	HEAD	
	VP		
	MODIF	HEAD	

‘Those advance riding on the wind.’ (IDR 119, mod.)

A referential EI encoded by the dative case expressing IO.CLAUSE can be expressed by a VP *ulus bayyi’ululčan yabulduqsatta* ‘to those, who had established our nation by being sided with me’.

(443) SHM § 202

<i>ulus</i> people	<i>bayyi-'ulu-lča-n</i> be-CAUS-CO-C.MOD	<i>yabu-ldu-qa-t-ta</i> go-REC-P.PFV-PL-DAT	<i>minqan</i> thousand	<i>minqa-la-ju</i> thousand-VR-C.IPFV
	MODIF	HEAD	O	R
		VP		
	NP.IO.CLAUSE			

‘To those who sided with me when I was establishing [our] nation, [I shall express my appreciation and] by forming units of a thousand,’ (IDR 133, mod.)

Yabu- occurs as finite head clauses *abalaldun yabutuqai* in (444), *daqa’ulju yabutqun* in (445).

(444) SHM § 232

<i>kepte-'ül bidan-lu'a</i> lie-CAUS 1PL.INC.OBL-COM	<i>šibawu-la-ldu-n</i> falcon-VR-REC-C.MOD	<i>abala-ldu-n</i> hunt-REC-C.MOD	<i>yabu-tuqai</i> go-IMP
	MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
		VP	

‘When we [go] falconing or hunting, the nightguards shall go falconing and hunting with us!’ (IDR 161, mod.)

(445) SHM § 266

<i>sayi-t</i> good-PL	<i>kö'ü-d-i</i> son-PL-ACC	<i>an-u</i> 3PL.OBL-GEN	<i>šibawu-ban</i> falcon-POSS	<i>bari-'ul-ju</i> hold-CAUS-C.IPFV	<i>daqa-'ul-ju</i> follow-CAUS-C.IPFV	<i>yabu-tqun</i> go-IMP
				MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
					VP	

‘Go and make their fine sons follow you, holding your falcons!’ (IDR 198, mod.)

Other types of converbializer can be added to the VP headed by *yabu-* such as *hüldejü yabuqdarun* in (446) and *idejü yabu'at* in (447).

(446) SHM § 257

<i>šin-müren-e</i> Šin-river-DAT	<i>gür-tele</i> reach-C.TERM	<i>hülde-ju</i> pursue-C.IPFV	<i>yabu-qda-run</i> go-PASS-C.PREP
		MODIF	HEAD
			VP

‘[They] were pursued as far as the Šin River.’ (IDR 190, mod.)

(447) SHM § 183

<i>širi</i> hide	<i>širbusun</i> sinew	<i>ide-ju</i> eat-C.IPFV	<i>yabu-'at</i> go-C.PFV
		MODIF	HEAD
			VP

‘[He] suffered great hardship, eating hide and sinews,’ (UO 75, mod.)

Table 49 summarizes all types of VP construction with *yabu-* as a head which can modify its related head.

Modifying Verbs	Head	Types of Connector
<i>yada-ju</i>	<i>yabu-mu</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>asa'u-lča-qu</i>	<i>ügei yabu-ldu-ba</i>	V.P.IPFV-V
<i>qadara-ju</i>	<i>yabu-ju</i>	V.C.IPFV-V

Modifying Verbs	Head	Types of Connector
<i>šibawu-la-n</i>	<i>yabu-kuī-tur</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>bü ab-ču</i>	<i>yabu-tqun</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>bitü- 'ülü-n</i>	<i>yabu-qui-tur</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>sonos-ču</i>	<i>yabu-basu</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ququ-ra-qda-ju</i>	<i>yabu-qad-iyar</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>dürbe-ju</i>	<i>yabu-qui-tur</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>dürbe-ju</i>	<i>yabu-qun</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>tala-n</i>	<i>yabu-qui-tur</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ungši-ju</i>	<i>yabu-qui-tur</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>horči-ju</i>	<i>yabu-ju</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>čubu-ri- 'ul-ju</i>	<i>yabu-quy-yi</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-n</i>	<i>yabu-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>iču- 'a-n</i>	<i>yabu-qui-tur</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>dayyisu-n</i>	<i>yabu-qsan</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>söyi-n</i>	<i>yabu-la'a</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ebüri-t-ču</i>	<i>yabu-ya</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>adü-la- 'ulu-n</i>	<i>yabu-kuī-tur</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ebüri-t-ču</i>	<i>yabu-mu</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>hoi-la-ju</i>	<i>yabu-qu-yi</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>buru'u-t-ču</i>	<i>yabu-ju</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-ju</i>	<i>yabu-la'a</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>bol-ju</i>	<i>yabu-ju'u</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>hülde-ju</i>	<i>yabu-qui-tur</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>gödölü-lče-ju</i>	<i>yabu-run</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>adu'u-la-n</i>	<i>yabu-qui-tur</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>yada-n</i>	<i>yabu-lu'a</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>yada-ju</i>	<i>yabu-lu'a</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>güyyi-ju</i>	<i>yabu-qui-tur</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>mütiki-n</i>	<i>yabu-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>aba-la-n</i>	<i>yabu-qui-tur</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>mede-n</i>	<i>yabu-lu'a</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>mede-n</i>	<i>yabu-ba</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>jubči-ju</i>	<i>yabu-yu</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ide-ju</i>	<i>yabu- 'at</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>hoqtorıqa-n</i>	<i>yabu-qui-tur</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>alginči-la-ju</i>	<i>yabu- 'at</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>udu-ju</i>	<i>yabu-ju</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>kere-ju</i>	<i>yabu-ju</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>unu-ju</i>	<i>yabu-t</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>setki-ju</i>	<i>yabu-qui-tur</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>sudalbi-ju</i>	<i>yabu-tuqai</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>jšasa-ldu-ju</i>	<i>yabu- 'asu</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>setki-ju</i>	<i>yabu- 'asu</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>yada-ju</i>	<i>yabu-ba</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>yada-ju</i>	<i>yabu-ba</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>bayyi- 'ulu-lča-n</i>	<i>yabu-ldu-qsat-ta</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>setki-ju</i>	<i>yabu-ju</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>bol-ju</i>	<i>yabu-ba</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>setki-ju</i>	<i>yabu-qu</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>mawui-la-ju</i>	<i>yabu-ju</i>	V.C.IPFV-V

Modifying Verbs	Head	Types of Connector
<i>eye-tü-ldü-jü</i>	<i>yabu-qda-qu</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>köbši-ldü-jü</i>	<i>yabu-ba</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>mori-la-ju</i>	<i>yabu-ju</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>qar-ču</i>	<i>yabu-ju</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>juqulu-n</i>	<i>yabu-qui-tur</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>setki-jü</i>	<i>yabu-ba</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ketügelje-n</i>	<i>yabu-qu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>aba-la-ldu-n</i>	<i>yabu-tuqai</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>aba-la-n</i>	<i>yabu-qui-tur</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ači-ju</i>	<i>yabu-tuqai</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>tata-ju</i>	<i>yabu-bai</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>kičiye-n</i>	<i>yabu-ku</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>hülde-jü</i>	<i>yabu-qda-run</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>şıqa-n</i>	<i>yabu-ya</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>daqa-'ul-ju</i>	<i>yabu-tqun</i>	V.C.IPFV-V

Table 49: VPs with the Motion Verb *yabu-* as Head

7.3.2.2 *ot-/odu-*

Ot-/odu- with the primary meaning ‘go, proceed’ in its AUX-function has the meaning of “away from a given point” or ‘depart’ if preceded by other verbs of motion (cf. Lessing 1982: 600) cf. *duta’aju otkuyyi* ‘going away by fleeing’ in (448), *neyilen otču’ui* ‘went off joining’ in (449).

(448) SHM § 79

<i>hoi-tur</i>	<i>duta’a-ju</i>	<i>ot-kuy-yi</i>	<i>Tayyiči’ut üje-jü</i>	<i>hülde-jü</i>
forest-DAT.LOC	flee-C.IPFV	go-P.IPFV-ACC	Tayyiči’ut see-C.IPFV	chase-C.IPFV
	MODIF	HEAD		
	VP			

‘The Tayyiči’ut saw him fleeing into the forest and went in pursuit,’ (IDR 22)

(449) SHM § 198

Sarda’ul-un qajar-a Čui-müren-e bü-kiin Qara-kidad-un
 Sarda’ul-GEN place-DAT Čui-river-DAT be-P.IPFV Qara-kidad-GEN

<i>Gür qan-tur</i>	<i>neyile-n</i>	<i>ot-ču’ui</i>
Gür qan-DAT.LOC	join-C.MOD	go-PST
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘[He] went off joining the Gür Qan of the Qara Kidad who was at the Čui River in the country of the Sarda’ul.’ (IDR 126, mod.)

Several other motion verbs can precede *ot-/odu-* which by itself is a motion verb. If two verbs belong to the same category, it is more likely that they are perceived as single unified VP construction, cf. *buru’utču otču* ‘going by going wrong (=backwards, or withdrawing)’ in (450), *morilažu otču* ‘went off riding’ in (451).

(450) SHM § 151

te'ün-ü qoyin-a Ong qan-nu de'ü Erke-qara
 DIST.OBL-GEN behind-DAT Ong qan-GEN younger.brother Erke-qara

<i>Ong qan aqa-da-'an</i>	<i>ala-qda-run</i>	<i>buru'u-t-ču</i> ²⁰²	<i>ot-ču</i>
Ong qan elder.brother-DAT-POSS	kill-PASS-C.PREP	wrong-VR-C.IPFV	go-C.IPFV
		MODIF	HEAD
		VP	

‘After that, when Ong Qan’s younger brother Erke Qara was [about] to be killed by his elder brother Ong Qan, [so] he went off escaping.’ (IDR 73, mod.)

(451) SHM § 190

<i>ene an-u yeke üge-tiir</i>	<i>šiqa-n</i>	<i>mori-la-ju</i>	<i>ot-ču</i>
PROX 3PL.OBL-GEN big word-DAT.LOC	press-C.MOD	horse-VR-C.IPFV	go-C.IPFV
	MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
		VP	

‘We should respond to these grand words by riding out [against them].’ (UO 80)

Like in other examples of VPs headed with *ot-/odu-*, the preceding verbs *ayalaju* in *ayalaju odurun ja'ura* ‘in the course of going travelling or on campaign’ and *da'arin* in *da'arin otču* ‘going by passing’ in (453), *qarču* in *qarču odu'at* ‘after going away by coming out’ in (454) modify the head *ot-/odu-* in the certain manner.

(452) SHM § 277

<i>ayala-ju</i>	<i>odu-run</i>	<i>ja'ur-a</i>
travel-C.IPFV	go-C.PREP	between-DAT
MODIF	HEAD	
VP		

‘on the way, while travelling [to the battle field]’ (IDR 208, mod.)

(453) SHM § 253

Beiging balaqasun-i else-'ül-ju činan-a
 Beiging city-ACC submit-CAUS-C.IPFV beyond-DAT

<i>Žürčed-ün Vuqanu-yi</i>	<i>da'ari-n</i>	<i>ot-ču</i>
Žürčed-GEN Vuqanu-ACC	cross-C.MOD	go-C.IPFV
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘After you have subjugated the city of Beiging, proceed further and cross [the country of] Vuqanu of the Žürčed,’ (IDR 181, mod.)

(454) SHM § 188

<i>Ong qan Senggüm qoyar beye-s-i-yen</i>	<i>dayyiji-ju</i>	<i>qar-ču</i>	<i>odu-'at</i>
Ong qan Senggüm two body-PL-ACC-POSS	escape-C.IPFV	come.out-C.IPFV	go-C.PFV
	MODIF	MODIF	MODIF
	VP		

‘Both Ong Qan and Senggüm escaped with their bare lives (lit. their bodies) and went away’ (cf. IDR 109, mod.)

²⁰² *buru'utču otču*, cf. the explanation by Choimaa (2011: 98).

In combination with the past marker *otba* and *odula'a*, the VP has a more perfective jerky motion because of its “departing” semantic property. In some cases, verbs connected by the C.IPFV can be interpreted as separate actions with immediate temporal relation to each other. For example, in *ötermelejü otba* ‘went off after shooting him quickly’ or ‘shot quickly and departed’ in (455).

(455) SHM § 77

<i>Temüjin Qasar qoyar emün-eče ümereče</i>	öterme-le-jü	ot-ba
Temüjin Qasar two front-ABL rear-ABL	quick-VR-C.IPFV	go-PST
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘Both Temüjin and Qasar, one from the front and one from the rear, shot [at him] and departed.’ (IDR 21, mod.; cf. UO 25)

In non-human actions like *sun sinking* (here not possible *yabu-*) it has a perfective aspectual meaning *naran šinggejü otba* ‘the sun sank’ in (456).

(456) SHM § 91

<i>naran</i>	šingge-jü	ot-ba
sun	sink-C.IPFV	go-PST
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘The sun sank.’ (IDR 28, mod.)

The perfective aspectual meaning is also applied by the action caused by a human being *ququlju otba* in (457).

(457) SHM § 277

<i>čerig-ün haran-u čirai</i>	ququl-ju	ot-ba
army-GEN man-GEN mien	crush-C.IPFV	go-PST
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘[You] crushed the mien (=spirits, morale²⁰³) of [every] man of the army.’ (IDR 208, mod.)

If the modifying verbs have an atelic semantic property *qajarčilaju* in *qajarčilaju otba* ‘went acting as a guide’ in (458), *nököcejü* in *nököcejü odula'a* ‘went being companion’ in (459) they can be translated into English by the construction “V-ing” which often corresponds to the Mongolian referential EIs expressing manner modification.

(458) SHM § 239

<i>Buqa</i>	qajar-či-la-ju	ot-ba
Buqa	place-NA-VR-C.IPFV	go-PST
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘Buqa went acting as a guide.’ (IDR 163–164, mod.)

²⁰³ Cf. IDR 208 [footnote1].

(459) SHM § 93

<i>nököče-jü</i>	<i>odu-la'a</i>	<i>bi</i>
be.companion-C.IPFV	go-PST	1SG
MODIF	HEAD	
VP		

‘I went [with him] being his companion.’ (IDR 28, mod.)

One of the most frequent modifying verbs within a VP headed by *ot-/odu-* is the verb *ab-/abu-* ‘take’. It has a resultative meaning like *abču odutqun* ‘take away’ in (460), *abču otba* ‘took away’ in (461) and (462).

(460) SHM § 184

<i>Qasar-tur</i>	<i>ab-ču</i>	<i>odu-tqun</i>
Qasar-DAT.LOC	take-C.IPFV	go-IMP
	MODIF	HEAD
VP		

‘Take [him] away to Qasar’ (IDR 106, mod.)

(461) SHM § 80

<i>bari-ju</i>	<i>ab-ču</i>	<i>ot-ba</i>
seize-C.IPFV	take-C.IPFV	go-PST
MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
VP		

‘[They] seized him and took him away.’ (IDR 23, mod.)

(462) SHM § 90

<i>širqa</i>	<i>aqta-tan-i</i>	<i>de'erme</i>	<i>ab-ču</i>	<i>ot-ba</i>
light.bay	gelding-ORN-ACC	robbery	take-C.IPFV	go-PST
			MODIF	HEAD
VP				

‘Robbers had stolen the light-bay geldings.’ (IDR 26, mod.)

The VP construction *abču ot-* ‘deliver, bring [away]’ in (463) or ‘take away’ in (464) has the opposite meaning from the serialized verb *abčira-* ‘bring [to]’ consisting of *ab-* ‘take’ and *ira-* ‘come’ (cf. 7.3.2.6 below).

(463) SHM § 53

<i>Kitad-un</i>	<i>Altan qahan-na</i>	<i>ab-ču</i>	<i>ot-qui-tur</i>
Kitad-GEN	Altan qahan-DAT	take-C.IPFV	go-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC
		MODIF	HEAD
VP			

‘When [they] were on the way to deliver [him] to the Altan Qahan of the Kitad,’ (IDR 10, mod.)

(464) SHM § 149

<i>ükü-ksen</i>	<i>amin ügei</i>	<i>beye min-ü</i>	<i>ab-ču</i>	<i>ot-ču</i>
die-P.PFV	life	NEG.EX	body 1SG.OBL-GEN	take-C.IPFV
			MODIF	HEAD
VP				

ye-ki-’ü-jei ta
 what-do-Q-yes 2PL

‘What will you achieve (lit. do) by taking away my dead and lifeless body?’ (IDR 71, mod.)

Modifying verbs can also express a goal of the action *ot-/odu-*. This is conditioned by the imperative forms, where the speaker compels someone to do something *erin ot* ‘go for seeking’ in (465).

(465) SHM § 83

<i>eke-ben de’ü-ner-i-yen</i>	<i>eri-n</i>	<i>ot</i>
mother-POSS younger.brother-PL-ACC-POSS	seek-C.MOD	go
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘Go for seeking your mother and younger brothers!’ (IDR 24, mod.)

In (466), the modifying verb *ök-* ‘give’ can express a condition of the head verb *ot-/odu-* ‘go’ in *ökčü ot* ‘give and then go’.

(466) SHM § 208

geriye-s-i-yen na-da inje-s-eče-’en Ašiq-temür bawurči-yan
 legacy-PL-ACC-POSS 1SG.OBL-DAT dowry-PL-ABL-POSS Ašiq-temür steward-POSS

<i>niken ja’un-i</i>	<i>ök-čü</i>	<i>ot</i>
one hundred-ACC	give-C.IPFV	go
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘Give me one hundred out of your servants and the steward Ašiq Temür as legacy and then go!’ (UO 97, mod.)

The unification of the verbs can be shown by the shared passivization of the whole VP which is marked only on the head verb *ot-* like *ottažu* in *de’ermetčü ottažu* in (467).

(467) SHM § 128

<i>Joči-darmala adu’u-ban</i>	<i>de’erme-t-čü</i>	<i>ot-ta-žu</i>
Joči-darmala horse-POSS	robbery-VR-C.IPFV	go-PASS-C.IPFV
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘The Jočidarmala, robbed of his herd, went [alone] in pursuit’ (IDR 53, mod.)

Like other motion verbs, transfer verbs like *dawuli-* ‘carry’ (468) or *gürge-* ‘deliver, bring’ in (469) modify the head verb *ot-/odu-* where they take its focusing on “go away/off, or depart” meaning.

(468) SHM § 152

<i>dolo’an nasu-tu-yi Merkit irgen</i>	<i>dawuli-žu</i>	<i>ot-ču</i>
seven age-ORN-ACC Merkit people	carry-C.IPFV	go-C.IPFV
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘The Merkit carried him off when he was seven years old’ (IDR 74, mod.)

(469) SHM § 169

<i>ene</i>	<i>üge-yi</i>	<i>Temüjin-e</i>	<i>kele-n</i>	<i>gür-ge-n</i>	<i>ot-qu</i>
PROX	word-ACC	Temüjin-DAT	say-C.MOD	reach-FAC-C.MOD	go-P.IPFV
			MODIF	MODIF VP	HEAD

gü'ün-i yambar ele bol-qa-qda-yu
man-ACC what.sort.of such become-FAC-PASS-Q

‘What sort [of a reward] might be expected by someone who delivers away a message with this news to Temüjin?’ (IDR 87, mod.)

In combination with achievement verbs, *ot-* expresses a goal by the modifying verb *dauliju otču* ‘go for plunder’ in (470).

(470) SHM § 257

<i>Bat-kesen-i</i>	<i>dauli-ju</i>	<i>ot-ču</i>
Bat-kesen-ACC	plunder-C.IPFV	go-C.IPFV
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘[he] went to plunder Batkesen.’ (IDR 190, mod.)

Because of the preceding meaning of *ot-/odu-*, added by the suffix P.IPFV, it is similar to *yabu-* and expresses general being or living/existing.

(471) SHM § 220

<i>tus</i>	<i>qan-i-yan</i>	<i>ker</i>	<i>tebči-jü</i>	<i>bari-ju</i>	<i>ot-qun</i>	<i>bida</i>
rightful	qan-ACC-POSS	how	make.away-C.IPFV	seize-C.IPFV	go-P.IPFV	1PL.INC
			MODIF	MODIF	HEAD	
			VP			

‘How can we go on, seizing and making away with our rightful lord?’ (IDR 151, mod.)

Table 50 summarizes all VP constructions headed by *ot-/odu-* as motion verb.

Modifying Verbs	Head	Types of Connector
<i>hüde-jü</i>	<i>ot-qu</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ab-ču</i>	<i>ot-qui-tur</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>qatara-'ul-ju</i>	<i>ot-ču</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>e'üs-ge-jü</i>	<i>ot-ču</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ab-ču</i>	<i>ot-ba</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ab-ču</i>	<i>ot-ču</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>neyisü-ldü-jü</i>	<i>ot-ču</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ab-ču</i>	<i>ot-ba</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>šingge-jü</i>	<i>ot-ba</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ha'ul-ju</i>	<i>ot-ču</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>eri-n</i>	<i>ot-ba</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ab-ču</i>	<i>ot-ču</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>mede-jü</i>	<i>ot-ba</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>gür-ge-n</i>	<i>ot-ču'ui</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>hači-ra-n</i>	<i>ot-ču'ui</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ab-ču</i>	<i>ot-ču</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ab-ču</i>	<i>ot-ču'ui</i>	V.C.IPFV-V

Modifying Verbs	Head	Types of Connector
<i>de'erme-t-čü</i>	<i>ot-ta-ju</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>neke-ju</i>	<i>ot-ču</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>čir-čü</i>	<i>ot-ču'ui</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ab-ču</i>	<i>ot-ču</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>buru'u-t-ču</i>	<i>ot-ču</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>dawuli-ju</i>	<i>ot-ču</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>dawuli-ju</i>	<i>ot-ču</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>newü-ju</i>	<i>ot-ču</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>gedü-n</i>	<i>ot-ču</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>uqa-ju</i>	<i>ot-da-qu</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>jas-a-ju</i>	<i>ot-ču</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>mori-la-ju</i>	<i>ot-ču</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>qar-ču</i>	<i>ot-ba</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>neyile-n</i>	<i>ot-ču'ui</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>bol-ju</i>	<i>ot-bai</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>alda-ju</i>	<i>ot-ču'ui</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>bari-ju</i>	<i>ot-qun</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ta-'ul-ju</i>	<i>ot-tuqai</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>qar-ču</i>	<i>ot-tuqai</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>qajar-či-la-ju</i>	<i>ot-ba</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ab-ču</i>	<i>ot-da-ba</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>dongqodu-n</i>	<i>bara-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>da'ari-n</i>	<i>ot-ču</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>giji-n</i>	<i>ot-ču</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>dauli-ju</i>	<i>ot-ču</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ab-ču</i>	<i>ot-ba</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>qar-ču</i>	<i>ot-ču</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ququl-ju</i>	<i>ot-ba</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ači-ju</i>	<i>ot-ta-ju</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>esük-čile-ju</i>	<i>odu-mu</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ki-ju</i>	<i>odu-mui</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>nökö-če-ju</i>	<i>odu-la'a</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ab-ču</i>	<i>odu-la'a</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>setki-ju</i>	<i>odu-lu'a</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-ju</i>	<i>odu-ya</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>dawuli-ju</i>	<i>odu-'asu</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ab-ču</i>	<i>odu-tqun</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ab-ču</i>	<i>odu-'asu</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>qar-ču</i>	<i>odu-'at</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>gē-ju</i>	<i>odu-n</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>daba-ju</i>	<i>odu-'asu</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ab-ču</i>	<i>odu-n</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>qar-ču</i>	<i>odu-n</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>tüši-ju</i>	<i>odu-qsan</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ayala-ju</i>	<i>odu-run</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>gür-ge-n</i>	<i>ot-qu</i>	V.C.MOD-V

Table 50: VPs with the Motion Verb *ot-/odu-* as Head

7.3.2.3 ködöl-/gödöl-

This verb expresses ‘motion’ corresponding to ‘move’ in English. Most modifying verbs also belong to the category of ‘motion’: *dayyijin gödöljü* ‘moving rebelling (against)’ in (472), *qaqačan gödöljü* ‘moving separating’ in (473), *uda’aran gödöljü* ‘moving following’ in (474).

(472) SHM § 257

<i>dayyi-ji-n</i> enemy-VR-C.MOD	<i>gödöl-jü</i> move-C.IPFV	<i>Ĵalaldin-soltan-tur</i> Ĵalaldin-soltan-DAT.LOC	<i>neyile-jü’ü</i> join-PST
MODIF	HEAD		
VP			

‘Qan Melig rose in rebellion [against us] and joined Ĵalaldin Soltan.’ (IDR 190)

(473) SHM § 122

<i>e-de</i> PROX-PL	<i>basa</i> also	<i>Ĵamuqa-dača</i> Ĵamuqa-ABL	<i>qaqača-n</i> separate-C.MOD	<i>gödöl-jü</i> move-C.IPFV
			MODIF	HEAD
			VP	

‘These, then, separated from Ĵamuqa and moved on’ (IDR 48, mod.)

(474) SHM § 183

<i>ba</i> 1PL.EXC	<i>tan-i</i> 2PL.OBL-GEN	<i>uda’a-ra-n</i> one.of.a.number-VR-C.MOD	<i>gödöl-jü</i> move-C.IPFV
		MODIF	HEAD
		VP	

‘We shall follow close behind you’ (IDR 105)

Like other modifiers, causative constructions modify the motion verb *gödöl-*. The whole modifying causative construction is subordinated in the manner sense regarding its head, cf. *Altai daba’ulun segü’ülün gödöljü* ‘moving by causing to withdraw by passing over the Altai’, literally.

(475) SHM § 194

<i>Altai</i> Altai	<i>daba-’ulu-n</i> pass.over-CAUS-C.MOD	<i>segü-’ülü-n</i> roll.back-CAUS-C.MOD	<i>gödöl-jü</i> move-C.IPFV
	MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
		VP	

‘[We] making [our people] to pass over the Altai and rolling [them] back, removing,’ (FWC 122, mod.)

Like causative verbs, the transitive verb *daru-* ‘crush’ in (476) modifies the action *gödöl-* ‘move’, which again is modified by the verb *ayisu-* ‘approach’.

(476) SHM § 171

<i>daru-ju</i> crush-C.IPFV	<i>gödöl-ge-jü</i> move-FAC-C.IPFV	<i>ayisu-ku-tur</i> advance-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC
MODIF	HEAD	
	MODIF	HEAD

Olon-Dongqait esergü dobtul-bai

Olon-Dongqait against rush-PST

‘As [he] advanced, crushing them and driving them back, the Olon Dongqait rushed against [him]’ (IDR 92, mod.; cf. FWC 98)

Table 51 presents an overview on VP constructions headed by the motion verb *ködöl-/gödöl-*.

Modifying Verb	Head	Types of Connector
<i>düli-n</i>	<i>gödöl-ǰü</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>qaqača-n</i>	<i>gödöl-ǰü</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>una-qa-ǰu</i>	<i>üliü gödöl-ge-n</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>dayyiji-n</i>	<i>gödöl-ǰü</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>daba-n</i>	<i>gödöl-be</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>talbi-ǰu</i>	<i>gödöl-ǰü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>daru-ǰu</i>	<i>gödöl-ge-ǰü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>buru ’ui-la-n</i>	<i>gödöl-de- ’esü</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ke ’e-ǰü</i>	<i>gödöl-bei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>dayyiji-n</i>	<i>gödöl-ǰü- ’üi</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>uda ’a-ra-n</i>	<i>gödöl-ǰü</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>segü- ’ülü-n</i>	<i>gödöl-ǰü</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>buru ’u-yila-n</i>	<i>gödöl-kün</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>daiji-n</i>	<i>gödöl-ǰü</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>yada-ǰu</i>	<i>gödöl-ǰü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>qaqača-n</i>	<i>gödöl-ǰü ’üi</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>udu-ǰu</i>	<i>gödöl-ge-ǰü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>dayyiji-n</i>	<i>gödöl-ǰü</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>qaqača-n</i>	<i>ködöl-ǰü ’üi</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ǰori-n</i>	<i>ködöl-ǰü ’üi</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ǰori-n</i>	<i>ködöl-ǰü ’üi</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ǰori-n</i>	<i>ködöl-ǰü ’üi</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>qari-n</i>	<i>ködöl-ǰü ’üi</i>	V.C.MOD-V

Table 51: VPs with the Motion Verb *ködöl-/gödöl-* as Head

7.3.2.4 *yorči-*

The verb *yorči-* expresses a motion action ‘walk, go, travel, set out, start for’ (cf. Lessing 1982: 1070). It functions very similarly to the verb *ot-/odu-* (cf. 7.3.2.2). While *ot-/odu-* expresses action more in the context of go away (from the perspective of the speaker), *yorči-* rather has goal-orientated semantic subtleties like ‘go aimed at’ or ‘head toward’. It shares the meaning ‘proceed’ with *yabu-* (cf. 7.3.2.1). If it follows other motion verbs, it has a supporting function like other auxiliaries in terms of aspect. The goal-oriented meaning of *yorči-* can be seen for example in *Onanmüren ö ’ede qatarajü yorčiju* ‘going by trotting upstream along the Onan River’ in (477), *qarču yorčiba* ‘went coming out’ in (478).

(477) SHM § 32

<i>Onan-müren ö ’ed-e</i>	<i>qatarajü</i>	<i>yorči-ǰü</i>	<i>talbi-ba</i>
Onan-river up-DAT	trot-C.IPFV	go-C.IPFV	set.out-PST
	MODIF	HEAD	
	VP		

‘[he] set out, frothing off upstream along the Onan River.’ (IDR 7, mod.)

(478) SHM § 73

<i>te-'ün-tür</i> DIST-GEN-DAT.LOC	<i>Temüjin uyyila-'at</i> Temüjin weep-C.PFV	<i>qar-ču</i> come.out-C.IPFV	<i>yorči-ba</i> go-PST
		MODIF	MODIF
		VP	

‘At that, Temüjin wept and went out.’ (IDR 18)

Because of the meaning of *yorči-* ‘go (aimed at)’ it is used in cases where S/A has a planned motion action, cf. *qanglini Kimča'udi da'arin yorčiju'ui* ‘set off passing by’ in (479), *dülin yorčiju* ‘going proceeding’ in (480).

(479) SHM § 198

<i>qanglin-i</i> qanglin-ACC	<i>Kimča'ud-i</i> Kimča'ud-ACC	<i>da'ari-n</i> pass.by-C.MOD	<i>yorči-ju'ui</i> go-PST
		MODIF	HEAD
		VP	

‘[They] went off through [the territory of] the the Qanglin and the Kimča'ud.’ (IDR 126, mod.)

(480) SHM § 244

<i>söni-de</i> night-DAT	<i>düli-n</i> proceed-C.MOD	<i>yorči-ju</i> go-C.IPFV
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘[She], travelling all night’ (IDR 168, mod.)

Table 52 gives an overview on VP constructions headed by the motion verb *yorči-*.

Modifying Verbs	Head	Types of Connector
<i>qatara-ju</i>	<i>yorči-ju</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>qar-ču</i>	<i>yorči-ba</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>qar-ču</i>	<i>yorči-ba</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>bawu-ju</i>	<i>yorči-ba</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>de'ermet-čü</i>	<i>yorči-ba</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>hülde-ju</i>	<i>yorči-ba</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>o'orki-ju</i>	<i>yorči-ba</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>bitü-n</i>	<i>yorči-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>uqdu-n</i>	<i>yorči-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ab-ču</i>	<i>yorči-ju'u</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>da'ari-n</i>	<i>yorči-ju'ui</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>bos-ču</i>	<i>yorči-ju</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>düli-n</i>	<i>yorči-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>gür-ge-n</i>	<i>yorči-ya</i>	V.C.MOD-V

Table 52: VPs with the Motion Verb *yorči-* as Head

7.3.2.5 *jori-*

Compared to *yorči-*, the verb *jori-* has the more specific meaning ‘move in the direction of’, ‘strive’ as well as ‘plan’ and ‘intend’ (cf. Lessing 1982: 1071). The focus of this motion verb lies in the ‘aim’. Because it often occurs as a modifying verb, I will present VP constructions with *jori-* as the modifying

verb. The head of the modifier is in most cases a motion verb, too. The modified action becomes thus a planned or aimed one like *ǰorin ičubai* ‘withdrew heading’ in (481), *ǰoriǰu ğürü’esü* ‘reaching/arriving heading’ in (482).

(481) SHM § 115

<i>Qorqonaq-ǰubur</i>	ǰori-n	iču-bai
Qorqonaq-valley	head-C.MOD	withdraw-PST
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘[Both Temüjin and Ĵamuqa], withdrawing, went in the direction of the Qorqonaq Valley.’ (IDR 43, mod.)

(482) SHM § 249

ǰori-ǰu	ǰürü-’esü
head-C.IPFV	reach-C.COND
MODIF	HEAD
VP	

‘When, moving in their direction, [he] reached’ (IDR 177, mod.)

This is one of best-known scenes in the SHM, where Yisügei set out to go to the Olqunu’ut people, relatives of Mother Hö’elün, to ask his maternal uncles for a girl in marriage for his son Temüjin. On the way, he met Dei-sečen who asked the following question.

(483) SHM § 62

<i>Yisügei quda</i>	<i>ken-tür</i>	ǰori-ǰu	ayisu-la’a
Yisügei brother.in.law	who-DAT.LOC	aim-C.IPFV	approach-PST
		MODIF	HEAD
		VP	

‘Yisügei, brother-in-law, in whose direction are you going, coming this way?’ (IDR 14, mod.)

Like the planned action *ǰoriǰu ayisula’a* in (483), the head verb *qaqačan* in *ǰorin qaqačan* is modified by the intended act as modifier in (484).

(484) SHM § 144

Naiman-u Buyuruq qan Altay-yin ebür Uluq-taq
 Naiman-GEN Buyuruq qan Altay-GEN southern Uluq-taq

ǰori-n	qaqača-n	ködöl-ǰü’üi
aim-C.MOD	separate-C.MOD	move-PST
MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘Buyuruq Qan of the Naiman split away [from the others] and headed for Uluq Taq²⁰⁴ on the southern side of the Altai [Mountains].’ (UO 54, mod.)

Table 53 presents the VP construction with the motion verb *ǰori-* as modifier.

²⁰⁴ Taq means ‘big’ in Orkhon Turkish (cf. UO 54[footnote 243])

Modifying Verbs	Head	Types of Connector
<i>ǰori-ǰu</i>	<i>ayisu-la'a</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ǰori-n</i>	<i>ayi-ši</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ǰori-n</i>	<i>iču-bai</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ǰori-n</i>	<i>iču-bai</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ǰori-n</i>	<i>qaqača-n</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ǰori-n</i>	<i>ködöl-ǰü'üi</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ǰori-n</i>	<i>ködöl-ǰü'üi</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ǰori-n</i>	<i>ködöl-ǰü'üi</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ǰori-'ul-ǰu</i>	<i>ilē-'esü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ǰori-ǰu</i>	<i>gürü-'esü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ǰori-ǰu</i>	<i>ilē-'esü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ǰori-ǰu</i>	<i>bü-qüi-tür</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ǰori-ǰu</i>	<i>gür-čü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V

Table 53: VPs with the Motion Verb *ǰori-* as Modifier

7.3.2.6 *ire-/ira-*

The verb *ire-* expresses a motion action ‘come’, ‘arrive’, ‘approach’. One of the typical VP patterns is the combination of *ab-* ‘take’ and *ira-* ‘come’ with the connector C.IPFV *-č-* which is a phonetically reduced form of *ču-*. *Ire-* occurs in this serialized construction as *ira-* adapting *-a* instead of *-e* according to the vowel harmonic which is common in Mongolic languages (cf. Janhunnen 2003; Svantesson et al. 2005). The motion verb *ire-* occurs in a fixed combination with *abčira-* in 32 % and *ire-* as head verb with other modifying verbs in 68 % of all VP construction headed with *ire-*.

(485) SHM § 56

<i>Hö'elün üjin-i</i>	<i>Yisügei tedüi ger-dür-iyen</i>	<i>ab-č-ira-ba</i>
Hö'elün noble.lady-ACC	Yisügei so yurt-DAT.LOC-POSS	take-C.IPFV-come-PST
		VP

‘So, Yisügei brought Hö'elün Üjin to his yurt.’ (IDR 12, mod.)

(486) SHM § 155

<i>Yisüi qatun-i ten-de</i>	<i>ab-č-ira-ba</i>
Yisüi lady-ACC DIST-DAT	take-C.IPFV-come-PST
VP	

‘There, they brought [back] Lady Yisüi.’ (IDR 78, mod.)

Table 54 shows the occurrences of *ira-* in the fixed form.

Lexicalized Phrase Unit	Types of Connector
<i>ab-č-ira-qsan-tur</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ab-č-ira-ju</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ab-č-ira-ju</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ab-č-ira-ya</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ab-č-ira-ju</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ab-č-ira-t</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ab-č-ira-ju</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ab-č-ira-'ul-ju</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ab-č-ira-t</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ab-č-ira-'ul-ju</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ab-č-ira-bai</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ab-č-ira-ju</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ab-č-ira-bai</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ab-č-ira</i>	V.C.IPFV-V

Table 54: VPs with the Motion Verb *ira-* as Head

The motion expressing verb *ire-* occurs often with other motion verbs as modifiers. They all express the manner in which the action *ire-* is performed cf. *ketüljü irebe* ‘came crossing’ in (487), *ketüljü ireju* ‘coming crossing’ in (488), *newüjü irebe* ‘came moving’ in (489).

(487) SHM § 1

<i>Tenggis</i>	<i>ketül-jü</i>	<i>ire-be</i>
sea	cross-C.IPFV	come-PST
	MODIF	HEAD
VP		

‘[They] came crossing [through] Sea.’ (IDR 1, mod.)

(488) SHM § 177

<i>Eder-altay-in</i>	<i>belčir-iyer</i>	<i>ketül-jü</i>	<i>ire-ju</i>
Eder-altay-GEN	confluence-INS	cross-C.IPFV	come-C.IPFV
		MODIF	HEAD
VP			

‘Crossing [the river] at the Eder Altay Confluence, [I] came [back],’ (IDR 100, mod.)

(489) SHM § 28

<i>Düyiren gerü-d-ača</i>	<i>Tünggelik-qoroqan</i>	<i>huru'u bölök</i>	<i>irgen</i>	<i>newü-jü</i>	<i>ire-be</i>
Düyiren rear-DAT-ABL	Tünggelik-stream	along	band	people	move-C.IPFV
				MODIF	HEAD
VP					

‘From the northern side of [Mount] Düyiren, a band of people on the move came following the course of the Tünggelik Stream.’ (IDR 6)

VP constructions headed by the verb *ire-* prefer the connector C.IPFV *-ju/-jü/-ču/-čü*. Another motion expressing verb which modifies *ire-* is *gür-* ‘reach, arrive’ in *gürjü irebesü* in (490) and *gürčü irebei* in (491), *gürčü ire’ülü’et*, a causativized form of *ire-* in (492). In all VP constructions, it has the meaning of ‘come reaching/arriving’.

(490) SHM § 32

<i>gür-jü</i> reach-C.IPFV	<i>ire-besü</i> come-C.COND	<i>Bodončar mün</i> Bodončar same/indeed	<i>a-ju’u</i> be-PST
MODIF	HEAD		
VP			

‘When [he] arrived, it was indeed Bodončar.’ (IDR 7, mod.)

(491) SHM § 141

<i>Činggis qahan-tur</i> Činggis qahan-DAT.LOC	<i>Ong qan</i> Ong qan	<i>gür-čü</i> reach-C.IPFV	<i>ire-bei</i> come-PST
		MODIF	HEAD
		VP	

‘Ong Qan came arriving at Činggis Qahan’s [camp]. (IDR 63, mod.)

(492) SHM § 172

<i>Bo’orču-yi</i> Bo’orču-ACC	<i>gür-čü</i> arrive-C.IPFV	<i>ire-’ülü-’et</i> come-CAUS-C.PFV
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘After having made to come Bo’orču to arrive’ (FWC 98, mod.)

Other types of motion expressing modifying verbs are *qari-* ‘return’ in *qariju irejü* in (493), *güyyi-* ‘run’ in *güyyijü irejü* in (494)²⁰⁵, *bawu-* in *bawuju irebei* ‘came descending’ in (495) and *morila-* in *morilažu ire’esü* ‘if [somebody] set on horse’ in (496).

(493) SHM § 137

<i>Sača Taiču qoyar-i</i> Sača Taiču two-ACC	<i>büt-e-’et</i> be.without.air-FAC-C.PFV	<i>qari-ju</i> return-C.IPFV	<i>ire-jü</i> come-C.IPFV
		MODIF	HEAD
		VP	

‘Having suffocated both Sača and Taiču [he] came returning.’ (UO 51, mod.)

(494) SHM § 110

<i>tergen-eče</i> cart-ABL	<i>bawu-’at</i> descend-C.PFV	<i>güyyi-jü</i> run-C.IPFV	<i>ire-jü</i> come-C.IPFV
		MODIF	HEAD
		VP	

‘[she] descended from the cart and came running [towards him].’ (IDR 40, mod.)

²⁰⁵ The time reference of the head verb depends on the time references of the matrix clause expressing verb. Due to space limitations, not all sentences can be represented in their entire matrix structure. The C.IPFV marker indicates that the VP headed by *ire-* is itself subordinated to a matrix clause.

(495) SHM § 253

<i>yeke a'uruq-tur</i>	<i>bawu-ju</i>	<i>ire-bei</i>
main basecamp-DAT.LOC	descend-C.IPFV	come-PST
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

'[Qasar] came settling (lit. descending) at the main base camp.' (IDR 181, mod.)

(496) SHM § 177

<i>Gür qan abaqa</i>	<i>čin-u</i>	<i>čima-dur</i>	<i>mori-la-ju</i>	<i>ire-'esü</i>
Gür qan paternal.uncle	2SG.OBL-GEN	2SG.OBL-DAT.LOC	horse-VR-C.IPFV	come-C.COND
			MODIF	HEAD
			VP	

'If your paternal uncle Gür Qan moved against you' (IDR 97, mod.)

The modifying motion event *oro-* 'enter, come in' has the same causative meaning as its head verb *ire-* in *oroju ire'üle'ei* 'made somebody come by coming into [Činggis Qahan's army or power]'.

(497) SHM § 150

<i>Kereyit irgen ber Činggis qahan-tur</i>	<i>oro-ju</i>	<i>ire-'üle-'ei</i>
Kereyit people FOC Činggis qahan-DAT.LOC	come.in-C.IPFV	come-CAUS-PST
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

'[Jaqa Gambu] made [two scattered] people of the Kereyit, come and submit to Činggis Qahan.' (UO 59, mod.)

In combination with a goal-oriented verb like *udurit-* 'lead' in *uduritču iregüye*, the head verb *ire-* can be integrated into the semantic domain of a modifying verb.

(498) SHM § 63

<i>Yisügei quda</i>	<i>ene</i>	<i>jewüdin min-ü</i>	<i>čima-yi</i>
Yisügei brother.in.law	PROX	dream 1SG.OBL-GEN	2SG.OBL-ACC
<i>ele kö'ü-be'en</i>	<i>udurit-ču</i>	<i>ire-güy-e</i>	<i>üje-ksen a-ju'u</i>
PROX son-POSS	lead-C.IPFV	come-P.IPFV-DAT	see-P.PFV be-PST
	MODIF	HEAD	
	VP		

'Brother in law, Yisügei this dream of mine was seeing you leading this son of yours.' (IDR 14, mod.)

The modifying verb *eri-* 'seek' in *erin irejü* in (499) expresses the goal of the main action *ire-*.

(499) SHM § 30

<i>Bodončar-mungqaq de'ü-yü'en</i>	<i>ene</i>	<i>Onan-müren huru'u</i>
Bodončar-mungqaq younger.brother-ACC.POSS	PROX	Onan-river downstream.along
<i>odu-la'a ke'e-n</i>	<i>eri-n</i>	<i>ire-jü</i>
go-PST say-C.MOD	seek-C.MOD	come-C.IPFV
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

'His elder brother Buqu Qatagi, thinking that his younger brother Bodončar Mungqaq had gone down stream along the Onan River, came for seeking him.' (UO 12, mod.)

The goal-oriented verb *uri-* ‘summon’ in combination with the causativized motion verb *ire’ül-* expresses an invitation, cf. (500).

(500) SHM § 146

<i>Qada’an-i</i> Qada’an-ACC	<i>uri-ju</i> summon-C.IPFV	<i>ire-’ül-ju</i> come-CAUS-C.IPFV	<i>derge-če-n</i> beside-VR-C.MOD	<i>sa-’ul-bai</i> sit-CAUS-PST
	MODIF	HEAD		
		VP		

‘[Činggis Qahan] invited Qada’an to come [to him] and had her sit by his side.’ (IDR 68, mod.)

Like the preceding verbs *küyyiče-/güyyiče-* ‘catch up, overtake’ in *küyyičeju irebe* ‘came catching up’ in (501), *güyyičeju ireju’üi* ‘came overtaking’ in (502) modify the *ire-*.

(501) SHM § 91

<i>qoyitu-s</i> behind-PL	<i>nökö-t</i> companion-PL	<i>küyyiče-ju</i> catch.up-C.IPFV	<i>ire-be</i> come-PST
		MODIF	HEAD
		VP	

‘Companions, who were behind, caught up with him.’ (IDR 28, mod.)

(502) SHM § 149

Tarqutai-kiriltuq-un kö’ü-t de’ü-ner in-üi
Tarqutai-kiriltuq-GEN son-PL younger.brother-PL 3SG.OBL-GEN

<i>buli-ju</i> seize-C.IPFV	<i>abu-ya</i> take-VOL	<i>ke’e-n</i> say-C.MOD	<i>güyyiče-ju</i> overtake-C.IPFV	<i>ire-ju-’üi</i> come-PST
			MODIF	HEAD
			VP	

‘The sons and younger brothers of Tarqutai Kiriltuq came overtaking them by saying, “Let us seize him away [from them]!”’ (IDR 70, mod.)

The modifying verb *neyile-* ‘join, become together’ in *neyilen irebei* in (503) and *neyilen iretkün* in (504) can express the goal or cause of the motion action *ire-*.

(503) SHM § 120

<i>Želme-tür</i> Želme-DAT.LOC	<i>neyile-n</i> join-C.MOD	<i>ire-bei</i> come-PST
	MODIF	HEAD
		VP

‘[He] came to join Želme.’ (IDR 47, mod.)

(504) SHM § 253

<i>yeke</i> main	<i>a’uruq-tur</i> basecamp-DAT.LOC	<i>neyile-n</i> join-C.MOD	<i>ire-tkün</i> come-IMP
		MODIF	HEAD
		VP	

‘Come joining [forces with me] at the main basecamp!’ (IDR 181, mod.)

Like *oro-* ‘come in, enter’ (=submit), *else-* expresses submitting to someone’s power or army in *elsen irebei* ‘came submitting’ in (505) and *elsen irejü’üi* ‘came submitting’ in (506). In both cases, *else-* can express not only the manner, but also the cause of the motion action *ire-*.

(505) SHM § 182

<i>te-de</i>	<i>Qorulas üli</i>	<i>bulqa-n</i>	<i>else-n</i>	<i>ire-bei</i>
DIST-PL	Qorulas NEG	fight-C.MOD	submit-C.MOD	come-PST
		MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
		VP		

‘These Qorulas submitted to him without fighting.’ (IDR 104)

(506) SHM § 235

<i>Qarlu’ud-un</i>	<i>Arslan qan Qubilai-tur</i>	<i>else-n</i>	<i>ire-jü’üi</i>
Qarlu’ud-GEN	Arslan qan Qubilai-DAT.LOC	submit-C.MOD	come-PST
		MODIF	HEAD
		VP	

‘Arslan Qan of the Qarlu’ud came to submit to Qubilai.’ (IDR 162, mod.)

The modifying achievement expressing verb *bari-* ‘fetch, capture’ in *bariju irejü* ‘came fetching/bring’ in (507) indicates the manner of an action.

(507) SHM § 169

<i>Merkidei-čaqa’an</i>	<i>Aman-čaqa’an</i>	<i>qoyar-i</i>	<i>bari-ju</i>	<i>ire-jü</i>
Merkidei-white	Muzzle-white	two-ACC	fetch-C.IPFV	come-C.IPFV
			MODIF	HEAD
			VP	

‘coming by fetching the white Merkid and the bay with the white muzzle’ (IDR 88, mod.)

Table 55 summarizes all identified VP pattern with *ire-* as head verb.

Modifying Verbs	Head	Types of Connector
<i>ketül-jü</i>	<i>ire-be</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>eri-n</i>	<i>ire-jü</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>newü-jü</i>	<i>ire-kse-t</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>keyis-jü</i>	<i>ire-mü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>gür-jü</i>	<i>ire-besü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>udurit-ču</i>	<i>ire-jü’üi</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>qari-ju</i>	<i>ire-jü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>dawuli-jü</i>	<i>ire-’esü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>nis-ju</i>	<i>ire-jü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>udurit-ču</i>	<i>ire-güy-e</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>uri-ju</i>	<i>ire-’ül-jü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>talbi-ju</i>	<i>ire-rün</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ab-ču</i>	<i>ire-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke’e-n</i>	<i>ire-jü’üi</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ire-n</i>	<i>a-ju’u</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>kötöl-jü</i>	<i>ire-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke’e-n</i>	<i>ire-le’e</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>küyyi-če-jü</i>	<i>ire-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>nökö-če-jü</i>	<i>ire-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V

Modifying Verbs	Head	Types of Connector
<i>üje-ǰü</i>	<i>ire-kse- 'er</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ǰür-ge-ǰü</i>	<i>ire-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>udurit-ču</i>	<i>ire-ǰü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ǰür-ču</i>	<i>ire-ǰü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ǰür-ču</i>	<i>ire- 'et</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ösö-n</i>	<i>ire-kse-t</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ke'e-n</i>	<i>ire-be</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ǰüyyi-ǰü</i>	<i>ire-ǰü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>quriya-ǰu</i>	<i>ire-ǰü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>büšire-n</i>	<i>üǰü-le-rün</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ke'e-n</i>	<i>ire-be</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>neyile-n</i>	<i>ire-bei</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>neyile-n</i>	<i>ire-bei</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ke'e-n</i>	<i>ire-kse-t</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ǰür-ge-n</i>	<i>ire-ǰü 'üi</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>neyile-n</i>	<i>ire-bei</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>qar-ču</i>	<i>ire-ǰü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>qari-ǰu</i>	<i>ire-ǰü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ǰür-ču</i>	<i>ire-bei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ha- 'ul-ǰu</i>	<i>ire-ǰü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ǰür-ge-n</i>	<i>ire-be</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ergü-ǰü</i>	<i>ire-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>idüre-ǰü</i>	<i>ire-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>uri-ǰu</i>	<i>ire- 'ül-ǰü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>idüre-ǰü</i>	<i>ire-bei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ǰödöl-ge-ǰü</i>	<i>ire-ǰü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ǰüyyi-če-ǰü</i>	<i>ire-ǰü 'üi</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ǰüyyi-če-ǰü</i>	<i>ire-küi-lü 'e</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-n</i>	<i>ire-bei</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>qar-da-ǰu</i>	<i>ire-ǰü 'üi</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>qar-da-ǰu</i>	<i>ire-kse-t</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-n</i>	<i>ire-bei</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ke'e-n</i>	<i>ire-be</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>qar-da-ǰu</i>	<i>ire-kse-t</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>oro-ǰu</i>	<i>ire- 'üle 'ei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>turu-ǰu</i>	<i>ire-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>abura-ǰu</i>	<i>ire- 'esü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>horqu-ǰu</i>	<i>ire-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ire- 'ül-ǰü</i>	<i>üǰü-le-rün</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-n</i>	<i>ire-ǰü</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>uri-ǰu</i>	<i>ire- 'ül-ǰü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>uri-ǰu</i>	<i>ire- 'ül-ǰü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ǰür-ču</i>	<i>ire-bei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>neke-ǰü</i>	<i>ire- 'esü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ǰür-ču</i>	<i>ire- 'esü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ǰür-ču</i>	<i>ire- 'ülü- 'et</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ǰür-ču</i>	<i>ire-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>čuburi- 'ul-ǰu</i>	<i>ire-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>mori-la-ǰu</i>	<i>ire- 'esü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-n</i>	<i>ire-kde-ǰü</i>	V.C.MOD-V

Modifying Verbs	Head	Types of Connector
<i>mori-la-ju</i>	<i>ire- 'esü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>yada-ju</i>	<i>ire-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ketül-jü</i>	<i>ire-jü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>bila-ju</i>	<i>ire-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>else-n</i>	<i>ire-bei</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>oro-ju</i>	<i>ire-jü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>gē-jü</i>	<i>ire-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>tebči-jü</i>	<i>ire-jü 'üi</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke 'e-jü</i>	<i>ire-jü 'ü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>gür-ge-n</i>	<i>ire-be</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>čile-jü</i>	<i>ire-bei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>mori-la-ju</i>	<i>ire-ldü-jü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>hülde-jü</i>	<i>ire-gü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ök-čü</i>	<i>ire-tkiün</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>bari-ju</i>	<i>ire-kde-jü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>köyit-čü</i>	<i>ire-jü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>nökö-če-n</i>	<i>ire- 'esü</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>bawu-ju</i>	<i>ire-riün</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>oro-ju</i>	<i>ire-jü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>oro-ju</i>	<i>ire-jü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>güyyi-jü</i>	<i>ire-jü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>gür-čü</i>	<i>ire-tele</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>gür-ge-jü</i>	<i>ire-jü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>qar-ta-ju</i>	<i>ire- 'esü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>daqa- 'ul-ju</i>	<i>ire-tügei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>daqa- 'ul-ju</i>	<i>ire-tügei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>jasaj-ju</i>	<i>ire-tügei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>qar-qa-ju</i>	<i>ire-jü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ilqa-ju</i>	<i>ire-kse-t</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>oro-ju</i>	<i>ire-tügei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>else-n</i>	<i>ire-jü 'üi</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>muqu-tqa-ju</i>	<i>ire-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>muqu-tqa-ju</i>	<i>ire-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>oro-ju</i>	<i>ire-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>oro- 'ul-ju</i>	<i>ire-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>gödöl-ge-jü</i>	<i>ire- 'ülü-n</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>qari-ju</i>	<i>ire-jü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>gür-ge-jü</i>	<i>ire-bei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>else-n</i>	<i>ire-kde-jü</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>gür-čü</i>	<i>ire-kde-jü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>da 'a-ju</i>	<i>ire-bei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>gödöl-ge-jü</i>	<i>ire-jü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>to 'o-la-ju</i>	<i>ire-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>neyile-n</i>	<i>ire-tkiün</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>bawu-ju</i>	<i>ire-bei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>tata-ju</i>	<i>ire- 'esü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>bawu-ju</i>	<i>ire- 'et</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>bawu-ju</i>	<i>ire- 'esü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>da 'ari-ju</i>	<i>ire- 'esü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>da 'ari-ju</i>	<i>ire-jü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V

Modifying Verbs	Head	Types of Connector
<i>ab-ču</i>	<i>ire-ksen</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>muqu-tqa-ju</i>	<i>ire-ju</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ügü-le-ju</i>	<i>ire-rün</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-ju</i>	<i>ire-ju'üi</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ülis-ču</i>	<i>ire-ju</i>	V.C.IPFV-V

Table 55: VPs with the Motion Verb *ire-* as Head

7.3.2.7 *ayisu-/aisu-/ayis(i)-/ayiš(i)-*

It can be observed that verbs belonging to the same category tend to form a unit. The category of motion event expressing verbs are typical for VP constructions as a unit. This tendency applies also to the motion verb *ayisu-* ‘approach, come closer, draw near’ (cf. Lessing 1982: 22). Compared to *yabu-*, *ayisu-* has a more specific meaning of ‘coming nearer to a given point’ and therefore a greater similarity to *ire-*. Compared to *ot-/odu-*, *ayisu-* means the opposite. While *ire-* has the general meaning of ‘come’, *ayisu-* implies more specific additions like ‘coming closer’, ‘approach’ and ‘appear closely’, cf. *newüju oroju ayisuquyi* ‘[saw] approaching (by) coming into (by) mowing’ in (508), *dürbeju ayisuqun* ‘approaching by escaping’ in (509), *yabuju ayisurun* ‘approached proceeding’ in (510).

(508) SHM § 5

Tünggelik-qoroqan huru'u niken bölök irgen
 Tünggelik-stream downstream one band people

<i>newü-ju</i>	<i>oro-ju</i>	<i>ayisu-qu-yi</i>
move-C.IPFV	come.in-C.IPFV	approach-P.IPFV-ACC
MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
VP		

‘[He saw] a band of people on the move who, following downstream the Tünggelik Stream, were approaching that way’ (IDR 1–2, mod.)

(509) SHM § 110

<i>Temüjin</i>	<i>dürbe-ju</i>	<i>ayisu-qun</i>	<i>irgen-tür</i>
Temüjin	escape-C.IPFV	approach-P.IPFV	people-DAT.LOC
	MODIF	HEAD	
VP			

Börte Börte ke'e-n ungsi-ju yabu-qui-tur
 Börte Börte say-C.MOD call-C.IPFV go-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC

‘[As the pillaging and plundering went on], Temüjin moved among the people that were hurriedly approaching by escaping, calling, “Börte, Börte!”’ (IDR 40, mod.)

(510) SHM § 118

<i>Temüjin</i>	<i>Ĵamuqa</i>	<i>qoyar qam-tu</i>	<i>terge-d-iin</i>	<i>urid-a</i>	<i>yabu-ju</i>	<i>ayisu-run</i>	
Temüjin	Ĵamuqa	two	together-ORN	cart-PL-GEN	front-DAT	go-C.IPFV	approach-C.PREP
					MODIF	HEAD	
VP							

‘Temüjin and Ĵamuqa went together in front of the carts, and as they approached proceeding,’ (IDR 45, mod.)

Other modifying motion verbs are *newü-* ‘move’ in *newüjü ayisuquitur* in (511), *qari-* ‘return’ in *qariju ayisuquitur* in (512), *gür-* ‘reach’ in *gürčü ayisuquitur* in (513) and *gürčü aisugulu’a* in (514).

(511) SHM § 175

<i>te-yin</i>	<i>newü-jü</i>	<i>ayisu-qui-tur</i>
DIST-GEN	move-C.IPFV	approach-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘When they were moving on in this way,’ (IDR 95, mod.)

(512) SHM § 177

<i>bida ten-d-eče</i>	<i>qari-ju</i>	<i>ayisu-qui-tur</i>
1PL.INC DIST-DAT-ABL	return-C.IPFV	approach-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘As we were returning from that place,’ (IDR 99, mod.)

(513) SHM § 195

Naqu-ḵun-nu doronajı qormai da’ari-n
Naqu-ḵun-GEN eastern fringe pass-C.MOD

<i>Čakir-ma’ut</i>	<i>gür-čü</i>	<i>ayisu-qui-tur</i>
Čakir-ma’ut	reach-C.IPFV	approach-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘Passing along the eastern fridge of the Naqu Cliff [he] reached Čakirma’ut,’ (IDR 118, mod.)

(514) SHM § 55

<i>qurba-’ula qoši’un</i>	<i>quči-ldu-ju</i>	<i>gür-čü</i>	<i>aisu-qu-lu’a</i>
there-CN hill	round-REC-C.IPFV	reach-C.IPFV	approach-P.IPFV-PST
	MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
	VP		

‘the three [men] had rounded the spur of the hill and were drawing near.’ (IDR 12)

Like in (514), the modifying and head verbs can be translated into English as paratactic clauses connected by ‘and’, where we have a subordinated manner/path expressing clause (LOC-clauses related to Matrix clause). Morphologically, this becomes apparent on the converb suffixes, even though two actions take place simultaneously. Modifying verbs tend to have a more specific semantics added to the more general semantics of auxiliary-like verbs such as *aisu-*, *yabu-*, *ire-* and so on.

In examples (515) and (516), the present reference expressing suffix *-su* is lost due to the identical part of the verb stem in *ayisu*, whereas *-ai* in *ayisai* in (517) indicates an emphatic expression of the speaker.

(515) SHM § 91

<i>qaqča- 'ar</i>	<i>küyyiče-ǰü</i>	<i>ayisu</i>
sole-INS	catch.up-C.IPFV	approach.PRES
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘One man, alone [on a white horse and holding a pole-lasso] drew closer and caught up with them.’ (IDR 28, mod.)

(516) SHM § 92

<i>bi sayin nökör-i</i>	<i>čima-yi</i>	<i>mungtani-ǰu</i>	<i>ayisu</i>
1SG good companion-ACC	2SG.OBL-ACC	exhaust-C.IPFV	approach.PRES
		MODIF	HEAD
		VP	

ke'e-n sayin nökör-e tusa bol-su ke'e-n nökö-če-ǰü ire-be
say-C.MOD good companion-DAT help become-VOL say-C.MOD companion-VR-C.IPFV come-PST

‘[Bo’orču said,] “I thought of you as a good friend when you [first] arrived exhausted, and I thought to help you as a good friend. I came as your companion.” (UO 29, mod.)

(517) SHM § 195

<i>yekin te-yin</i>	<i>to'oriqa-n</i>	<i>ayis-ai</i>	<i>te-de</i>
why DIST-GEN	encircle-C.MOD	approach-PRES	DIST-PL
	MODIF	HEAD	
	VP		

‘Why are they approaching, encircling us in this manner?’ (IDR 120)

Modifying verbs can express the physical condition of a person during his/her coming like *mungtaniǰu ayisu* ‘was arriving exhausted’ in (516), *uyyilaǰu ayisukuitur* ‘coming crying’ in (518), *dayyisurqan ayisu* ‘going rebelling against’ in (519), and *yadaǰu ayisurun* ‘going through by being unable’ in (520).

(518) SHM § 56

<i>yeke dawu-bar</i>	<i>uyyila-ǰu</i>	<i>ayisu-ǰui-tur</i>
big sound-INS	cry-C.IPFV	approach-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘When she was coming crying loudly’ (IDR 12, mod.)

(519) SHM § 277

<i>aqa</i>	<i>gü'ün-tür</i>	<i>dayyisu-rqa-n</i>	<i>ayisu</i>	<i>či</i>
elder.brother	man-DAT.LOC	enemy-VR-C.MOD	approach.PRES	2SG
		MODIF	HEAD	
		VP		

‘Do you [now] go on rebelling against a person who is senior to you?’ (IDR 208, mod.)

(520) SHM § 177

<i>Uiǰud-un Tangyud-un qajar-iyar</i>	<i>yada-ǰu</i>	<i>ayisu-run</i>
Uiǰud-GEN Tangyud-GEN place-INS	be.unable-C.IPFV	approach-C.PREP
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘Reduced to straits as you went through the country of the Uiǰud and the Tangyud.’ (IDR 98, mod.)

Transitive verbs like *e'üsgejü* in *öki abču e'üsgejü in e'üsgejü ayisuquyi* ‘approaching by establishing [a family] by taking a girl’ in (521), *gödölgejü* in *daružu gödölgejü ayisukuitur* ‘advancing by driving [back] by crushing’ in (522) modify the main verb *ayisu-*.

(521) SHM § 54

Merkid-iin Yeke-čiledü Oloqunu'u-t öki
Merkid-GEN Yeke-čiledü Oloqunu'u-PL girl

<i>ab-ču</i>	<i>e'üs-ge-jü</i>	<i>ayisu-qu-yi</i>	<i>jolqa-žu</i>
take-C.IPFV	arise-FAC-C.IPFV	approach-P.IPFV-ACC	encounter-C.IPFV
MODIF	MODIF	HEAD	
	VP		

‘[he] encountered Yeke Čiledü of the Merkid, who was heading home, taking with him a girl of the Oloqunu’ut people to establish [a family].’ (FWC 12, mod.; cf. IDR 11)

(522) SHM § 171

<i>daru-žu</i>	<i>gödöl-ge-jü</i>	<i>ayisu-ķui-tur</i>
crush-C.IPFV	move-FAC-C.IPFV	approach-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC
MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘As [they] advanced, crushing them and driving them [back]’ (IDR 91, mod.)

The manner of *ayisu-* can also be modified by a joining verb like *qamsa-* in *qamsan ayisukuitur* ‘approaching joining’ in (523).

(523) SHM § 133

<i>Ulja huru'u</i>	<i>Ongging-čingseng-lü'e</i>	<i>qam-sa-n</i>	<i>ayisu-ķui-tur</i>
Ulja downstream.along	Ongging-čingseng-COM	together-VR-C.MOD	approach-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC
		MODIF	HEAD
			VP

‘As [they] approached joining, [moving] downstream along the Ulja’ (IDR 57)

In Table 56, all VP constructions headed by the motion verb *ayisu-* are presented together with the corresponding type of connector.

Modifying Verbs	Head	Types of Connector
<i>mori-la-žu</i>	<i>ayis-ai</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>šilemelje-n</i>	<i>ayis-ai</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>to'oriqa-n</i>	<i>ayis-ai</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>duyalu-n</i>	<i>ayis-ai</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>quši'u-ra-žu</i>	<i>ayis-qun</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>türi-žu</i>	<i>ayiši</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>türi-žu</i>	<i>ayiši</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>oro-žu</i>	<i>ayisu-qu-yi</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>newü-žu</i>	<i>ayisu-qun</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>newü-žu</i>	<i>ayisu-n</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ači-žu</i>	<i>ayisu-run</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>e'üs-ge-jü</i>	<i>ayisuqu-yi</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>dergeče-žu</i>	<i>ayisu-ķui-tur</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>uyyila-žu</i>	<i>ayisu-ķui-tur</i>	V.C.IPFV-V

Modifying Verbs	Head	Types of Connector
<i>ʃori-ʃu</i>	<i>ayisu-la- 'a</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-n</i>	<i>ayisu-la- 'a</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>kötöl-ʃü</i>	<i>ayisu-ʃui-tur</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>qar-ču</i>	<i>ayisu-ʃui-tur</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ayisu-n</i>	<i>a-ʃu 'u</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>e'üs-ge-n</i>	<i>ayisu-run</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>gödöl-ʃü</i>	<i>ayisu-n</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>dürbe-ʃü</i>	<i>ayisu-qun</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>dürbe-ʃü</i>	<i>ayisu-ʃuy-yi</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>yabu-ʃu</i>	<i>ayisu-run</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>düli-n</i>	<i>gödöl-ʃü</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>düli-ldü-ʃü</i>	<i>ayisu-n</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>mö'ere-n</i>	<i>ayisu-run</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>qam-sa-n</i>	<i>ayisu-qui-tur</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>dürbe-ʃü</i>	<i>ayisu-run</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>bari-ʃu</i>	<i>ayisu-qui-tur</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>gödöl-ʃü</i>	<i>ayisu-run</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>bari-ʃu</i>	<i>ayisu-la 'ai</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>bari-ʃu</i>	<i>ayisu-run</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>qari-ʃu</i>	<i>ayisu-qui-tur</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>da'ari-n</i>	<i>ayisu-qui</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ayisu-n</i>	<i>a-ʃu 'ui</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ayisu-n</i>	<i>a-ʃu 'ui</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>daru-ʃu</i>	<i>ayisu-qui-tur</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>gödöl-ge-ʃü</i>	<i>ayisu-ʃui-tur</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>daru-ʃu</i>	<i>ayisu-ʃui-tur</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>daru-ʃu</i>	<i>ayisu-ʃui-tur</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>gür-ču</i>	<i>ayisu-qui-tur</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>newü-ʃü</i>	<i>ayisu-qui-tur</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>yada-ʃu</i>	<i>ayisu-run</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>yada-ʃu</i>	<i>ayisu</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>qari-ʃu</i>	<i>ayisu-qui-tur</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>hülde-ʃü</i>	<i>ayisu-qun</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>to'oriqa-ʃu</i>	<i>ayisu-qun-i</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ab-ču</i>	<i>ayisu-run</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>neke-ʃü</i>	<i>ayisu-ʃui-tur</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>bengleni-ʃü</i>	<i>ayisu-ʃui</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>yabu-ʃu</i>	<i>ayisu-run</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>bari-ʃu</i>	<i>ayisu-run</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>qar-ta-ʃu</i>	<i>ayisu-run</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>sundur-ču</i>	<i>ayisu-qun</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>daru-ʃu</i>	<i>ayisu-ʃui-tur</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>olu-lča-n</i>	<i>ayisu-qui-tur</i>	V.C.MOD-V

Table 56: VPs with Motion Verb *ayisu-/aisu-/ayis-/ayiš-* as Head

7.3.2.8 *bawu-/ba'u-*

Lastly, I will present the VP constructions headed by the motion verb *bawu-/ba'u-* ‘descend’, ‘come or go down’, ‘dismount’, ‘step down’, ‘settle down’, and ‘encamp’, ‘stop on the way’ (cf. Lessing

1982: 71). The movement is directed from top to bottom. In SHM, this verb is used usually when one descends from the horse to stop or to settle down on a camp. This motion event is modified by verbs like *neyile-* ‘join’ in *neyilen bawubai* in (524) and in *neyilen bawuju* in (525), *šiqan bawuya* in (526).

(524) SHM § 107

Kimurqa-qorqon-u Ayil-qaraqana-da bawu-ju bü-küi-tür
 Kimurqa-stream-GEN Ayil-qaraqana-DAT descend-C.IPFV be-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC

<i>neyile-n</i>	<i>bawu-bai</i>
join-C.MOD	descend-PST
MODIF	HEAD
VP	

‘When [They] were halting at Ayil Qaraqana on the Kimurqa Stream [Temüjin] joined [them] and set up camp there.’ (UO 36, mod.)

(525) SHM § 116

<i>Temüjin Ğamuqa qoyar Qorqonaq-ğubur-a</i>	<i>neyile-n</i>	<i>bawu-ju</i>
Temüjin Ğamuqa two Qorqonaq-valley-DAT	join-C.MOD	descend-C.IPFV
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘Temüjin and Ğamuqa joined together and set up camp in the Qorqonaq Valley.’ (IDR 44, mod.)

(526) SHM § 118

<i>Temüjin anda anda a’ula</i>	<i>šiqan-n</i>	<i>bawu-ya</i>
Temüjin sworn.friend sworn.friend mountain	press-C.MOD	descend-VOL
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘Sworn friend, sworn friend Temüjin, let us camp near the mountain!’ (IDR 45, mod.)

Locality expressing objects like *Sa’arike’er* in *Sa’arike’eri delgen bawuju* ‘setting up camp, spreading over the Sa’ari Steppe’ in (527) like *a’ula* in *a’ula šiqan bawuya* ‘let [us] descend by pressing the mountain’ in (526) can be associated as direct objectives of the modifying verbs.

(527) SHM § 193

<i>ene Sa’ari-ke’er-i</i>	<i>delge-n</i>	<i>bawu-ju</i>
PROX Sa’ari-ke’er-ACC	spread-C.MOD	descend-C.IPFV
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘[So, let us indeed] halt and set up camp, spreading over the Sa’ari Steppe’ (IDR 115, mod.)

Many modifying verbs belong to the category of motion verbs to which the head verb *bawu-* also belongs, cf. *qariju bawubai* ‘descended by returning in (528), *ğürçü bawuya* ‘let us descend by arriving’ in (529), *ğergelen bawuqsan* ‘descended by taking place in the rank’ in (530).

(528) SHM § 134

Činggis qahan Ong qan qoyar ten-de Tatar-i
 Činggis qahan Ong qan two DIST-DAT Tatar-ACC

da'uli-ju qubi-ya-ldu-ju abu-lča-ju
 plunder-C.IPFV share-VR-REC-C.IPFV take-CO-C.IPFV

<i>geyi-t-tür-iyen</i> yurt-PL-DAT.LOC-POSS	<i>qari-ju</i> return-C.IPFV	<i>bawu-bai</i> descend-PST
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘Both Činggis Qahan and Ong Qan plundered the Tatars and shared [the booty], each taking [his part]. [Then] they descended by returning to their [own] yurts.’ (IDR 58, mod.)

(529) SHM § 142

bidan-u manglan Altan Qučar Senggüm-tan
 1PL.INC.OBL-GEN forehead Altan Qučar Senggüm-ORN

<i>Utkiy-a</i> Utkiy-DAT	<i>gür-čü</i> reach-C.IPFV	<i>bawu-ya</i> descend-VOL	<i>ke'e-ldü-n</i> say-REC-C.MOD	<i>bü-qüi-tür</i> be-P.IPFV-DAT.LOC
	MODIF	HEAD		
	VP			

‘Altan, Qučar, Senggüm and the others of our vanguard arrived at Utkiya. While they were deciding whether to camp [there],’ (IDR 64)

(530) SHM § 208

<i>jerge-tür</i> rank-DAT.LOC	<i>jerge-le-n</i> rank-VR-C.MOD	<i>bawu-qsan</i> settle-P.PFV	<i>čima-yi</i> 2SG.OBL-ACC	<i>ǰürčedey-ye</i> ǰürčedey-DAT	<i>soyurqa-run</i> favour-C.PREP
	MODIF	HEAD			
	VP				

‘You, who have settled among the ranks [of my principal wives], I present to ǰürčedey’ (IDR 140, mod.; cf. UO 96)

The modifying verb *üderin* in *üderin ba'uba* ‘halted to rest’ in (531) expresses the goal of the motion action *ba'u-*.

(531) SHM § 170

<i>Qala-qaljit-elet</i> Qala-qaljit-sands	<i>gür-čü</i> reach-C.IPFV	<i>üderi-n</i> rest-C.MOD	<i>ba'u-ba</i> descend-PST
	MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
	VP		

‘[he] reached Qalaqaljit Sands, where [he] halted to rest.’ (IDR 89, mod.)

VP constructions headed by the motion verb *bawu-/ba'u-* are summarized in Table 57.

Modifying Verbs	Head	Types of Connector
<i>nengji-'ül-sii-n</i>	<i>bawu-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>nuntuq-la-n</i>	<i>bawu-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>neyile-n</i>	<i>bawu-bai</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>neyile-n</i>	<i>bawu-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>šiqā-n</i>	<i>bawu-ya</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>šiqā-n</i>	<i>bawu-ya</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>šiqā-n</i>	<i>bawu-ya</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>jöb-šiyē-jü</i>	<i>ülü bawu-n</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>neyile-n</i>	<i>bawu-bai</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>qari-ju</i>	<i>bawu-bai</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>gür-čü</i>	<i>bawu-ya</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>šitü-ldü-jü</i>	<i>bawu-ju</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>delge-n</i>	<i>bawu-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>delge-n</i>	<i>bawu-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>jerge-le-n</i>	<i>bawu-qsan</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>qari-n</i>	<i>bawu-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>üderi-n</i>	<i>ba'u-ba</i>	V.C.MOD-V

Table 57: VPs with the Motion verb *bawu-/ba'u-* as Head

7.3.2.9 Summary

In VP constructions, we have observed numerous motion expressing verbs. Based on the frequency of a VP pattern and the type of the connector between the verbs within a VP construction in the corpus data, the motion verbs are listed in Table 58. Furthermore, the table summarizes the basic meaning as well as some associated meanings in VP constructions, which have been explored through examples from the corpus. Semantic narrowness and functionalities of verbs in a VP with respect to TAMC are closely related. Although they represent a verbal unit in the surface structure, they are in a subordination-matrix relation to each other. Previous verbs have modifying properties while the head verbs are classified as a larger matrix structure which in turn may have a modifying property to the reference matrix clause.

Motion Verbs	Basic meanings	Associated Meanings in the whole meaning of VP
<i>yabu-</i>	go, walk	live, be, exist
<i>ot-/odu-</i>	go	depart, off, away from a given point, live, be (in imperfective sense), proceed
<i>ködöl-/gödöl-</i>	move	advance, proceed
<i>yorči-</i>	go	proceed, go on, head, aim, walk, start for, set out
<i>jori-</i>	move in direction of	plan, intend, head, aim, strive
<i>ire-/ira-</i>	come	bring, deliver (with <i>abu-</i> 'take')
<i>ayisu-/aisu-/ayis-/ayiš-</i>	come nearer	approach, appear, advance, proceed, go on
<i>bawu-/ba'u-</i>	come or go down	descend, dismount, step down, settle down, encamp, stop on the way

Table 58: Meanings of motion verbs in VP constructions

In Figure 35 the frequency of a certain connector in combination with all of the above-mentioned motion verbs is summarized.

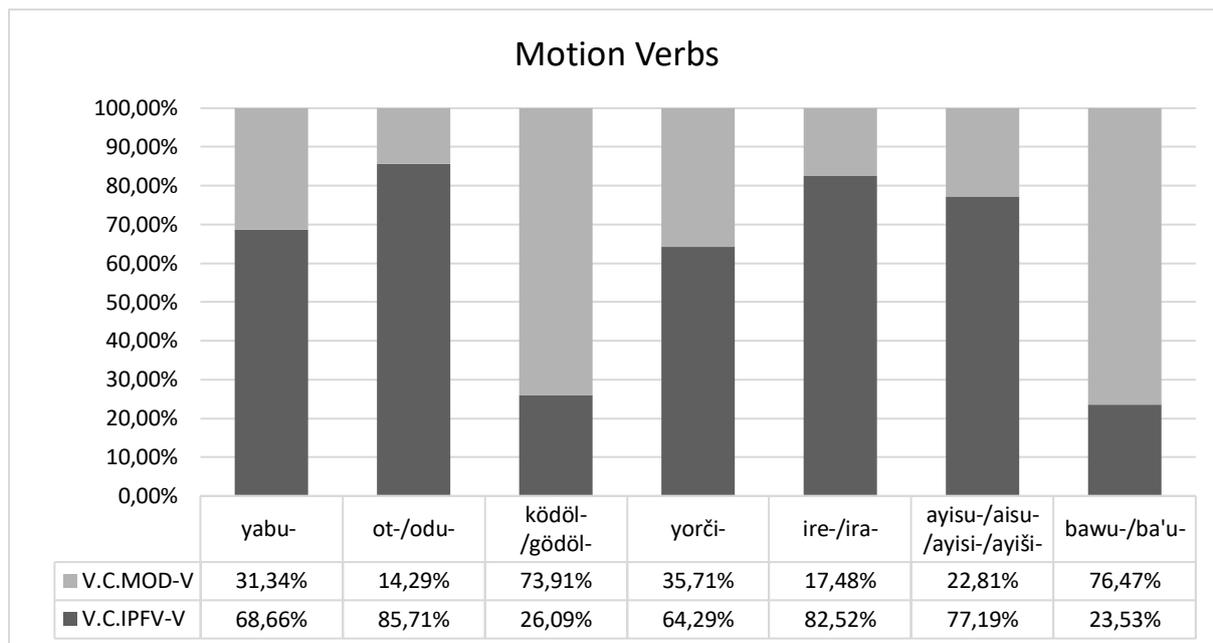


Figure 35: Types and Frequency of Connector: Motion Verbs as Heads

7.3.3 Accomplishment and Facility Verbs

The facility expression verb *čida-* means ‘be able, capable’ (cf. Lessing 1982: 177). In most cases *čida-* occurs in the SHM within a VP in combination with other preceding verbs. The proximity between the verbs make up unit like phrase structures. However, negation elements like *ülü* can be placed between the modifying verbs and *čida-*, to negate the main action, and thus the whole VP construction, cf. *küنگken ülü čidaqun* ‘cannot to move easily’ in (532), *morilan ülü čidaqu* ‘cannot mount a horse’ in (533), and *bolun ülü čidaqu* ‘cannot become’ in (534).

7.3.3.1 *čida-*

(532) SHM § 146

<i>güre'e-le-kse-t</i> camp-VR-P.PFV-PL	<i>irgen</i> people	<i>küنگke-n</i> move.easy-C.MOD	<i>ülü</i> NEG	<i>čida-qun</i> can-P.IPFV
		MODIF		HEAD
VP				

‘[saying that] that they would not have been able to get away from the place where they had encamped’ (FWC 73, mod.; cf. IDR 67)

(533) SHM § 149

<i>mori-la-n</i> horse-VR-C.MOD	<i>ülü</i> NEG	<i>čida-qu</i> can-P.IPFV	<i>Tarqutay-yi</i> Tarqutay-ACC	<i>bari-ju</i> hold-C.IPFV	<i>tergen-tür</i> cart-DAT.LOC	<i>unu-'ul-ju</i> ride-CAUS-C.IPFV
MODIF		HEAD				
VP						

‘As Tarqutay could not mount a horse, [they] made him ride in a cart.’ (IDR 70, mod.)

(534) SHM § 190

<i>bara'un qar</i> right hand	<i>bolu-n</i> become-C.MOD	<i>ülü</i> NEG	<i>čida-qu</i> can-P.IPFV	<i>bi</i> 1SG
	MODIF		HEAD	
	VP			

'I cannot be(come) the right hand (=wing).' (IDR 112, mod.)

Question words like *ker* 'how' can occur between the modifying and head verb, like *ha'ulun ker čidaqu* in (535).

(535) SHM § 199

<i>čerig-ün gü'ün</i> soldier-GEN man	<i>ha'ulu-n</i> gallop-C.MOD	<i>ker</i> how	<i>čida-qu</i> can-P.IPFV
	MODIF		MODIF
	VP		

'How will the soldiers be able to gallop.' (IDR 127, mod.)

The type of the facility verb *čida-* depends on the type of the preceding or modifying verb in terms of transitivity or intransitivity.

(536) SHM § 189

ayyi torluq töre-ksen kö'ün min-ü törülmiši olon doromjin
oh weakling bear-P.PFV son 1SG.OBL-GEN vulgar many low

<i>mawui ulus min-ü</i> base people 1SG.OBL-GEN	<i>asara-ju</i> look.after-C.IPFV	<i>bari-n</i> hold-C.MOD	<i>čida-qu-yū</i> can-P.IPFV-Q
	MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
	VP		

'Ah, [this] son of mine, born a weakling, has grown weak and emaciated, will be able to care for and control my numerous, base and unruly people?' (IDR 111, mod.)

Table 59 shows the VP constructions headed by the facility verb *čida-*.

Modifying Verbs	Head	Types of Connector
<i>abura-n</i>	<i>čida-qu-n-u</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>mori-la-n</i>	<i>ülü čida-qu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>bari-n</i>	<i>čida-qu-yū</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>bolu-n</i>	<i>ülü čida-qu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ha'ulu-n</i>	<i>ker čida-qu</i>	V.C.MOD-V

Table 59: VPs with the Facility Verb *čida-* as Head

7.3.3.2 *yada-*

The meaning opposite to *čida-* is expressed by the verb *yada-* 'be unable', 'have no strength or power', 'exhaust', 'suffer', and/or 'be in need' (cf. Lessing 1982: 422). In the SHM it appears more frequently in a VP than *čida-*. The construction *kisal kisan yada-* 'be unable to slay vengeance' is used in several passages (cf. SHM § 58, 154, 214, 254).

(537) SHM § 58

<i>kisal</i>	<i>kisa-n</i>	<i>yada-ba</i>
vengeance	requite-C.MOD	could.not-PST
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘[they] could not requite vengeance of [Ambaqai Qahan]’ (IDR 13, mod.)

Likewise, the construction headed by *yada-* with modifying verb *üje-* ‘see’ in *üjen yada-* ‘be not able to see’ is frequently used, cf (539) and (541).

(538) SHM § 179

<i>qan ečiǵe-deče min-ü</i>	<i>üje-n</i>	<i>yada-ǵu</i>	<i>qaqača-’ul-ba či</i>
qan father-ABL 1SG.OBL-GEN	see-C.MOD	could.not-C.IPFV	separate-CAUS-PST 2SG
	MODIF	HEAD	
	VP		

‘Because you can not bear the sight [of me], you caused a rift between my father the Qan and me’ (IDR 101)

(539) SHM § 244

<i>Qasar-i</i>	<i>üje-n</i>	<i>yada-mui</i>	<i>ta</i>
Qasar-ACC	see-C.MOD	could.not-PRES	2PL
	MODIF	HEAD	
	VP		

‘you can no [longer] bear the sight of Qasar’ (IDR 169)

A similar meaning is expressed by *üjen yada-*, is held by VPs like *tebčin yadaǵu* ‘cannot do away with’, cf. (540).

(540) SHM § 149

<i>tus qan-i-yan</i>	<i>tebči-n</i>	<i>yada-ǵu</i>
rightful qan-ACC-POSS	abstain-C.MOD	could.not-C.IPFV
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘we could not do away with our rightful Qan’ (IDR 72, mod.)

Motion expressing verbs like *oro-* ‘come in, enter’ in *oron yadaǵu* in (541) and *bosu-* ‘stand up’ in *bosun yadaqu* – in (542) can modify the facility verb *yada-*.

(541) SHM § 79

<i>Tayyiči’ut</i>	<i>oro-n</i>	<i>yada-ǵu</i>
Tayyiči’ut	get.in-C.MOD	could.not-C.IPFV
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘The Tayyiči’ut could not get in’ (IDR 22)

(542) SHM § 149

<i>bosu-n</i> stand.up-C.MOD	<i>yada-qu</i> could.not-P.IPFV	<i>Tarqutay-yi</i> Tarqutay-ACC
MODIF	HEAD	
VP		

‘Tarqutay, who was unable to stand up’ (IDR 70, mod.)

Verbs expressing searching and finding can be combined with *yada-* like *olu-* ‘find’ in *olun yadaǰu* in (543), in *olun yadan yadaǰu* in (544). The latter can be translated literally ‘being unable in the manner of being unable to find’ which is reduced to ‘cannot find’.

(543) SHM § 145

<i>esük</i> kumis	<i>olu-n</i> find-C.MOD	<i>yada-ǰu</i> could.not-C.IPFV
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘As [he] could not find kumis’ (IDR 66, mod.)

(544) SHM § 183

<i>olu-n</i> find-C.MOD	<i>yada-n</i> could.not-C.MOD	<i>yada-ǰu</i> could.not-C.IPFV
MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘[he] could not find him [there].’ (IDR 104, mod.)

(545) SHM § 183

<i>qa’ulqa in-ü</i> trail 3SG.OBL-GEN	<i>olu-n</i> find-C.MOD	<i>yada-bai</i> could.not-PST
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘[I] could not to find his trails.’ (IDR 105, mod.)

Unlike the translation by de Rachewiltz, it corresponds rather to the translation ‘He was unable to search [them]’, cf. (546).

(546) SHM § 264

<i>Hindus-un dumd-a</i> Hindus-GEN middle-DAT	<i>gür-tele</i> reach-C.TERM	<i>eri-ǰü</i> search-C.IPFV	<i>yada-ǰu</i> could.not-C.IPFV	<i>qari-ǰu</i> return-C.IPFV
		MODIF	HEAD	
		VP		

‘[even though] he sought them as far as the middle of [the country of] the Hindus, he was unable [to find them] and returned.’ (IDR 195)

Telic verbs like *daru-* ‘press’ in *a’uriyan darun yadan* ‘cannot press fury’ in (547), *uqa-* ‘dig (=understand)’ in *ügeyi uqan yadaǰu* ‘cannot understand the word’ in (548) occur in combination with *yada-*.

(547) SHM § 244

<i>eke</i>	<i>kiling-la-ju</i>	<i>a'ur-i-yan</i>	<i>daru-n</i>	<i>yada-n</i>
mother	anger-VR-C.IPFV	fury-ACC-POSS	press-C.MOD	could.not-C.MOD
			MODIF	HEAD
			VP	

jabila-n *sa'u-ju*
sit.cross.legged-C.MOD sit-C.IPFV

‘The mother was [so] angered that she was unable to contain her fury. She sat cross-legged,’ (IDR 169)

(548) SHM § 118

<i>Temüjin</i>	<i>Ĵamuqa-yin</i>	<i>ene</i>	<i>üge-yi</i>	<i>uqa-n</i>	<i>yada-ju</i>
Temüjin	Ĵamuqa-GEN	PROX	word-ACC	understand-C.MOD	could.not-C.IPFV
				MODIF	HEAD
				VP	

‘Temüjin could not understand these words of Ĵamuqa’ (IDR 45)

Transitive verbs like *bari-* ‘hold, bury’ in *barin yadaju* ‘cannot bury’ in (549), *gülicějü yadaju* ‘cannot wait’ in (550), *arči-* ‘wipe off’ in *arčin yadatala* in (551) take over the entire schematization of the event construction. Like *čida-*, *yada-* is one of those labile verbs due its transitivity and intransitivity respectively.

(549) SHM § 198

<i>kö'ü-t</i>	<i>in-ü</i>	<i>yasu</i>	<i>in-ü</i>	<i>bari-n</i>	<i>yada-ju</i>
son-PL	3SG.OBL-GEN	bone	3SG.OBL-GEN	bury-C.MOD	could.not-C.IPFV
				MODIF	HEAD
				VP	

<i>beye-yi</i>	<i>in-ü</i>	<i>ab-ču</i>	<i>odu-n</i>	<i>yada-ju</i>
body-ACC	3SG.OBL-GEN	take-C.IPFV	go-C.MOD	could.not-C.IPFV
		MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
		VP		

‘His sons could not bury his bone, nor could they take his body away,’ (IDR 125, mod.)

(550) SHM § 133

<i>ĵirqo'an</i>	<i>üdü-t</i>	<i>gülicě-ju</i>	<i>yada-ju</i>
six	day-PL	wait-C.IPFV	could.not-C.IPFV
		MODIF	HEAD
		VP	

‘[Činggis Qahan and To'oril Qan] were unable to wait [any longer]’ (IDR 57, mod.)

(551) SHM § 260

<i>manglay-yin</i>	<i>kölesün</i>	<i>arči-n</i>	<i>yada-tala</i>
brow-GEN	sweat	wipe.off-C.MOD	could.not-C.TERM
		MODIF	HEAD
		VP	

‘they could not wipe off the sweat of their brow’ (IDR 193)

If *yada-* is combined with state verbs like *bayyi-* ‘be, stay’ in *bayyin yadaǰu* ‘cannot be [somewhere]’ in (552), *sa’u-* ‘sit’ in *sa’un yadaquyi* ‘cannot sit’ in (553), it adapts to the verb type of the preceding verbs (V₁).

(552) SHM § 196

<i>tere güre’en-dür-iyen</i> DIST circular.camp-DAT.LOC-POSS	<i>bayyi-n</i> be-C.MOD	<i>yada-ǰu</i> could.not-C.IPFV	<i>gödöl-ǰü</i> move-C.IPFV
	MODIF	HEAD	
		VP	

tuta’a-ǰu qar-ču ot-ba
flee-C.IPFV come.out-C.IPFV go.away-C.PST

‘[but] being unable to hold that camp he [again] set out and fled further away.’ (IDR 122, mod.)

(553) SHM § 214

<i>manaqarši morin-tur</i> following day horse-DAT.LOC	<i>unu-’ul-ǰu</i> ride-CAUS-C.IPFV	<i>sa’u-n</i> sit-C.MOD	<i>yada-qu-yi</i> could.not-P.IPFV-ACC	<i>sundula-ǰu</i> ride.double-C.IPFV
	MODIF	MODIF	HEAD	
		VP		

‘The following morning, [he] put him on a horse, but as [Ögödey] could not sit up they rode double.’ (IDR 147, mod.)

If the state verb *bayyi-* is derived by the reciprocal suffix *-ldu*, it has the meaning ‘fight, battle’, cf. (554) and (555), whereas there is also *bulqa-* which also has the meaning ‘fight’, cf. (556). An affirmation particle like *ǰe* ‘yes’ in the sense of ‘indeed, surely’ occurs between the modifying and head verb expressing the certainty of the speaker.

(554) SHM § 158

<i>Buyıruq qan</i> Buyıruq qan	<i>bayyi-ldu-n</i> be-REC-C.MOD	<i>yada-ǰu</i> could.not-C.IPFV	<i>Altai daba-n</i> Altai cross-C.MOD	<i>gödöl-be</i> move-PST
	MODIF	HEAD		
		VP		

‘Unable to engage in battle, Buyıruq Qan went off crossing the Altai [Mountains].’ (IDR 80, mod.)

(555) SHM § 208

<i>Naiman Merkit čirai-ban</i> Naiman Merkit face-POSS	<i>ququra-ǰu</i> break-C.IPFV	<i>bayyi-ldu-n</i> be-REC-C.MOD	<i>yada-ǰu</i> could.not-C.IPFV	<i>busangqa-qda-bai ǰe</i> scatter-PASS-PST yes
	MODIF	MODIF	HEAD	
		VP		

‘Naiman and Merkit broke their faces, they could no longer fight and were indeed scattered.’ (IDR 140, mod.)

(556) SHM § 249

<i>qurča bulqa-tur</i> sharp combat-DAT.LOC	<i>bulqa-ldu-n</i> fight-REC-C.MOD	<i>ǰe</i> yes	<i>yada-mui</i> could.not-PRES	<i>ǰe ba</i> yes 1PL.EXC
	MODIF		HEAD	
		VP		

‘surely, we shall not be able to fight a deadly combat.’ (IDR 178, mod.)

All VP patterns with the facility verb *yada-* are presented in Table 60.

Modifying Verbs	Head	Types of Connector
<i>kisa-n</i>	<i>yada-ba</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>dawusu-n</i>	<i>yada-n</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>daru-n</i>	<i>yada-qu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>geli-n</i>	<i>yada-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>yada-n</i>	<i>bii-küi-tür</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>oro-n</i>	<i>yada-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>erüsü-n</i>	<i>yada-ba</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>erüsü-n</i>	<i>yada-ju'ui</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>uqa-n</i>	<i>yada-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>uqa-n</i>	<i>yada-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>güliče-jü</i>	<i>yada-ju</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>yada-n</i>	<i>mürü-de-jü</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>eri-ju</i>	<i>yada-ju</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>olu-n</i>	<i>yada-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>bosu-n</i>	<i>yada-qu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ükü-'ülü-n</i>	<i>yada-qu-yü</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>tebči-n</i>	<i>yada-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>tebči-n</i>	<i>yada-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>tebči-n</i>	<i>yada-qsan</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>tebči-n</i>	<i>yada-ba</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>bayyi-ldu-n</i>	<i>yada-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>qatqu-ldu-n</i>	<i>yada-n</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>qatqu-ldu-n</i>	<i>yada-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>jikdü-n</i>	<i>yada-yu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>newü-n</i>	<i>yada-yu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>üje-n</i>	<i>yada-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>yada-ju</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>yada-n</i>	<i>yada-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>olu-n</i>	<i>yada-bai</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>tebči-n</i>	<i>yada-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>tebči-n</i>	<i>yada-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>gür-ge-ldü-n</i>	<i>yada-bai</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>bayyi-n</i>	<i>yada-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>bari-n</i>	<i>yada-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>odu-n</i>	<i>yada-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>bayyi-ldu-n</i>	<i>yada-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>qalidu-n</i>	<i>yada-n</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>üje-n</i>	<i>yada-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>üje-n</i>	<i>yada-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>bayyi-ldu-n</i>	<i>yada-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>sa'u-n</i>	<i>yada-qu-yi</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>tebči-n</i>	<i>yada-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>tebči-n</i>	<i>yada-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>tebči-n</i>	<i>yada-ba</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>daru-n</i>	<i>yada-n</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>üje-n</i>	<i>yada-mui</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>abu-n</i>	<i>yada-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>tawu-n</i>	<i>yada-tala</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>arči-n</i>	<i>yada-tala</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>eri-ju</i>	<i>yada-ju</i>	V.C.IPFV-V

Table 60: VPs with the Facility Verb *yada-* as Head

7.3.3.3 *bara-*

The verb *bara-* has the meanings ‘accomplish’, ‘finish’, ‘end’, ‘terminate’, and ‘expire’ (cf. Lessing 1982: 82). In SHM, it occurs often with verbs expressing ‘killing [someone]’, *alan bara-* ‘kill completely’ in (557), *ükü’ülün bara-* ‘cause to die completely’ in (558), *kidun bara-* ‘accomplish eradicating’ in (559), *daulin bara-* ‘accomplish ravaging’ in (560), and *muqutqan bara-* ‘accomplish annihilating’ in (561), *kiduğu bara-* ‘accomplish slaying’ in (562), and *darun bara-* ‘accomplish pressing/crushing’ in (563).

(557) SHM § 149

<i>ala-n</i>	<i>bara-’asu</i>
kill-C.MOD	accomplish-C.COND
MODIF	HEAD
VP	

‘[Once he] has killed me’ (IDR 71, mod.)

(558) SHM § 149

<i>Şirgü’etü amin in-ü</i>	<i>ükü-’ülü-n</i>	<i>bara-’asu</i>
Şirgü’etü life 3SG.OBL-GEN	die-CAUS-C.MOD	accomplish-C.COND
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘Once Şirgü’etü has deprived him of his life (lit. caused him to die),’ (IDR 71, mod.)

(559) SHM § 154

tedüi Tatar-i či’ün-tür
in.that.way Tatar-ACC linchpin-DAT.LOC

<i>üli-jü</i>	<i>kidu-n</i>	<i>bara-ju</i>
NEG-C.IPFV	slay-C.MOD	accomplish-C.IPFV
MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘In this way, making an accomplishment of slaying the Tatar, comparing [their height] unto [that of] a linchpin, then’ (IDR 77, mod.)

(560) SHM § 156

<i>Tatar irgen-i</i>	<i>dauli-n</i>	<i>bara-ju</i>
Tatar people-ACC	ravage-C.MOD	accomplish-C.IPFV
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘After having completely ravaged the Tatars,’ (IDR 78)

(561) SHM § 200

<i>Naiman Merkid-i</i>	<i>muqu-tqa-n</i>	<i>bara-’asu</i>
Naiman Merkid-PL	annihilate-FAC-C.MOD	accomplish-C.COND
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘When [Činggis Qahan] annihilated the Naiman and the Merkid,’ (IDR 128, mod.)

(562) SHM § 251

<i>Kitat čeri'ü-d-i-yen</i>	<i>kidu-ju</i>	<i>bara-qda-ba</i>
Kitat troop-PL-ACC-POSS	slay-C.IPFV	accomplish-PASS-PST
	MODIF	HEAD
		VP

ke'e-n Altan qan mede-ju
say-C.MOD Altan qan know-C.IPFV

‘When the Altan Qan learned that his Kitat troops had been slain and destroyed,’ (IDR 179)

(563) SHM § 153

<i>daru-n</i>	<i>bara-'asu</i>	<i>tere olja bidan-u-'ai</i>	<i>büi je</i>
press-C.MOD	accomplish-C.COND	DIST booty 1PL.INC.OBL-GEN-NR	be yes
MODIF	HEAD		
	VP		

‘When the victory is complete, that booty will surely be ours.’ (IDR 76, mod.)

Other telic verbs occur with *bara-* like *abu-* in *Sarta'ul irgeni abun bara-* ‘accomplish taking [all] *Sarta'ul* people’ in (564), *bara-* ‘accomplish’ in *günesün baran bara-* ‘accomplish accomplishing provision’ in (565), *ide-* ‘eat’ in *šülen iden bara-* ‘accomplish eating’ in (566).

(564) SHM § 263

<i>basa Sarta'ul irgen-i</i>	<i>abu-n</i>	<i>bara-ju</i>
further Sarta'ul people-ACC	take-C.MOD	accomplish-C.IPFV
	MODIF	HEAD
		VP

‘Further, having completed the conquest of the *Sarta'ul* people,’ (IDR 194)

(565) SHM § 199

<i>günesün</i>	<i>bara-n</i>	<i>bara-'asu</i>	<i>quča-'asu ülü bolu-yi</i>
provision	accomplish-C.MOD	accomplish-C.COND	save-C.COND NEG become-PRES
	MODIF	HEAD	
		VP	

‘if your provisions have [already] completely run out, how can you save them [then]?’ (IDR 127)

(566) SHM § 229

<i>šülen</i>	<i>ide-n</i>	<i>bara-'asu</i>
soup	eat-C.MOD	accomplish-C.COND
	MODIF	HEAD
		VP

‘When [we] have finished eating [our morning] soup,’ (IDR 157, mod.)

Intransitive verbs like *geyi-* ‘light’ in *üdür geyin bara-* in (567), *bolu-* ‘become’ in *eres sayit bolun bara-* in (568), *turu-* ‘be(come) weak’ in *turun bara-* in (569) retain their intransitive schematization because *bara-* as well as *čida-* and *yada-* are pure facility expressing modal verbs and adapt to the verb type of the modifier.

(567) SHM § 146

<i>üdiir</i>	<i>geyi-n</i>	<i>bara-'asu</i>
day	light-C.MOD	accomplish-C.COND
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘When it had grown light,’ (IDR 67)

(568) SHM § 75

<i>ere-s</i>	<i>sayi-t</i>	<i>bolu-n</i>	<i>bara-ju</i>
man-PL	fine-PL	become-C.MOD	accomplish-C.IPFV
		MODIF	HEAD
		VP	

‘[The sons] grew up into fine men.’ (IDR 19, mod.)

(569) SHM § 199

<i>aqta</i>	<i>туру-n</i>	<i>bara'asu</i>
gelding	weaken-C.MOD	accomplish-C.COND
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘If a gelding is [already] completely eshausted’ (IDR 127)

Like other VP constructions headed by *bara-*, causative verbs such as *soyurqa'ulu-* ‘cause to favour’, *tarqa'ulu-* ‘cause to disperse’, *oro'ulu-* ‘cause to com in’ in (572), and *amurli'ulu-* ‘cause to calm’ in (573) get a resultative meaning through the facility verb *bara-*.

(570) SHM § 203

<i>Šigi-qutuqu</i>	<i>ö'er-i-yen</i>	<i>te-yin</i>	<i>soyurqa-'ulu-n</i>	<i>bara-ju</i>
Šigi-qutuqu	self-ACC-POSS	DIST-GEN	favour-CAUS-C.MOD	accomplish-C.IPFV
			MODIF	HEAD
			VP	

‘After Šigi Qutuqu had made [Činggis Qahan] favour himself thus’ (IDR 136, mod.)²⁰⁶

(571) SHM § 83

<i>edö'-e</i>	<i>man-i</i>	<i>tar-qa-'ulu-n</i>	<i>bara-ju</i>
now-DAT	1PL.EXC.OBL-ACC	disperse-FAC-CAUS-C.MOD	accomplish-C.IPFV
		MODIF	HEAD
		VP	

‘Now [let us] be completely dispersed’ (IDR 24, mod.)

(572) SHM § 241

<i>Tümet</i>	<i>irgen-i</i>	<i>oro-'ulu-n</i>	<i>bara-'asu</i>
Tümet	people-ACC	come.in-CAUS-C.MOD	accomplish-C.COND
		MODIF	HEAD
		VP	

‘After [he] had brought the Tümet people completely under submission’ (IDR 166, mod.)

²⁰⁶ “Šigi Qutuqu, making an end of causing [him] so to favour himself” (FWC 144)

(573) SHM § 244

<i>eke-yi</i> mother-ACC	<i>amurli-'ulu-n</i> calm-CAUS-C.MOD	<i>bara-ju</i> accomplish-C.IPFV
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘After [Činggis Qahan] had at last calmed the mother’ (cf. IDR 170)

(574) SHM § 105

<i>e-de</i> PROX-PL	<i>üge-s-i</i> word-PL-ACC	<i>da'us-qa-n</i> finish-FAC-C.MOD	<i>bara-ju</i> accomplish-C.IPFV
		MODIF	HEAD
		VP	

‘After [they] had finished these words (=message) completely’ (IDR 35, mod.)

Similar to other verbs in VP constructions headed by *bara-*, motion expressing verbs like *odu-* ‘go’, *ire-* ‘come’, *ketülü-* ‘cross through’ modify the verb *bara-* while they are in turn modified by its accomplish semantics in terms of aspectuality and modality.

(575) SHM § 163

erd-e *sayin ečige-de* *in-ü* *ene metü*
early-DAT good father-DAT 3SG.OBL-GEN PROX like

<i>odu-n</i> go-C.MOD	<i>bara-qsan</i> accomplish-P.PFV	<i>ulu-s-i-yan</i> people-PL-ACC-POSS	<i>abura-ju</i> rescue-C.IPFV	<i>ök-te-le'e</i> give-PASS-PST
MODIF	HEAD			
	VP			

‘Formerly his good father had saved my people who went off like this’ (IDR 82, mod.)

(576) SHM § 173

<i>ire-n</i> come-C.MOD	<i>bara-'asu</i> accomplish-C.COND
MODIF	HEAD
	VP

‘When he came up’ (IDR 93)

(577) SHM § 198

čö'en qaru-qsat *Naiman Merkit Erdiš*
few come.out-P.PFV-PL Naiman Merkit Erdiš

<i>ketülü-n</i> cross-C.MOD	<i>bara-ju</i> accomplish-C.IPFV	<i>qaqača-n</i> separate-C.MOD	<i>gödöl-ju'üi</i> move-PST
MODIF	HEAD		
	VP		

‘The few Naiman and Merkit that got through separated and went [in different directions] after completing the crossing of the Erdiš.’ (IDR 125–126)

(578) SHM § 191

<i>harban</i>	<i>harba-la-n</i>	<i>bara-ju</i>
ten	ten-VR-C.MOD	accomplish-C.IPFV
	MODIF	HEAD
		VP

‘[he] formed units of ten men’ (IDR 113, mod.)

(579) SHM § 194

<i>edö'-e bida</i>	<i>qamtu-du-n</i>	<i>bara-'asu</i>
now-DAT 1PL.INC	together-VR-C.MOD	accomplish-C.COND
	MODIF	HEAD
		VP

‘Now, if we be together’ (UO 81, mod.)

(580) SHM § 202

<i>Mongqoljin ulus-i</i>	<i>jibšiyerü-n</i>	<i>bara-ju</i>
Mongqoljin people-ACC	set.order-C.MOD	accomplish-C.IPFV
	MODIF	HEAD
		VP

‘Having [thus] completed [the task of] setting the Mongol people in order,’ (IDR 133)

In examples (581) and (582), we have verbs expressing uttering and speaking which occur together with *bara-*. In both cases, they are combined by the connector C.MOD.

(581) SHM § 214

<i>ügü-le-n</i>	<i>bara'asu</i>
word-VR-C.MOD	accomplish-C.COND
MODIF	HEAD
	VP

‘When she had finished speaking’ (IDR 147)

(582) SHM § 146

<i>kele-le-n</i>	<i>bara-'asu</i>
tongue-VR-C.MOD	accomplish-C.COND
MODIF	HEAD
	VP

‘When [he] had finished speaking’ (IDR 68, mod.)

In Table 61, all VP constructions with the facility verb *bara-* as head verb are summarized.

Modifying Verbs	Head	Types of Connector
<i>bolu-n</i>	<i>bara-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>tarqa-'ulu-n</i>	<i>bara-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>tarqa-'ulu-n</i>	<i>bara-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>da'u-sqa-n</i>	<i>bara-ju</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>haq-ču</i>	<i>bara-ba</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>geyi-n</i>	<i>bara-'asu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>kele-le-n</i>	<i>bara-'asu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ala-n</i>	<i>bara-'asu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ükü-'ülü-n</i>	<i>bara-'asu</i>	V.C.MOD-V

Modifying Verbs	Head	Types of Connector
<i>daru-n</i>	<i>bara- 'asu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>dauli-n</i>	<i>bara-ǰu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>kidu-n</i>	<i>bara-ǰu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>dauli-n</i>	<i>bara-ǰu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>odu-n</i>	<i>bara-qsan</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>odu-n</i>	<i>bara-qsan</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>odu-n</i>	<i>bara-qsan</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ire-n</i>	<i>bara- 'asu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>törü-n</i>	<i>bara-qsan</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>bolu-n</i>	<i>bara-ǰu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>odu-n</i>	<i>bara-qsan</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>minqa-la-n</i>	<i>bara-ǰu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>qam-tu-du-n</i>	<i>bara- 'asu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>qam-tu-du-n</i>	<i>bara- 'asu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>qam-tu-du-n</i>	<i>bara- 'asu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ketülü-n</i>	<i>bara-ǰu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>turu-n</i>	<i>bara- 'asu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>bara-n</i>	<i>bara- 'asu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>muqu-tqa-n</i>	<i>bara- 'asu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>qaqača-n</i>	<i>bara-ǰu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>soyurqa- 'ulu-n</i>	<i>bara-ǰu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>qaqača-n</i>	<i>bara-qsan-i</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ügü-le-n</i>	<i>bara- 'asu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ide-n</i>	<i>bara- 'asu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>oro- 'ulu-n</i>	<i>bara- 'asu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>amur-li- 'ulu-n</i>	<i>bara-ǰu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>dongqodu-n</i>	<i>bara-ǰu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>else-n</i>	<i>bara-ǰu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>kidu-ǰu</i>	<i>bara-qda-ba</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-n</i>	<i>bara-ǰu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>abu-n</i>	<i>bara-ǰu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>bol-qa- 'ulu-n</i>	<i>bara-ǰu</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>jibšiyerü-n</i>	<i>bara-ǰu</i>	V.C.MOD-V

Table 61: VPs with the Accomplishment Verb *bara-* as Head

7.3.3.4 *abu-*

The telic verb *abu*²⁰⁷ meaning ‘take’, ‘grasp’, ‘get hold of’ (cf. Lessing 1982: 1) is classified as a facility verb because it shows some similarities with other verbs belonging to the category ‘facility’ and ‘accomplishment’. In certain cases, *abu-* occurring as the head or supporting verb of a VP construction expresses a resultative and telic property which can be considered in the domain of aspect and modality. One frequent usage of the VP headed by *abu-* is a pattern that contains *buli-* ‘snatch’ expressing the manner of *abu-*, cf. *buliǰu ab-* ‘take snatching’ in (583) and (583), with *arbilaǰu abu-* ‘take looting’ in (585), and *dawuliǰu abu-* ‘take plundering’ in (586).

²⁰⁷ Cf. the forms of *abu-* in Sumiyabayatar (2012: 23)

(583) SHM § 76

Bekter Belgütei aqa de'ü qoyar-a
 Bekter Belgütei elder.brother younger.brother two-DAT

<i>buli-ju</i>	<i>ab-da-ba</i>	<i>ba</i>
snatch-C.IPFV	take-PASS-PST	1PL.EXC
MODIF	HEAD	
VP		

‘[It] was snatched away from us by our brothers Bekter and Belgütei’ (IDR 20, mod.)

(584) SHM § 132

<i>Qorijin qadun Qu'určin qadun jirin-i</i>	<i>buli-ju</i>	<i>abu-bai</i>
Qorijin queen Qu'určin queen both-ACC	seize-C.IPFV	take-PST
	MODIF	HEAD
VP		

‘[he] forcibly seized both Qorijin Qadun and Qu'určin Qadun.’ (IDR 56, mod.)

(585) SHM § 117

<i>Temüjin Merkid-ün Toqto'a-yi</i>	<i>arbila-ju</i>	<i>abu-qsan</i>	<i>altan büse</i>
Temüjin Merkid-GEN Toqto'a-ACC	loot-C.IPFV	take-P.PFV	golden belt
	MODIF	HEAD	
VP			

Ĵamuqa anda-da büse-le-'ül-bei
 Ĵamuqa sworn.friend-DAT belt-VR-CAUS-PST

‘Temüjin girdled his sworn friend Ĵamuqa with the golden belt taken as loot from Toqto'a of the Merkid.’ (IDR 45, mod.)

(586) SHM § 162

<i>Senggüm-ün eme kö'ü-t irge orqa selte</i>	<i>dawuli-ju</i>	<i>ab-ču</i>
Senggüm-GEN woman son-PL people ?people belongings	plunder-C.IPFV	take-C.IPFV
	MODIF	HEAD
VP		

‘[He] captured Senggüm’s wife and son together with [all] his people.’ (IDR 81, mod.)

In the scene, where Qorči responds to the recognition of his achievements by Temüjin. Qorči said: “What kind of happiness is it for me, the man who [foretold] so many great affairs, [merely] to become the leader of ten thousand? Make me a leader of ten thousand, [but in addition] allow me to take freely beautiful and fine girls from among the people, and let me have thirty as wives!” (cf. SHM § 121 and see translation by Rachewiltz 2004: 48), cf. *darqalan abqa'ulju* in (587).

(587) SHM § 121

ulus-un qo'a-s sayi-t öki-t
 people-GEN beauty-PL good-PL girl-PL

<i>darqa-la-n</i> privileged.man-VR-C.MOD	<i>ab-qa-'ul-ju</i> take-FAC-CAUS-C.IPFV	<i>qučin ba eme-s-tü bol-qa</i> thirty also woman-PL-ORN become-FAC
MODIF	HEAD	
VP		

‘Make me a leader of ten thousand, [but in addition] privilege me to take freely beautiful and fine girls from among the people and let me have thirty as wives.’ (IDR 48, mod.)

(588) SHM § 121

<i>Bodončar boqdo-yin</i> Bodončar august-GEN	<i>bari-ju</i> capture-C.IPFV	<i>abu-qsan</i> take-P.PFV	<i>eme-deče töre-ksen ba</i> woman-ABL bear-P.PFV 1PL.EXC
	MODIF	HEAD	
	VP		

‘we were born from the [same] woman taken captive as wife by the august Bodončar,’ (IDR 47, mod.)

The manner of the action *abu-* can be also expressed by the verbs *bari-* ‘capture’, *qudaldu-* ‘buy with each other’.

(589) SHM § 41

<i>bari-ju</i> capture-C.IPFV	<i>abu-qsan</i> take-P.PFV	<i>eme bü-le'e</i> womn be-PST
MODIF	HEAD	
VP		

‘she was a captured woman’ (IDR 8)

(590) SHM § 182

<i>Ergüne-müren huru'u</i> Ergüne-river downstream.along	<i>buluqa-t keremün</i> sable-PL squirrel	<i>quda-ldu-ju</i> buy-REC-C.IPFV	<i>abu-ra</i> take-C.FIN	<i>ayisu-run</i> approach-C.PREP
		MODIF	HEAD	
		VP		

‘[he] was approaching along the Ergüne River downstream to buy [pelts of] sables and squirrels’ (IDR 104, mod.)

(591) SHM § 55

<i>morin de'er-eče</i> horse above-ABL	<i>naruyit-ču</i> outstretch-C.IPFV	<i>ab-ku-lu'a</i> take-P.IPFV-PST
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘[he], from the horseback, took it with his outstretched [hand].’ (IDR 11–12, mod.)

(592) SHM § 101

<i>Qo'aqčin jirin-i</i> Qo'aqčin both-ACC	<i>sundula-'ul-ju</i> ride.behind-CAUS-C.IPFV	<i>abu-'at</i> take-C.PFV
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘making both [her] and Qo'aqčin ride behind, they took [them] away,’ (IDR 21, mod.)

These kinds of manner expressing verbs are added by the reciprocal suffix *-ldu* in *qubiyaldu-* ‘share with each other’ in (593) and (594) so that the act *abu-* is modified by the interaction between at least two participants who act *abu-* in certain ways.

(593) SHM § 260

Örünggeči-balaqasun	qubi-ya-ldu-ju	ab-qun	<i>kö'ü-t</i>
Örünggeči-balaqasun	share-VR-REC-C.IPFV	take-P.IPFV	son-PL
	MODIF	HEAD	
	VP		

bügüde Činggis qa'an-u-'ai büi
all Činggis qa'an-GEN-NR be

'They city of Örünggeči, which was taken and shared, and the sons [of yours] who took it and shared it among themselves, all belong to Činggis Qahan.' (IDR 192, mod.)

(594) SHM § 266

<i>Kitat irgen-ü Jüyin-i ta qoyar sača'u qubi-ya-ldu-ju</i>	abu-tqun
Kitat people-GEN Jüyin-ACC 2PL two equal share-VR-REC-C.IPFV	take-IMP
	MODIF
	HEAD
	VP

'The two of you take and divide equally between yourselves the Jüyin of the Kitat people!' (IDR 198, mod.)

Table 62 includes all VP constructions headed by *abu-* as a facility verb.

Modifying Verbs	Head	Types of Connector
<i>tani-ju</i>	<i>abu-'at</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>bari-ju</i>	<i>abu-qsan</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>buli-ju</i>	<i>abu-ba</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>buli-ju</i>	<i>abu-la'a</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>sundula-'ul-ju</i>	<i>abu-'at</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>arbila-ju</i>	<i>abu-qsan</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>arbila-ju</i>	<i>abu-qsan</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>buli-ju</i>	<i>abu-bai</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>qubi-ya-ldu-ju</i>	<i>abu-lča-ju</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>buli-ju</i>	<i>abu-ya</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>buli-ju</i>	<i>abu-ya</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>dawuli-ju</i>	<i>abu-'at</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>gür-čü</i>	<i>abura-'at</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ilē-ju</i>	<i>abura-ju</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>moqutqa-ju</i>	<i>abu-'ai</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>muqu-tqa-ju</i>	<i>abu-bai</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-ju</i>	<i>abu-'at</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>e'ere-ju</i>	<i>abu-n</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>qubi-ya-ldu-ju</i>	<i>abu-tqun</i>	V.C.IPFV-V

Table 62: VPs with the Accomplishment Verb *abu-/ab-* as Head

7.3.3.5 Summary

The verbs *čida-* 'can', 'be able', *yada-* 'cannot', 'be unable', *bara-* 'accomplish', 'finish', and *abu-* 'take', 'get hold of' occur in a VP as aux-like verbs. They all have the property of expressing accomplishment and/or facility of an action. Due to their semantics, the associated modifying verbs get a resultative and telic meaning which is closely connected to the domain of a deontic modality. Although *abu-* has a transitive event schematization as a single event in a VP construction, in its aux-like function it gets a kind of facility and accomplishment expressing property like *bara-*. Compared to the other aux-

like verbs, *čida-* and *yada-* are labile verbs with regard to the verb types in terms of transitivity and intransitivity. If they occur in a VP, these two verbs have the same V_T or V_I schematization like preceding modifying verbs. The functions of the VP patterns were shown with examples from the SHM.

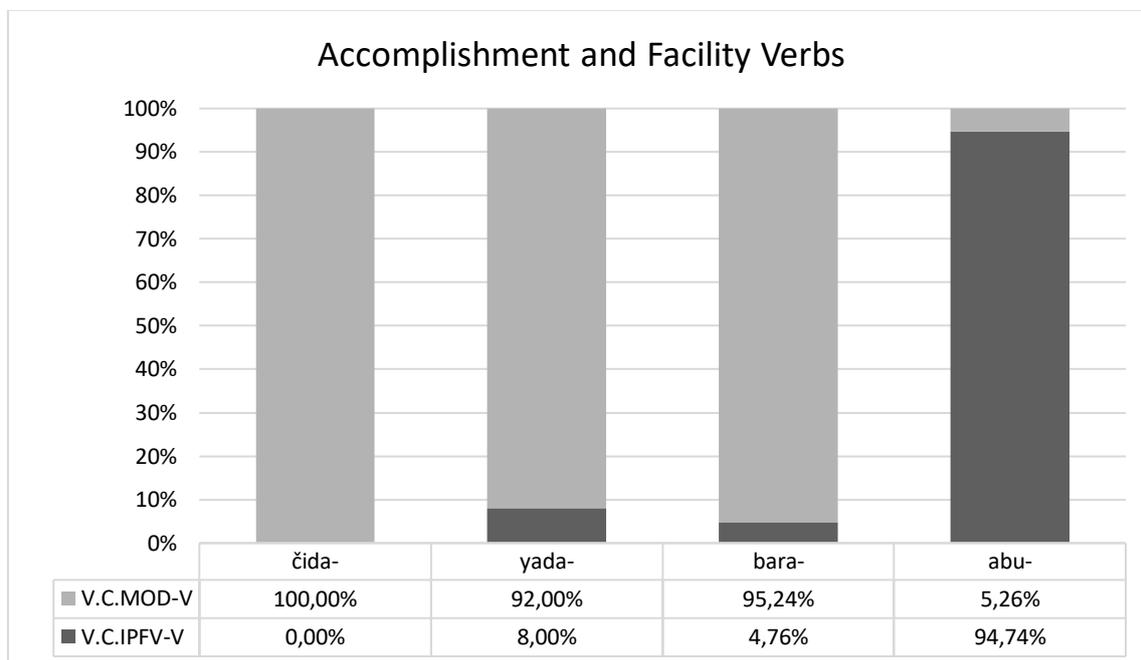


Figure 36: Types and Frequency of Connector: Accomplishment and Facility Verbs as Heads

7.3.4 Transfer Verbs

The third category, which I analyze with respect to their frequency of occurrence in VP constructions, are transfer verbs such as *ile-/ilē-* ‘send’, *ök-/ögü-* ‘give’, *talbi-* ‘put free’, ‘leave’, ‘release’. They all share the property of giving something away from the point of view of the speaker. In the following, each verb is investigated in more detail and characteristics are shown with examples from the corpus data.

7.3.4.1 *ile-/ilē-*

Ile-/ilē- ‘send’ is one of the verbs that is very often used in the SHM. This is because SHM is rich in narrative reporting and message transporting text passages. Mostly, *ile-/ilē-* occurs with verbs expressing saying and talking *ügüle* ‘say, utter, talk’ in the form of speeches delivered by someone as an *elčün* ‘envoy’, cf. scenes in (595) to (599).

(595) SHM § 53

<i>Ambaqai qahan Besüt-ei</i>	<i>gü'ün Balaqači elčün-i'er</i>	<i>ügü-le-jü</i>	<i>ilē-rün</i>
Ambaqai qahan Besüt-GEN	man Balaqači envoy-INS	word-VR-C.IPFV	send-C.PREP
		MODIF	HEAD
		VP	

‘Ambaqai Qahan sent Balaqači as an envoy to say, a man of the Besüt’ (IDR 10, mod.)

(596) SHM § 106

Botoqan-bo'orji-da boljāl qajār-a neyile-ldii-ye
 Botoqan-bo'orji-DAT appointed.meeting place-DAT join-REC-VOL

<i>ke'e-n</i>	<i>ügü-le-jü</i>	<i>ilē-be</i>
say-C.MOD	word-VR-C.IPFV	send-PST
MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
VP		

“We shall join forces at the appointed meeting place in Botoqan Bo'orji.” He sent them off by saying [it]’ (IDR 38, mod.)

(597) SHM § 190

Alaquš-digit-quri Yuqunan nere-tü elči-iyer-iyen
 Alaquš-digit-quri Yuqunan name-ORN envoy-INS-POSS

<i>Činggis qahan-na</i>	<i>ügü-le-jü</i>	<i>ilē-rün</i>
Činggis qahan-DAT	word-VR-C.IPFV	send-C.PREP
	MODIF	HEAD
VP		

‘Alaquš Digit Quri had the following communication conveyed to Činggis Qahan through his envoy named Yuqunan’ (IDR 112, mod.)

(598) SHM § 275

Batu Kibčaqčın ayan de'er-eče
 Batu Kibčaqčın campaign above-ABL

<i>Ögödei qahan-a</i>	<i>elčin-eče</i>	<i>öči-jü</i>	<i>ilē-rün</i>
Ögödei qahan-DAT	envoy-ABL	petition-C.IPFV	send-C.PREP
		MODIF	HEAD
VP			

‘From the Kibčaq campaign, through messengers, Batu sent the following report to Ögödei Qahan’ (IDR 206, mod.)

(599) SHM § 53

<i>hači</i>	<i>min-ü</i>	<i>abura-n</i>	<i>sori-tqun</i>	<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ilē-jü'ü</i>
vengeance	1SG.OBL-GEN	rescue-C.MOD	strive-IMP	say-C.IPFV	send-PST
				MODIF	HEAD
VP					

‘[he] sent by saing, “Strive to revenge me!”’ (IDR 11, mod.)

Kele ‘news (<tongue)’ in *gürgejü ilē-* is the object of sending by bringing to Ong Qan from Činggis Qahan in (600) and in *üges dawu baru'ulju ilē-* in (601).

(600) SHM § 141

<i>Činggis qahan Ong qan-tur</i>	<i>ene kele</i>	<i>gür-ge-jü</i>	<i>ilē'esü</i>
Činggis qahan Ong qan-DAT.LOC	PROX news	reach-FAC-C.IPFV	send-C.COND
		MODIF	HEAD
VP			

‘When Činggis Qahan sent bringing this news to Ong Qan’ (IDR 63, mod.)

(601) SHM § 181

Arqai-qasar Sügegei-je'ün qoyar-iyar
 Arqai-qasar Sügegei-je'ün two-INS

<i>edüi üge-s dawu</i>	<i>baru-'ul-ju</i>	<i>ilē-be</i>
such word-PL sound	hold-CAUS-C.IPFV	send-PST
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘[he] had these messages conveyed by word of mouth through Arqai Qasar and Sügegei Je'ün.’ (IDR 103, mod.)

In combination with the modifying verb *ququl-* ‘break’ in *ququlju ilebe* ‘left breaking’, *ile-* has the meaning of ‘cast off’ and ‘leave away’.

(602) SHM § 140

<i>niru'u in-ü</i>	<i>ebüdüik-le-ju</i>	<i>ququl-ju</i>	<i>ile-be</i>
spine 3SG.OBL-GEN	knee-VR-C.IPFV	breal-C.IPFV	send-PST
	MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
	VP		

‘[He] pressed his knee on his spine and broke and left [it].’ (IDR 62, mod.; cf. FWC 67–68)

Ile-/ilē- shares with *talbi-* the property of ‘put something away from a given point’.

(603) SHM § 219

<i>nama-yi</i>	<i>talbi-ju</i>	<i>ilē-be</i>	<i>je ta</i>
1SG.OBL-ACC	release-C.IPFV	send-PST	yes 2PL
	MODIF	HEAD	
	VP		

‘releasing me, you sent me away.’ (IDR 149)

(604) SHM § 149

<i>Tarqutay-yi en-d-eče</i>	<i>talbi-ju</i>	<i>ilē-ju</i>	<i>bida</i>
Tarqutay-ACC	PROX-DAT-ABL	release-C.IPFV	send-C.IPFV 1PL.INC
	MODIF	HEAD	
	VP		

‘We set Tarqutay free and send him away from here.’ (IDR 72, mod.)

(605) SHM § 251

<i>basa te-'ün-ü qoyin-a Ğeu-gon-tur</i>	<i>else-n</i>	<i>ilē-kse-t</i>
again DIST-GEN-GEN behind-DAT Ğeu-gon-DAT.LOC	submit-C.MOD	send-P.PFV-PL
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘Again, after that, since [Ğubqan and many other envoys of ours] who were sent to Ğeu Gon to seek allegiance’ (IDR 178, mod.)

In both EIs, there is something or someone that is moved from one point to another point. Therefore *ile-/ilē-* has a defined destination point compared to *talbi-* which has a stronger focus on the starting point of the action. In Table 63, VP constructions headed by the transfer verb *ile-/ilē-* are summarized.

Modifying Verbs	Head	Types of Connector
<i>üğü-le-jü</i>	<i>ilē-rün</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>üğü-le-jü</i>	<i>ilē-rün</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ilē-jü'ü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>nere-yit-čü</i>	<i>ilē-kse-'er</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ĵasa-ĵu</i>	<i>ilē-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>uri-ĵu</i>	<i>ilē-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>üğü-le-jü</i>	<i>ilē-rün</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>üğü-le-jü</i>	<i>ilē-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>üğü-le-jü</i>	<i>ilē-rün</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ilē-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ilē-jü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>üğü-le-jü</i>	<i>ilē-rün</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ilē-jü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ilē-jü'üi</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ilē-bei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ükü-jü</i>	<i>ilē-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>gür-ge-jü</i>	<i>ilē-jü'ü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>gür-ge-jü</i>	<i>ilē-'esü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>talbi-ĵu</i>	<i>ilē-jü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>talbi-ĵu</i>	<i>ilē-jü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>tali-ĵu</i>	<i>ilē-jü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>talbi-ĵu</i>	<i>ilē-jü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>quyu-ĵu</i>	<i>ilē-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ilē-jü'üi</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ĵasa-ĵu</i>	<i>ilē-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>üğü-le-jü</i>	<i>ilē-jü'üi</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ese ta'ala-ĵu</i>	<i>ilē-jü'üi</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>üğü-le-jü</i>	<i>ilē-rün</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>üğü-le-jü</i>	<i>ilē-'et</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-n</i>	<i>ilē-bei</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>üğü-le-jü</i>	<i>ilē-rün</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>kē'e-jü</i>	<i>ilē-'esü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ilē-'esü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ilē-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ilē-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ilē-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ilē-gü-yi</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ilē-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>baru-'ul-ĵu</i>	<i>ilē-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>üğü-le-jü</i>	<i>ilē-rün</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>üğü-le-jü</i>	<i>ilē-ksen</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-n</i>	<i>ilē-ldü-jü'üi</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>üğü-le-jü</i>	<i>ilē-rün</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ilē-jü'ü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ilē-'et</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>üğü-le-jü</i>	<i>ilē-rün</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>sere-'ül-jü</i>	<i>ilē-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ilē-jü'üi</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ök-čü</i>	<i>ilē-'et</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ilē-jü'üi</i>	V.C.IPFV-V

Modifying Verbs	Head	Types of Connector
<i>kele-le-jü</i>	<i>ilē-rün</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ügü-le-jü</i>	<i>ilē-jü'üi</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ilē-jü'üi</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>e'ere-'ülü-n</i>	<i>ilē-bei</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>neke-'ülü-n</i>	<i>ilē-rün</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ket-ülü-n</i>	<i>ilē-be</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>sere-'ül-jü</i>	<i>ilē-ksen</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>jori-'ul-ju</i>	<i>ilē-'esü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>talbi-ju</i>	<i>ilē-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>talbi-ju</i>	<i>ilē-jü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>talbi-ju</i>	<i>ilē-jü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>öči-jü</i>	<i>ilē-rün</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>öči-jü</i>	<i>ilē-jü-'üi</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ügü-le-jü</i>	<i>ilē-rün</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ilē-besü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ilē-'esü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ürge-jü</i>	<i>ilē-kde-jü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>e'ere-'ülü-n</i>	<i>ilē-be</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>else-n</i>	<i>ilē-kse-t</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>qurdui-la-n</i>	<i>ilē-jü'üi</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ke'e-n</i>	<i>ilē-jü'ü</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ilē-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>jori-ju</i>	<i>ilē-'esü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ilē-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>neke-'ülü-n</i>	<i>ilē-jü</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ke'e-n</i>	<i>ilē-be</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ke'e-n</i>	<i>ilē-bei</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>öči-jü</i>	<i>ilē-rün</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>öči-jü</i>	<i>ilē-'esü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ilē-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ilē-'esü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>tukir-ču</i>	<i>ilē-'esü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>bari-'ul-ju</i>	<i>ilē-rün</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>quyu-ju</i>	<i>ilē-'esü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ilē-'esü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ilē-jü-'üi</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>eye-tü-jü</i>	<i>ilē-rün</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>eye-tü-jü</i>	<i>ilē-'esü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>qar-qa-ju</i>	<i>ilē-'esü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ilē-jü'üi</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>gür-ge-'ül-jü</i>	<i>ilē-n</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>öči-jü</i>	<i>ilē-rün</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>öči-jü</i>	<i>ilē-jü-'üi</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ilē-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ilē-'esü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>asaq-ču</i>	<i>ilē-ksen</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ilē-jü'üi</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ilē-jü'üi</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ile-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ügü-le-jü</i>	<i>ile-ksen</i>	V.C.IPFV-V

Modifying Verbs	Head	Types of Connector
<i>ügü-le-ǰü</i>	<i>ile-rün</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>neyile-n</i>	<i>ire-bei</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>neyile-n</i>	<i>ire-bei</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>neyile-n</i>	<i>ire-bei</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>kele-le-ǰü</i>	<i>ile-ǰü-'ü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>kele-le-ǰü</i>	<i>ile-rün</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ququl-ǰu</i>	<i>ile-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>idüre-ǰü</i>	<i>ire-bei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ala-ǰu</i>	<i>ile-'ü-ǰei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>šilta-ǰu</i>	<i>ile-ye</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-ǰü</i>	<i>ile-ǰü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-ǰü</i>	<i>ile-'esü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ǰasa-ǰu</i>	<i>ile-'esü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>tebči-ǰü</i>	<i>ile-ü'ü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-ǰü</i>	<i>ile-ǰü'üi</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>oro-'ul-ǰu</i>	<i>ile-rün</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ügü-le-ǰü</i>	<i>ile-rün</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ügü-le-ǰü</i>	<i>ile-tügei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>tüši-ǰü</i>	<i>ile-'esü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V

Table 63: VPs with the Transfer Verb *ilē-/ile-* as Head

7.3.4.2 *talbi-*

The verb *talbi-* means ‘put’, ‘set’, ‘leave (free)’ or ‘release’, cf. *ülü sa'an talbi-* ‘leave not milking’ in (606), *yadaǰu talbi-* ‘release by being unable’ in (607).

(606) SHM § 145

<i>ge'ü-d-i-yen</i>	<i>ülü</i>	<i>sa'a-n</i>	<i>talbi-qsat</i>	<i>a-ǰu'u</i>
mare-PL-ACC-RP	NEG	milk-C.MOD	leave-P.PFV-PL	be-PST
		MODIF	HEAD	
		VP		

‘[they were those who] had left the mares without milking them.’ (IDR 66, mod.)

(607) SHM § 220

<i>tebči-n</i>	<i>yada-ǰu</i>	<i>talbi-ǰu</i>	<i>ilē-ǰü</i>
make.away-C.MOD	be.unable-C.IPFV	release-C.IPFV	send-C.IPFV
MODIF	MODIF	HEAD	
	VP		

‘unable to make away with him, you set him free and sent him away.’ (IDR 151)

Modifying verbs like *dal-* ‘loose’ in *dalǰu talbi'at* in (608), *deli-* in *deli-ǰü talbi'asu* ‘draw’ in (609), *buqu-* ‘conceal’ in *buquǰu talbiba* in (610) express the manner of action in which the *talbi-* is performed.

(608) SHM § 244

<i>eke</i>	<i>ö'esün</i>	<i>Qasar-un</i>	<i>huya-qsat</i>	<i>qanču</i>	<i>dal-ju</i>	<i>talbi-'at</i>
mother	self	Qasar-GEN	tie-P.PFV-PL	sleeve	loose-C.IPFV	put.free-C.PFV
					MODIF	HEAD
					VP	

‘The mother herself untied and loosened Qasar’s sleeves, [the opening of] which had been tied up’ (IDR 169, mod.)

(609) SHM § 195

<i>sumu-ban</i>	<i>deli-ju</i>	<i>talbi-'asu</i>
arrow-POSS	draw-C.IPFV	release-C.COND
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘When he draws [his bow] and releases a long-range thin arrow,’ (IDR 121)

(610) SHM § 90

<i>nambuqa</i>	<i>sa'ulqa-ban</i>	<i>ke'er-e</i>	<i>buqu-ju</i>	<i>talbi-ba</i>
bucket	pail-POSS	field-DAT	conceal-C.IPFV	put-PST
			MODIF	HEAD
			VP	

‘[he] put down his bucket and pail, concealing them in the field.’ (IDR 27, mod.)

Table 64 gives an overview of VP constructions headed by the verb *talbi-*.

Modifying	Head	Types of Connector
<i>yorči-ju</i>	<i>talbi-ba</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>yorči-ju</i>	<i>talbi-ba</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>buqu-ju</i>	<i>talbi-ba</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>sa'a-n</i>	<i>talbi-qsat</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ke'e-ju</i>	<i>talbi-ju</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>yada-ju</i>	<i>talbi-ju</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>deli-ju</i>	<i>talbi-'asu</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>deli-ju</i>	<i>talbi-'asu</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>yada-ju</i>	<i>talbi-ju</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>yada-ju</i>	<i>talbi-ju</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>čaq-la-ju</i>	<i>talbi-tuqai</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>dal-ju</i>	<i>talbi-'at</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>čaq-la-ju</i>	<i>talbi-ju</i>	V.C.IPFV-V

Table 64: VPs with the Transfer Verb *talbi-* as Head

7.3.4.3 *ök-/ögü-*

I have classified the verb *ök-/ögü-* ‘give’ into the category ‘transfer verbs’ because it has the same schematic properties.²⁰⁸ In such EIs, the situation of the objective of the action changes. Compared to *ile-/ilē-*, the effect of the action *ök-/ögü-* is benefactive to a receiver. The agentive acts are in the interest of someone else. In some cases, it corresponds to ‘for’ or ‘to’ in English, cf. *e'üten ergüjü ök-* ‘give by

²⁰⁸ See also the scene of <GIVE> applied by three participants a GIVER, a THING (incl. [+ANIM]), and RECIPIENT (cf. Fagerli 2001: 205).

lifting the door'²⁰⁹ (611), *ja'aju ök-* 'give showing' in (612) and (612), *şıqaju ök-* 'give pressing' in (613), *alaju ögü-* 'give killing' in (615).

(611) SHM § 137

<i>örogen e'üten</i> wide felt.door	<i>ergü-ju</i> lift-C.IPFV	<i>ök-tügei</i> give-IMP
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

'Let [them] lift for you the wide [feld] door!' (IDR 60, mod.)

(612) SHM § 90

<i>mör in-ü</i> trail 3SG.OBL-GEN	<i>bi</i> 1SG	<i>ja'a-ju</i> show-C.IPFV	<i>ök-sü</i> give-VOL
		MODIF	HEAD
		VP	

'I will show [you] their trail' (IDR 27, mod.)

(613) SHM § 179

<i>ke'er-ün</i> steppe-GEN	<i>görö'esün-ü</i> deer-GEN	<i>ke'eli in-ü</i> belly 3SG.OBL-GEN	<i>nike-tele</i> one-C.TERM	<i>şıqa-ju</i> press-C.IPFV	<i>ök-sü</i> give-VOL
			MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
			VP		

'For you (giving), [I] would drive the beasts of the steppe until their bellies press together being one.' (IDR 102, mod.)

(614) SHM § 213

<i>sa'urin</i> seat	<i>ji'a-ju</i> show-C.IPFV	<i>ök-be</i> give-PST
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

'[he] pointed out [their] seats [to them].' (IDR 145, mod.)

(615) SHM § 154

<i>či'ün-tür</i> linchpin-DAT.LOC	<i>üli-ju</i> NEG-C.IPFV	<i>kidu-ju</i> eradicate	<i>ala-ju</i> kill-C.IPFV	<i>ögü-ye</i> give-VOL
	MODIF	MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
		VP		

'[for them] we shall kill [them] on the linchpin of a cart to the last one!' (IDR 77, mod.)

Other modifying verbs are *ququl-* 'tear' in *ququlju ökjü* in (616), *qoli-* 'mix' in *qoliju ökči'üi* in (617).

(616) SHM § 16

Dobun-mergen tere üge-tür *čö'e* *buqu-yin*
Dobun-mergen DIST word-DAT.LOC three.years.old deer-GEN

²⁰⁹ Yurt doors open from bottom to top.

<i>örö'ele quya in-ü</i>	ququl-ju	ök-jü
other thigh 3SG.OBL-GEN	tear-C.IPFV	give-C.IPFV
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘At those words Dobun Mergen tore off one thigh of the three-years-old deer, gave [it to him]’ (IDR 3, mod.)

(617) SHM § 67

<i>qoro</i>	qoli-ju	ök-či'üi
poison	mix-C.IPFV	give-PST
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘[they] gave [him] poison mixing [it with his food]’ (IDR 16, mod.)

One of the objectives in such VP constructions headed by *ök-/ögü-* is the *ulus-* ‘people, nation, state’ in *qaqaçaqsan ulus* ‘divided people’ in (618) and *butaraqsan ulus* ‘scattered people’ in (619), and *odun baraqsan ulus* ‘people who have gone completely’ in (620). The modifying manner verbs are *qamtutqa-* ‘bring together’, *bügüteldü-* ‘unit with each other’, and *quriya-* ‘gather’.

(618) SHM § 96

<i>qaqaça-qsan ulus-i</i>	<i>čin-u</i>	qam-tu-t-qa-ju	ök-sü
divide-P.PFV	people-ACC	2SG.OBL-GEN	together-ORN-VR-FAC-C.IPFV
		MODIF	HEAD
		VP	

‘[I] shall bring together for you your divided people!’ (IDR 30, mod.)

(619) SHM § 104

<i>butara-qsan ulus-i</i>	<i>čin-u</i>	bügü-t-ke-ldü-ju	ök-sü
scatter-P.PFV	people-ACC	2SG.OBL-GEN	all-VR-FAC-REC-C.IPFV
		MODIF	HEAD
		VP	

‘[I] shall unite for you your scattered people!’ (IDR 34, mod.)

(620) SHM § 164

e-de ečiǵe kö'ün qoyar odu-n bara-qsan ulus
 PROX-PL father son two go-C.MOD accomplish-P.PFV people

<i>na-da</i>	quriya-ju	ögü-rün
1SG.OBL-DAT	gather-C.IPFV	give-C.PREP
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘When these two, father and son, gathered the lost people and returned them to me,’ (IDR 82)

Other modifying verbs are *abura-* ‘rescue’ in (621) *iču'a-* ‘cause to go back’ in (622).

(621) SHM § 104

<i>Börte üjün-i</i>	<i>čin-u</i>	<i>abura-ju</i>	<i>ök-sü</i>	<i>bi</i>
Börte lady-ACC	2SG.OBL-GEN	rescue-C.IPFV	give-VOL	1SG
		MODIF	HEAD	
		VP		

‘[I] will rescue your Lady Börte and give you her [back]!’ (IDR 34, mod.)

(622) HM § 136

<i>Qoriĵin qadun</i>	<i>Qu’určın ĵirin-i</i>	<i>iču-’a-ju</i>	<i>ök-bei</i>
Qoriĵin queen	Qu’určın both-ACC	go.back-FAC-C.IPFV	give-PST
		MODIF	HEAD
		VP	

‘we gave [them] back both Ladies Qoriĵin and Qu’určın.’ (IDR 58, mod.)

(623) SHM § 123

öngge sayin ökin qatun ordo ger qari irgen-ü
 colour good girl queen palatial yurt foreign people-GEN

qačar qo’a qatun öki qarqam sayin aqta
 cheek beautiful queen girl croup good gelding

<i>qatara-’ul-ju</i>	<i>ab-č-ira-ju</i>	<i>ök-sü</i>	<i>ba</i>
trot-CAUS-C.IPFV	take-C.IPFV-come-C.IPFV	give-VOL	1PL.EXC
MODIF	MODIF	HEAD	
	VP		

‘For you we shall give by bringing fine-looking maidens and ladies [of rank], palatial yurts, and from foreign people ladies and maidens with beautiful cheeks, and geldings with fine croup at the trot.’ (IDR 49, mod.)

(624) SHM § 248

altan mönggün a’urasu-t et čerig-ün gü’ün-e
 gold silver satin-PL goods army-GEN man-DAT

<i>kündü-te</i>	<i>qar-qa-ju</i>	<i>ögü-ye</i>
heavy-DAT	go.out-FAC-C.IPFV	give-VOL
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘Let us heavily sent out and give to the men of [their] army gold, silver, satins, and goods.’ (FWC 184, mod.)

(625) SHM § 272

<i>olon ulus-i</i>	<i>de’er-e</i>	<i>čin-u</i>	<i>ači-ju</i>	<i>ök-be</i>	<i>je</i>
many people	avobe-DAT	2SG.OBL-GEN	burden-C.IPFV	give-PST	yes
			MODIF	HEAD	
			VP		

‘Truly, he placed the burden of many people upon you [to govern].’ (IDR 204, mod.)

Ök-/ögü- occurs often with *qubila-* ‘part’ in *qubilaĵu ök* in (626), *qubiya-* ‘share’ in *qubiyaĵu ögü-* in (627) and (628).

(626) SHM § 203

isgei tu'urqa-tan-i iriče-'ül-ǰü
felt tent-ORN-ACC split-CAUS-C.IPFV

<i>qabdas-un</i> wooden.board-GEN	<i>e'üde-ten-i</i> door-ORN-ACC	<i>qaqača-'ul-ǰü</i> separate-CAUS-C.IPFV	<i>qubi-la-ǰü</i> part-VR-C.IPFV	<i>ök</i> give
		MODIF	MODIF	HEAD
		VP		

‘Splitting up those that live in felt-walled tents, separating those that live in dwellings with wooden doors.’ (IDR 135)

(627) SHM § 242

<i>eke-de</i> mother-DAT	<i>kö'ü-t</i> son-PL	<i>de'ü-ner-e</i> younger.brother-PL-DAT	<i>irge</i> people	<i>qubi-ya-ǰü</i> share-VR-C.IPFV	<i>ögü-ye</i> give-VOL
				MODIF	HEAD
				VP	

‘[He] would apportion the [subject] people among [his] mother, children and younger brothers. (IDR 166, mod.)

(628) SHM § 279

<i>basa ulus</i> also state	<i>irgen-e</i> people-DAT	<i>nuntuq</i> grazing.ground	<i>usu</i> water	<i>qubi-ya-ǰü</i> share-VR-C.IPFV	<i>ögü-ye</i> give-VOL
				MODIF	HEAD
				VP	

‘Dividing grazing grounds and waters, [we] shall also give them to the people!’ (IDR 214, mod.)

EIs like *ǰayyila* ‘make place’, *aralǰi-* ‘exchange’, *tebči-* ‘do away’, *ügüle-* ‘say’, *soyurqa-* ‘favour’ are further modifying manner clauses to the main action *ök-/ögü-*.

(629) SHM § 155

<i>egeči-yen</i> elder.sister-POSS	<i>ire-'esü</i> come-C.COND	<i>ǰayyi-la-ǰü</i> place-VR-C.IPFV	<i>ök-gü-yü</i> give-P.IPFV-Q	<i>či</i> 2SG
		MODIF	HEAD	
		VP		

‘If your elder sister comes [to hand], will you yield [your place] to her?’ (IDR 78, mod.)

(630) SHM § 165

Senggüm-ün kö'ün Tusaqa-da bidan-u
Senggüm-GEN son Tusaqa-DAT 1PL.INC.OBL-GEN

<i>Qoǰin-beki-yi</i> Qoǰin-beki-ACC	<i>aralǰi-n</i> exchange-C.IPFV	<i>ögü-ye</i> give-VOL
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘[I] shall give in exchange our [daughter] Qoǰin Beki to Senggüm’s son Tusaqa!’ (IDR 84, mod.)

(631) SHM § 166

ba Hö'elün eke-yin kö'ün-i aqa-yi ala-ǰü
1PL.EXC Hö'elün mother-GEN son-ACC elder.brother-ACC kill-C.IPFV

<i>de'ü-yi</i> younger.brother-ACC	<i>tebči-jü</i> do.away-C.IPFV	<i>ök-sügei</i> give-OPT
	MODIF	HEAD
	VP	

‘As for the sons of Mother Hö’elün, for you, we shall kill the elder brother and do away with the younger brother!’ (IDR 85)

(632) SHM § 169

<i>ke'e-ksen üge-s</i> say-P.PFV word-PL	<i>bügüde-yi</i> all-ACC	<i>ügü-le-jü</i> word-VR-C.IPFV	<i>ök-bei</i> give-PST
		MODIF	HEAD
		VP	

‘all the words that had been said [they] reported for [Činggis Qahan to know]’ (IDR 88, mod.)

(633) SHM § 208

<i>Činggis qahan Ibaqa-beki-yi</i> Činggis qahan Ibaqa-beki-ACC	<i>Žürčedey-ye</i> Žürčedey-DAT	<i>soyurqa-žu</i> favour-C.IPFV	<i>ögü-rün</i> give-C.PREP
		MODIF	HEAD
		VP	

‘Činggis Qahan favoured Žürčedey and gave him Ibaqa Beki [as wife]. (IDR 140, mod.)

Table 65 summarizes all VP constructions headed by *ök-/ögü-*.

Modifying Verbs	Head	Types of Connector
<i>nökö-če-jü</i>	<i>ögü-tkün</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ab-ču</i>	<i>ögü-ksen-ü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ala-žu</i>	<i>ögü-ye</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>quriya-žu</i>	<i>ögü-rün</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>quriya-žu</i>	<i>ögü-n</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>aralji-n</i>	<i>ögü-ye</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>doromji-la-žu</i>	<i>ülü ögü-n</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>abura-žu</i>	<i>ögü-'esü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ab-č-ira-žu</i>	<i>ögü-'ei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>šiqa-žu</i>	<i>ögü-'ei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>šiqa-žu</i>	<i>ögü-'ei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>šiqa-žu</i>	<i>ögü-'ei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>nökö-če-jü</i>	<i>ögü-tkün</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ügü-le-jü</i>	<i>ögü-'esü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>soyurqa-žu</i>	<i>ögü-rün</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>qubi-ya-žu</i>	<i>ögü-ye</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-n</i>	<i>ögü-rün</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ab-č-ira-žu</i>	<i>ögü-mü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ab-č-ira-žu</i>	<i>ögü-lü'e</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>qubi-ya-žu</i>	<i>ögü-ye</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ququ-l-žu</i>	<i>ök-žu</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-žu</i>	<i>ök-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>kē-jü</i>	<i>ök-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>quyu-'ul-žu</i>	<i>ök-besü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>quyu-'ul-žu</i>	<i>ök-besü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>qoli-žu</i>	<i>ök-či'üi</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>uri-žu</i>	<i>ülü ök-te-küi</i>	V.C.IPFV-V

<i>ja'a-ju</i>	<i>ök-sü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>qam-tu-tqa-ju</i>	<i>ök-sü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>bügü-tke-ldü-jü</i>	<i>ök-sü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ök-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>abura-ju</i>	<i>ök-tügei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>bügüt-ge-ldü-jü</i>	<i>ök-sü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>qam-tu-tqa-ldu-ju</i>	<i>ök-sü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>abura-ju</i>	<i>ök-sü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ot-ču</i>	<i>ök-bei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ab-č-ira-ju</i>	<i>ök-sü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>utura-ju</i>	<i>ök-sü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>şıqa-ju</i>	<i>ök-sü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>şıqa-ju</i>	<i>ök-sü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-n</i>	<i>ök-bei</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>iču-'a-ju</i>	<i>ök-bei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>tüši-jü</i>	<i>ök-bei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-jü</i>	<i>ök-bei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-n</i>	<i>ök-be</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ergü-jü</i>	<i>ök-tügei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ke'e-n</i>	<i>ök-be</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>a'ulča-n</i>	<i>ök-be</i>	V.C.MOD-V
<i>ilqa-ju</i>	<i>ök-ču</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>una-ju</i>	<i>ök-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>dobtul-ju</i>	<i>ök-sü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>dobtul-ju</i>	<i>ök-sü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>qubči-ju</i>	<i>ök-ču</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>jayyi-la-ju</i>	<i>ök-gü-yü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>abura-ju</i>	<i>ök-tügei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>abura-ju</i>	<i>ök-bei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>abura-ju</i>	<i>ök-te-le'e</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>abura-ju</i>	<i>ök-te-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>abura-ju</i>	<i>ök-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>tebči-jü</i>	<i>ök-sügei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>köl-de-jü</i>	<i>ök-sügei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>eri-'ül-jü</i>	<i>ök-ke-'ül-jü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>abura-ju</i>	<i>ök-sü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>abura-ju</i>	<i>ök-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ilē-jü</i>	<i>ök-te-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>mököri-'ül-jü</i>	<i>ök-bei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ihē-ju</i>	<i>ök-sü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>daru-ju</i>	<i>ök-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ji'a-ju</i>	<i>ök-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>qubči-ju</i>	<i>ök-tügei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>jasa-ju</i>	<i>ök-tügei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>qubči-ju</i>	<i>ök-tügei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>qar-qa-ju</i>	<i>ök-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ab-č-ira-ju</i>	<i>ök-bei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>bol-qa-ju</i>	<i>ök-sü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ači-ju</i>	<i>ök-be</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ölümle-jü</i>	<i>ök-gü</i>	V.C.IPFV-V
<i>ügü-le-jü</i>	<i>ök-bei</i>	V.C.IPFV-V

Table 65: VPs with the Transfer Verb *ök-/ögü-* as Head

7.3.4.4 Summary

Based on their frequency within the corpus data, the verbs *ile-/ilē-* ‘send’, *talbi-* ‘put (free)’, ‘leave’, and *ök-/ögü-* ‘give’ are presented as VP heads illustrated by examples from the SHM. Their semantic similarity makes it possible to categorize them into the category ‘transfer verbs’ because the locality and situation of the corresponding objects show a transfer from one point to another point. While *ile-/ilē-* and *ök-/ögü-* show more the defined destination of the object, *talbi-* expresses rather the starting point of a given object. All three verbs have some AUX-like function in term of time, aspect and modality like any other verbs presented in the previous sections.

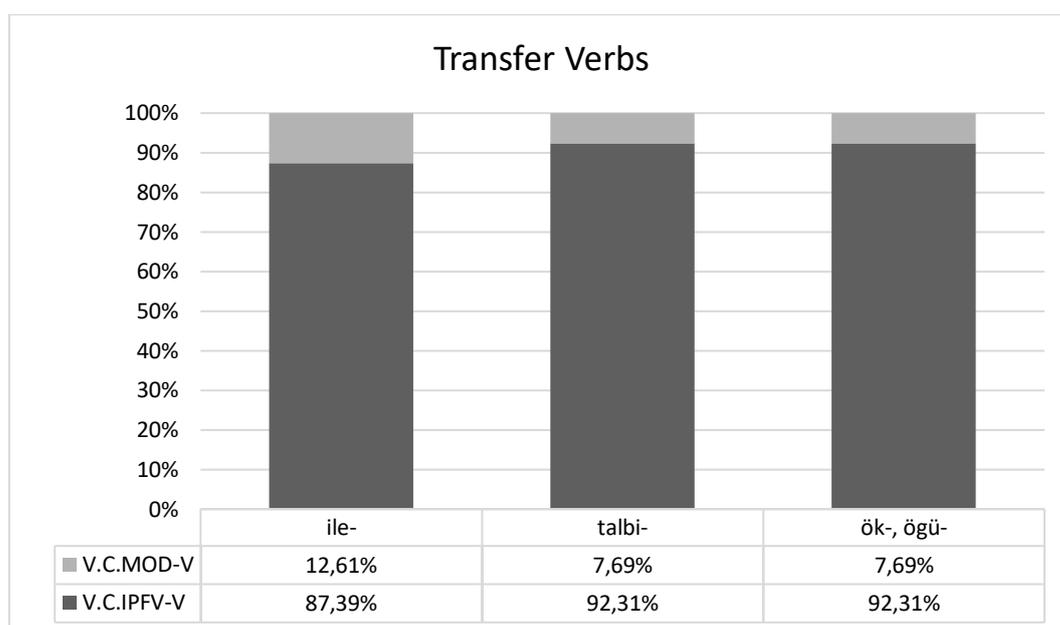


Figure 37: Types and Frequency of Connector: Transfer Verbs as Heads

7.4 Summary

Event expressing verbs occurring in verb chains tend to be clustered as a unit. According to the principle of proximity from perceptual psychology, a tendency can be observed: The closer the elements are to each other in a linguistic sense, i.e. the closer they are strung together in sequencing, the sooner they are understood as a “unity”. As a unit, the functional and operative domains of verbs coincide in terms of TAMC. Modifying events show manners in which the main/AUX-like verbs take place. Because of the parallel between the modifying and head verbs, in some cases, they can be considered as connected paratactic events and translated by ‘and’ into English. The manner expressing subordinated clauses are connected to the matrix clause through converbalizers. Only certain types of converbalizers are observed in such VP constructions. All investigated verbs are explained on examples with glossing. In each section, tables are summarizing the patterns of VP. The first type of verbs belongs to EXISTENTIAL verbs. The second type of verbs are related to MOTION. The third type of verbs belong to ACCOMPLISHMENT and FACILITY and the last type of verbs belong to TRANSFER verbs.

8 CONCLUSION

This dissertation entitled “A Cognitive Approach to Event Structures in Middle Mongolian Based on the corpus ‘The Secret History of the Mongols’” considers itself an empirical study. It deals with the question of how the underlying language knowledge, which manifests in the language usage of the one or more (here: anonymous) authors, can be derived from a historically transmitted text corpus such as the “Secret History Mongols”. Its aim is to systematically analyze the totality of verbal relevant phenomena in Middle Mongolian as they appear in the text corpus with 29,396 lexemes from a cognitive-typological point of view. Among researchers it is agreed (cf. de Rachewiltz 2004, Cleaves 1982, Choimaa 2002, 2014, Ozawa 2002, among others) that the “Secret History of the Mongols” is one of the most scientifically relevant works not only of Mongolian history but also of world history for the time around the Middle Ages. It is one of the first comprehensive testimonies of nomadic peoples and their political administration in Eurasia written in the Mongolian language.

Thanks to a series of investigations (e.g. Ramstedt 1912, Poppe 1951, Tserenpil & Kullmann 2008, Binnick 1979, Janhunen 2003, 2012, Brosig & Skribnik 2017), the current Mongolian languages and Mongolian dialects are relatively well documented on the descriptive side. Nonetheless, there are virtually no specific investigations according to questions of the dimension “verb” as the center of an Event Image in Middle Mongolian and its functionality from a cognitive-semantic perspective. For this reason, the present PhD work tried to include the verbal system of Middle Mongolian as a whole knowledge system in current research regarding typological investigations of verbs and cognitive modeling of the verb as a symbol of Event Images from a general perspective.

The aim was also to provide a basic typology of verb formation by systematically examining the data for patterns of usage (usage-based) in terms of their frequency as well as the associated markedness because this provides evidence for the degree of language usage. It can be assumed that no linguistic element is independent in its meaning from its textual environment which is especially evident in the phrase units, thus each linguistic element has a meaning/function that is relevant to a larger embedding construction. The structure of a text can be compared to the structure of an “onion” in which all layers are related with each other as part of a whole, with each layer expressing a linguistic sign. In this process, patterns are revealed in all layers, which in turn are analyzed for their semanticity.

8.1 Content and Text Structure of “The Secret History of the Mongols”

The text contains 282 scenarios consisting of 8,647 simple scenes. The scenarios up to § 268 describe the life and ascension of Činggis Qahan from his birth (probably 1162) until his death in 1227 (§ 268). The scenarios § 1-58 provide information about his ancestors and the origin of the Mongol tribes and clans. The narrative concludes with the §§ 269-281, which describes the election of Ögödei Qahan, the third son of Činggis Qahan, the successor to his leadership (1229-1241 AD).

Thematically, the work is a representation of Činggis Qahan’s lifetime, including both his private and official life, his military campaigns, his relationship to relatives, friends and allies, and alternatively to his opponents and enemies. It deals not only with his ideas about law and army organization, but also

about moral issues such as loyalty and the duties of chiefs and subjects. Likewise mentioned is the role of heaven and earth in human affairs, as well as the duties of humans to these powers. At the end of the history, the relationship between the brothers and Ča'adai, the eldest son of Činggis Qahan, is discussed in the scenarios §§ 270-281. Additionally covered is the distribution of power between Ögödei Qahan and his brothers after the founding of the Mongol Empire by their father Činggis Qahan.

8.2 Results

The text “The Secret History of the Mongols” is examined from the smallest linguistic signs (morphemes) on phrase structures such as “noun phrases” and “verb phrases”, “simple sentences” to larger linguistic signs such as more complex sentences. For the data assessment, *Mongqol-un niuča tobča'an*, which was translated into Latin script by Ligeti in 1971, was used in an electronic form. The data was processed manually, and the basis for the transfer into English are the translations of Francis Woodman Cleaves 1982 (abbreviated as FWC), Igor de Rachewiltz 2004 (abbreviated as IDR) and Urgunge Onon 2011 (abbreviated as UO). If a passage appears translated in a style too literary, the translation was slightly varied to reflect the glosses. This is marked with “mod.” The following implementation steps have been performed: determination of all morphemes, determination of phrase structures, and identification of simple sentences.

In the chapter “Basic typology of verb formation”, all verbs and suffixes occurring in “The Secret History of the Mongols” are systematically recorded according to their frequency and their forms. The suffix organization in the suffix chain is discussed in its formal and functional aspects.

It can be stated, that the verb formation series basically can be divided into three derivation phases. The first derivation phase includes the morphemes of the various verbal stems. The second derivation phase includes morphemes such as factitive, causative, passive, and reciprocal and cooperative morphemes. Its function is to change the scene or event structure and perspective. In the third derivation phase, morphemes of the categories of time, aspect, modality, and speaker certainty are added to the series of verbal suffixes.

The distinction between primary linguistic categories such as “nouns” and “verbs” and their parameters seem to be necessary, as for the Middle Mongolian verb and its formation there is an overlap of parameters such as “case” in both domains. In addition to the formal and structural morphosyntax of verbs, “simple clauses” are discussed as an expression of simple scenes and thus basic expressions of knowledge in the sense of schematic constructions in which the prototypical grammatical relationships are related to each other. We have also seen that the general visual mechanism of a relation between figure and ground or foreground and background is regarded as basic structure providing an aspect that is important for linguistic signs and their structure expressed on the surface. In the relational structure, the linguistic category “case” as “relational values” (Schulze & Sallaberger 2007) plays an important role in the dependency between the respective actors of an Event Image. An Event Image can also be constructed in a multigrounded manner. This topic was discussed in the frame of “extended simple clauses”. All sentence types as schematic constructions are discussed in relation to the “Grammar of

Scenes and Scenarios” (see Schulze 1998) and its further development in the sense of cognitive-typological approaches.

Phrase types such as NP, (periphrastic) VP affect the structure of both simple sentences and complex sentences with their matrix and subordinate sentence structures. Therefore, verb chains are examined taking into account the semantic relationship between dependence and auxiliary functions. In this context, a reference change like the same and different subjectivity of a verbal chain is discussed. Here it was important to ask why existential verbs such as *a-*, *bü-/bayi-/bai-*, *bol-* form supportive Event Images or backgrounding attributive event structures from a semantic/cognitive perspective in the below-mentioned framework. The results are recorded in the form of tables, which are listed after each investigated topic. Furthermore, all the verbs found in “The Secret History of the Mongols” and their meaning(s) in English are listed in this work. The whole system or structures of Event Images discussed in the work are summarized in Figure 38.

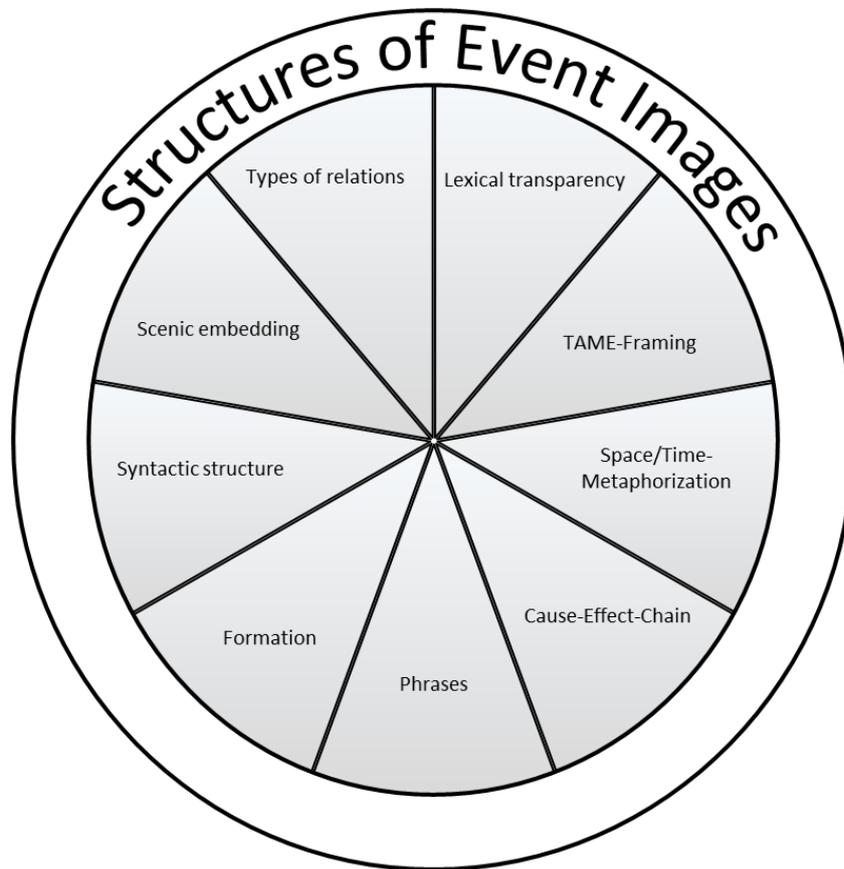


Figure 38: Structures of Event Images - Overview

9 LIST OF VERBS

<i>a-</i>	bring	miss
be	<i>adala-</i>	<i>amara-</i>
exist	act violence	love
live	rage	rest
<i>a'ulala-</i>	<i>adalitqa-</i>	<i>amara'ali-</i>
climb mountain	regard	love
<i>a'ulča-</i>	<i>adar-</i>	<i>amduri-</i>
meet	slander	be anxious
<i>a'ulja-</i>	<i>adu'ula-</i>	<i>amturi-</i>
meet	pasture stallion	be anxious
<i>a'urla-</i>	tend cattle	<i>amu-</i>
become furious	tend stallion	feel contentment
get angry	<i>adūla-</i>	feel peace
<i>a'utki-</i>	tend cattle	have peace
extend	<i>aisu-</i>	rest
<i>ab-</i>	appear	<i>amurli-</i>
capture	<i>aĵira-</i>	calm down
take	migrate	feel peace
<i>aba-</i>	return	rest
take	<i>al-</i>	<i>ana-</i>
wrestle	kill	heal
<i>abala-</i>	<i>ala-</i>	<i>andačila-</i>
chase	kill	become sworn friendship
hunt	slaughter	<i>andaqa-</i>
<i>abari-</i>	slay	become sworn friend
climb	<i>alaqčila-</i>	take oath
<i>abčira-</i>	prejudice	<i>anggičira-</i>
bring	<i>alda-</i>	separate
take	drop	<i>aqala-</i>
<i>abitla-</i>	fault	lead
appease	lose	<i>aqsa-</i>
divine	miss	attach
<i>abu-</i>	shed	bear
fetch	<i>alginčila-</i>	carry
take	go ahead as forehead	<i>aqtala-</i>
<i>abura-</i>	reconnoiter	bestride gelding
rescue	<i>alja-</i>	hold by force
save	distress	<i>aralji-</i>
<i>ača'ala-</i>	exhaust	exchange
load	pain	<i>arba-</i>
<i>ači-</i>	suffer	cast spells
burden	<i>aljiya-</i>	<i>arbila-</i>
carry	tire	capture
load	<i>alqasa-</i>	loot
<i>ačila-</i>	discourage	take and save
load	divide	<i>arči-</i>
<i>ačira-</i>	lose	wipe

wipe off	approach	<i>baruq-</i>
<i>aril-</i>	<i>ayisu-</i>	achieve
clean	appear	<i>basa'ala-</i>
disappear	approach	be in charge of
disperse	come	look after
<i>ariya-</i>	come closer	oversee
be unable	go	<i>baw-</i>
<i>arqada-</i>	go near	descend
appease	proceed	dismount
deceit	<i>ayu-</i>	fall
<i>arqala-</i>	be afraid	pitch
find ways	be in awe	set up
<i>asa-</i>	become afraid	<i>bawu-</i>
ask	fear	come down
<i>asa'u-</i>	frighten	descend
ask	<i>ba'u-</i>	dismount
<i>asaq-</i>	descend	encamp
ask	fall	go down
<i>asaqqu-</i>	<i>badarki-</i>	pitch
ask	make admonition	pitch camp
<i>asaqu-</i>	<i>bai-</i>	set camp
ask	be	set up
<i>asara-</i>	<i>bar-</i>	set up camp
care	accomplish	step down
look after	<i>bara-</i>	settle
rear	accomplish	<i>bay-</i>
take care	complete	be
<i>ašgi-</i>	destroy	<i>bayas-</i>
beat	end	rejoice
thrash	finish	<i>bayi-</i>
<i>ašgila-</i>	<i>bari-</i>	be
beat	arrest	stand
<i>asqa-</i>	build	<i>bayildu-</i>
pour	bury	battle
spit	capture	fight
<i>atqu-</i>	carry	<i>bayyi-</i>
clasp	catch	battle
<i>ayala-</i>	catch up	be
go on campaign	erect	fight
<i>ayala'u-</i>	fetch	stay
be on expedition	grab	stand
<i>ayilatqa-</i>	grasp	<i>bayyildu-</i>
report	hold	battle
<i>ayis-</i>	keep	fight
approach	seize	<i>bedere-</i>
come closer	<i>barildu-</i>	search
<i>ayiš-</i>	wrestle	<i>bekile-</i>
go	<i>baru-</i>	make firm
<i>ayiši-</i>	hold	<i>bel-</i>

be prepared	<i>bökle-</i>	go back
<i>beledü-</i>	block	<i>bučal-</i>
prepare	clog	boil
<i>belet-</i>	make firm	<i>büči-</i>
prepare	<i>böktör-</i>	surround
<i>bengleni-</i>	tuck	<i>budara-</i>
worry	<i>böktürü-</i>	scatter
<i>beriede-</i>	tuck	<i>bügüt-</i>
strike	<i>bol-</i>	complete
<i>berile-</i>	become	unite
perform daughter in law	<i>böldeyit-</i>	<i>bügütge-</i>
<i>berkedü-</i>	apart	unite
be difficult	become clear	<i>bügütke-</i>
<i>berkeldü-</i>	take apart	muster
become difficult	<i>boli-</i>	unite
<i>berkešiye-</i>	end	unite all
be afraid of difficulty	<i>bolja-</i>	<i>büi-</i>
have difficulty	make an appointment	be
<i>berte-</i>	meet appointed	<i>bük-</i>
distress	<i>bolqa-</i>	lie in ambush
<i>biči-</i>	become	<i>büle-</i>
write	make	churn
<i>bila-</i>	<i>bolu-</i>	<i>buli-</i>
capture	become	abduct
<i>bile'üde-</i>	<i>boq-</i>	capture
sharpen	wear	seize
<i>bili-</i>	<i>boqtala-</i>	snatch
caress	pull firmly	wrest
<i>biqarda-</i>	<i>boqtola-</i>	<i>bulji-</i>
exhaust	pull	detour
<i>bisari-</i>	<i>boqunitqa-</i>	escape
overflow	short	stray
<i>bitü-</i>	<i>bos-</i>	<i>bulqa-</i>
be in the straits	rise	avoid
be in turn	rise up	battle
ramble	stand up	fight
roam	<i>boso-</i>	oppose
<i>bitü'ül-</i>	rise	<i>bultari-</i>
seal off	<i>bosqa-</i>	evade
<i>bö-</i>	raise	<i>buqsa-</i>
be	<i>bosu-</i>	restrain
<i>bö'e-</i>	rise	<i>buqu-</i>
be	stand up	conceal
<i>bo'o-</i>	arise	<i>bürel-</i>
block	<i>bü-</i>	complete
<i>bo'olidu-</i>	be	destroy completely
enslave	do not	<i>bürelge-</i>
<i>bökele-</i>	live	obliterate
strengthen	<i>buča-</i>	<i>bürgü-</i>

conceal	go forth on a long campaign	have grievance
<i>būri-</i>		reprimand
cover	go in battle	<i>čimatqa-</i>
<i>būrkire-</i>	go on campaign	appease
bellow	go on war mission	<i>čina-</i>
<i>buru' u-</i>	move on a campaign	boil
contradict	wage	<i>čir-</i>
<i>buru' udu-</i>	<i>čabči-</i>	drag
flee	cleave asunder	<i>čisuda-</i>
<i>buru' uila-</i>	cut	bleed
drive back	hack	<i>čitqu-</i>
move away	hew	flow
<i>buru' ušiya-</i>	split	pour
acknowledge the fault	<i>čabčila-</i>	<i>čoki-</i>
<i>buru' ut-</i>	hack	hit
be wrong	<i>čadu-</i>	<i>čököle-</i>
escape wrongly	satiate	despair
flee	<i>čaqla-</i>	<i>čolayita-</i>
turn back	determine	be absent
<i>buru' uyila-</i>	measure	<i>čoqori-</i>
move back	remain	smash
<i>burūila-</i>	<i>čat-</i>	<i>čübtüs-</i>
retreat	satiate	fall into and drown
<i>busangqa-</i>	<i>čayi-</i>	perish by drowning
scatter	lighten	<i>čuburi-</i>
<i>busanqa-</i>	<i>čerbegelje-</i>	drip
destroy	dangle	trickle
<i>büsel-</i>	<i>čewüre-</i>	<i>čučal-</i>
belt	shatter	smash
<i>büsele-</i>	<i>čewürü-</i>	<i>čuču-</i>
belt	shatter	point
girdle	<i>či' u-</i>	<i>čuqla-</i>
<i>büšire-</i>	assemble	gather
adore	<i>či' üde-</i>	<i>da-</i>
believe	be stuck	follow
respect	<i>či' ul-</i>	<i>da' a-</i>
<i>butara-</i>	gather	bear
scatter	reassemble	carry
swirl up	<i>či' ulu-</i>	cauterize
<i>büte-</i>	assemble	<i>da' ari-</i>
be without air	gather	attack
cover	<i>čida-</i>	cross
<i>büte' e-</i>	can	pass
cover	<i>čile-</i>	pass by
<i>bütü' e-</i>	exhaust	smite
stifle	<i>čimarla-</i>	<i>da' u-</i>
<i>büy-</i>	reproach	follow
be	<i>čimat-</i>	<i>da' uli-</i>
<i>ča' ura-</i>	dissatisfy	plunder

<i>da'us-</i>	overcome	turn against
end	press	<i>de'ejile-</i>
finish	rout	respect
<i>da'usu-</i>	subdue	<i>de'ermedü-</i>
finish	<i>daruča-</i>	rob
<i>daba-</i>	press	steal
ascend	<i>daruqala-</i>	<i>de'ermet-</i>
climb	command	rob
contravene	supervise	steal
cross	<i>dauli-</i>	<i>de'üčile-</i>
overcome	pillage	treat like younger brother
surmount	plunder	<i>de'ür-</i>
transgress	ravage	fill
<i>dabši-</i>	rob	<i>deb-</i>
strike saddle flap	seize	cover
<i>dabta-</i>	subdue	<i>debse-</i>
forge	subjugate	dance
<i>dadu-</i>	<i>dawuli-</i>	step
accustom	capture	<i>debterle-</i>
<i>daiji-</i>	carry off	make into book
escape	defeat	<i>debül-</i>
flee	despoil	overboil
<i>dal-</i>	follow	<i>debüs-</i>
loose	loot	spread
<i>dalba-</i>	pillage	<i>dekde-</i>
split open	plunder	agitate
<i>dalda-</i>	ravage	<i>deledü-</i>
shelter	rob	beat
<i>daldari-</i>	subdue	hit
evade	subjugate	strick
<i>daldat-</i>	<i>dawuris-</i>	<i>delet-</i>
hide	echo	beat
<i>daqa-</i>	resound	make
follow	<i>dawus-</i>	<i>delge-</i>
<i>darbalja-</i>	complete	spread
rattle	finish	<i>deli-</i>
<i>darqala-</i>	<i>dawusu-</i>	draw
be free and privileged man	end	<i>demeče-</i>
be freeman	finish	struggle
command	<i>dayiji-</i>	<i>denggeče-</i>
have free use	revolt	equal
privilege	<i>dayyiji-</i>	match
use freely	escape	<i>dengselge-</i>
<i>daru-</i>	flee	shake
bear down	perish	<i>derbelü-</i>
conquer	rebel	shake
crush	revolt	<i>derel-</i>
defeat	<i>dayyisurqa-</i>	wheel
hold down	be enemy	<i>derele-</i>

be on pillow	<i>doromjila-</i>	escape
extend	affront	flee
<i>dergeče-</i>	despise	<i>duyal-</i>
be on side	disparage	leap in delight
go alongside	<i>doroyita-</i>	<i>duyalu-</i>
<i>dērmet-</i>	abase	be in delight
rob	<i>dötele-</i>	<i>e'ede-</i>
<i>dobtöl-</i>	near	become sour
attack	<i>dötöle-</i>	<i>e'ere-</i>
<i>dobtu-</i>	go quickly into decline	attack
attack	<i>dotorla-</i>	attack in every direction
<i>dobtul-</i>	fill with inside of a coat	spin
assail	<i>doya-</i>	surround
attack	manage	<i>e'üre-</i>
rush	<i>du'ul-</i>	burden
<i>dobtulu-</i>	hear	<i>e'üs-</i>
attack	<i>du'ulqa-</i>	arise
<i>doki-</i>	announce	establish
touch	<i>dü'ür-</i>	<i>e'üsge-</i>
<i>dölesge-</i>	be full	establish
commit	fill	<i>e'üsü-</i>
<i>dölüsge-</i>	<i>düli-</i>	spring from
scatter	last	<i>ebde-</i>
<i>dölüsgü-</i>	move forward	break
incite	travel without sleep	destroy
<i>dongqodu-</i>	<i>dülilge-</i>	destruct
petition	move forward	<i>ebedü-</i>
rail	<i>duradu-</i>	ache
rebuke	invoke	pain
scold	<i>durat-</i>	<i>ebere-</i>
utter	mention	hurt
<i>dongqot-</i>	recall	<i>ebesüle-</i>
rail	<i>duratqa-</i>	graze
rebuke	advice	<i>ebet-</i>
reprimand	advise	ache
utter	inform	pain
<i>donqodu-</i>	remind	<i>ebetçi-</i>
express	say	fall ill
<i>doraida-</i>	<i>duratuqa-</i>	<i>ebüdükle-</i>
crush	advice	knee
slam	<i>dürbe-</i>	<i>ebürit-</i>
<i>dorayita-</i>	flee	embrace
subjagate	<i>dürü-</i>	take in breast
<i>dorayyita-</i>	place	<i>eçitge-</i>
perish	thrust	wipe
<i>dörö-</i>	<i>duta-</i>	<i>eçitke-</i>
bear	escape	destruct
<i>doro'itda-</i>	lack	<i>eçül-</i>
abase	<i>duta'a-</i>	finish

<i>eke-</i>	<i>erigele-</i>	<i>geli-</i>
bash	tie around	banish
<i>eke'er-</i>	<i>erüs-</i>	<i>gemüri-</i>
turn back	capture	dissatisfy
<i>eke'erü-</i>	injure	incur blame
turn back	quench	<i>genetgē-</i>
<i>eke'ül-</i>	seize	do suddenly
curve	<i>erüste-</i>	<i>gere-</i>
<i>elčile-</i>	incur	battle
send envoy	injure	<i>gerel-</i>
<i>elgü-</i>	<i>erüsü-</i>	become frightened
hang	catch	<i>gerisgele-</i>
<i>else-</i>	emulate	shield
submit	<i>ese-</i>	<i>gerle-</i>
<i>emčüle-</i>	be not	make home
make property	<i>esergiüle-</i>	<i>ges-</i>
<i>emečile-</i>	resist	melt
treat like a woman	<i>esü-</i>	<i>gēt-</i>
<i>emgü-</i>	grow	abandon
gulp	<i>esükčile-</i>	<i>gētki-</i>
<i>emüs-</i>	drink kumis	step
cloth	<i>etke-</i>	<i>geügile-</i>
wear	cut	bend needle into hook
<i>emüsü-</i>	<i>eyetü-</i>	<i>geyek-</i>
wear	accord	become afraid of
<i>ende-</i>	agree	<i>geyi-</i>
mistake	be in agreement	bright
<i>enggešge-</i>	be in harmony	clear
imitate	consult	glimmer
<i>erbegeže-</i>	<i>ge-</i>	glow
decoy	cast away	light
<i>ere-</i>	leave	<i>geyis-</i>
examine	<i>gē-</i>	blow
punish	abandon	<i>giji-</i>
seek	cast	go along
<i>ere'üle-</i>	cast away	<i>ginjile-</i>
punish	cast off	chain
<i>erele-</i>	leave	<i>gočor-</i>
be man	leave behind	remain
<i>eremši-</i>	lose	<i>gödöl-</i>
be like a man	shed	bring
<i>ergü-</i>	<i>gebte-</i>	move
carry	lay down	set out
lift	lie	<i>gödöle-</i>
raise	<i>gečkile-</i>	move
<i>eri-</i>	stamp	<i>gödölü-</i>
look for	trample	move
search	<i>gedü-</i>	proceed
seek	sneak	<i>gör-</i>

reach	haste	<i>heyilü-</i>
<i>görö'ele-</i>	raid	abandon
hunt deer	ride in haste	withdraw
<i>görü-</i>	rush	<i>hiče-</i>
spy	<i>ha'ulqa-</i>	shame
<i>görüldē-</i>	attack	<i>hilu'atu-</i>
strife	ride out	be with gnat
<i>göyü-</i>	<i>ha'ulu-</i>	<i>hiluqa-</i>
discipline	attack	conquer
<i>gü'üle-</i>	gallop	<i>hiluqat-</i>
do one after one	raid	stir
<i>güličē-</i>	<i>ha'ut-</i>	<i>hiriče-</i>
wait	fray	cut
<i>günesüle-</i>	<i>hačila-</i>	part from
provide food	take requital	<i>ho'ara-</i>
<i>gür-</i>	<i>hačira-</i>	fail
arrive	take requital	miss
reach	<i>hangqa-</i>	<i>hö'e-</i>
attain	dry	rot
<i>güre-</i>	get thirsty	<i>ho'oji-</i>
reach	<i>haq-</i>	tighten waist
<i>güre'ele-</i>	dry	<i>hoila-</i>
surround	dry up	be in forest
surround camp	<i>haqdaru-</i>	forest
<i>gürēle-</i>	clot	<i>hōji-</i>
surround	<i>harbala-</i>	hoist
<i>gürge-</i>	form units of ten	<i>hončidu-</i>
bring	<i>hasaq-</i>	reprimand
convey	ask	<i>hontuča-</i>
escort	<i>hawul-</i>	shoot arrow at a long distance
<i>guriya-</i>	haste	shoot long distance arrow
gather	pursue	<i>hoqtoči-</i>
<i>gürü-</i>	<i>hawulu-</i>	chop
arrive	rob	<i>hoqtol-</i>
reach	smite	cut
<i>güise-</i>	destroy	cut off
want	blot	sever
<i>güyiče-</i>	<i>he'üšiyē-</i>	<i>hoqtori-</i>
catch up	miss	cut
overtake	<i>hemptel-</i>	<i>hoqtoriqā-</i>
<i>güyyi-</i>	tear	obstruct
run	<i>hemtere-</i>	<i>horai-</i>
<i>güyyičē-</i>	tear apart	be (tall) over head
overcome	<i>hemptü-</i>	<i>horči-</i>
overtake	tear apart	circle
<i>ha'u-</i>	<i>hergi-</i>	turn
wear away	surround	<i>horqu-</i>
<i>ha'ul-</i>	<i>herü-</i>	flee
attack	worry	

<i>horumla-</i> tread path	tether	retreat
<i>hü'ü-</i> rot	tie	<i>iquriqa-</i> press
<i>hudaru-</i> retract	tie up	recoil
<i>hüde-</i> accompany	<i>huyilu-</i> whirl	<i>ira-</i> come
conduct	<i>ibulu-</i> surge	<i>ire-</i> arrive
escort	<i>iču-</i> return	come
<i>hükdere-</i> relapse	turn back	<i>irē-</i> come
<i>hula'ada-</i> be red	withdraw	<i>iriče-</i> split
<i>hulalu-</i> blaze	<i>ide-</i> eat	<i>ite-</i> trust
<i>hülde-</i> chase	<i>idiire-</i> approach	<i>itege-</i> believe
chase away	haste	trust
drive	hurry	<i>itqa-</i> dissuade
drive away	<i>igül-</i> run	hinder
excel	<i>ihē-</i> protect	persuade
pursue	<i>ihe'e-</i> protect	plead
stay	<i>ijilidi-</i> be same	restrain
<i>hüle-</i> excel	<i>iktiine-</i> move	warn
leave	<i>ila-</i> vanquish	withstand
remain	win	<i>ja'a-</i> foretell
<i>hülede-</i> remain	<i>ilaq-</i> conquer	inform
<i>hülürige-</i> stare	defeat	report
<i>hülüt-</i> remain	<i>ile-</i> send	show
<i>hüinis-</i> reek	<i>ilē-</i> send	<i>ja'u-</i> bite
<i>hünüs-</i> smell	<i>ileē-</i> send	<i>ja'ula-</i> form units of hundred
<i>huraqala-</i> snare	<i>ilqa-</i> choose	<i>jabila-</i> cross leg
<i>hurba-</i> turn back	discriminate	sit cross legged
<i>hürü-</i> sharpen	distinguish	<i>jabqa-</i> disappear
<i>hutaru-</i> contravene	select	lose
<i>huya-</i> bind	<i>inē-</i> laugh	stray
leash	<i>ine'e-</i> laugh	<i>jadala-</i> make rain by use of magic
	<i>iquri-</i>	spell
		<i>jalbari-</i> pray
		<i>jalgi-</i> gulp

swallow	prepare	rejoice
<i>jalira-</i>	<i>jergele-</i>	<i>jisü-</i>
abate	put in row	hack
appease	rank	<i>jisüle-</i>
calm down	<i>ješü-</i>	identify by color or appearance
lessen reproach	allude	<i>jitgü-</i>
<i>jalki-</i>	repent	attemp
swallow	<i>jetgü-</i>	<i>jö'e-</i>
<i>jalqa-</i>	hinder	acquire
sew	hold up	convey
<i>janči-</i>	prevent	transport
beat	<i>jetkü-</i>	<i>joba-</i>
<i>jarqula-</i>	hinder	suffer
claim	<i>jewüdüle-</i>	toil
judge	dream	<i>jobo-</i>
<i>jaru-</i>	<i>ji'a-</i>	pain
serve	indicate	suffer
<i>jasa-</i>	point out	toil
arrange	show	<i>jobo'a-</i>
array	<i>ji'u-</i>	pain
dispose	bite	<i>jöbsiye-</i>
equip	<i>ji'üre-</i>	approve
fix	mix	<i>jöbšiye-</i>
handle	<i>ji'ürmede-</i>	approve
harness	become difficult	<i>joki-</i>
make law	<i>jibši'e-</i>	be appropriate
marshal	establish order	be in accordance
order	<i>jibši'er-</i>	be suitable
prepare	regroup	make peace
regulate	reorganize	match
repair	<i>jibši'erü-</i>	suit
set	deploy	<i>jolqa-</i>
supervise	<i>jibšiye-</i>	encounter
<i>jasaqla-</i>	set order	meet
array	<i>jibšiyerü-</i>	<i>joqsa-</i>
make law	deploy	stop
rule	<i>jibtura-</i>	<i>jori-</i>
<i>jayila-</i>	reduce	aim
make place	<i>jikdü-</i>	go
make way	attemp	go with an aim
remove	<i>jiktü-</i>	head
replace	strive	<i>jöriče-</i>
<i>jayyila-</i>	try	break
make place	urge	go against
<i>jebele-</i>	<i>jingkü-</i>	<i>jorqa-</i>
ride in war	slander	strike
<i>jekir-</i>	<i>jirqa-</i>	<i>jü'e-</i>
pale	enjoy	convey
<i>jemle-</i>	please	

<i>jübči-</i>	slip to belly	<i>keyis-</i>
assume	<i>kebte-</i>	blow
put on	lie	wind
wear	<i>kegesiüle-</i>	<i>keyyis-</i>
<i>jüger-</i>	injure secretly	blow
make incantation	<i>kele-</i>	<i>ki-</i>
<i>jügerge-</i>	say	make
make incantation	tell	<i>kibkangqu-</i>
<i>jügerü-</i>	<i>kelečile-</i>	revenge get satisfaction
make incantation	report	<i>kiči'e-</i>
<i>jükle-</i>	<i>kelele-</i>	be zealous
direct	report	<i>kičiye-</i>
<i>juqa-</i>	say	be diligent
recreate	speak	strive
<i>juqulu-</i>	tell	<i>kidu-</i>
draw	<i>kelki-</i>	destroy
draw out	transfix	eradicate
<i>jusa-</i>	<i>kemgerit-</i>	kill
pass the summer	crush	slay
spend summer	<i>kemkelü-</i>	wipe
<i>jüsere-</i>	crush	<i>kigüri-</i>
pour	<i>kemkerü-</i>	roam
<i>jusurit-</i>	crush	<i>kiji-</i>
deceit	<i>kemle-</i>	take position
<i>kangqa-</i>	amount	<i>kilingla-</i>
satisfy	measure	anger
<i>ķangqa-</i>	<i>kere-</i>	be angry
quench	fight	become angry
<i>ke-</i>	quarrel	<i>kinggöl-</i>
say	<i>kereldü-</i>	rent
<i>kē-</i>	quarrel	<i>kinggüri-</i>
say	<i>kese-</i>	slice
speak	punish	<i>kirqa-</i>
tell	<i>kese'e-</i>	shear
<i>ke'e-</i>	curb	<i>kirügede-</i>
declare	requite	saw
say	<i>kesesüle-</i>	<i>kisa-</i>
speak	injure secretly	avenge
tell	<i>kešikle-</i>	requite
<i>kē'e-</i>	put on roster	<i>kö'üčile-</i>
say	serve on roster	treat like son
<i>ke'ele-</i>	<i>ketügelje-</i>	<i>kö'üle-</i>
say	move crosswise	bear son
<i>ke'ü-</i>	<i>ketül-</i>	<i>köbši-</i>
smash	cross	bear
<i>kebde-</i>	ford	suffer
lie	<i>ketülü-</i>	<i>ködöl-</i>
<i>kebeli-</i>	cross	move
slant	ford	<i>köki-</i>

get frightened	be on the forefront	<i>möçgi-</i>
stir up	be on the front	follow
<i>köki'ül-</i>	be on the front as vanguard	<i>möke'elet-</i>
stir	lead as vanguard	beat
<i>kökö-</i>	<i>maqai-</i>	<i>mökör'i-</i>
suck	content with	execute
<i>köl-</i>	<i>mariya-</i>	<i>mököri-</i>
harness	stalk	cut down
<i>kölçirge-</i>	<i>mawuila-</i>	end
fall victim epidemic	become angry	execute
become feverish	become bad	finish
<i>kölde-</i>	displease	<i>moqo'a-</i>
grasp foot	<i>mawula-</i>	execute
<i>kölge-</i>	conflict	<i>moqutqa-</i>
harness	revile	finish
<i>kömlüdürgele-</i>	<i>mawuqali-</i>	<i>morila-</i>
attach breast strap	fall out	move
<i>könde-</i>	<i>mede-</i>	ride off
attack	be in charge of	set forth
touch	command	set on horse
<i>köndeledü-</i>	decide	set out on horse
come between	feel	<i>möröl-</i>
<i>könggele-</i>	govern	desiderate
lighten	judge	<i>möse-</i>
<i>könte-</i>	know	separate
touch	learn	<i>müçilje-</i>
<i>körbe-</i>	realize	smile
roll	<i>mede'ül-</i>	<i>mültü-</i>
<i>kötöl-</i>	govern	loose
guide	<i>medere-</i>	<i>mültül-</i>
lead	admit	remove
<i>kötöli-</i>	feel	<i>mültüre-</i>
lead	<i>megejile-</i>	loose
<i>köyit-</i>	bow	loose up
be cold	<i>megüde-</i>	<i>mungtani-</i>
<i>küingke-</i>	extinct	exhaust
be remote	fail	<i>muquri-</i>
escape	<i>melje-</i>	look around
<i>küyyiçe-</i>	refuse	<i>muqutqa-</i>
overtake	<i>mideri-</i>	destroy
<i>ma'uila-</i>	trample	annihilate
vex	<i>minqala-</i>	defeat
<i>mali'a-</i>	form units of thousand	destroy
give gifts	<i>mö'elet-</i>	execute
<i>maliya-</i>	beat	finish
sacrifice	<i>mö'ere-</i>	finish off
<i>mandu-</i>	bellow	perish
grow up	<i>mö'öre-</i>	<i>mürgü-</i>
<i>manglaila-</i>	bellow	bow down

butt	strike by surprise	<i>nödu-</i>
<i>mürgüle-</i>	surprise	pound
butt	<i>nengji-</i>	<i>nödü-</i>
<i>mürüde-</i>	inspect	hammer
grab shoulder	search	pound
<i>mütiki-</i>	<i>nengjile-</i>	<i>nökçi-</i>
follow	inspect	bypass
<i>naida-</i>	<i>nereyidü-</i>	die
be jealous	name	go off
<i>naita-</i>	nominate	pass
envy	<i>nereyit-</i>	<i>nökçi'e-</i>
<i>namančila-</i>	name	kill
make amend	<i>newu-</i>	<i>nökçiye-</i>
<i>nambuqala-</i>	move	kill
pour	<i>newü-</i>	<i>nökö-</i>
<i>naruyit-</i>	move	match
lean across	journey	<i>nököçe-</i>
<i>nayita-</i>	<i>neyile-</i>	be companion
be jealous	join	become companion
<i>nayyida-</i>	unit	die
be jealous	<i>neyisü-</i>	match
<i>nayyita-</i>	reunit	<i>noyala-</i>
be jealous	<i>ni'a-</i>	be commander
<i>ne'e-</i>	stick	<i>nükele-</i>
open	<i>ni'u-</i>	hole
<i>ne'ü-</i>	conceal	<i>nuntuqla-</i>
move	hide	camp
<i>nege-</i>	<i>nidura-</i>	set camp
open	break	<i>o'ara-</i>
<i>negü-</i>	dry up	fail
open	<i>nike-</i>	<i>ö'ermičile-</i>
<i>neke-</i>	be one	be on one's own
be in pursuit	be together	<i>o'or-</i>
chase	<i>nilbu-</i>	cast away
open	spit	cast down
pursue	<i>niqsaqalja-</i>	leave
track	stagger	throw
weave	<i>nis-</i>	<i>o'orki-</i>
<i>neme-</i>	fly	cast off
add	<i>niši-</i>	<i>o'oru-</i>
increase	beat	cast away
<i>nemüire-</i>	<i>nišiqu-</i>	cast down
cover	beat	leave
<i>nemürge-</i>	<i>nitulu-</i>	throw
cover	cleave	<i>öči-</i>
<i>nemürle-</i>	<i>niyitai-</i>	inform
cover	become firm	petition
<i>nende-</i>	<i>nobši-</i>	pray
attack by surprise	suffer	report

request	aim	haste
<i>odu-</i>	<i>oqjat-</i>	hasten
depart	turn back	<i>ötermele-</i>
go	<i>oqjatqa-</i>	shoot quickly
set out	frighten	<i>ötökle-</i>
<i>ögü-</i>	<i>ora-</i>	do like ancestor
give	enter	drink the ceremonial wine
<i>ök-</i>	<i>öre-</i>	like old ancestor
give	disregard	<i>ötöl-</i>
<i>ol-</i>	forsake	become old
find	<i>orkidu-</i>	grow old
<i>olangla-</i>	quote	<i>ötörle-</i>
fasten saddle girth	<i>orkit-</i>	hurry
<i>oljala-</i>	quote	quick
take advantage	<i>oro-</i>	<i>öyese-</i>
take as booty	come in	hunger
<i>ölös-</i>	enroll	<i>oyisula-</i>
be hungry	enter	injure covertly
starve	go in	revenge
<i>ölösü-</i>	incur	secretly harm
hunger	intrude	<i>oyisulat-</i>
<i>olu-</i>	submit	injure covertly
find	<i>oroši-</i>	<i>öyisüledük-</i>
<i>ölümle-</i>	exist	harm
persist	<i>oru-</i>	<i>qa-</i>
strive	enter	shoot
strive fiercely	<i>ös-</i>	<i>qa'a-</i>
<i>ömēr-</i>	grow	hide
protect	rise	surround
<i>ömere-</i>	<i>ösge-</i>	<i>qa'učit-</i>
gang up	rear	grow ancient
<i>ömöre-</i>	<i>ösö-</i>	<i>qa'ul-</i>
gang up	avenge	peel
<i>önečire-</i>	requite	<i>qabči-</i>
be orphan	revenge	conceal
<i>öngdeyi-</i>	<i>osolda-</i>	tuck
rise	be remiss	<i>qabqari-</i>
rise up	have mishap	scorn
<i>önggeyi-</i>	<i>ösü-</i>	<i>qada-</i>
lean forward	grow	hammer
<i>ongjalda-</i>	<i>ot-</i>	<i>qada'uči-</i>
be cut off	depart	be strong
<i>onglaji-</i>	go	<i>qada'uji-</i>
cleave	go away	be strong
<i>onji-</i>	go off	<i>qadal-</i>
reprimand	set out	cite
<i>ono-</i>	<i>öterle-</i>	<i>qadalu-</i>
plan	be quick	growl
<i>onola-</i>	harry	harvest

<i>qadaqala-</i> be charge with administration	<i>qanilqa-</i> compare	<i>qari'ul-</i> response
<i>qadara-</i> trot	<i>qanjuqala-</i> be bound on the saddle	<i>qarma-</i> scoop
<i>qaila-</i> wail	<i>qaqa-</i> be under a blanket	<i>qarqa-</i> draw
<i>qairala-</i> love	stifle	<i>qarqu-</i> go out
<i>qajā-</i> bite	<i>qaqača-</i> deprive	<i>qarta-</i> lay hand on
snap	disengage	seize
<i>qajarčila-</i> guide	divide	<i>qaru-</i> ascend
<i>qal-</i> attack	part from	climb
touch on	separate	come out
<i>qalidu-</i> come near	<i>qaqalu-</i> split up	come up
<i>qalqala-</i> schelter	<i>qar-</i> ascend	go away
<i>qalqu-</i> provoke	climb	go out
touch	come out	see
<i>qaltači-</i> crush	come up	<i>qaši-</i> brick
<i>qaltari-</i> slip	drive off	<i>qat-</i> clutch
<i>qamsa-</i> be together	drive out	<i>qata'uči-</i> be hard
cooperate	get out	<i>qatara-</i> trot
do together	go off	trot off
unite	go out	<i>qatqu-</i> clutch
<i>qamtudu-</i> be together	set out	impale
do together	<i>qara-</i> gaze	pierce
<i>qamtut-</i> be together	look	prick
become together	see	stab
<i>qamtutqa-</i> unify	watch	sting
unite	<i>qaramla-</i> spare	<i>qayi-</i> seek
<i>qana-</i> bleed	<i>qarayi-</i> look back	<i>qayila-</i> call
open a vein	<i>qarbiya-</i> shoot	cry
<i>qančula-</i> put in sleeve	<i>qarbu-</i> shoot	wail
<i>qanda-</i> satisfy	<i>qarbula-</i> shoot	<i>qayira-</i> spare
	<i>qarda-</i> do with hand	<i>qayirala-</i> love
	lay hand on	spare
	seize hand	<i>qayyi-</i> search
	<i>qari-</i> go back	<i>qayyila-</i>
	return	
	turn back	

shout	<i>qoriya 'a-</i>	<i>quči-</i>
<i>qo 'oĵi-</i>	shelter	choke
run out	<i>qormaila-</i>	circle
<i>qočoda-</i>	wrap in a skirt	cover
lag	<i>qoro-</i>	round
<i>qočor-</i>	consume	wrap
abandon	<i>qoroq-</i>	<i>qudala-</i>
leave	shelter	be related through marriage
leave behind	<i>qoroqu-</i>	of their children
remain	refuge	<i>qudaldu-</i>
remain behind	save	buy
<i>qočoru-</i>	<i>qorqa-</i>	<i>qudurqala-</i>
late	barricade	buckle cruppers
leave behind	pen in	<i>quĵi 'a-</i>
remain	seek refuge	save
stay behind	<i>qorqala-</i>	<i>quĵir-</i>
<i>qodolidu-</i>	barricade	slander
shoot with a knob-headed	<i>qorqaqla-</i>	<i>quladu-</i>
arrow	barricade	tumble
<i>qodolit-</i>	<i>qorqo-</i>	<i>qulajĵi-</i>
shoot with horn tipped	refuge	run away from
arrow	take a shelter	<i>qulaq-</i>
<i>qodula-</i>	<i>qorqola-</i>	steal
lay blame	barricade	<i>qulaqu-</i>
<i>qoĵida-</i>	<i>qoru-</i>	steal
delay	congeal	<i>qulat-</i>
lag	seek shelter	tumble
late	<i>qoru 'a-</i>	<i>ququ-</i>
tarry	annihilate	break
<i>qokira-</i>	<i>qu 'urda-</i>	tear
cripple	play horse fiddle	<i>ququči-</i>
<i>qolba 'ara-</i>	<i>qubči-</i>	break
cooperate	collect	<i>ququl-</i>
<i>qolbara-</i>	draw from	break
cooperate	levy	tear
<i>qoli-</i>	levy tax	crush
mix	net	<i>ququlu-</i>
<i>qona-</i>	tax	break
spend night	<i>qubila-</i>	<i>ququra-</i>
<i>qonaqla-</i>	allot	break
spend night	share	<i>qura-</i>
<i>qono-</i>	<i>qubiya-</i>	assemble
spend night	apportion	gather
<i>qor-</i>	distribute	<i>qurduila-</i>
seek refuge	divide	speed
<i>qorčila-</i>	share	<i>quri-</i>
carry quiver	<i>quča-</i>	assemble
<i>qorila-</i>	bark	convene
ban	cover	gather

<i>qurimla-</i>	aim	mind
feast	<i>salqa-</i>	remember
<i>quriya-</i>	separate	think
gather	<i>salu-</i>	<i>sewürel-</i>
keep	separate	sigh
<i>quro-</i>	<i>samawura-</i>	<i>ši'alja-</i>
save	be in disorder	play knucklebone
<i>quši'ura-</i>	<i>samši-</i>	<i>ši'e-</i>
come nearer having snout in front	ruin	urinate
<i>qutaqla-</i>	sustain losses	<i>ši'ü-</i>
pile	<i>samšiya-</i>	scoop
<i>qutqula-</i>	loose	<i>šibawula-</i>
stir	<i>sata-</i>	fly hawks
<i>quyi-</i>	bestow	hunt falcon
request	<i>se'ejigele-</i>	<i>šibe'ele-</i>
<i>quyu-</i>	hang on the arm	palisade
ask	<i>seči-</i>	<i>šiberi-</i>
request	poke	drop off
woo	<i>sedki-</i>	<i>šičabalju-</i>
<i>sa-</i>	think	slink
sit	<i>segü-</i>	<i>šidurqutqa-</i>
<i>sa'-</i>	roll back	bring to allegiance
sit	tighten	<i>šilemelče-</i>
<i>sa'a-</i>	<i>senggere-</i>	slaver
milk	bother	<i>šilemelje-</i>
<i>sa'ara-</i>	<i>sengtel-</i>	slaver
delay	restore	<i>šiljiri-</i>
hesitate	<i>sengtere-</i>	pour
<i>sa'u-</i>	rectify	<i>šilta-</i>
sit	<i>sere-</i>	excuse
<i>sa'ü-</i>	discover	make an excuse
sit	mistrust	<i>šilürte-</i>
<i>sača-</i>	wake	wound
choke on	wake up	<i>šimi-</i>
<i>saču-</i>	<i>sergü-</i>	suck
consecrate	awake	<i>singge-</i>
hoof	recover	sink
sprinkle	wake	<i>šingge-</i>
raise	<i>sergü'e-</i>	digest
<i>saki-</i>	comfort	penetrate
guard	<i>seri-</i>	sink
keep watch	wake	<i>šingtalu-</i>
look after	wake up	rebuke
protect	<i>seri'üdü-</i>	<i>šiqa-</i>
watch over	cool	near
<i>sal-</i>	<i>setki-</i>	press
divide	concern	squeeze
<i>salba-</i>	consider	stalk
	intend	<i>šira-</i>

roast	<i>soqta-</i>	<i>ta'ara-</i>
<i>širgōle-</i>	become drunk	encounter
tether in a line	get drunk	<i>ta'u-</i>
<i>širgū'ele-</i>	<i>sori-</i>	drive
tether in a line	examine	<i>ta'ul-</i>
<i>širku-</i>	measure up	carry
creep	strive	<i>taki-</i>
<i>širku-</i>	test	sacrifice
slip	try	<i>tal-</i>
<i>širqa-</i>	<i>söyi-</i>	strip
wound	train	strip off
<i>širqu-</i>	<i>söyü-</i>	<i>tala-</i>
creep	strike	despoil
slip	<i>soyurqa-</i>	devastate
sneak	favour	plunder
<i>šitü-</i>	please	ruin
fight	reward	<i>tala'ul-</i>
stitch	<i>su'ora-</i>	confiscate
<i>šitü'e'e-</i>	forsake	impound
pitch	<i>sudalbi-</i>	<i>talbi-</i>
<i>šitü'ele-</i>	make free the bit	abate
fight	<i>sulala-</i>	appoint
<i>sö'e-</i>	relieve	bury
perish	<i>sundula-</i>	give up
<i>so'ora-</i>	mount double	leave
abate	ride behind or front on the	leave free
<i>sobila-</i>	same horse	place
nurse	ride double	put
<i>soči-</i>	<i>suquči-</i>	put away
scare	pull out	put free
<i>södür-</i>	<i>sur-</i>	release
prick	learn	set free
<i>södürte-</i>	<i>sura-</i>	set up
bite	inquire	<i>talbira-</i>
<i>sögöt-</i>	seek	abate
kneel	<i>surqa-</i>	<i>tali-</i>
kneel down	teach	set free
<i>solbi-</i>	train	<i>talu-</i>
cross	<i>suru-</i>	dissolve
<i>songqu-</i>	learn	strip
choose	<i>süyi-</i>	<i>tamtulut-</i>
<i>sönö'e-</i>	discipline	tear off
extinguish	<i>süyü-</i>	<i>tamu-</i>
<i>sonos-</i>	strike	splinter
hear	<i>ta'ala-</i>	<i>tani-</i>
listen	favour	recognize
<i>sonosu-</i>	like	<i>tarbaqačila-</i>
hear	love	hunt marmot
listen	please	<i>tarqa-</i>

disperse	feed	<i>toqta-</i>
part	nourish	stay
scatter	rear	<i>torda-</i>
<i>tarqula-</i>	<i>tejiye-</i>	stick
fatten	bring up	<i>töre-</i>
<i>taši-</i>	care	bear
slope	<i>temeč-</i>	<i>törit-</i>
touch	strive	halt
<i>tasu-</i>	<i>temeče-</i>	<i>töritge-</i>
break	fight	detain
<i>tasul-</i>	scramble	stanch
cut	<i>temgü-</i>	<i>törö-</i>
cut off	pick	bear
<i>tasulu-</i>	pick up	<i>torolu-</i>
cut	<i>temtel-</i>	gambol
<i>tasura-</i>	feel for	<i>törü-</i>
break	<i>teri'üle-</i>	bear
<i>tata-</i>	be in charge of	<i>toyila-</i>
pull	be the frist	revel
stretch	do first	<i>töyit-</i>
<i>tatala-</i>	head	trip
haul	lead	<i>tu'u-</i>
pull	<i>teyile-</i>	perch
<i>tawu-</i>	starve	<i>tu'urbi-</i>
drive	<i>to'a-</i>	prepare
follow	favor	<i>tübe-</i>
<i>tawul-</i>	<i>to'o-</i>	face
follow	reckon	<i>tüble-</i>
<i>tayi-</i>	<i>to'ola-</i>	centre
sacrifice	count	<i>tübšitke-</i>
<i>te'e-</i>	<i>to'ori-</i>	pacify
carry	surround	<i>tüge-</i>
<i>te'üre-</i>	turn	distribute
hinder	<i>tö'öri-</i>	span
<i>tebči-</i>	astray	<i>tüge'e-</i>
abandon	<i>to'oriqa-</i>	distribute
abstain	encircle	<i>tüit-</i>
do away	<i>to'ula-</i>	intercept
make away	count	<i>tükē-</i>
reject	<i>töde'e-</i>	distribute
struggle	detain	<i>tüke'e-</i>
<i>teberi-</i>	restrain	distribute
clasp	<i>tölgele-</i>	<i>tukir-</i>
embrace	soothsay	incite
<i>teji-</i>	<i>tolkis-</i>	<i>tul-</i>
feed	churn	lean
<i>teji'e-</i>	stir	<i>tulbal-</i>
care	<i>tono-</i>	cleave
fatten	strip	<i>tüle-</i>

burn	<i>tüürü-</i>	<i>ügüle-</i>
kindle	pour	say
<i>tülešile-</i>	<i>tuta-</i>	utter
burn	flee	<i>üje-</i>
<i>tüli-</i>	lack	behold
cover	<i>tuta'a-</i>	look
<i>tumbula-</i>	escape	see
point out	flee	view
<i>tümele-</i>	<i>tüyt-</i>	<i>üjü-</i>
form units of ten thousand	cover	be on the furthest limit
<i>tungqa-</i>	<i>ü-</i>	<i>uki-</i>
declare	drink	become firm
proclaim	<i>u'-</i>	<i>ukiya-</i>
promulgate	drink	wash
<i>tungqa'a-</i>	<i>u'u-</i>	<i>ükü-</i>
proclaim	drink	die
<i>tungqu-</i>	<i>ü'ür-</i>	<i>ülge-</i>
proclaim	carry	hang
renew	<i>übči-</i>	<i>ulgi-</i>
<i>tuni-</i>	skin	slander
accomplish	<i>übülje-</i>	<i>üli-</i>
<i>tuqla-</i>	spend winter	be nothing
flag	spent winter	make to nothing
<i>tüiri-</i>	<i>učira-</i>	<i>ülis-</i>
push	chance	provoke
<i>туру-</i>	encounter	<i>ulit-</i>
exhaust	meet	be nothing
starve	<i>uda-</i>	<i>ülit-</i>
weaken	delay	destroy utterly
<i>tus-</i>	<i>uda'ara-</i>	exterminate
grab	be one after one	<i>ülitke-</i>
hit	follow	execute
<i>tüši-</i>	one of a number or	kill
appoint	recurring or multiplied	<i>ülke-</i>
entrust	instances (repeated acts)	hang
lean	travel straight away	<i>ulki-</i>
prop	<i>üderi-</i>	backbite
rely on	rest	<i>ülü-</i>
<i>tüširü-</i>	<i>üderit-</i>	be nothing
appoint	rest	<i>ülüt-</i>
<i>tušiya-</i>	<i>udu-</i>	be nothing
appoint	entice	exterminate
<i>tusu-</i>	lure	kill
help	<i>uduridu-</i>	<i>ülütke-</i>
<i>tüsür-</i>	lead	exterminate
fill	<i>udurit-</i>	make to nothing
pour	lead	<i>umarta-</i>
<i>tüsüre-</i>	<i>ügüle-</i>	forget
pour out	say	<i>umda'asu-</i>

become thirsty	<i>uqtu-</i>	<i>üyyilet-</i>
<i>umdala-</i>	welcome	act
drink	<i>uqu-</i>	<i>üyyiletdü-</i>
<i>umdāla-</i>	dig	act
drink	<i>ūr-</i>	<i>ya'ara-</i>
<i>umdās-</i>	carry	haste
thirst	carry on back	hurry
<i>umta-</i>	<i>ürgü-</i>	<i>yabu-</i>
sleep	get panic	be unable
<i>umtara-</i>	shy	go
fall asleep	<i>uri-</i>	go on foot
forget	call	walk
<i>una-</i>	call in	<i>yada-</i>
fall	invite	be able
<i>ünemšige-</i>	summon	be unable
take seriously	<i>urqu-</i>	distress
<i>ungši-</i>	grow	exhaust
call	rise	strain
shout	sprout	be in straits
<i>ungšila-</i>	<i>urus-</i>	<i>ye'ütge-</i>
shout	flow	change
<i>ünji-</i>	<i>usula-</i>	relieve
pass over	water	<i>ye'ütke-</i>
<i>unjilja-</i>	<i>usurqa-</i>	alter
dangle	become thirsty	relieve
<i>unu-</i>	<i>utqu-</i>	shift
fall	draw	<i>yekejile-</i>
penetrate	<i>utura-</i>	make important
ride	bring in battue	make important oneself
<i>uqa-</i>	round up	<i>yorči-</i>
assess	<i>üyele-</i>	advance
comprehend	link limb	go
dig	<i>uyyila-</i>	go away
understand	cry	intend
notice	wail	set out
realize	weep	travel
remember	<i>üyyile-</i>	<i>yoriči-</i>
sense	act	travel
observe	<i>üyyiledü-</i>	<i>yosula-</i>
<i>uqdu-</i>	act	carry out a rite or ceremony
greet	<i>uyyilet-</i>	
welcome	perform	

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