Verb formation in the Secret History of the Mongols

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by
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Introduction

“knowledge of derivational morphology is absolutely necessary for evaluating proposed etymologies”
(Starostin – Dybo – Mudrak 2003: 173)

The affiliation of the Mongolic languages to the so-called Altaic language family remains a debated question of Altaic Studies. Recently the authors of the Etymological dictionary of the Altaic languages based on questionable linguistic methods (cf. the reviews by Miller 2003–2004, Georg 2004, Vovin 2005, Stachowski 2005, Kempf 2008, and connected to them cf. Starostin 2005 and Georg 2005) concluded that Mongolic languages are definitely genetically related to the other members of this language family.

More reliable methods were used by Martine Robbeets in her works to prove that the relationship between the Altaic languages (in her newly used term Trans-Eurasian languages) is a genealogical one (cf. Robbeets 2005, 2007, and reactions of Miller 2007; Vovin 2009). The main idea worked out in her latest work (2007) according to which “In the verbal flection, suffixes closest to the primary stem, markers of actionality and diathesis, seem relatively little susceptible to copying. It would be a strong clue to a common origin if this ‘intimate’ part of verbal morphology exhibited systematic correspondences of materially and semantically similar morphemes with congruent combinational patterns.” was inspired by Johanson (1999: 8). The same idea appears in other works on the code-copying framework of Johanson as well. Especially important is here to quote that “The same is true of Turkic and Mongolic, which have much in common in their declensions. Their verbs, however, share no features indicative of convergence.” (Johanson 2002: 88)

Both supporters and critics of the Altaic theory agree that resolving this question on morphological grounds will give convincing evidence for deciding the question pro¹ or contra.² As presented above, derivational verbal morphemes, occupying the closest position to the stem and being relatively resistant to borrowing and phonological erosion, seem to be the best candidate to reveal if there was a common ancestry or not (Johanson 2002).

Elaboration of this part of morphology, however, in the different branches of Altaic is not equal. Best studied seems to be Turkic, for which not only descriptions of modern languages are

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¹ “... regular paradigmatic correspondences in morphology are necessarily indicative of genetic relationship.” (Dybo – Starostin 2008: 125)
² “The best way ... is to prove a suggested genetic relationship on the basis of paradigmatic morphology ...” (Vovin 2005: 73)
available, but historical comparative works as well. In the next step these basic researches made possible to carry out several firmly based works on Turkic etymology. In turn lack of these basic researches obstructed to carry out similar works on Mongolic etymology. The striking absence of a Mongolic etymological dictionary makes any Altaic comparison risky and doubtful.

The situation is in some respect even worse in the case of the Tungusic languages, however, at least there is available a comparative dictionary of Tungusic languages (Cincius 1975–1977), which can be used as a quasi-etymological dictionary. A systematic comparative phonology and a comparative morphology, however, in that field is absent as well.

Former results on Mongolic etymology are desperately dispersed in the scholarly literature, and in many respect are inordinate and ad hoc. To enumerate the richest sources of Mongolic etymology the following immature list of works should be considered:

Etymological data many times appear in different dictionaries of the Mongolic languages. The best example of that is Ramstedt’s Kalmuck dictionary. One advantage of this dictionary is that LM forms, or better to say reconstructions of the Kalmuck words are quoted, in many instances together with a morphological analysis. In comparison with that, Mostaert’s Ordos dictionary (1941–1944) does not give morphological clues, however, in some respect is more reliable, since it quotes only really existing LM forms. In addition while it marks the Chinese and Manchu origin of certain words, other parallels, e.g. Turkic are omitted. The same is the situation with the Literary Mongol – English dictionary of Lessing (1960).

Beside of several works of Vladimircov, his treatment of Turkic elements in Mongolic (1911) and his comparative phonology (1929a) should be emphasized. In turn an other great personage of Altaic studies Garma Dancaranovici Sanžeev (1930) worked on Manchu–Mongolic lexical parallels.

There appear a great amount of etymologies in the Altaic comparative phonology and morphology of Ramstedt (1952–1957) and in the Mongolian comparative studies and Altaic comparative phonology of Poppe (1955, 1960a). It should be emphasized that probably all works of them contain more or less Altaic etymologies.

The task of writing a Mongolic etymological dictionary formerly was taken at least two times. First such an intention was indicated by György Kara in his paper from 1965. This paper of him is a very accurate description of the requirements for accomplishing such a dictionary. I just regret that the task has not been performed.

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6 Some of such requirements are the historical and comparative examination of the Mongolic lexicon in general, mapping the different external relations of the Mongolic languages, and at the same time pondering the possibility of Common Altaic inheritance.
Another run was initiated by Udo Posch (1955, 1956) who reported on the workings towards a Mongolic comparative and etymological dictionary. This work got bogged on systematization and transcriptional questions, and later was abandoned.

It is probably not by chance that the task was not carried out. The problem probably lays in the fact that too many necessary links for the accomplishment of a Mongolic etymological dictionary are not properly elaborated.

As a first step on the way to a future “Comparative etymological dictionary of the Mongolic languages”, the present study was carried out to create a basis for the examination of the verb formation and historical morphology of the Mongolic languages. The Secret History of the Mongols (after its original title Mongqol-un niuc’a tobc’anan throughout in this work abbreviated as Mnt⁴), a Mongolian epic chronicle of the 13th century, as the most extensive and in some respect the most ancient monument of the Mongolic languages was chosen for providing the material of the present study.

The first aim of this work was to examine the verbalization processes of Middle Mongol as it appears in the Mnt. After finding the derivational elements traceable from this stage of the language I set the target to characterize them. This is important to emphasize, since I tried to carry out the examination in an empiric way, thus the starting point for characterization was the text itself, and not the secondary literature.⁷ Indeed where sharp contrast was observable, I used comparative data to picture the differences between this and later stages of the language. However, in the present stage of work in this respect I do not aim at completeness.

Although sooner or later it will be inevitable, at the present stage I will not examine if the suffix has counterparts in other Altaic languages. This will be a further task to do before one takes the task to compile the above mentioned etymological dictionary.

The Mongolic verb stem

The term stem is used in accordance to the definition of Booij (2005: 28), that is “The stem of a word is the word form minus its inflectional affixes”. The term stem in the present work is distinguished from root, used here for supposed stems, which once possibly were but ceased to be morphemes in the given language stage.⁸

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⁴ I hope to observe the use of this abbreviation in future works on Mongolic, since it helps avoiding the several different abbreviations based on the translated title of the work, e.g. SH (Secret History), GG (Geheime Geschichte), MTT (Mongolok titkos története), etc.

⁷ It can be observed in different grammars of Mongolic languages that the direction of examination leads from the modern stage towards Literary Mongolian. A historical grammar, however, should start from the opposite side, which needs an examination of the earlier stages as they appear in the written sources. Only after that examination was performed, the behavior of certain modern suffixes can be described.

⁸ This definition of root differs from that offered by Booij (2005: 29): “Stems can be either simplex or complex. If they are simplex they are called roots. Roots may be turned into stems by the addition of a morpheme”.

Mongolic verbs can be primary stems, or they can be already derived, i.e. secondary stems. This second group is further divided into deverbal verbs and denominal verbs.

When speaking about the structure of the verb stem, I again distinguish between primary stems and secondary ones. Secondary stems are not dealt with here.

Primary verb stems are observable in the following types of structure: V-, CV-, VC-, CVC-, VCV-, VCVC-, CVCV-. The typical Mongolic verb stem is mostly disyllabic, which is in accord with the generally observed situation.

It is generally accepted that “every verb stem is inherently transitive or intransitive.” (Street 1963: 82) Such kind of generalization, however, does not fit to the needs of modern historical linguistics. Even in the Mnt it is observable that transitive verbs may have intransitive uses. To this must be added, that probably there occurred cases when e.g. the intransitive use was lexicalized, while the transitive use could disappear at all.

The link between the stem and the suffix

When verb forming suffixes are added to a stem, there can happen that the juncture of the final sound of the stem and the first sound of the suffix results in a phonotactically forbidden situation. In such cases a so-called linking vowel is used to resolve the situation. The literature does not give any clue in defining whether the linking vowel pertains to the stem or to the suffix. Contrary to the observation that in some cases such linking vowels become parts of the stem I am inclined to consider the linking vowels as parts of the given suffix. In most cases the linking vowel nature of the stem final vowel is not transparent, comparative data should be used to ascertain it. As this lexicalization of the linking vowel is not a general phenomenon, it may happen that not even the comparative data from other stages of the Mongolic languages will help. In such cases if there are, Turkic data should be used to ascertain the original stem shape.

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9 It should be a research topic if this linking vowel has something in common with the so-called thematic vowels, peculiar to Indo-European languages that are considered to have an independent morphological status.

10 Cf. Mnt hasaq- ‘to ask’ and LM (L) asayu- ‘to ask’.

11 Lexicalization of the linking vowel has mislead Janhunen in stating that no Mongolic verb stems can end in a nasal consonant. (Janhunen 2003: 10) Such a prohibition, however, does not exist for Mongolic, cf. LM (L) tunu- ‘to settle to the bottom, etc.’ ← *tun-, cf. the derivative LM (L) tungya- ‘to let a liquid settle, etc.’ or LM gan-/qanu- ‘to content oneself, be content, satisfied, to be satiated, be full’ ← *kan-, cf. the derivative LM (L) qangya- ‘to satisfy, fulfill; to provide, supply with’.
Derivational morphology

Morphology is the study of the internal structure of words, and according to its most simple definition, as a sub-discipline of linguistics it is the “knowledge of the systematicity in the relationship between the form and meaning of words”. (Booj 2005: 4) In other words morphology researches the creativity of the language user in creating new words, and new forms of words.

Further it is practical to make a distinction between inflectional and derivational morphology.

Distinguishing them from each other is topic to long scholarly dispute, for a brief survey of which see Bybee 1985: 81–82.

I accept the definition according to which while derivational morphology examines how new words or lexemes are created by adding a bound morpheme, being a process quite accurately described by the term word formation, inflectional morphology describes what different forms the existing lexemes can have in a grammatical relation. As a result of the derivational process, the derived word will get a new meaning.12 As Bybee reports, another criterion, probably more exact than the former definition works with the term of obligatoriness, which was offered by Greenberg in 1954. Later Matthews in 1974, and Anderson in 1982 defined inflectional suffixes as those which are required by the syntax of the sentence. While such a definition could work in the case of Indo-European languages, it cannot be used in the case of the Altaic languages and agglutinative languages in general. It is thought provoking the statement of Bybee (1985: 83) who says that words derived by derivational morphology do represent conceptually coherent units – units that could as well be expressed by single morphemes.

A general observation of more linguists (e.g. Bloomfield, Nida) is that derivational suffixes are closer to the root than inflectional ones, while according to another such observation a language has more derivational morphemes than inflectional ones.

In Mongolic there appear several means for word formation. These are (1) adding a strengthening suffix, also called particular reduplication,13 (2) reduplication,14 (3) compounding15 and (4)

12 Derivation and inflection, however are not completely independent from each other, as inflectional morphemes sometimes seem to move to the domain of derivation (Károly 2007: 3). To my best knowledge, for Mongolic such processes were not examined. Károly in his work quotes the Yakut suffix of the past participle, some examples of which are parts of the lexicon, as is visible in the dictionary of Pekarskij. The Mongolic suffix -gsAn of the past participle furnishes similar peculiarities, and several examples of it are present in the different dictionaries. The question arises how can we be sure if in such cases the suffix -gsAn gained the position of being a derivational element or not. In my suggestion an inflectional suffix can be regarded as a derivational one, only if there a further derivational element can be added to the lexeme. Until such a process is not transparent, we are defenseless to the editors of dictionaries. Another point is that grammatical works usually discuss the forms of verb voices, but no other elements of verb formations. For such a treatment cf. Sanžeev 1963.

13 This type of word formation as it appears in Mongolic was discussed in detail by Bese (1960). It is worth pondering if this type of word formation belongs to compounding or to affixation, more precisely to prefixation, since these prefixes never can be used on their own, which fact reveals that they are bound morphemes. The different dictionaries of the Mongolic languages usually treat them as unbound morphemes, however, consider the statement
derivation or suffixation. For a brief survey of them see Khabtagaeva 2001: 85–86. Other types of word formation listed by the literature like zero-derivation (also called conversion), \(^{16}\) back-formation, \(^{17}\) clipping \(^{18}\) & blending, \(^{19}\) acronymic formations or alphabetism (all these sometimes are discussed under the term word creation) to my best knowledge were not mentioned in the literature of Mongolic linguistics. While in some cases this is understandable, zero-formation and back-formation would merit a closer study.

In addition in Mongolic there appears the non-concatenative word formation method called root-and-pattern morphology, usually connected to the semitic languages. It is also often called apophony. This means that the basis of each lexeme is a skeleton of consonants, which function as the root of the lexeme, and filling the skeleton of the consonants with different vowels will result in different meanings. In Mongolic by this method there is a possibility to form onomatopoeic words. The topic concerning Khalkha was worked up by Önörbayan (2000). The Mnt does not provide enough material to examine this kind of word formation.

The most productive way from the above ones is derivation.

**Productive or non-productive?**

Taking into consideration the definition of productivity, that is “Morphological patterns that can be systematically extended are called productive” (Booij 2005: 18) I find it senseless to speak about productivity in the case of a historical language. \(^{20}\) As productivity in case of historical languages, with a few exceptions \(^{21}\) seems to be impressionistic, this topic will not be touched in the present work.

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\(^{14}\) Reduplication can be simple reduplication, reduplication with additional word initial, reduplication with change of word initial, and reduplication with change of vocalism.

\(^{15}\) Compounding means that every participant of the word-formation process is an independent lexeme.

\(^{16}\) This term covers the process when a lexeme changes its word-class. To understand this process a so-called zero-morpheme was suggested.

\(^{17}\) During back-formation not the addition of a bound morpheme will result in a new meaning, but the omission of something.

\(^{18}\) Also called truncation or shortening. This term itself includes some sub-cases, as back clipping e.g. English **doc** ← **doctor**, English **exam** ← **examination**, English **demo** ← **demonstration**, fore-clipping English **phone** ← **telephone**, English **chute** ← **parachute**, middle clipping, e.g. English **flu** ← **influenza**, English **tec** ← **detective**; complex clipping, e.g. English **navicert** ← **navigation certificate**.

\(^{19}\) Blending happens when initial parts of lexemes are added to the end of another lexeme, e.g. English **camera** + **recorder** ← **camcorder**; **smoke** + **fog** ← **smog**.

\(^{20}\) Although the notions productive and non-productive is generally used in the Altaic linguistics even in the case of historical languages, it is not easy to define what is the number of examples which meets the eligibility to consider a suffix to be productive.

\(^{21}\) Such exceptions could be the causative suffixes, which probably may have derivatives from any verb.
Earlier studies in Mongolic word formation

The first Mongol grammar is reported to be written by Melchisédech Thévenot in 1672. (Poppe 1965: 79) This was followed by the works of Isaac Jacob Schmidt (1831), Aleksandr Bobrovnikov (1835) and Józef Kowalewski (1835). Although morphology, and in particular verbal morphology was dealt with since the grammar of Schmidt, the first comparative work which discussed two Mongolic written languages (Written Mongolian and Written Oirat) and incidentally made references to the spoken language was authored by Aleksej Aleksandrovič Bobrovnikov (1849).

The last name to mention before presenting a brief sketch of the literature from the 20th century, is Matthias Alexander Castréns’, for his study on the Buryat language. Although his grammar is not a comparative one, the glossary of his work is a comparative dictionary of the Buryat dialects.

The modern period of Altaic Studies, and at the same time of the Modern Mongolic Studies is connected to the name of Gustaf John Ramstedt. In 1903 he published an important work on the inflectional verbal morphology of Khalkha, where sometimes certain suffixes are compared to their counterparts in Middle Mongol and Literary Mongol (Ramstedt 1903a). In 1912 appeared his short, but very impressive work on the comparative verb formation of the Altaic languages, while his comparative phonology and morphology of the Altaic languages greatly affect even the recent works on these topics. Other works of him are treasures of Altaic etymologies as well. He was the first to recognize (1902/1908) the importance of the linguistic material from the Middle Mongol period. Ramstedt’s (1903b) and Vladimircov’s comparative grammars (1929) are actually comparative phonologies of the written language and spoken Khalkha, they do not discuss questions of morphology.

In 1943 was published the work of Teréz Mária Szabó on Kalmuck word formation, where the Kalmuck derivational elements were compared to their LM equivalents. This work is a great survey of Mongolic morphology, even if it contains some outdated segmentations.

Beside Ramstedt, Nikolaj Nikolaevič Poppe was the other decisive personage of comparative Altaic Studies and at the same time of the Mongolic Studies as well. His Introduction to Mongolian comparative studies (1955) is still the best survey on the topic while his comparative Altaic phonology (1960) remains a basic work for research.

Nearly at the same time appeared the two volumes of a comparative grammar of the Mongolic languages by Garma Dancaranovič Sanžeev. The first volume (1953) deals with comparative phonology and nominal inflection, while the unnumbered second volume (1963) discusses mainly inflectional verbal morphology, but including voice (12–65) and some aspects (65–71).

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22 Cf. the chapter entitled Derivativa on pp. 75-82.
23 Cf. pp. 118-129, on verb formation.
24 For a complete list of his publications and lectures see Halén 1998: 342-355.
25 For a list of his publications see Cirtautas 1977 and 1989.
26 It just can be regretted that derivational morphology was not dealt with in this monograph, only comparative phonology, and inflectional morphology.
27 This work of Poppe entitled as Vergleichende Grammatik der altaischen Sprachen, was the first volume of a larger work. Unfortunately the second volume, planned to be a comparative morphology was not published.
Although it does not discuss questions of morphology, it should be mentioned the historical phonology of Mongolic authored by Tömörtoğó (1992).

Since the appearance of these basic works, actually from the second half of the 20th century Mongolic linguistics mostly focuses on descriptions of individual languages.

For Khalkha the following grammars or descriptions should be brought out in bold relief: Poppe 1953; Orlovskaja 1961; Street 1963; Bold 1986; Kullmann – Tserenpil 1996; Önörbayan 1998; 2000; Svantesson – Tsendina – Karlsson – Franzén 2005;

Relatively still good is the situation regarding the Buryat language. Poppe 1938a, 1960a, Amogolonov 1958, Sanžeev 1962, Dondukov 1964, and Cydypov 1988 are the best available descriptions.

Relatively fewer works are traceable for Kalmuck. In this respect Szabó 1943, Benzing 1985 are quoted, while Badmaev 1966 remains inaccessible.


Although it was published with the aim to survey the historical and modern Mongolic languages, due to a conscious editorship, the volume entitled The Mongolic languages (Janhunen 2003) can be used for comparative purposes as well.

Recently a flourishing in the publication of works on Mongolic subjects is observable in Mongolia and China. I just regret that only a part of these publications was accessible for me during the work on this dissertation.

**The term Middle Mongol**

There appear at least two definitions in the literature to determine the designation Middle Mongol. According to the first definition used in my work Middle Mongol is the Mongolic language that appears in the written records of the Mongol Empire and its immediate successors. The time frame for Middle Mongol spans from the 13th to the 16th century, approximately. This material is quite composite since it comes from a vast territory, and was written in several writing systems. Keeping in mind the special case of the monuments written in Uighur-Mongol script, Rybatzki’s definition of Middle Mongol as a historical spoken language of its time can be accepted (2003: 57). The second definition of Middle Mongol excludes the written sources in Uighur-Mongol script, also called Pre-classical Mongol. In my opinion Middle Mongol should not

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28 It should be added that the term Pre-classical Mongol covers a longer period of time. While Middle Mongol ends at the end of the 15. century, Preclassical Mongol lasts until the end of the 17. century.
be restricted to the “spoken” language of the period, and it is not wise to exclude the Uighur-Mongol script monuments. 29

To understand the special position of some monuments revealing that the traditional classification of the sources as internal and external ones does not fit here, consider exactly the monument chosen as the source of the present work. The Mnt survived in a Chinese transcribed form (external source), based on an original in Uighur-Mongol script (internal source). Accordingly I take Rybtzki’s classification of the sources as primary and secondary ones. Primary sources include those written in Uighur-Mongol and ’Phags-pa script by the Mongols themselves, while secondary sources include those written in other scripts, as Chinese, Arabic, Armenian, Georgian and Roman scripts. This classification differs from Rybtzki’s only in that sources written in Chinese script are treated by him as double natured, as there appears a reference in the Yuan shi about the use of Chinese for writing Mongol, at the beginning of the Mongol Empire. However no monuments of that type are available. Indeed the place of the Mnt is not unambiguous in such a classification.

After defining the term Middle Mongol here should follow an enumeration of the available sources. Due to the fact that the list of the monuments is quite spacious, the survey of the texts according to the writing system used to take them down as well as the most important bibliographical data referring to them can be found in the Appendix. Such a survey could be a starting point for their critical edition and a Middle-Mongol dictionary. It should be remarked that this envisaged critical edition of all these monuments in a unified transcription would probably be greatly welcomed by researchers of the field. Only a compilation of the sources in this way would make possible the completion of a Middle Mongol comparative dictionary.

The Secret History of the Mongols

The importance of the Secret History of the Mongols for the different arts can hardly be overrated. As a treasury on the history, social and military organization, language, literature, material culture, ethnography, etc. of the Mongols, it is probably the most investigated piece in the field. 30 Its subject-matter comprises the ancestry, life and deeds of Činggis Qan, and in connection with this the establishment and rise of the Mongol Empire during his own life and that of his successor’. The uniqueness of this epic chronicle lies in its genuineness, vividness and linguistic purity, free of the Buddhist influence so peculiar to later texts. Even if it is not always entirely reliable in describing historical events, no other source describes more realistically the tribal and everyday life and the social and military organization of the Mongols in the 12th and 13th centuries. To quote the words of de Rachewiltz, “it adds both flesh and soul to much that we learn from the Persian and Chinese historians” (de Rachewiltz 2004: lxiv).

29 To understand my point consider the Uighur-Mongol and ’Phags-pa versions of the Mongol Subhāṣītaratnanidhi. If I accepted to exclude the Preclassical material, then the version in ’Phags-pa script would be included in the group of Middle Mongol sources while the practically same text in Uighur-Mongol script should be excluded. Doing that, however, would need a satisfactory argumentation. On the two versions of the text cf. Ligeti 1964b.

30 Cf. the words of Waley: ”It is a work which it would be possible to furnish with endless annotation” (1963: 7)
It is important to distinguish the history of the text on one hand and the history of the research of the Mnt on the other.

**The textual history of the Mnt**

Anybody, who wants to compile a sketch on the manuscript history of the text makes use of the definitely exhaustive treatise of William Hung, which appeared in 1951. In 1962 a summary of this work was published by Boris Ivanovič Pankratov, in the introduction to his edition of the text. By de Rachewiltz (2004: xl) is reported another summary of Hung’s study by Chen Chin written in 1986. Beside these publications we can add one more survey on the textual history, as certainly de Rachewiltz (2004: xl–liii) compiled his own as well. In the following at many points I refer to this last work.

The circumstances under which the text came to existence are in many respects obscure. Such obscure points include the author of text and the date of composition. For a long while even the writing system of the original text was pending.

The date and place of composition was discussed repeatedly by de Rachewiltz. (1965; 1986–1987; 1993–1994). The place is (almost) clearly defined by the text, as the colophon reads as yeke qurı́ta qurı́ja quluqana jıl quran sarada Kelüren-ü Köde’e-aral-un Dolo’an-boldaq-a Şilginček qoyar ja’ura ordos bawuju biqüi-tür biçijü dawusba ‘The writing of this book was completed at the time when the Great Assembly convened and when, in the Year of the Rat, in the month of the Roebuck, the Palaces were established at Dolo’an Boldaq of Köde’e Aral on the Kelüren River, between Silginček and [...]’ (Mnt 282) Thus, the place is the plain comprised between the present-day Xerlen and Cenxer Rivers, in Xenti aimag.

Unlike the place of the composition, the time when this chronicle was written – as is mentioned in the colophon, the Year of the Rat – is a topic long discussed among scholars. The Year of the Rat was suspected to be 1228, 1240, 1252 and even 1264. Since the death of Ögödei (1241) is not mentioned in the text, for a long time the Year of the Rat was considered to be 1240, even if there was not held a great assembly in that year.

It was René Grousset who picked up on the fact that in the passage 255 it is predicted that the successors of Tolui will become the rulers of the Empire, which happened with Möngke’s election as Great Khan in 1251, while the passage 281 sounds like a posthumous appraisal of Ögödei. Thus Grousset suggested the year 1252 as the corresponding Year of Rat. Hung in his work suggested the year of 1264, which was adopted by Waley.

The supposition according to which the Mnt had an earlier version dealing only with the life of Činggis, and finished immediately after his death submitted by Ting Ch’ien already in 1901 acquired broader publicity with the work of Ligeti (1962), who presumed that the colophon refers to this original version. In this case the Year of the Rat would be 1228, otherwise 1252.
In favor of an earlier version of Mnt de Rachewiltz lists the following arguments: (1) the Altan Tobči of Lubsangdanjin does not contain the part on Ögödei’s reign of the Mnt; (2) no great assemblies were held in 1240, 1252, or 1264; and (3) since the title of the work is the passage Činggis qahan-nu huja’ur,31 “the work itself must have ended, logically, with Činggis’ death (§ 268).” (de Rachewiltz 2004: xxxii) In view of this, de Rachewiltz plumps for 1228, rendering it very likely that the colophon of the “Urtext” – that is „Činggis qan-u huja’ur – later, after an editorial work was transferred to the end of an edited and enlarged version of the text.32 Further details of this scholarly dispute was sketched up by de Rachewiltz (2004: xxx–xxxiii).

An even more difficult question refers to the person of the author or/and compiler. Attributing the authorship to Tata Tonga, Činqai or Šigi Qutuqu would be mere speculation: the name of the author will probably never be known. However, Šigi Qutuqu still seems the best candidate, as he possessed many qualifications for the performance of such a project as the Secret History. Presentation and arguments pro and contra the above mentioned persons together with the corresponding literature are listed by de Rachewiltz (2004: xxxiv–xl).

For a long period it was arguable what was the writing system with which the text was taken down. Otto Franke held the position that according to the fact that Mongols of the 13th century beside of the Uighur-Mongol script used Chinese script as well, the Mnt could originally be noted down in Chinese script. This problem was definitely solved in 1960 simultaneously by Ligeti and Murayama, who gave evidence, that the Mnt could not be written in any other script than Uighur-Mongol.33 (Murayama 1960; Ligeti 1962: 192–196)34

What concerns the afterlife of the manuscript, it can be surveyed as follows:

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31 de Rachewiltz here writes Činggis qan-u huja’ur, while in the commentary he already quotes the passage correctly. This wording which would merit an asterisk is explained by him as follows: “Since Činggis Qan never bore the title of qayan (first assumed by his son and successor Ögödei), but only that of qan, the original opening words must have been Činggis Qan-u uyayar” (p. xli). It is a question, however if this passage really was the title of the Mnt. Some lines earlier, de Rachewiltz himself writes that “our epic chronicle did not require a proper title since it was not written to be published as a book, but was compiled solely for the members of the imperial clan” (p. xli). These words of de Rachewiltz are true, but it is also possible that the work really did not originally have a title at all, and that the words *Činggis Qayan-u uyayar are later interpolations, as suggested by the fact that the word qayan was used. Other evidence could be indirect, cf. the text of the Altan Tobči, which does not contain these words. On the other hand I am not sure that Činggis qan-u huja’ur or Činggis Qayan-u uyayar could be the title of the whole work, since it simply means ‘the origin of Činggis Khan’ or ‘the ancestry of Činggis Khan’. According to these facts this passage could only be the title of a part of the text, that is the lineage part, ending about the passage § 60.

32 Further de Rachewiltz (2004: xxxiv) calls the attention to a hitherto unnoticed indirect evidence. Ögödei was called anachronistically qa’an in the passage §198, and further on from his enthronement in the passage §269. However, the text mentions Güyük and Möngke, but never refers to them as qa’an or qa’an, which would be just natural in the case of a later date composition.

33 Their findings can be summarized in the following points: (1) different proper names are written in different forms, which could evolve only on the ground of misreading the ambiguous Uighur-Mongol characters, as the gutturals, the dentals, labial vowels; (2) characters quite close in their shape were misread by the transcriber; the text was transcribed in a transcription system peculiar to the time of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). Ligeti also proved (4) that the Uighur-Mongol text which was transcribed to Chinese was not the original manuscript, but another version of the original, since the Chinese sectional translations contain some details which are not present in the Mongol text.

34 According to a private consultation with Professor György Kara, Ligeti and Murayama attended the Congress of Orientalists in Moscow with same topics. Probably that was the reason why Ligeti published his findings only in Hungarian.
(1) The period from completion of the manuscript up to the beginning of the Ming period, that is the second half of the 14th century remains in obscurity.

(2) What is known is that more manuscripts existed, and some of them underwent certain editorial modifications.35

(3) Under the reign of Qubilai (1260–1294) the research of the Mongol history was promoted by the establishment of Department of National History (Kuo-shih yüan) in 1261 within the Han-lin Academy. With the aim to compile a chronicle of the previous reigns, available written sources were collected and drafted in Mongolian. They were revised and translated into Chinese. This Mongol chronicle was simply known as Tobčiyan,36 while its Chinese version as Shih-lu 'Veritable records'.

(4) During these editorial works, the “Urtext”, which is the *Činggis qan-u ʿujayr, underwent various changes, greatly depending on the actual political climate. The changes cover included passages in favor of the Toluids, deleting references to displeasing events and disfavored persons, and altering different titles, e.g. conferring the title qaʿan on several persons from the ancestry of Činggis.

(5) The revised work, called *Činggis qaγan-u ʿujayr differed in many ways from the original, as reflected by a comparison with the text of Altan Tobčı.

(6) For the compilation of the Tobčiyan an account was framed on the reign of Ögödei in the style of *Činggis qan-u ʿujayr, obviously with the aim of attaching it as a continuation of the text about Činggis. de Rachewiltz suggests that this account could be a larger work, only the fragments of which found their way later into the Mnt.

(7) The compiled text already containing the parts on both Činggis and Ögödei was used during the compilation of Tobčiyan.

(8) Immediately after the fall of the Yuan dynasty, in March 1369 the compilation of the Yuan-shih took start by a commission of historiographers of the College of Literature. The task was finished already in July 1370. Unfortunately they did not make use of the at least two copies of the *Činggis qaγan-u ʿujayr and the part describing the reign of Ögödei, retrieved from the Imperial Library.

(9) In the following years happened that the two texts were united, and the colophon of the first one was transferred to the end of the whole work. At the same time, a summarized Chinese translation was compiled, based on one of the versions in Uighur-Mongol script.

(10) The next step is meant by preparing an interlinear phonetic transcription, with a word by word translation into Chinese. This task, however was carried out on another version in Uighur-Mongol script, revealed by the many minor differences between the text of the free

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35 One of these manuscripts was the base for the version from which Lubsangdanjin copied the passages of the Mnt into his Altan tobčı. It is sure, however, that the given manuscript was not the one used by the Ming transcribers.

36 de Rachewiltz translates it as ‘History’, which is not the closest interpretation. I find more appropriate the translation ‘summary’, which also reveals the compilative nature of the work.
version and the interlinear transcription. At this point the work was entitled Yuan pi-shi or Mongqol-un ni’uča tobčiyan37.

(11) Soon after, the training of Ming interpreters was decided by the government. For this task a basic Sino-Mongol glossary was written, which noted the Mongol words in phonetic transcription, together with a reader consisting of official documents. This work was published in 1389, and is known as Hua-i i-yu. During its compilation it was made use of the lexical material and transcription system of the Mnt, which clearly shows that by 1389 the Mnt was available in the version very similar to what we know today.

(12) Didactic reasons explain also the fact that probably after the completion of the Hua-i i-yu the text was split in 282 sections, each of them followed by a Chinese sectional summary. The transcription of the text in many points was changed, and with the introduction of mnemonic devices this transcription became even more sophisticated than that of the Hua-i i-yu.

(13) The last issue of change is meant by the division of the text in twelve chapters.38 The publishing of this edition tentatively is put by de Rachewiltz to 1403–1405.

(14) When the monumental Ming encyclopedia, the Yung-lo ta-tien was compiled (1403–1408), the text of the Mnt was included. First the abridged Chinese translation was copied, the title of which from Yuan pi-shi was changed to Yuan-ch’ao pi-shih. Than it was decided by the compilers of the encyclopedia to include the whole text in transcription. For this task the text was divided into 15 chapters. In view of these by 1408 there existed three texts: (A) the printed version in 12 chapters, (B) the manuscript copy of the Yung-lo ta-tien edition in 15 chapters, and (C) the manuscript of the free summarized translation—originally copied for the Yung-lo ta tien—also in 15 chapters. All later manuscripts and printed editions derive from these three versions.

The description of the later fate of these three versions based on the detailed work of Hung, is summed up and accordingly should be consulted in de Rachewiltz (2004: liii–liii). Concerning the version (A) it should be marked that the transcription made by Ligeti (1964) is based on this version, published by Yeh Te-hui in 1908. The original of the version (B) was lost, but manuscript copies survived, one of which in 1872 was bought by Pjotr Ivanovič Kafarov, head of the 13th Orthodox Mission to Peking, known also by his monastic name Palladius. This version was translated by him into Russian and transliterated into Cyrillic. This manuscript version of the Mnt became available only in 1962, when it was published by Pankratov in facsimile.

37 de Rachewiltz (2004: xlv) writes Mongqol-un niyuča tobčiyan, but I am not convinced that such a form in Uighur-Mongol script really existed.

38 The Chinese term is chüan. The suggestion that there was an Urtext to which complementary parts were added is also revealed by the name of the 11th and 12th chapters, which are called hsü-chi chüan 1 and 2, i.e. the first and second supplementary chapters, dealing with the foreign campaigns of Čünggis and the account on Ögödei.
The history of philological researches on the Mnt in modern times

It does not seem an easy task to give a survey on the scientific literature relating the Mnt, called “mare magnum” by de Rachewiltz. (2004: lxxvi) The extreme popularity of this text among researchers and in general is revealed by the fact that the bibliographical data of this mass of literature fills a whole volume (cf. Cerenpil – Serjaw 1990). Anybody will agree that to give an overall overview of the former literature on the Mnt cannot be carried out in such a work. The impossibility of such a task, is also revealed by the fact that according to de Rachewiltz, the literature is written in about a dozen languages. Arises the question, however, if there is a need to compile such brief surveys. In my opinion there is not, since anybody interested in this or that question or problem of the Mnt should use the encyclopedic work of de Rachewiltz (2004), in which its author summarizes the results of his predecessors.

Transcriptions

There are several transcriptions available, at least some of which today are only bibliographical curiosities. The first transcription was done into cyrillic by Kafarov (1872–1878), but his transcription remained unpublished. It is known that Kafarov gave his work to Aleksej Matveevič Pozdneev for publication in Sankt-Petersburg. Pozdneev, however, did not publish it, instead some years later (1880 or 1887) he published the revised transcription and translation of the first chapter under his name. This was the first time for Western scholars to see something from the Mongol text.

It is reported by de Rachewiltz (2004: lxxi) that Paul Pelliot finished his transcription in manuscript in 1920. One just regrets, that it was published only almost 30 years later (1949).

The first whole published transcription was done by Erich Haenisch (1935). As result after the comparison of these two transcription will be obvious, that while that of Haenisch is a very strict transcription of the text written in Chinese script, Pelliot has done more on the field of reconstruction, and is actually very close to the versions that are in use today. Nevertheless, Haenisch published the dictionary of the Secret History, which although in many respects is incomplete, as there is no other one, is still in use today.

The reconstruction of the first chapter of the text into Uighur-Mongol script was done by Hattori Shirō and Duyarjab in 1939.

A very heavy effect was emitted by the transcription of Kozin (1941) on the work of Russian Mongolists. Despite the fact that the quality of the transcription remains far behind the other

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38 Most important bibliographies and sources relating the Mnt are listed by de Rachewiltz in notes Nr. 350-353. (2004: cix-cx)

40 Cf. In addition the work of Krueger (1966) and the huge bibliography of de Rachewiltz. (2004: 1081-1194)

41 On the role Pozdneev played in this story, one should check the works of Aalto (1951), Krueger (1966), Manaljaw (1975), Munkuev (1979), Poppe (1983).
ones, and accordingly contains several mistakenly translated parts, it is still in use by some researchers.

The next one is that of Shiratori Kurakichi in 1942.

I dare to say that a huge jump in the quality of the transcription was meant by the work of Ligeti (1964). That was published in a very low circulation for internal use only. His transcription was published again in 1971, however, the first version in several points seems to be more trustworthy.

The text became really accessible when de Rachewiltz published the text in transcription, together with an index in 1972.


de Rachewiltz (2004: lxxii) adds, that “none of the above transcriptions and reconstructions of the text is entirely reliable; indeed, many of them can no longer be used for a serious linguistic analysis”.

Translations

What concerns the translations of the text, a chronological list of them is to be found in the monumental work of de Rachewiltz (2004: lxxii–lxxiv). A similar list, but arranged according to the target language was prepared by myself, cf. Kempf 2006.

If different modern Mongolic languages including modern Mongol in Uighur script is considered as well, it can be stated that the Mnt was translated into 20 languages. Even if we only count the wholly translated editions, the number of such publications exceeds 40. I will not list them here, but from the viewpoint of the present work two of them should be mentioned. The first one is Ligeti’s Hungarian translation (1962) while the second one that of de Rachewiltz’s second English translation (2004). While this last one was quoted throughout this work, the Hungarian translation was always consulted, and in some cases confronted with the English version.

I am not in the position to judge the different translations, but about the translation of Ligeti it must be stated that until the recent translation of de Rachewiltz appeared it was probably the best one. In some respect it still is. On the one hand this is because the genius of Ligeti, but the other reason is that the translation was done into an agglutinative language. This fact reveals that the structure of the original text and the translation are very close to each other, actually a

[42] It is reported by de Rachewiltz that even a version in ’Phags-pa script of a part of the text was prepared by Ozawa.
word by word following of the original is possible.\footnote{This is not the case, however, with the poetic passages of the text, which were rendered into a literary translation by Géza Képes.} Probably it is not by chance, that de Rachewiltz made use of the Hungarian translation, although doubtless he perfectly could understand the original text.

The translation of de Rachewiltz is a real masterwork of the author as it summarizes thirty-five years of his own activities, and the much longer overall studies by his scientific predecessors. The former began in 1971, when de Rachewiltz commenced the task of translating the Secret History of the Mongols into “up-to-date English”, in contrast with Cleaves’ biblical English version, which was completed in 1956, but published only in 1982.\footnote{It is quite moving why the translation of Cleaves was delayed for such a long time. I will not quote here the whole story (cf. de Rachewiltz 2004: cv, note nr. 312), but in a nutshell it is the following. Cleaves and William Hung were very good friends. After the latter wrote his paper on the Mnt (Hung 1951) Cleaves agreed not to publish his own translation, in the foreword of which he supposes different circumstances how the Mnt came to existences. The translation thus was published only in 1982, after the death of his friend in 1980. The same thing is strengthened by the reminiscences of Hung (Egan 1987: 202)} de Rachewiltz began to publish his translation in the journal Papers on Far Eastern History in 1971, and finished it in 1985. Additions and corrections were made to this translation in the same journal in 1986. Immediately afterwards, in 1987, de Rachewiltz reopened his work, to publish his revised translation with detailed commentaries, which was completed in 2002, published in 2004.

\section*{The language of the SH}

One of the most puzzling questions concerning the Mnt is its Mongolic language (dialect). Indeed grammatical questions of historical Mongolic languages, Middle Mongol, and the Mnt in particular\footnote{This is not, however, the opinion of de Rachewiltz, who writes “Fortunately, we are well served in this respect because grammar and syntax of the Secret History have been thoroughly investigated, particularly the former” (2004: lxxviii)} are discussed only by an evanescent amount of the literature compared to other topics.

The first work to mention is that of Poppe (1944). In this work of him, he compared different phonological and morphological\footnote{E.g. the plural formations, case suffixes, inflectional verbal suffixes.} peculiarities of the Mnt and the texts in ‘Phags-pa script. A similarly early work is that of Haenisch (1950), which almost immediately was followed by the first grammar of the language of the Secret History written by John Street (1957). This monograph is based on his dissertation, and gives a very compact description of this language stage.

Proceeding in time the next work on Middle Mongol is that of Michael Weiers (1966/1969). According to its title this grammar is based on the so-called Pre-classical Mongol texts that are the ones written in Uighur-Mongol script in and after the Middle Mongol period. The reader will find, however that actually this monograph contains precious material for a comparative
grammar of the whole Middle Mongol period. Unfortunately a discussion of derivational morphology was omitted there.

The other work, which as was written in Polish, for lack of language competence remains quite unnoticed by researchers is that of Stanislaw Godziński (1985), which deals both with inflectional and derivational morphology of Middle Mongol, neglecting however the sources written in Uighur-Mongol script.

dé Rachewiltz mentions in addition the works of Ozawa, the majority of which as written in Japanese remains inaccessible for a great part of scholars.

It is clear that the text has a dual nature. While the grammatical system and lexicon pertains to the 13th century, its phonological stock probably mirrors a stage more close to the end of the 14th century. In other words it is not known how much it reflects the colloquial language at the time of the transcription, and how much the text in Uighur-Mongol script. Dé Rachewiltz writes that “In the more than 150 years between the time the Secret History was written and the time when it was transcribed phonetically into Chinese, the so-called Middle Mongolian language had undergone and was still undergoing various changes, some of which are attested to in the transcribed text, affecting both vowels and consonants.” Among the phonetic changes dé Rachewiltz (2004: lxv) mentions the following: “i > i, q(i) > k(i), h (init.) ~ zero, a’a ~ a̱, e’e ~ e̱, o’o ~ o̱, u’u ~ ʊ, ʊ’ʊ ~ ʊ, a ~ o and a > u (through assimilation). Moreover, the value of certain consonants (q/y, k/g and t/d) is still uncertain.”

Several points offered by dé Rachewiltz do not seem to be entirely acceptable, while some points need an amendment.

1. For the change of *i to *i and q(i) to k(i) (if there were such changes), we do not have a clear idea when they took the place, most likely, however long before the Middle Mongol period. The appearance of q before i can well be a remnant from the orthography of the Turkic Uighurs, whose language demanded such a marking of difference. The question of the original Mongolic back i would merit a separate study.

2. The variation of a ~ o, a dialectal variation supposed to separate the so-called Eastern Middle Mongol dialects from the Western Middle Mongol dialects characterizes the Mnt itself, cf. Mnt joba- ~ jobo- ‘to suffer’, to’a ~ to’o ‘number’, qola ~ qolo ‘far’, orqa ~ org ‘people’, qorqa- ~ qorqo- ‘to confine’, qotat ~ qotot ‘cities’, oqatur ‘horse having a bald tail’ ~ Øqotur (personal

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Poppe in his Introduction (1955: 33) stated that “In Pre-Mongolian there were two vowels of the i type: a “normal” i, i.e., a front *i, and another one which was a back vowel, more or less similar to Russian ɨ and Turkic i. [...] These two vowels (*ɨ and *i) converged already in Common Mongolian and both were treated as i. Only after and before *q and *y, i.e., in the syllables q̩i and y̩i (and ḵq̩a, ḵy̩a, etc.), the vowel i remained for a while. It still existed in this position in Ancient Mongolian, and even in the pre-classical Written Mongolian language, i.e., prior to the XVII century, such forms occurred as qilincə ‘sin’, (now kilincə), qilyasun ‘hair’ (now kilysun), and so on.” Poppe’s argumentation is somewhat inconsistent. As I told above, q and y before i are most probably due to the Turkic origin of the script. By the way both examples quoted by Poppe have Turkic connections. On the other hand the sound-groups marked ḵq̩a and ḵy̩a by Poppe did not underwent any change in their shape of script, cf. LM niya-, ḵiya-, siyai, ḵiga-, miqan, etc. A similar view to that of Poppe is held by Janhunen (2003: 5), who suggests that the above mentioned forms preserve the trace of an opposition in Pre-Proto Mongolic. Anyhow, Middle Mongol had only seven vowels, which is confirmed by Rybatzki (2003: 62-63) as well.
name), *boqda* ~ *boqdo* ‘holy’, *boro’an* ~ *boro’on* ‘rain’, etc. By the way a marking *A* ~ *O* would be more accurate, cf. Mnt *öre* ~ *örö* ‘heart, inner part’, *önečid* ~ *öńöcid* ‘orphans’. We do not have any evidence to judge when this variation evolved, (cf. Rybatzki 2003: 63) It should be added that beside of these forms showing a variation, clearly “Western Middle Mongol” forms might appear in the Mnt, cf. *Onan*.

(3) Since it is not defined the position of the vowel, and no examples are quoted it is not clear what the change *a* > *u* (through assimilation) refers to.

(4) Instead of thinking that the values of the consonants mentioned above were uncertain, it is more probable that the reader or and transcriber or and the transcription system was were uncertain. The ambiguity of the Uighur-Mongol script should be taken into account as well. E.g. the form *dabtu‘ar* ‘fifth’ does not suggest to me that the value of the initial consonant is uncertain as opposed to the frequent forms with *t* (~ *tabun, tabu‘ula*). It is more likely that the form *dabtu‘ar* is a result of dissimilation. Another solution could be that this form was unknown for the transcriber, and he made an error in the transcription, which was not corrected during later editorial work. By the way the problem of the dental consonants is a very interesting one, and should be discussed in detail.

(5) Accordingly if we examine what is the situation in different positions, and compare them with Literary Mongol standards, in initial position we will find that there appear both *d*- and *t*-. Further we find that throughout the text *d*- is marked consequently, while the marking of *t*- with a neglectable number of exceptions (e.g. *döregene* instead of *Töregene, dabtu‘ar* instead of *tabtu’ar, *dörö* instead of *törö*) is consequent as well. The same consequent marking with very few deviations occurs in inlaut, syllable initial position (cf. *aduqai* instead of *atuqai, amturi* instead of *amduiri-,* parallel forms as *aqdala* ~ *aqtala-*). At the end of words and syllables, however, there occurs only *-t*. The question is if that is a reality or we should reconstruct in such cases a (syllable)final *-d*? My opinion according to which Middle Mongol was a language that tolerated voiceless consonants (including *t*) in syllable-final position is based on two factors. The first point is offered exactly on the precise marking in (syllable)initial position, while the second one is that in a situation when by adding further suffixes this final *-t* gets in intervocalic position, it becomes voiced *-d*-. Examples are numerous, cf. *Taiyiči‘ut* vs. *Taiyiči‘d-i, kő’ut vs. kő‘üd-ečė, etc. This reveals, that writing final *-t* in my reconstructions is not merely respecting the traditions.

(6) The gutturals represent a different kind of problem. The Chinese transcription of the Mnt practically never makes a distinction between *k* and *g* occurring in back-vocalic words (Street 1957: 4). That is usually explained by reasons that need some knowledge of historical phonology of Chinese. It is interesting to note, however, that the same situation is observed

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48 An exception to that is the marking of the dative-locative cases suffix *-dUr/-tUr*, in the case of which one finds desperate confusion, cf. *aman-tur, amin-dar-iyin* ~ *amin-tur*, etc.

49 It is interesting to note that this situation is the same as one can observe in the case of the Uighur-Mongol script.

50 Cf. the forms * Чикургу* and * Чикургу* listed by Ligeti (1962: 193) as an evidence in favor that the original text of the Mnt was written in Uighur-Mongol script.
in the texts written in ’Phags-pa\textsuperscript{51} and Arabic scripts.\textsuperscript{52} On the other hand, \(k\) and \(q\) occurring in front vocalic words are marked correctly by the transcription, with the only exception of the sequence \(k\ddot{u}\),\textsuperscript{53} the notation of which really exhibits some instability. It is a later task for research to find out if the Mongol or Chinese system is responsible for this instability.

(7) Finally the expression “still uncertain” would need an explanation what could be that point in time, from which consonants of the Mongolic languages became certain?

A more accurate description on the phonological picture of the Mnt is available in the work of Street (1957: 6-8), and in that of Rybatzki (2003), although this last one discusses Middle Mongol in general.

In view of the above, the language of the Mnt or in a broader aspect Middle Mongol can be characterized with the following peculiarities:

(1) It furnishes 7 vowels: \(a, o, u, i, \ddot{u}, \ddot{o}, e\). Vowel harmony plays role in defining what vowels can occur in a certain word.

(2) The stock of the Middle Mongol consonants was sketched up by Rybatzki (2003: 64) as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
p & t & \check{c} & k & q \\
b & d & j & g & gh \\
s & \check{s} & h \\
m & n & ng \\
l & \\
r & \\
w & y \\
\end{array}
\]

This sketch needs some amendments, since there are the chances that not every element of this table is really a phoneme. Consequently \(k\) and \(q\) are practically one phoneme, as well as \(g\) and \(gh\) (in other publications marked as \(y\) or \(g\)). It would be desirable to picture the phoneme nature of \(p\), since I am not aware of genuine Mongolic words in which it appears. It is true that there occurs in

\textsuperscript{51} This fact was observed as early as 1944, cf. the work of Poppe (1944: 99) “Interessant ist daß weder die Quadratschrift, noch die G.G. [Geheime Geschichte] die Laute \(q\) und \(y\) unterscheidet.”

\textsuperscript{52} Cf. the statement of Rybatzki (2003: 64) “The distinction between \(q\) (strong) vs. \(gh\) (weak) is in most sources imperfectly indicated, with \(q\) standing for both segments. [...] For this detail, it is costumary in Middle Mongol studies to follow the written image in the transcription.”

\textsuperscript{53} Some examples, where \(g\ddot{u}\) is noted instead of \(k\ddot{u}: g\ddot{ur}-, \ddot{g}ii\ddot{un}, gi\ddot{ure}gen, gi\ddot{unes}-, g\ddot{u}j\ddot{u}n, g\ddot{ucc}-, g\ddot{u}lle-\ddot{e}, gi\ddot{ur}\ddot{u}-\ddot{e}. The correct marking occurs as well, cf. \(k\ddot{ula}\ddot{u}, k\ddot{u}y\ddot{y}e\ddot{c}-, k\ddot{u}y\ddot{ur}\ddot{e}, \ddot{ku}\ddot{n}\ddot{d}u\ddot{i}\). These examples reveal, that instability due to the ambiguity of the text in Ughur Mongol script practically can be excluded as an explanation for the phenomenon.
'Phags-pa texts, but only in foreign elements, and I cannot find any minimal pairs which would reveal that it is a phoneme. ŝ in Middle Mongol probably is on the merger of becoming a phoneme, that is why ŝ in this period should be treated merely as an allophone of s.

(3) The laryngeal initial h- is in a stage of disappearing. This disappearance of course is a peculiarity of the Early Ming times when the text was transcribed. We have no idea if such a variation in the forms with and without h- was peculiar to the time of composition.

(4) The sequences VgV started or show the process of turning into a long vowel. As Poppe remarks, “the vowels, especially if they are not the same (e.g. a and u) are not contracted yet.” (Poppe 1955: 16) These sequences in the Mnt usually show a vocalic hiatus. For a long time it was considered that this hiatus phonetically is a zero which only reveals that there are two fully uttered vowels side by side. Although it is reported that already Poppe considered this element to be a glottal stop (1951: 189), it was Roy Andrew Miller, who recently argued on the voiced velar or uvular fricative or spirant phonic value of the hiatus. (esp. Miller 2002: 192) Although the paper of Miller added much to our knowledge on the nature of this “hiatus”, as the glottal stop is a requisite of full utterance the situation still can be best described by stating that there are two fully uttered vowels side by side.

(5) The regressive assimilation of the vowel i took place in several words. According to Janhunen these words show the criteria of pre-breaking, as opposed to those showing palatal breaking, a phenomenon peculiar to later stages of Mongolic languages. This approach, however is a simplified one, since the chronology of “breaking” reveals several minor details, making this question more complex. What is sure, is that in the Mnt we find several words, which show the regressive assimilation of the i in an initial syllable. The evidence for reconstruction of *i in these words is usually provided by comparative data of the modern languages. Nowhere in the literature is remarked, however, that the lexicon we know from the 13th century may already furnish cases where this phenomenon took place, so neither the first written monuments, nor the modern languages furnish evidence for the reconstruction of *i. This possibility should be born in mind, during later etymological researches.

The system of analysis

During the description of the certain verb forming suffixes I tried to force myself to follow a strict order of discussion.

1. The reconstructed form of the suffix in the heading is followed by a denomination of the suffix. In lack of further informations, in the worst case that is “deverbal verb forming suffix” or denominal verb forming suffix”.

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54 What is most interesting, is that in the Mnt there occur words showing pre-breaking, that in Modern Mongolic languages show “regular” breaking. Consider the word südün ‘tooth’ revealing the process *sidün → südün as opposed to *sidün → *śidün → *śidün > Khalkha Süd, Buryat Süden.
2. That is followed by the determination of the stem to which the suffix is added. Under this point it was examined if the stem is a primary one, or an already derived secondary one.

3. After that the distributional rules of the suffix are discussed according to the stem-final sound.

4. Sometimes together with the former point it is discussed if there occur allomorphs of the suffix. In respect of allomorphy of suffixes, although arbitrariness cannot be definitely ruled out, I follow a relatively strict definition. According to Bybee (1985: 6) allomorphy is a case “in which a single unit has multiple surface representation”. What is missing from this definition of Bybee, is that considering two suffixes as allomorphs of each other should include a predictable distribution in their form, that is beside of the perfect match in semantics, it is necessary to define exactly under which conditions a certain allomorph appears, and what are its diachronic sources. This means that we have to find the morphologically conditioned phonological rules, as the effect of which allomorphs evolve. In the same manner I tried to be strict in defining if a suffix is denominal or deverbal. This is in contrast with the whole work of Ramstedt, who supposed that it is possible that a suffix derives verbs at the same time from nouns and verbs. The situation is best described by a quotation from Erdal: “The few instances which seem to point in the opposite direction, in which, that is, verbal endings seem to be added to nouns and vice versa, are mostly fictitious.” (1991: 415) It is true, however, that there appear homophonous deverbal and denominal suffixes. It will be a task for later research to examine if they have something in common.

5. Determining the function of the suffix follows, based on the semantic field of the derived verbs. This part actually describes in what extent the meaning of the derived verb is predictable.

6. The section dealing with the function is followed by determining if the suffix derives transitive or intransitive verbs. This question, however, due to the low number of examples, or different lexicalization processes might be the most sensitive one.

7. At the end of all suffix items bibliographical references are listed. These references in cases of language stages other than Middle Mongol do not aim to be exhaustive. Beside the literature on Middle Mongol, references are only made to Mongolic languages that have a written tradition, accordingly Literary Mongol, Khalkha, Buryat, and Kalmač. Even these languages are represented with the basic literature, which will guide the reader with the aim of further research.

If possible, every statement or characterization is pictured with examples of lexical data taken from the Mnt. The example-entries are built up as follows. The stem form has an English meaning, which is based on the meaning one finds in the translation of de Rachewiltz (2004). Incidentally there might appear my own suggestions for a broader, or for another meaning. The meaning of the verb is followed by quotes containing the given verb taken from the Mongol text of the Mnt, its English translation taken from de Rachewiltz (2004) and in brackets an indication to the number of passage from which the text was taken. Generally if the verb occurs more than three times in the text, not all of the corresponding passages are quoted, only the number of the

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55 Allomorphy appears in the case of the stems as well. In the material of the Mnt stem allomorphy is indicated by some stem-final unvoiced obstruents, which if followed by a suffix with an initial vowel, become voiced.
given passage is denoted under “Further occurrences”. The only case which breaks this rule is if the verb there appears four times. In such cases instead of marking “Further occurrences” I quoted the relevant text.

The transcription chosen\textsuperscript{56} for this work as basic text is that of Ligeti which appeared in 1964.\textsuperscript{57}

To best picture the behavior of the given verb in quoting text passages I tried to place the verb in a broader context, so either I took whole sentences, or at least clauses.

The following sign “←” introduces the reconstructed form of the verb. This reconstruction which can be called verbal lexeme is an abstract one, marked with an asterisk, which is used to break the very bad practice of the literature that different forms are traced back to Literary Mongol. Of course Literary Mongol usually is very close to this reconstructed form, but it surely is not equal with that.

The arrow “←” shows from what reconstructed stem the verb of the Mnt was derived, and to picture the reality of this reconstruction if it is possible the corresponding Literary Mongol form is quoted.

In this version of the work no corresponding forms from other Middle Mongol sources are quoted, however, this task will be carried out before the publication of the dissertation.

\textsuperscript{56} There are several transcriptions of the texts. For a chronological list of them consult the section entitled The Secret History of the Mongols and lxxi-lxiii in the work of de Rachewiltz.

\textsuperscript{57} While it is true that Ligeti published the text again in 1971, in comparison to the first edition for internal use only, this later edition contains some typos. The other reason I chose this edition is that it is still considered to be one of the best ones.
Deverbal verb formation

Voice

In this section I will discuss deverbal verb suffixes usually named as voice suffixes. Traditionally, for Mongolic the causative, passive, cooperative and reciprocal voices are distinguished. There is not a consensus on the nature of this category. While these suffixes are dealt with in every work on word formation, they appear in grammars as well. Thus they are regarded as parts of the inflectional morphology, and is not difficult to concede that voice is a category that belongs to syntax as well.

The discussion of this question has quite a long history, which will not be dealt with here. Those interested should consult the works of Önörbayan (2000) or Byambasan (1970). Instead of citing this discussion, I find more gainful to give a short definition of voice, that is voice suffixes change the meaning of the verb in such a manner which includes the possibility of lexicalization. To understand my statement consider such verbs as *biči- ‘to write’ and *bičigul- ‘to cause or let someone to write’. Although the counterparts of this latter form are usually quoted in the dictionaries, decoding\(^58\) the meaning of the stem from the meaning of the derivative is quite simple. On the other hand consider the verb *yabu- ‘to go’ and *yabugul- ‘to send’ where the decoding is not unambiguous. To quote examples other than causatives, consider the reciprocal form of the verb *bari- ‘to take, to seize’, which is *barildu- and the meaning of which is ‘to wrestle’.\(^59\)

All these reveal that voice suffixes indeed may produce new items of the lexicon, thus they can be regarded as parts of derivational morphology. At the same time, as categories of voice describe the relation of the subject and object of the sentence, researchers of syntax are much interested in voice as well.

Causative voice

According to Poppe (GWM 224–228), the causative suffixes of the modern Mongolic languages can be traced back to the following four suffixes: -*gA-*, -*gA*-\(^2\), -*gUL- and -*lA-. Poppe mentions a fifth causative suffix, -*l-, which was present in the Pre-classical Mongol, but later disappeared, the suffix -*lA- being used instead.

Their use is determined by the following distributional rules.

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\(^{58}\) The opposite is of course true as well. In that case a kind of prediction works, that is knowing the stem and the rule, the meaning of the derived verb is predictable.

\(^{59}\) To interpret this phenomenon from the opposite side just as in the former case, it can be stated, that from the verbs yabu- and bari- the above mentioned meanings of yabugul- and barildu- are not unambiguously predictable.
1. The suffix \(-g\text{A}-\) is added to intransitive stems ending in a vowel. The vowel of the suffix is long.

2. The suffix \(-\text{GA}^{-2}\) is added to transitive and intransitive stems ending in the consonant \(-l, -r, -b, -d\) or \(-s\). If the stem ends in \(-b, -d\) or \(-s\), the velar stop of the suffix is \(/k/\).

3. The suffix \(-g\text{Ul}-\) is added to transitive and intransitive stems ending in a vowel.

4. The suffix \(-\text{lgA}-\) is added to transitive and intransitive stems ending in the juncture \(-\text{GV}-\).

It may be recognized, however, that in modern languages – I mean especially Khalkha and Buryat for their good documentation – these rules are not strictly observed in every case, i.e. the rules are flexible, and there is a permeability among them. Thus, if we take a causative verb, we can state by which rule it was formed, but the rule according to which the causative verb should be formed is not always clear.

One can observe that the feature, on the ground of which Poppe differentiated two homophonic suffixes \(-g\text{A}-\) was that while the first was added to stems ending in a vowel, the other was added to stems ending in consonants. I am inclined to think that this feature does not differentiate the two suffixes. In fact just the contrary is true. As their uses do not have a point of intersection the two suffixes are actually one and the same.

Another difference between the two suffixes \(-g\text{A}-\) according to Poppe is the length of their vowels: if the stem ends in a consonant, the vowel is short, while if the stem ends in a vowel, the vowel of the causative suffix is long.

These statements can perhaps be best understood if it is borne in mind that, behind the written language, there is always the spoken one. Literary Mongol is such a written language, in the case of which it is problematic to speak about the quantity of vowels, but neither are Poppes' statements supported by those monuments written in scripts that could involve a long vowel. Poppe possibly meant that, if the stem ended in a vowel, the guttural of the suffix entered in an intervocalic position, which usually results in a long vowel in modern spoken Mongolic languages.

The picture is somewhat different in the text of the Mnt. The most striking difference between the systems is that in the Mnt the counterpart of the suffix \(*-\text{lga}-\) is missing, there appear only \(*-\text{GA}-\) and \(*-\text{gUl}-\). That could be explained in two ways. According to the first one the suffix existed in the Mongolic idiom of the Mnt, but it does not come forth in the text, while according to the second explanation it did not exist in that variety, because it disappeared or has not yet appeared. Taking into account the extension of the text the possibilities of the second explanation seem to be more plausible.
The causative suffix -GA- was mentioned by Street (1957: 65), and discussed by Godziński (1985: 66-67). Interestingly, he differentiates the allomorphs -KA- and -'A-, which is not needed, if such examples are considered as Mnt iču’a-/ičuqa- ‘to return’.

The causative suffix -GA- can be added to primary stems (1) as well as to derived ones (2):

1. Mnt bolqa- ‘to make, to render, to count as st.’: Dobun-mergen abaqya-yu’an uruq-a ʿulī bolqan dorumjilaqū qaqačaɣu geʃu newiβe ‘his four sons no longer regarded their uncle Dobun Mergen as a member of the family but, looking down on him, they left him and moved away.’ (Mnt 11); aqa inu Buqu-qatagi tere üge inu ya’un-a ber ese bolqaba ‘His elder brother Buqu Qatagi did not attach any importance to these words of his’ (Mnt 33); gamuq Mongqo[l] Tayiçi’ut Onan-nu Qorqonaq-jubur quraʃu Qutula-yi qahan bolqaba ‘all the Mongols and Tayiçi’ut gathered in the Qorqonaq Valley by the Onan and made Qutula qa’an’ (Mnt 57); namayi yekin nidün-ii surmusun aman-u qaqsan bolqmamui ta ‘why do you regard me as a lash in the eye, a thorn in the mouth?’ (Mnt 77); Further occurrences: Mnt 34, 44, 46, 69, 87, 105, 113, 121, 123, 124, 126, 127, 131, 135, 138, 139, 145, 155, 164, 167, 169, 170, 172, 197, 203, 207, 208, 214, 224, 225, 232, 240, 244, 246, 249, 251, 252, 254, 255 < *bolqa- ← *bol- ~ LM (L) bol- ‘to become, change into; to happen, occur, take place; to arrive or pass (of time); to be; to exist; to constitute, represent; to be able; to be possible, suitable, or fitting; to succeed, be successful; to ripen, mature, become cooked; to become immune; to comply with, yield, acquiesce in, obey; [etc.]

2. Mnt boqunitqa- ‘to make short, to bring down’: ding sa’uƙui iseri boqunitqaɣu de’ekši qarkui hũni dólüşgeʃu yekin teyin ayu’ulba cì qan eçige minu ‘Bringing down the couch on which they sat // According to their rank, // Scattering the smoke that rose upwards // From their tents, // Why have you frightened them so?’ (Mnt 177) < *bokunitka- ← *bokunit- ~ LM (L) boyonid- ‘to be too short or low’ ← *bokuni ~ LM (L) boyon ‘low, short; base, mean’

It can be added to stems ending in any stem-final sound, but there appear different allomorphs depending on the quality of the given stem-final. The suffix *-GA- may have the following allomorphs:

Added to stems with a stem-final vowel the guttural of the suffix becomes spirantized, and the Mnt shows the stage prior of the development of a long vowel: ‘-A- (3):

3. Mnt bure’e-/büti’e- ‘to complete, to finish’: üges-i anu medere’iljü ûges-tür anu gürsge bure’eqi mün tende gebe ‘Making them to admit their oath and causing them to comply with their words, he executed them and cast off their bodies there and then.’ (Mnt 136); Saça Taiçu qayar-i bure’t et qarji irjü ‘Having disposed of Saça and Taiçu he returned’ (Mnt 137); tende Tolun-čerbi lluqyi qardajü bure’ebe ‘when Tolun Cerbi reported that he had seized Iluq and killed him.’ (Mnt 267); imayı bure’eqi Tanyut irgen-i eke eçige-yi uruq-un uruq-a gürtele muquli musquli-yi ügei bolqan ‘after having exterminated the Tang’ut people’s mothers and fathers down to the offspring of their offspring, maiming and taming’ (Mnt 268); // Jürçediей udjuq arqa-bar Jaqa-gambu-yi qahaqan baraqsan-i qartajü barjü büti’eqi ‘Jürçedei lured him with a stratagem and, after seizing him, made an end of Jaqa Gambu who had broken with us for good’ (Mnt
208) *bütege-/büttü- ← *büte-/bütt-~ LM (L) büte- ‘to be'(come) covered, closed, stopped up; to close or heal (of a wound); to be stuffy, close (of air); to choke, suffocate, be asphyxiated’ / LM (L) bütt- ‘to be (come) formed or fulfilled; to be(com) executed, carried out or materialized; to come true (of a wish); to be made of, consist of; to be(com) possible or feasible; to succeed’ << Turkic, cf. Old Turkic bit-/bütt- “has an extraordinarily wide range of meanings, the starting-point of which seems to be ‘to become complete’. This developed in two contrary directions, ‘to come to an end, be finished’, and ‘to be ready to start’ with various special applications.” (ED 298)

Mnt *job'a-/job'ə- ‘to agonize, to cause to suffer’: gege’en üdür-ün setkil çinu joba’aqu bi ‘I would be trouble your heart in the bright day’ (Mnt 201); qajar-a레 aqta-ı bi yüli şirqan üli joba’an öljeitü höy-ın irgen-i orolu’ju irebe či ‘Without wounding or causing suffering to man or gelding in the lands you went, you came back having subjugated the fortunate People of the Foreland’ (Mnt 239); irge üli joba’an sülenn-e ede ulus-aça sürüg-ıün niken šilegi qonin hon hon-tur öktügei ‘so that people do not suffer, every year from these people one two-year-old sheep out of every flock shall be given as levy for Our soup’ (Mnt 279) /// edö’e qan eçige-ın binad-u jürüge in üli joło’an üde manaqar<-i oroju qarcu serşü’eji yabu ‘Now do not pain our father the Qan’s heart. Evening and morning, coming in and going out, always be of comfort to him’ (Mnt 181); qan eçige-ın binad-u setkil joło’a bu aqlasa’ul ‘Do not distress or rend the heart of our father the Qan’ (Mnt 181); Činggis qahan eçige-yi’ın joban bayyi’ıluqas qul-ı bi joba’ya ‘We shall not cause suffering to the nation that our father Činggis Qa’an established with so much toil’ (Mnt 279) < *jobaqa-/joboqa- ← *joba-/jobo- ~ LM (L) jooba- ‘to suffer, worry, grieve; to be tortured, tormented; to be in trouble’;

Mnt *sönö-/sönö- ‘to extinguish’: oerün qal-ıyın sönö’egi metü oerün ger-l’[n] ebdegü metü ‘This action would be // Like extinguishing one’s own hearth-fire, // Like destroying one’s own tent’ (Mnt 242) < *sönöge- ← *sönö- ~ LM (L) sönö- ‘to be extinguished, go out of fire; to perish, be exterminated, annihilated; to end, cease to be, disappear’

It is a question if içuqa- was an extant verb. I am inclined to consider it as a reading error instead of içu’a-, however cf. the verb ja’aqa-.

Mnt *içu’a-/içuqa- ‘to return’: jiči müıt jokilduya ke’ekdejü Qorjın qadun Qu’ürçin qadun jirin-i içu’aju jokilduya ke’en elčiledlün büküü-tür ‘Later, however, on being told, ‘We want to make peace’, they returned both Qorjın Qatun and Qu’ürçin Qatun to the Jürkin’ (Mnt 132); Qorjın qadun Qu’ürçin jirin-i içu’aju ökbei bida ‘gave them back both Qorjın Qatun and Qu’ürçin’ (Mnt 136); dürbekset ulus-i içuqaya ke’en Činggis qahan qonqasen qajar-aça morilaju dürbeketi irgen-i içu’a yanbqur-tür Činggis Qa’an moved from the place where he had spent the night in order to bring back the people who had fled. As he was bringing back the fugitives’ (Mnt 146); Further occurrences: Mnt 150, 171, 248, 251, 265, /// Höelinde ijiniğe newülkererin tuqalju beye-ber morilaju jarimut irgen-i içuqaba tede ber içuqasen irgen üli toqtan Tayyiji’ud-ın qoyinaça newüljü‘üi ‘she held the standard and, riding off all on her own, brought back half the people. But even those people who were brought back did not stay, and they too moved off following the

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60 In view of the Turkic counterparts of this verb and that of Mongolic sönö- the question arises if the final vowels of the Mongolic verbs are etymologic or a petrified linking vowel.
Tayiči’ut’ (Mnt 73); dürbekset ulus-i iciousa ke’en Čınggis qahan qonaqsan qajar-aça morilaǰu dürbekän irgen-i iciousa yabuquī-tur Čınggis Qa’an moved from the place where he had spent the night in order to bring back the people who had fled. As he was bringing back the fugitives’ (Mnt 146); teđe irge iciousa’at Čınggis qahan yekе čerik mûn tende bawuǰu qonobai ‘After Čınggis Qa’an had brought back those people, he camped on the spot for the night with his great army’ (Mnt 146); Mongqol-i iciousa iciousaqsan-u qoyina basa busu setkil bida tende eteyûlût je ‘If the Mongols agree to withdraw, after their withdrawal we shall there and then take up another different counsel’ (Mnt 248) < iciousa- ← *iciousa- ~ Mnt iciousa- ‘to go back’, to turn back’; Mnt ja’aqa- ‘to show’: Čıwûdûn sayin Čıwûdûlebe ya’un Čıwûdun aqau ta Kiyat irgen-ü süldër ireǰü ja’aqaqsan aju’u ‘I had a dream of good omen. What kind of dream is it? The augëst spirit of you, Kiyat people, has come in my dream and has announced your visit’ (Mnt 63) < *jîgaga- ← *jîga- ~ LM (L) jîga- ‘to point out, show, demonstrate; to teach, instruct’;

The stems ending in i represent a special case. Under the influence of this final vowel, the gutural of the suffix might become a glide, and then the spirantization is cancelled (4). I used the word “might” because this feature is not general (5). In later stages of the Mongolic languages, however, both ways result in a long vowel61.

(4) Mnt qurya/-qurya’a.62 ‘to collect, to gather’: qutuqtait sutai ui’in- // quryaja iregû bolun // qotola Merkit-e huntuwu bolba ‘who took away // The favoured and fortunate lady, // I have brought disaster upon // The whole of the Merkit’ (Mnt 111); ede e difíc kö’in qoyar odun baraqsan ulus nadiquryaja ögürin ken-ü emûne quryaja ögûn jobomu ‘When these two, father and son, gathered the lost people and returned them to me, for whose sake did they take the trouble of gathering and returning them?’ (Mnt 164); Qurçâqus-buyiragu qan e difíc-yín čiňu joban edii quryaja aqasan ulus-i čiňu mana’u mede’ilgi Owens ken-e ber ye’iin mede’ilgi ‘the people that your father Qurçâqus Buyiragu qan gathered laboriously in such great number? How will he let anyone govern it?’ (Mnt 167); Naiman irgen-ü ulus-i Altay-yn ôlke-de muqatqaj quryabai ‘utterly defeated and conquered the people of the Naiman tribe on the southern slopes of the Altai’ (Mnt 196) // ulus quryaja’an jobaqsat eke büyûj je kôi’d-ü’n minu aqa’oči büj je de’ü-ner-ü’n minu nilqa Ötcugin büj je ‘The one who toiled most gathering the people was mother. The eldest of my sons is Joči. The youngest of my younger brothers is Ötcugin’63 (Mnt 242) < *kurija- ← *kurja/-kuraja- ~ LM (L) qura- ‘to gather, assemble; accumulate’;

Mnt aliya- ‘to separate’: čımayi amduqarqar qolo odus’u čımadâca aljîyaqy-aça ayuju ya’araǰu jalkiku-yi jalka’t asqaus-qi asqa’at ‘When you were in a great plight, had I gone farther away I would have feared being separated from you. As I was in haste, I swallowed what I could swallow and spat out what I could spit out’ (Mnt 145)

61 With or without sign of the earlier -i sound of the word, cf. Khal.B. xurâx ‘to collect’ but Buryat xur’âxa ‘sobirat’, ubirat”

62 These two forms are not variants but rather two different derivations. In qurya’a- we see two causative suffixes.

63 At this point I find more correct the translation of Ligeti, who renders the text as follows: ‘Akik a birodalom népénék összegyûjtésén a legtöbbet fáradoztak, az anya volt, fiain közül legidősebb, a Dzsoci, ócsém közül a legfiatalabb, Ötcugin volt az’ [Those who suffered most on the gathering the people were the mother, my eldest son Joči, and my youngest brother Ötcugin.]
The supposed etymology has some phonological problems, and needs further investigation.

Cf. the forms Çıqırų and Çıqırłu listed by Ligeti (1962: 193) as an evidence in favor that the original text of the Mnt was written in Uighur-Mongol script.

A difference is marked, however, in the Sino-Mongol inscriptions written in Uighur-Mongol script.
-s Mnt bosqa- ‘to erect’: Bilge-beki Tödö’en qoyar qatqulduqui tuq bosqataqu ‘You Bilge Beki and Tödö’en raise the war standard’ (Mnt 181); Ong qan altan terme bosqaju genet qurımlan âju’u ‘Ong Qan had set up his golden tent of thin woollen cloth’ and was feasting’ (Mnt 184); Ong qan genet būi altan terme bosqaju qurımlamui ‘Ong Qan is off his guard; he has pitched his golden tent and is feasting’ (Mnt 185); salalçaqui qurımlaya ke’eldijù yeko čačir bosqaju qurımlaqui-tur ‘we decided to hold a parting feast. A large tent was set up and, as we began feasting’ (Mnt 275) < *boska- ← *bos- ~ LM (L) bos- ‘to rise, stand up; to revolt, rise in arms; to flee, desert; to become a revenant’

Mnt gesge- ‘to melt’: ke’eli-deče törēksen eke-yü’en // gemüri’üli‘esü // genü’er inu // gesge’esü üli‘ boli ‘From your mother who has borne you // from her belly, // even you lessen her reproach // It will be of no avail’ (Mnt 254) < *geske- ← *ges- ~ LM (L) ges- ‘to melt, thaw; to be changed, corrected, instructed, converted’;

Mnt emüsi– ‘to put on, to dress’: Qa’atai-darmala-yi erüsbe abčiraju // qa[b]fasun buqa’u emüsiği // Qaldun-burqan-na jori’ulba ‘They seized Qa’atai Darmala and brought him back, // They forced him to wear a cane gu made of a wooden board, // They took him straight to Qaldun Burqan.’ (Mnt 112); qara alaq eşiğe daqu emüsiği Selenge-yin Bu’ura-ke’er-e Merkid-iin a’ur nödiibe ‘they gave him a kidskin coat with black spots to wear, and in the Bu’ura Steppe by the Selenge River he pounded ground in a Merkit’s mortar’ (Mnt 152) < *emüsi– ← *emüs- LM (L) emüs- ‘to wear, put on (as clothes, headgear)’

-t (-d) Mnt čatqa- ‘to satiate’: qal-iyar hülimürige’iltele bidanu aqtas ber čadumu je aqtas-iyan čatqan Naiman-u qara’ul-i hülde’et daraçaju ‘While we keep them in doubt with the fires, our geldings will eat their fill. When our geldings are satiated, we shall chase the Naiman patrolmen and, pressing hard on them’ (Mnt 193) < *čatka- ← *čat- ~ LM čad- ‘to be(come) saturated, filled; to satiate oneself, eat one’s fill; to mature (of small pox); to be ripe (of grain)’;

Mnt böldeyitke- ‘to separate’: ö’ereče busu ayimaq-un güi’in-i ö’ere böldeyitketkün ke’en jarlıq bolba ‘and separate the rest any man in a group which is not his own.’ So he ordered’ (Mnt 156) < *böldeyitke- ← *böldeyit- ~ Mnt böldeyit- ‘to be alone, to separate oneself’

Mnt bügütge-/bügütke- ‘to make an allaying over, to check’: bayyijqo qonooj üdür geyü’ilün bügıtge’esü Öködei Boroqul Bo’orçu qurban ügei âju’u ‘They spent the night standing in battle order, when they held a roll-call, Öködei, Boroqul and Bo’orçu were not there’ (Mnt 172) // kešik ororun kešigün noyan öer-tür-iyen kešiklekszet kešikten-i bügıtkejü kešik orójq qurban qonolduqu ye’ütkeldütiqe ‘On taking his turn of duty, the commander of the company will himself muster the guards who are to serve on roster and then take his turn of duty; after spending three days and nights with them the company shall relieved.’ (Mnt 227) < *büktke- ← *bükt- ~ Mnt bügüt- ‘to be entire, undamaged’;

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67 altan terme translated here as ‘golden tent of thin woollen cloth’ is actually ‘golden tent’. For the history of the word terme considered by de Rachewiltz (2004: 664-665) to be of Tibetan origin in Mongolic, cf. Róna-Tas 1996. It is important to note that the 13. century is not yet the period for Tibetan words to be copied by Mongolic.
Mnt dü’ürge- ‘to fill, to charge’: alaqči’ut qon-i-n-di adu’ulaļu // alam dü’ürgesü // qongqaqči’ut qoni-n-di adu’ulaļu // qoton dü’ürgesü ‘I shall tend pied sheep, // And shall fill the bottom of the cart with them’ (Mnt 124); oro’ulurun kebte’ül qorçin turqaq oro’ulurun tümän dü’ürgen oro’ulutan ‘When you recruit them and have nightguards, quiverbearers and dayguards enrolled, recruit them so as to make up a full ten thousand’ (Mnt 224); na’iman ja’ut de’ere minqä dü’ürgetügei ‘On top of the eight hundred, add to the number so as to make up a full thousand’ (Mnt 225); qorçin-i minqan dü’ürgejü Yisün-te’e aqalaļu autaq ‘Yisün Te’e shall add to the number of quiverbearers to make up a full thousand and be the overall commander’ (Mnt 225); urida Ögele-čerbi-li’üm oroqsat turqaq’ut de’ere minqan dü’ürgejü Bo’orju-yin uruq-aça Ögele-čerbi medetügei ‘bringing the number of dayguards who had formerly enrolled with Ögele Čerbi up to a full thousand, said, ‘Ögele Čerbi from the family of Bo’orču shall be in charge of them’ (Mnt 226) < *dügärke- ← *dügür- ~ LM (L) dügür- ‘to be(come) filled or full; (fig.) to expire, finish, end (of time or events); to be completed or finished’

Mnt gürge- ‘to pass, to get, to message’: Çoṭan oči-yen hüdejü Güreljü dotora Senggür-qoroqan-a bükü-tür gürgejü irebe ‘Çotan escorted her daughter and took her to Temüjin’s home, which at that time was on the Senggür Stream in the Güreljü Mountains.’ (Mnt 94); Jumua-yin ede üges inu Qasar Belgütei qoyar irejü Temüjin-e üglülejü To’oril qan-na ke’en gürgebe ‘Qasar and Belgütei came and reported these words of Jumua to Temüjin, who had them conveyed to To’oril Qan’ (Mnt 107); dayin ayişi ke’en söni dülün kelen gürjen oṭçu’ui ‘saying, ‘The enemies are coming, pushing forward at full speed’ (Mnt 109); Further occurrences: Mnt 113, 129, 133, 136, 141, 142, 169, 177, 187, 190, 195, 197, 200, 205, 214, 227, 230, 246, 248, 251, 254, 259, 265, 278 < *kürke- ← *kür- ~ LM (L) kür- ‘to reach, arrive at; to touch; to amount to; to be sufficient’

Mnt ökke’ü̝l- ‘to make someone give’: qal őtör tüle’ü̝l’et qala’un da’a’ulu’at Öködey-e umdän eri’ü̝ljug ökke’ü̝ljug dayisun ire’esi qaatqaltuya kejüşü büle’eei ‘He speedily ordered a fire to be prepared, had the wound cauterized, and drink sought for Öködei and given to him. ‘If the enemy comes after us, we shall fight him!’ he said.’ (Mnt 173) < ökgegül- ← *ö̝ge- ← *ö̝g- ~ LM (L) ö̝g- ‘to give, give away’;

As in all other languages, the function of causative suffixes is to make intransitive verbs transitive (7), and transitive ones factitive (8), thus all derivatives of the suffix -GA- are transitive. As this causative suffix is mostly added to intransitive stems, Poppe’s definition of this suffix as a derivational element which can be added to intransitive stems with a final vowel is worth of further investigation. Exceptions, however there occur, consider Mnt ja’aqa- above, and hoqtoriqa-(9), the stem of which is transitive.

(7) tr. ← intr.: Mnt bučalqa- ‘to boil’: qarirun Činos-un kö’ü̝d-i dalan toqo’ot bučalqaju Ne’üdei Çaq’an-u’ya-yin teri’ü inu hoqtolju morin-u se’il-tür čirgü otçu’ui ‘as he was about to return home, Jumua had the princes of the Činos boiled alive in seventy cauldrons. Having cut off the head of Çaq’an U’a of the Ne’üs, he dragged it away bound to the tail of his horse’ (Mnt 129) < *bučalka- ← *bučal- ~ LM (L) bučal- ‘to boil, boil over; to be at a boil’;
Mnt či’ulqa- ‘to assemble, to gather’: qutu’ar üdür čerig-iyen či’ulqaju čerik eüsgejü To’oril qan öterlen ıktünejü ‘Thereupon, on the third day, To’oril Qan, having assembled his troops, set out with his army and quickly went to his assistance’ (Mnt 133); soyurqa’asu Bay’a’ut aqa de‘ü-yen či’ulqasuaqai ke’e’esü je teyin Bay’a’ut aqa de‘ü-yen či’ulqaju či mede miňqan ke’en jarlıq bolba ‘If you allow me to choose the reward, as my Bay’a’ut brothers are scattered about among all the various tribes, by your favour let me bring together my Bay’a’ut brothers.’ Thereupon, Ćinggis Qa’an ordered, ‘Yes, be it so! Bring together your Bay’a’ut brothers and you take command – one thousand!’ (Mnt 213); soyurqa’asu Negüs aqa de‘ü-yü’en či’ulqasuaqai ke’e’esü Ćinggis qahan jarlıq bolurun teyin bö’esü Negüs aqa de‘ü-yen či’ulqaju či uruq-un uruq-a gürtele medeňü iliš ‘ağu ‘If you are to favour me, as my Negüs brothers are scattered about among all the various tribes, by your favour let me bring together my Negüs brothers.’ Thereupon, Ćinggis Qa’an ordered, ‘If so, after having brought together your Negüs brothers, you will be in charge of them to the offspring of your offspring, won’t you?’ (Mnt 218); basa Degei qoniči-da bükde‘ül-i či’ulqaju miňq mede‘ülbe ‘made the shepherd Degei bring together the unregistered households and put him in charge of a thousand’ (Mnt 222) < *čigulka- ← *čigul- ~ LM (L) čiyul- ‘to assemble, accumulate, gather’;

(8) tr. ← tr. Mnt sonosqa- ‘to give forth, to proclaim’: keši‘üd-üň otögüs quta’ar quta’ar kešik-tüür ene jarlıq kešikten-e sonosqaqun esse sonosqa’asu keši‘üd-üň otögüs aldaltan boltuqai ‘The elders of the companies proclaim this order to the guards every third turn of duty. If the elders of the companies do not proclaim it they shall be guilty and liable to punishment. When the guards have heard the order, if they contravene it and fail to take their turn of duty according to the order they shall be guilty and liable to punishment’ (Mnt 227); basa keši‘üd-üň otögüs quta’ar quta’ar kešik oroqui-tur ye’ütkeldüqüün-tüür ene jarlıq kešikten-e sonosqaqunjarlıq sonosu’at bürum kešikten kešik ho’ara’asu jarlıq-un yosu’ar ere’üliyee ene jarlıq kešikten-e esse sonosqa’asu keši‘üd-üň otögüs aldaltan boltuqai ‘Further, the elders of the companies shall proclaim this order to the guards at the time when they take every third turn of duty and at the time when they are relieved. When the guards have heard the order, if they fail to take their turn of duty We shall punish them according to the previous order. But if the elders of the companies do not proclaim this order to the guards they shall be guilty and liable to punishment’ (Mnt 278) < *sonoska- ← *sonos- LM (L) sonos- ‘to hear, listen; to obey, yield to advice’;

Mnt ürje- ‘to make somebody carry’: Soqor elči-yi inu aşgiju yabuqan eme’el inu ürgejü qari’ülju’u ‘after beating him, sent the messenger Soqor back on foot, forcing him to carry his saddle on his back’ (Mnt 245) < *egurje- ← *egür- ~ LM (L) egür-/ügür- ‘to carry or load on one’s back; to bear; to take a burden or responsibility upon oneself’

(9) Mnt hoqtoriqa- ‘to cut in’: Qal’udar güyiyičëji bariqu jürüge yadaju urida’un quyina’un inu hoqtoriqaq yabuqui-tür ‘Qali’udar caught up with him, but did not venture to seize him; instead, going now in front of him, now behind him, he kept on obstructing his way’ (Mnt 184) < *hoqtoriqa- ← *hoktori- ~ Mnt hoqtori- ‘to cut’;

In addition there appear some verbs in the text of the Mnt which probably contain the causative suffix *-GA-, but their etymology remains obscure. Such are e.g. Mnt teji’e- ‘to feed’, töde’e- ‘to detain’, asqa- ‘to spill’, Mnt dölesge-/dölüşge- ‘to get involved’.
-gUl-

The causative suffix -gUl- was mentioned by Street (1957: 42), and discussed by Godziński (1985: 65–66).

The causative suffix -gUl- can be added to primary stems (1) as well as to derived ones (2):

1. Mnt amu’ul- ‘to becalm’: se’üder-eçe busu nökör ügei-tür // se’üder bolju // setkil minu amu’ulba je ta // setkil-tür aduqai ke’ebe // se’üil-eçe busu čiču’a ügei-tür // se’üil bolju // jirüge minu amu’ulba je ta // če’eji dotora minu aduqai ‘When I had no friend but my shadow, // Became my shadows; and truly // Brought peace to my mind. // In my mind you shall dwell!’ //And he said, // ‘When I had no whip // But my horse’s tail, you // Became my horse’s tail; and truly // Brought peace to my heart. // In my breast you shall dwell’” (Mnt 125); anda-yin setkil amu’ulju anda-da minu sayiqa-tur gi nököçejü oğütkän ‘put the sworn friend’s mind at ease, be the good companions of my sworn friend!’ (Mnt 127); jirim ilii kin bayyiif // jirüge amu’uluqsan // čing setkilen kebte’iil minu // jirqalang oron-tur görgebe ‘taking no rest, // Stood all around my latticed tent // Bringing peace to my heart, // You have made me gain this throne of joy’ (Mnt 230) *amugul- ← amu- ~ LM (L) amu- ‘to rest, relax; to feel contentment or joy; to be relieved’

Mnt a’ul- ‘to let live, to leave alive’: či qaqča’ar odu’asu ja’ura čeri’üit samawui čaq-tur čimayi ber ilii a’uluq ők čišu samawuraq ‘In this time of disorder, if you go alone, soldiers on the way will certainly not leave even you alive, and your daughter too will be in much trouble.’ (Mnt 197); tumdaqa ba a’uluya ke’eli’e müüt ele dayyiifin aju’u ‘I had said that they be together as one tribe, but these same people have revolted’ (Mnt 198) *agul- ← a- ~ LM (L) a- ‘to be’;

Mnt bari’ul- ‘to make catch, seize; to arrest’: kei bolu’asu qarčiqai-bar bari’uluqsan noqat qalawud-un ödün hüsün anu burqaliq časun metii butarajı keyišji iremü ‘when the wind blows from the northwest, the fluff and feathers of the ducks and geese caught by his hawk are scattered and fly over here like swirling snow’ (Mnt 31); Ong qan eyin ügüleldükset El-qutur Qulbari Alin-taşı-tan de’ü-ner-iyen noyad-iyen bari’ulju’ui ‘Then Ong Qan had his younger brothers and chiefs arrested: El Quulur, Qulbari, Alin Taisi and the others who had thus conspired.’ (Mnt 152); Činggis qahan to-osun üje’et aqtaš-iyan bari’ulu’at ača’alaju morilabai ‘Then Činggis Qa’an, having seen the dust, had his geldings brought in, loaded them, and rode off’ (Mnt 170); Činggis qahan Arqai-qasar-a

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Sanžeev distinguishes 3 causative suffixes, the distribution of which depends on the stem-final sound.
Sügehei-je’ün qoyar-a dawu bari’ulurun ‘he gave Arqai Qasar and Sügehei-je’ün a verbal message’ (Mnt 177); Further occurrences: Mnt 188, 199, 201, 265, 266 < *barigul- ← *bari- ~ LM (L) bari- ‘to hold, grasp, grip, take; to seize, catch, arrest; to harbor or cherish feelings or thoughts; to keep (as a vow); to build, construct; to set up, establish; to steer, drive; to control, rule; to present, offer, submit; to shape, model, mold; to make (of bread, cookies)’

(2) Mnt abqa’ul- ‘to make someone take, to let someone take’: tümen-ü noyan bolqa’at ulus-un go’as sayit ökit dargalan abqa’ulju quçin ba emes-tü bolqa ‘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’ (Mnt 121); Jebe Qubilai qoyar-i ilejü oljalasat adu’un ya’u ke abuqasad-i bügüde-ya abqa’ulba ‘sent Jebe and Qubilai to take away from them the herds of horses and the goods they had acquired as booty - everything they had seized’ (Mnt 153); Naiman-u Güzülüük qan ulus-yan abqa’ulju tere dayyija’ju qaruqsa’ar çö’en gü’ün Merkid-ün Toqto’a qoyar neyılje’ Güçülüük Qan of the Naiman, after his people had been captured by Çinggis Q’an, would not submit and with his companions - a few men in number went and made an alliance with Toqto’a of the Merkit’ (Mnt 198) < *abkagul- ← *abqa- ← *ab- ~ LM (L) ab- ‘to take, grasp, get hold of; to receive, obtain, gain, procure, acquire; to collect (as taxes); to buy; to absorb, draw in; to adopt; to conceive’;

Mnt büsele’ül- ‘to girdle’: Temüjin Merkid-ün Toqto’a-yi arbilaju abuqasan altan büse Jamuqa anda-da büsele’ülbei ‘Temüjin girdled his sworn friend Jamuqa with the golden belt taken as loot from Toqto’a of the Merkit’ (Mnt 117) < *büselegül- ← *büsele- ~ LM (L) büsele- ‘to belt, gird; to encircle, surround, besiege, beleaguer’ ← *büse ~ LM (L) büse ‘girdle or belt (worn around outer garments)’

Mnt kirügede’ül- ‘to make somebody saw’: hula’an buqa-yin yabuqsan mör-iyor mör-tür bayyişan modut hoqtoćin čabće’ulju kirügede’ülju mör bolqaju ‘Along the paths trodden by the red bull he had them chop, hew and saw the trees that stood in the way, thus making a road for the army to pass’ (Mnt 240) < *kirügedegül- ← *kirügede- ~ LM (L) kirügede- ‘to saw; to move in a zigzag manner’ ← *kirüge ~ LM (L) kirüge ‘saw’;

It is always added to stems with a final vowel (3), although in some cases the final vowel of the stem seems to be a petrified linking vowel (4). Such cases can be best interpreted as the expansion of the suffix -güL-, supported by later stages of Mongolic as well.

(3) Mnt ayu’ul- ‘to frighten, to scare’: qan eçige minu ya’un čimår-tur nama ayu’ulbai či ayu’ulqu bö’esü mawun kööd-iyor mawun berined-iyor nurv yin lüİ ayu’ulu či ding sa’ukvi iseri boqünitqaj de’ekʃi qarkui hüni dölüșgęjü yin teriy ayu’ulba či qan eçige minu ‘My father the Qan, out of what grievance did you frighten me? 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 sleep to their heart’s content?’ // Bringing down the couch on which they sat // According to their rank, // Scattering the smoke that rose upwards // From their tents, // Why have you frightened them so?’ (Mnt 177); tede irgen ötögü yeke erten-ü Öng qan-ni qor-iyor-iyan ayu’ulju dayiyi’lju ükä’ülbe ‘These people with their quivers terrified the great old Öng Qan of former days, causing him
to desert his own companions and perish’ (Mnt 189); Further occurrences: Mnt 200, 201 < *ayugul- ← *ayu- ~ LM (L) ayu- ‘to fear, be(come) frightened or afraid’;

Mnt ire’ül- ‘to bring, to force to come, to let come’: Qonggotadai Čaraqa ebügen-ü kö‘ün Monglik oyıra büii kë’esü uriju ire’üljü uğıleriin ‘When they told him that Monglik, the son of Old Caraqa of the Qongqotat, was close by, he called him, made him come and said to him’ (Mnt 68); ene kele ire’üll‘et Činggis qahan Ong qan-tur ene kele gürgeljii ilë’esü (Mnt 141); Ong qan-ni ire’üll‘et Činggis qahan Ong qan qoyar qamtütłu ‘After getting Ong Qan to come, Činggis Qa’an and Ong Qan decided to move jointly’ (Mnt 142); Qada’an-i uriju ire’üljü dergéçen sa’ulbái ‘He invited Qada’an to come to him and had her sit by his side’ (Mnt 146); Further occurrences: Mnt 149, 150, 156, 167, 168, 171, 172, 183, 247 < *iregül- ← *ire- ~ LM (L) ire- ‘to come, arrive, approach’

(4) Mnt bitü‘ül- ‘to take it in order, after one by one’: tabu’ula tabun chaqtai müsüt gü‘üleldään barijü bitü‘üljü ququlun yadaiba ‘The five sons each took the five bound arrow-shafts in turn, but they were unable to break them.’ (Mnt 19); ulus irgen-düriyen jasaqju ayil-tur niken qono’ulun qono’ulun bitü‘ülün yabuqui-tur ‘gave the order to his people that he should spend one night in each ayil in rotation’ (Mnt 81); öçigen ayil bitü‘üljü qono’ülkü-tur Sörgan-šira-yin ger-tür qonobasu ‘The other day, when I was made to spend the night in each ayil in rotation, I spent one night in the tent of Sörgan Şira’ (Mnt 84); bida elçin ha’ulurun ulus bitü‘ülün ha’ulqami ‘when the messengers ride in haste We allow them to ride moving freely among the population’ (Mnt 279) < *bitügül- ← *bitü- ~ LM (L) bitü- ‘to roam, wander as a religious mendicant; to stroll, loiter; to go astray; to err’ << Turkic, cf. Old Turkic bit-/bit- ‘has an extraordinarily wide range of meanings, the starting-point of which seems to be ‘to become complete’. This developed in two contrary directions, ‘to come to an end, be finished’, and ‘to be ready to start’ with various special applications.” (ED 298)

The function of this causative suffix is to make intransitive verbs transitive (5), and transitive ones factitive (6). As a complementary feature, the causative suffix -gül- in certain cases may have a passive meaning (7). It is more interesting that as well as the suffix of the passive voice, -gül- is also added to intransitive verbs to form a passive construction (8). The question of the causative forms denoting passive constructions was discussed by Sanzeev (1963: 41–44) and recently by Kurebito (2008).

(5) tr. ← intr. Mnt bayyi‘ul- ‘to make stand, to erect, to consider’: niji‘el-i ya’u bayyi‘ulqun ququqjü o‘rba ‘One by one they immediately broke the single arrowshafts and threw them away’ (Mnt 19); kebte‘ül söni ger horcin kebtégün-iyen kebte‘üljü e‘üten-tür bayyiqun-iyen késkiken bayyi‘ulqaq ‘At night, the nightguards shall see that those of their men whose duty it is to lie all around Our tent do so, and they shall put on roster those of their men whose duty it is to stand at the door to guard it’ (Mnt 192); Onan-nu ter‘i‘ün-e qurijü yisün költü čaqa’an tuq bayyi‘uluqat Činggis qahan-na qan nere tende ökbet ‘they all gathered at the source of the Onan River. They hoisted the white standard with nine tails and there they gave Činggis Qa’an the title of qan.’ (Mnt 202); Further occurrences: Mnt 209, 224, 254, 279 < *bayigül- ← *bayi- ~ LM (L) bayi- ‘to be, stay, exist, live, reside; to occur, be found at a certain place, be present; to have, possess; to cease, give up, stop’;
Mnt soč‘ul- ‘to frighten, to scare’: kő‘ü minu noqay-yaça čočimtawu bül’e quda kő‘ü minu noqay-yaça bül soč‘ul ‘my son is afraid of dogs. Quda, don’t let him be frightened by dogs!’ (Mnt 66) < *sočųlul- ← *soči- ~ LM (L) čoči/-soči- ‘to start in alarm, suffer a shock, become suddenly frightened or startled; to be surprised; to swell (of glands)’;

(6) tr. ← tr. Mnt ergü‘ul- ‘to make raise’: buyi tanu arilqaju // burbui tanu ergü‘ülju // ere-yin egem-tür // aqtä-yin qarqam-tur gürgejü ‘Cleaning your whole body, // Causing you to lift your heels // And learn how to walk, // She made you reach // Up to men’s shoulders, // Up to geldings’ cruppers.’ (Mnt 254); Ögödei qahan őr-iyen qan ergü‘ülju dotona yabuqun tümen kešikten-i gol-un ulus-i ő-er-dürüyen bolqa’ulun barajü ‘Ögödei Qa’an, having concluded the installation of himself as qan and the transfer of the ten thousand guards on internal duty together with the domain of the centre to himself’ (Mnt 270) < *ergūgül- ← *ergū- ~ LM (L) ergū- ‘to raise, lift up; to offer, present; to offer as a sacrifice; to adopt a child; to nurse; to extol; to show respect’;

Mnt kidu‘ul- ‘to slaughter, to kill’: tende Merkid-i Činggis qahan ğarlıq bolurun kiduqun-in anu kidu‘ulju hüleked-i anu čeri‘ü-te tala‘ulbai ‘Then, regard to these Merkit, Činggis Qa’an ordered that those to be killed were to be killed and the remainder were to be despoiled by the soldiers’ (Mnt 198) < *kidugul- ← *kidu- ~ LM (L) kidu- ‘to cut; to massacre, slaughter, kill; to annihilate, destroy’;

(7) Mnt ire‘ul-: Ong qan-ni ire‘ülü‘et Činggis qahan Ong qan qoyar qamutuču ‘After getting Ong Qan to come, Činggis Qa’an and Ong Qan decided to move jointly’ (Mnt 142). Further details see above.

Mnt šingge‘ül: Činggis qahan tere qatquldun-an-tur sujîyasa-ban şilürtejü čisun törtite’esü ulü bolun amduriqdarun naran šingge‘ülün mün tende šitulüjüjü bawju ‘In that battle Činggis Qa’an was wounded in a vein of the neck. He could not stop the bleeding and was in a great plight. He waited till sundown, then he pitched camp’ (Mnt 145);

Mnt alda‘ul: múltüs alda‘ulju dantur edüi idürefjü irebe bi ‘when I suddenly managed to escape and have just come in haste to join you’ (Mnt 145)

(8) Mnt ükii‘ül-: Naiman Merkit bolun qamutuču bayyildun yadaţi buru’ülan gödölürün Erdiš ketülürün čübüščü olanqı-yun usun-tur ükii‘üljüü ‘Then the Naiman and the Merkit were unable, even with their united forces, to keep up the fight and fled. When they moved away and crossed the Erdiš, most of them fell into the river and drowned’ (Mnt 198)

Literature
Passive voice

-kDA- and -DA-

The deverbal verb suffixes -kDA- and -DA- form the passive voice of verbs in all Mongolic languages, and to my best knowledge they are mentioned in every grammar of the different Mongolic languages, since the pioneering work of Schmidt (1831: 75–76).

In the text there appear about 110 verbs furnishing one of these suffixes.

In connection with the Mnt it was discussed by Street (1957: 42–44), and Godziński (1985: 68–69). There is not any restriction in connection with the stem-final of the stem. No linking vowel is used even if the stem ends in a consonant (1). This clear system, however changes in later stages of Mongolic, cf. the examples in footnote nr. 68, in the case of which the vowel -U—was used to connect the stem and the suffix. This can be interpreted as the expansion of the suffix -kDA-.

1 Mnt tasulda- ‘to be broken, to be torn’: altan arqamjii-yen Sarta’ul irgen-e ker tasuldan büle’ei ‘How can my “golden halter” be broken by the Sartau’ul people’ (Mnt 254) bara’un qar činu bolsu ke’elia’e či Sarta’ul irgen-e altan arqamjii-yen tasuldujii oylan čen morilaba bi ‘You said that you would be my right wing. As the Sartau’ul people have broken my “golden halter”, I have set out to call them to account for their action’ (Mnt 256) < *tasulda- ← *tasul- ~ LM (L) tasul- ‘to break apart; to tear asunder; to cut off; to separate’

It may be added to simplex (2) or derived stems (3):

2 Mnt kikde- ‘to be done, to be treated’: sayin ečige-yin činu quriyaqdaqsaan ulus-i manu būrin-ü ulus a[b]ču newdiklerin itqaq bolun eyin kikdebe ‘The people gathered by your good father, the people of all of us, they have taken with them and moved away. When I tried to stop them, this is how I was treated’ (Mnt 73); erde üdür Yisügei qan ečige-de minu tusa sayi kikdeksen-i setkişii noköçesi bi ‘Remembering the help and good things done to me in former days by his father Yisügei Qan, I shall stand by Temüjin’ (Mnt 105); qurim dotorača üjejii qarču irejii ügülerin ker eyin kikden büle’ei bida ‘saw what happened from the place of the feast. He stepped out and said, ‘How can we be treated like this?’” (Mnt 131); Further occurrences: Mnt 136, 245, 255 < *kikde- ← *ki- ~ LM (L) ki- ‘to do, act, perform etc.’

3 Mnt emečilekde- ‘to be compared to /treated as a woman’: ene üge-tür Tayang qan öre-iyen emečilekden ügilekdejii Tayang qan ügülerin ‘to these words, whereby Tayang Qan himself was spoken of as behaving like a woman, Tayang Qan said’ (Mnt 194) < *emečilekde- ← *emečile- ~ LM (L) emečile- ‘to act or behave like a woman; to take for a wife; to treat someone as one’s wife’ ← *eme ~ eme ‘woman, wife; female’;

Mnt amurli’uda- ‘to becalm’: debülkii toq’an-i // delegei śinaqa bolju amurli’udaį ‘Being like a broad ladle // Have calmed the overboiling cauldron’ (Mnt 277) < *amurligulda- ← *amurligul- ← *amurli- ~ LM (L) amurli- ‘to be(come) quiet or calm;
to be(come) gentle; to rest; for an illness to improve; to be(come) blissful’ ← *amur ~
LM (L) amur ‘peace, quiet, calm, rest, leisure; pleasure; good health, well-being; easy,
not difficult; peacefully, quietly’ ← amu- ~ LM (L) amu- ‘to rest, relax; to feel
contentment or joy; to be relieved’;

As the two forms of the suffixes occur in a clear distribution, they can be regarded as allomorphs
of the same suffix. It is noteworthy, that in contrast with later stages of Mongolic,⁶⁹ in the Mnt
there do not occur exceptions from the distributional rules. As there is a quantitative difference
in the number of verbs ending in a vowel (to which the form -GdA- is added) in contrast to those
which end in a consonant (to which the form -DA- is added), it seems to be a natural phenomenon
that the formant -gda- occupies the territory of -da-.

The distributional rules of the suffix variants according to the Mnt are as follows:

The form -kdA- is added to stems ending in a vowel (4):

(4) Mnt alaqda- ‘to be killed’: de’i-ben Taiçär-i alaqdaba ke’en Jamiqa teri’üten Jadaran Harban
qurban qarin noköçejji ‘Because his younger kinsman Taiçär had been killed, Jamiqa, at
the head of the Jadaran, and his allies making thirteen tribes’ (Mnt 129); ere-yi’en
alaqdaran Temürin-i ere-yi minu aburatuqai ‘As my husband was being killed, I cried
and wailed and called on Temürin to save my husband’ (Mnt 146); Ong qan-nu de’i Erke-qara
Ong qan aqa-da’an alaqdaran buru utcu otdu ‘when Onq Qan’s younger brother Erke Qara
was about to be killed by his elder brother Onq Qan, he escaped’ (Mnt 151); ossiël oson
kisal kisan Tatar irgen-i či’un-tür ullijii ültekken kiduqui-tur alaqdaran Tatar-un Qargil-šira
o’rçaq bolun qarch ‘At the time when // We were taking revenge, // We were
requiting the wrong, // by killing the Tatar people to the last one, measuring against
the linchpin of a cart, and as they were being Qargil Sira of the Tatar escaped and
became an outcast.’ (Mnt 214); eçüge činu Çaqan-qo’a minu emeñi kici’ejju qatqulduqu bolun
Dalan-baljut-ta qatqulduqu-tur Jamiqa-da alaqdala’u ‘Your father Çaqan Qo’a was
fighting zealously before me at the battle of Dalan Baljut when he was killed by
Jamiqa’ (Mnt 218); Sarta’ul irgen-e Uguna teri’üten ja’an elčin-iyan jetqijii alaqdañ ‘one
hundred envoys with Uguna at their head had been held up and slain by the Sarta’ul
people’ (Mnt 254); Further occurrences: Mnt 177, 196 ← alakda- ← ala- ~ LM (L) ala-
‘to kill, murder; to butcher’;

Mnt baraqa- ‘to become exhausted, to run out’: üge baraqdalu’a ‘Enough of this
matter’ (Mnt 246) ← baraka- ← bara- ~ LM (L) bara- ‘to finish, end, terminate; to expire’;

Mnt biüşirde- ‘to be believed’: amatu keletii gi’iün iğilen bö’etele yekin ülli biüşirdeğjii
‘When any man with a mouth and a tongue says these things, how can one not believe

⁶⁹ Cf. the following verbs: LM (L) asayuqa- ‘pass. of asayu’; LM (L) sonosuyda-/sonosta- ‘to be(come) heard or audible;
to resound; to become known’; LM (L) yabuyuyluqa ‘to be sent or dispatched, carried out, executed’; LM (L) jakiruyuya-
‘to be governed by, be under the jurisdiction of’; Khalk. tailagdax (< *tay-ilıxda-) ‘kibomlik, kinyilk, széntnyílik,
megoldódik; felmentést kap vmi áló; jártassz válík vmiben’; Khalk. todralagdax (< *todorogulıda-) ‘meghatározatik,
meghatározódik, pontosítódik, pontosítatik’; Khalk. orcalagdax (< *orçılılda-) ‘lefordítódik; lefordítják’; Khalk. xölødax (< *köölşiide-) ‘vezetettik, vezetik vminél fogva’; Khalk. čirýədax (< *čirüyde-) ‘vontatják, vonszolják;
meghurcolják; kellemetlenségbe keveredik’.
him?’ (Mnt 167) < *büširekde- ↔ *büšire- ~ LM (L) bisire- ‘to believe in, revere, worship; to adore, admire; to respect, esteem’;

The form -DA- is added to stems ending in -l (5):

(5) Mnt olda- ‘to be found’: tedüi erjü ese oldalai ‘searched for her, but could not find her’ (Mnt 112); Hö’elün eke Merkid-ün nuntuq-ača oldașan Güçü neretü kö’ük-en Tayyiichi’ud-un dotora Besüd-ün nuntuq-ača oldașan Kököçi neretü kö’ük-en i Tatar-ün nuntuq-ača oldașan Şigiken-qutuqq neretü kö’ük-en i Jürkin-ün nuntuq-ača oldașan Bor’ul neretü kö’ük-en i ede dörb-ı ger dötora tej’i’erü ‘Mother Hö’elün reared in her tent these four: the boy called Güçü found in the Merkit camp, the boy called Kököçi found in the Besüid camp among the ‘Tayyiichi’ut, the boy called Şigiken Qutuq found in the Tatar camp, and the boy called Bor’ul found in the Jürkün camp.’ (Mnt 138) < *olda- ↔ *ol- ~ LM (L) ol- ‘to find, get, acquire, obtain, earn; to achieve’

Mnt či’lda- ‘to be gathered, assembled’: yisün keleten irgen T-ev-tenggeri-tür či’ldajü nada qariyatan irge-ben T-ev-tenggeri-deče quyura Soqor neretü elči ilėli’e ‘As "the people of nine tongues" had assembled under Teb Tenggeri, I sent a messenger called Soqar to request from Teb Tenggeri the return of the people subject to me’ (Mnt 245) < *çigulda- ↔ *çigul -~ LM (L) çulul- ‘to assemble, accumulate, gather’;

Mnt morila’ulda- ‘to be sent on a raid’: ba birün busu heligeti bulqa irgen-tür morila’ulda喜剧 jöb-i tab-i bolqa bolqa ke’ejü büqüi-tür ‘So, just at the time when, having been sent to ride against a rebellious people of a different race, we were asking ourselves whether we had been successful’ (Mnt 275) < *morilaçulda- ↔ *morilaçul -~ Mnt morila’ul- ‘aufsitzen lassen, ins Feld schiecken’;

The form -DA- is added to stems ending in -b (6, -k (7), -r (8), -s (9), and -t (10):

(6) Mnt abda/-abta-70 ‘to be taken’: niken gege’en soqosun geuji ja’uqas-an i Bekter Belgütei aqa de’ü quyara buljju abdana ba ‘A shiny dace bit our hook, but it was snatched away from us by our brothers Bekter and Belgütei’ (Mnt 76); Temüjin-i ulus inu abuya ulus-ian abda’asu ulus iige-yü ü bolu’asu yekkiin tede ‘go ahead and capture Temüjin’s people. If his people are taken away from him and he is left without them, what can he do?’ (Mnt 166); bida ya’u ke’ełdül’e kele-ben abdaqun ken-ü ama itaqanun ke’eğü üü ‘We should have had our tongues taken out! Whose mouth can we now stop from repeating it?’ (Mnt 169); Sengoqgum bayyilduq bolun morin-ün’an quyaya qaqadaju abdaq bolju ‘Senggüm had just joined battle [with Kökse’ü Sabraq at Hula’an Qt]; his horse had been shot in the thigh by an arrow and he himself was about to be captured’ (Mnt 177); Further occurrences: Mnt 190, 200, 260) // ede qurban Merkit erten-ü Hö’elün eke-yi Çiledi–daça bulju abtala’at ke’en edö’e tere ösöl ösön ir[e]k[s]e[t] ajwu ‘Now these Three Merkit had come to take their revenge because Mother Hö’elün had formerly been abducted from Çiledi’ (Mnt 102) Yeke-çiledi–deče Yisügei-ba’atur-Ç Hö’elün eke-yi bulju abtala’i ‘in former days Mother Hö’elün was abducted by Yisügei Ba’atur from Yeke Çiledi’ (Mnt 111);

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70 It is interesting to note that while the form of the verb in LM is abta- ‘to be taken or seized; to be taken out; to be capable of being taken; to be overtaken; to suffer from; to come or be under the influence or power of’, in the Mnt this form occurs only twice, abda- 8 times. The most possible reason of the fluctuation could be the misreading the text in Uighur-Mongol script. (Doerfer 1966:41) That is even more assured if one checks the occurrences of the verb ökte/-ökde-, where the different forms appear very close to each other.
bidanu qara’ul-ača niken šingqula morin mawuqan eme’eltii-yi Naiman-u qara’ul-a abtaju’ui ‘The Naiman patrol seized one of our patrolmen who had a white horse with a rather poor saddle. When the Naiman patrol caught that horse’\textsuperscript{21} (Mnt 193) < *abta- ← *ab- ~ LM (L) ab- ‘to take, grasp, get hold of; to receive, obtain, gain, procure, acquire; to collect (as taxes); to buy; to absorb, draw in; to adopt; to conceive’

(7) Mnt asaqta- ‘to be asked’: qahan nidin-yen ne’ejü usun quyujü u’uju ya’un bolbi ke’en asaqtau błeś očrub ‘the Qa’an, opening his eyes, requested water, drank it and asked, ‘What has happened?’ The shamans then reported’ (272) ← *hasak- ~ Mnt hasaq-/asqaq- ‘to ask’;

Mnt ökte-/ökde- ‘to be given’: gü’ün-ne ese ökteksen błeś Dobun-mergen de’ü-de’en čimada quyuya ‘If she has not been given to another man, we shall ask her for you, my younger brother Dobun Mergen!’ (Mnt 6); Alan-qq’a neretei gü’ün-ne ber ökte’ei üdii’ül ölün aju’u ‘Her name was Alan Qo’a and she had not yet been given to any other man’ (Mnt 7); urjü üli öktekii mörtel ci // učra’asu idegü yosutay ci // güçgü üli öktegü mörtel ci // gürt’e-išide güyotu ci ‘You are one for whom the rule holds // Not to be called and given food; You are one for whom the custom holds // To eat if she chances upon food; // You are one for whom the rule holds // Not to be invited and given food; // You are one for whom the custom holds // To eat if food comes by her.’ (Mnt 71); Further occurrences: Mnt 155, 163, 177, 224, 245 // Barjuqin-qq’a neretei ökin-ni Qor-Tümmed-ün noyan Qoriltarai-mergen-ne ödkeksen aju’u ‘a girl named Barjuqin Qo’a, and she had been given in marriage to Qoriltarai Mergen, a chief of the Qori Tuma’ (Mnt 8); Tatar-un Yeke-čeren-ü Yisüi neretei ökin ödkeksen güregen gü’ün bül’ei bi ‘I am the bridegroom to whom was given the daughter of the Tatar Yeke Čeren called Yisüi’ (Mnt 156); soyurqał ödkegüyie bie ya’un duta’u tusa ese bolula’a ya’un duta’u güçü ese ögüle’e bi ‘If you want to give rewards, surely I was not less useful, surely I did not give lesser service?’ (Mnt 203) < *ökte- ← *ök- ~ LM (L) ög- ‘to give, give away’

(8) Mnt gürt’e- ‘to reach, to arrive’: gürt’e-išide güyotu ci ‘You are one for whom the custom holds // To eat if food comes by her’ (Mnt 71); genete gürt’e güü-ben üjëji nikente uyyilaamu nikente donqodumu ‘When they suddenly arrived and he saw his son, he began both to wail and to scold’ (Mnt 93); arqadan unaqy arqaqy bolun amin-dur-ijan gürtbeiyi bi ‘I took a fall on purpose. I hesitated, so I lost my life’ (Mnt 140); qara’ul-ün ene kele gürt’e Tayang qan ḱanggay-yin Qačir-usun-a aju’u ‘When this news from the patrolmen reached him, Tayang Qan was at Qačir Usun in the Qangqai Mountains’ (Mnt 194); tende Ögüdei qahan ebetčin gürt’e üman kelen jabaqan aljaqdarun ‘There Ögüdei Qa’an fell ill. When he lost his speech and was in great distress’ (Mnt 272); Further occurrences: Mnt 111, 244 < *gürt’e- ← *kär- ~ LM (L) kär- ‘to reach, arrive at; to touch; to amount to; to be sufficient’;

(9) Mnt erüste- ‘to be defeated’: Temüjin ügüler’in mina tula či erüste’üjej bi qarbulaldusu ‘I am afraid you’ll come to harm because of me. I’ll trade shots with him!’ (Mnt 91);

\textsuperscript{21} ‘This sentence is rather ambiguous in the original, and several translators understood it to mean […] that only the white horse with the bad saddle was seized by the Naiman scouts. […] However the correct rendering in Ha[enisch] 79 and Cl[eaves] 120-121, is supported by the Chinese sectional summary.’ (de Rachewiltz 2004: 696) I cannot see the ambiguity of the Mnt text in this case. The text does not indicate that the Mongol scout was taken as a prisoner or not. It is a methodological question, if the Chinese sectional summary is appropriate to make such corrections during translation.
ükülen-ğ ülli erüstegü-yê // umtaraju ajû’u ‘I forgot, // As if I would not follow the forefathers; // I slept, // As if I would not be caught by death.’ (Mnt 254) < *erüste- ← *erûș- ~ LM (L) erûș- ‘to emulate, rival, compete; to forestall’;

Mnt sonosda-/sonosta- ‘to be heard’: qayyîlaju dawu-ban ese sonosdabai ‘I called him but my voice // He did not hear.’” (Mnt 183); amin-tur qor setkiğî-yi inu ese sonosdaba je (Mnt 201); // eke öter bos qajar derbelîmiili tûbûrî’ûn sonostamu (Mnt 98) < *sonosta- ← *sonos- ~ LM (L) sonos- ‘to hear, listen; to obey, yield to advice’

(10) Mnt de’ermette- /dêrmette- ‘to be robbed’: ücûgen çaq-tur şîrqa aqtatan naiman morit de’ermettejê ja’ura qurban qonojê nekejê aysikuj-tur jolqaldubai je ci ‘When I was small I was robbed of eight horses, the light-bay geldings. I spent three days and nights on the way pursuing them and, as I was going, we met each other.’ (Mnt 205); üde jîlda uqamsar berke hoi-tur horum-îyar yabuqan bolun qar’ûl-a anu goyina’un dêrmettejû horum bo’oju Boroqal-noyan-i bariju alajî’u’i ‘In the evening, as they were going along a trail in the dense forest and were off guard, they were attacked from the rear by their patrolmen, who blocked the trail. Boroqul Noyan was caught and killed.’ (Mnt 240) < *degermette- ← *degermet- ~ LM (L) degeremde- ‘to rob, pillage, plunder’;

Mnt otta- ‘to go’: joçi-darmala adu’u-ban de’ermetçê o[t]ļajû noköd-iyen jûrûge yadaqdaçû mûn joçi-darmala nekejî otçû ‘Joci Darmala, thus robbed of his herd, went along in pursuit, his companions lacking the courage to go with him’ (Mnt 128); basa qahan eçîge-de’en yeke oro ba sa’uldajû olon ulus-iyan de’ere minu açîjû ottaju bêt b tor darasun-a ilaqlaqua minu buru’u bolba (Mnt 281) < *otta- ← *ott- ~ LM (L) od- ‘to go to, proceed to’;

Thanks to the work of Doerfer (1966) there is at disposal a detailed description of the use and function of the passive voice in the Mnt. Added to transitive verbs the function of the suffix is to form the passive voice of the stem (11). A more complex situation is when suffix of the passive voice is added to intransitive verbs (12).

(11) Mnt ayu’ulda- ‘to be frightened’: maši ayu’ulda bi ‘But I was greatly frightened’ (Mnt 103); qurban Merkid-ûn Uduyit-ta Bürqan-qaldun-ni qurbanta qe’îlûjû ayu’ulda’u bi ‘I was frightened by the Uduyit of the Three Merkit circling three times around Burqan Qaldun’ (Mnt 199) < *ayugulda- ← *ayugul-73 ~ Mnt ayu’ul- ‘in Furch setzen, erschrecken’

Mnt čâbîçîda- ‘to be cut’: Belgütei teyin čâbîçîda bêt ya’un-a ba ülli bolgan ülli sengere ’Although cut in this way, still Belgütei, thinking nothing of it, did not bother’ (Mnt 131) < *çâbîci- ← *çâbicî- ~ LM (L) çâbicî- ‘to hew, chop; to blink; to kick with a forefoot or forefeet (of a horse)’;

Mnt ebdekte- ‘to be broken, to be destroyed’: Kitar irgen-û qajar usun-u efet qa<n>t irgen orgo-ban dawuqdarun balagat gotted-yan ebdekerên türgün-e adalamû ‘The lords and rulers of the land and rivers of the Kitat are raging violently against the Qa’an now that their people are plundered and their cities and towns are destroyed’ (Mnt 272) < *ebdekte- ← *ebde- ~ LM (L) ebde- ‘to destroy (concrete or abstract objects), break,

72 Cf. the active voice translation of the passive construction.

73 Cf. LM (L) ayulya- ‘to frighten, intimidate; to terrorize, threaten, menace; to bluff’.
wreck, ruin, annihilate; to break up, rescind (as a resolution or agreement); to violate (as an oath, vow, rule, ethics); to transgress (as a law); to deprive (as of power, independence, or freedom); to disturb (as order or peace); to stir up (as a quarrel)’

(12) Mnt butaraqda- ‘to be dispersed, to be scattered’: ani teyin butaraqdaʃu Ong qan Ergüne huru’u Jamuqa-yi nekebe ‘As they were dispersing in this way, Ong Qan pursued Jamuqa downstream along the Ergüne’ (Mnt 144) *butarakda- ← butara- ~ LM (L) butara- ‘to break to pieces, smash; to disperse, scatter’;

Mnt gürte- ‘to reach, to arrive’: gürte’esü idegë ñosuṭu ʧi ‘You are one for whom the custom holds // To eat if food comes by her’ (Mnt 71); genete gürtejü köi'-ben üffejü nikente uyylamu nikente dongqadumu ‘When they suddenly arrived and he saw his son, he began both to wail and to scold’ (Mnt 93); arqadan unaqu ariyaqu bolun amin-dur-ian gürtebei bi ‘I took a fall on purpose. I hesitated, so I lost my life’ (Mnt 140); qara’ul-un ene kele gürtejü Tayang qan kängay-yin Qaçir-usun-a ʧu’ui ‘When this news from the patrolmen reached him, Tayang Qan was at Qaçir Usun in the Qangqai Mountains’ (Mnt 194); tende Ögödei qahan ebetčin gürtejü aman kelen jabqan aljaqdarun ‘There Ögödei Qa’an fell ill. When he lost his speech and was in great distress’ (Mnt 272); Further occurrences: Mnt 111, 244 ← kürte- ← kür- ~ LM (L) kür- ‘to reach, arrive at; to touch; to amount to; to be sufficient’;

Mnt içuqda- ‘to be returned’: Hö’elün ʧiʃin geʃi newükderiñ tuqlaʃu beye-ber morilaʃu jarimat irgen-i içuqaba tede ber içuqdaʃqañ irgen ìlîi toqtañ Tayyyijü’d-uniqyinaça newüţiü ‘Lady Hö’elün behind and moved away, she held the standard and, riding off all on her own, brought back half the people’ (Mnt 73); eyimü yeke ügeh ügelü’iljü ker içuqdaʃqi (Mnt 265) *içuqda- ← içu- ~ Mnt içu- ‘to turn back, to go back’

Mnt irekde- ‘to arrive, to come’: jürkin-e irekdeqy-עיège jirqo’an üdíit güliçeʃi yadaʃu Çınggis qahan To’oril qan qoyar qamtu čerik e’siʃçü ‘having waited for six days from the time it should have come to the Jürkin, Çinggis Qa’an and To’oril Qan, unable to wait any longer, together set out with their troops’ (Mnt 133); jürkin-i jirqo’an üdíit güliçeʃi ese gü irekdebe ‘Although we waited six days for the Jürkin, they failed us by not coming’ (Mnt 136) Yisügei qan-tur ire’esü Yisügei qan imayi ʃer-dür-iɣey irdekdeʃi ő’esän čerik morilaʃu ‘Prompted by his coming to him, Yisügei Qan moved his own army into the field’ (Mnt 150); jamuqa nökêt-te’en barʧu irekdeʃi qahan anda-da ügelü ‘When Jamuqa was brought here by his companions, he told someone to say to his sworn friend the Qa’an’ (Mnt 200); Further occurrences: Mnt 248, 249, 267 ← irekde- ← ire- LM (L) ire- ‘to come, arrive, approach’;

Doerfer distinguishes three types of passive constructions:

1. the verb is transitive, and the patient is direct. In such cases the the agent is in dative case -a, while the patient in accusative or nominative case, e.g.: Tatar irgen-e bariqda’u bi ‘I have been seized by the Tatars’ (Mnt 53); Çabçiyl daba’an-i bekilekdeği ‘the Çabçiyl Pass was defended’ (Mnt 247). This statement needs some observations. The two examples of Doerfer are not identical. The accusative case in the second quoted is needed because
The use and function of passive verb suffix with an intransitive stem recently was described again by Rybatzki (2003: 65) as follows:

74 The whole sentence reads as follows: Çabčıyal gürşü Çabčıyal-daba’an-i bekilekdeji tende Jebe uğilerin ani uduju göölocale iürüülün tende sortiya ke’eji qaribai (Mnt 247)

75 As the verb ke’e ‘to say’ is transitive, this example should be omitted.

76 E.g. manaqar erte üdër geyi’ülün (Mnt 161) ‘Tschinggis Chan’ wartet ab, bis der Morgen, der frühe Tag, hell wurde’; qurim haran-i tarqa’ulun (Mnt 81) ‘er wartete ab, bis die Versammlungsteilnehmer (des feindlichen Stammes) auseinandergegangen waren’
1. indirect use of the passive, e.g. Mnt jirqo’an üduit giiličejü ese irekdebe ‘waiting for six days, [we were exposed to the fact that they] did not come’;

2. the use of passive in a necessitative function, e.g. Mnt üülü qurimlan morilaqdaba ‘[he] had to depart without a feast’;

3. the use of passive in connection with an active verb in a converbial form, e.g. Mnt barihü irekdejü ‘being brought’.

He further mentions that such verbs are very close in meaning to the medial verbs.

Both Doerfer’s and Rybatzki’s descriptions about the use of passive with intransitive verbs need some observations. Doerfer’s idea about the inclusion of an unawaitedness, is really traceable in several cases, indeed, there appear some occurrences, when is difficult to observe such a feature, cf. Mnt içuqda- above. On the other hand Rybatzki’s example Mnt üülü qurimlan morilaqdaba ‘[he] had to depart without a feast’ about the necessitative function is not convincing at all, and even the translation is arguable.

It will be a topic of further etymological investigations, if the intransitive verbs with which a passive suffix occurs were always intransitives, or the language of the Mnt preserved in such cases something very ancient.

It was reported by Sanžeev (1963: 50–57) that passive constructions may be used to denote causative voice. Even from the Mnt he quotes the following examples. In this case I give the meaning suggested by Sanžeev as well.

qurban Merkit-te genen büküi-tür irejü eme kö‘ü-ben daulijü a[bd]aba ‘The Three Merkit came, taking us by surprise; they seized my wife and carried her off.’ ‘Kogda my byli bespečny, napali tri merkita i polonili naših žen i detej’ (bukv. ‘Trem merkitam – bespečny my byli kogda – žen i detej svoih – otobrany my’) (Mnt 104)

Qaldun-burqan-a // qarča-yin tedüi amin-iyan // qalqalaqda bà bi ‘Thanks to Qaldun Burqan // My life, a grasshopper’s life, // Was indeed shielded!’ ‘Moja žizn’ zaščišćena (goroju) Haldun-burhanom’ (bukv. ‘Haldun-burhanu – žizn’ svoju – zaščiščen ja’ (Mnt 103)

A closer look to the text will reveal that no causative meaning appears here. In addition can be stated that none of the quoted translations follow the original text. The first quoted passage should be ‘When the Three Merkit came all of a sudden, our wives and children were taken by them (robbed), while the second one ‘My life similar to that of a grasshopper’s, was protected by Qaldun Burqan’. Neither comparative examples quoted from other stages of Mongolic do support the statement of Sanžeev. The misunderstanding probably comes from the fact that when two subjects appear in a sentence, one of them should be put in accusative case. In eme kö‘ü-ben and amin-iyan the reflexive-accusative suffix is observable.

77 In turn some examples of him are worth of further research, to give an exact description of this feature. cf. LM qayiran sayiqan degii-ben alaydaba bi ‘Dopustil ja, čtoby ubili moego ljubimogo prekrasnogo mladšego brata’;
While it is thought that in modern Mongolic languages the suffix of the passive voice derives verbs only from transitive verbs (Önörbayan 2000: 59), although seldom, such verbs occur in Khalkha as well.\(^{78}\)

It remains a question what is historically the connection between the two suffix forms. The shape \(-kdA-\) of the suffix suggests that it could be a compound. It could be analyzed as a compound of the deverbal noun suffix \(-g\) (cf. GWM §146) and the denominal verb suffix \(+dA-\) (cf. GWM 242), however this kind of segmentation does not explain the shape of the allomorph \(-DA-\). Another way of segmentation could be suggesting an earlier \(-gA-\) causative suffix (but of course with possible use in passive sense) here, to which the passive suffix \(-DA-\) was added.

**Literature**


**Cooperative voice**

\(-(U)č\A-\)

The suffix \(-(U)č\A-\) is the cooperative verb suffix in the Middle Mongol period, with regular phonetical changes in the modern languages. It is quite well represented since the earliest monuments of the Mongolic languages thus in the Mnt as well. I could identify 19 verbs derived by this suffix. In connection with the Mnt it was discussed by Street (1957: 65–66) and Godziński (1985: 70).

Added to stems ending in a consonant the linking vowel \(-U-\) is used (1):

1. Mnt *asa’ulča*\(^{79}\) ‘to ask from each other’: Bodončar-i kenü’ei ba ya’unu’ai be ke’en asaqqu ügei Bodončar be tede irgen-i ya’un irgen ke’en asa’ulčaqu ügei yabulduba ‘Thus they got

\(^{78}\) Khal.K. xocrogdx (< *kočorugda-*) ‘lemarad, elmarad, visszarad (haladáshban, fejlődésben)’ ← *kočor- – LM (L) qečor- ‘to remain, stay, or lag behind; to be left behind; to die’; Khal.K. xeltregdx (< *keltüriđe-*) ‘megszabadul vmítől, kiszabadul vmiből’ ← *keltüri- – LM (L) keltüri- ‘to chip off, break off, fall off; to become free or exempt from; to decline from; to avoid, dodge’; Khal.K. jüdeqdx (< *jüdegde-*) ‘kínosszó/szégyenletessé válik; nagyon megfárad, eltörödik’ ← *jüde- – LM (L) jüde- ‘to be tired, fatigued, or exhausted from work or pressure; to suffer hardship; to have difficulty in doing something’, The meaning of the Khalkha verb given in Kara’s dictionary comes from historically two different, but homophonic verbs, since the meaning ‘kínosszó/szégyenletessé válik’ can not be traced from the meaning ‘to be tired’ and the like, or at least this meaning is of secondary origin. Cf. Khalkha jüdeg ‘szégyellnivaló, kínos, csúfos; elcsigázott, kimerült’.

\(^{79}\) The form *asa’ulča-* seems to be an anachronism, as the spirantization of the guttural stop probably took place later, cf. the form *asaqu'asu* (Mnt 142). The linking vowel used during the different derivations from this verb was even
along together without the people asking Bodončar whose son he was and to which clan he belonged, and without Bodončar for his part asking them what people they were.’ (Mnt 29) < *asagulča- ← *hasak- ~ Mnt hasaq-/asaq- ‘fragen, ausfragen’;

Mnt bolulča- ‘to agree, to enter a kind of relation together with somebody else’: bolulčaju Yisügei-ba’atur-uğülerin ‘So they both agreed and Yisügei Ba’atur said’ (Mnt 66); erten-ü anda bolulčaqsan-yan duradulčan ‘Remembering how earlier on they became sworn friends’(Mnt 116); minu tula aqa de’ü-tür mawuqalın bolulča’üjai ‘On my account, I fear we may fall out with our kinsmen’ 90 (Mnt 131); Gür qan abaqa-lu’a-ban bulqa bolulčaju ‘he had become a rebel towards his paternal uncle Gür Qan’ (Mnt 150); Further occurrences: Mnt 177, 200, 242 < *bolulča- ← *bol- ~ LM (L) bol- ‘to become, change into; to happen, occur, take place; to arrive or pass (of time); to be; to exist; to constitute, represent; to be able; to be possible, suitable, or fitting; to succeed, be successful; to ripen, mature, become cooked; to become immune; to comply with, yield, acquiesce in, obey; [etc.];

Mnt ayisulča- ‘to arrive together’: Jamuq Qan qan-lu’a qamtu ayisulčaju ayisun aju’ui ‘As they approached, Jamuqa was advancing together with Ong Qan.’ (Mnt 170) < *ayisulča- ← *ayis- ~ LM (L) ayis- ‘to approach, draw near’;

It may be added tolexiplexes (2) or derived stems (3):

(2) Mnt abulča- ‘to take, accept together’: Be[l]gūnūtei Bügüñūtei Buq u-qatagi Buqatu-saq[l]ji dörbe’üle abulčaba ‘Belgūnūtei, Bügüñūtei, Buq Qatagi and Buqatu Salji all took their share’ (Mnt 23); Činggis qahan Ong qan qoyar tende Tat̄ar-i da’üljü qubiyaldaju abulčaj u gevı[t]-tür-ıyen qarıju bawubai Činggis Qa’an and Ong Qan plundered the Tatars and shared the booty, each taking his part; then they returned to their own encampments’ (Mnt 134); ara’tu moqay-a adarda’asu // adarqan-i inu bii abulčaya ‘Should a snake with venomous fangs // Spread slander about us, // Let us not accept his slander’ (Mnt 164); Tümen-Tübe’en-i tüge’eldijü tütele abulčabai ‘They distributed the Tümen Tübe’en and they all took of them until they had plenty’ (Mnt 187) < *abulča- ← *ab- ~ LM (L) ab- ‘to take, grasp, get hold of; to receive, obtain, gain, procure, acquire; to collect (as taxes); to buy; to absorb, draw in; to adopt; to conceive’;

Mnt gürlüče- ‘to reach to each other, to reach together’: gürlüčejü jiči tanıldju ‘As soon as they came face to face and recognized each other’ (Mnt 108); tere kele ire’t üllü bawun dayin-u esergü kele abuya ke’en yabuğü gürlüçejü kele a[b]çu ‘When this news came,
without setting up camp they went towards the enemy in order to gain information.’ (Mnt 142); manaqarši yabu’uljū gūrūlčējū Köyiten bayīl[ɪ]dūjū ‘Next day the troops were sent forward and when they met, at Köyiten they battled.’ (Mnt 143); urtu-yin ĳū’ür-e ḡūn-ū hira’ur-a gūrūlčesū ‘I shall go with you,’ // To the farthest limit, // To the bottom of the deep!’ (Mnt 166); Further occurrences: Mnt 194, 195, 199, 254, 255 < *kūr- ~ LM (L) kūr- ‘to reach, arrive at; to touch; to amount to; to be sufficient’;

Mnt ösūlčē-/esūlčē- ‘to grow up together’: tôregū-lū’ê tureldūksen // ösqū-lū’ê ösūlčesken ‘Who at birth were born together with me,’ // When growing, grew up together with me’ (Mnt 204); tôregū-lū’ê tureldūksen // ösqū-lū’ê esułčesken (Mnt 211) ‘id.’ < *ösūlčē- ← *ös- (?es-) ~ LM (L) ös- ‘to grow, multiply; to increase’;

(3) Mnt bayyi’ululča- ‘to establish together’: ulus bayyi’ululčan yabolduqsa-ta mīnqaq mīnqalajū tīnqad-un nōyat tūsjītū soyurqal ḡūe ṭigılesı ‘To those who sided with me when I was establishing our nation, I shall express my appreciation and, having formed units of a thousand, I shall appoint them commanders of a thousand’ (Mnt 202); ulus bayyi’ululča’qasat jobolduqsd-i mīnqad-un nōyat bolqa’jū made commanders of a thousand those who had established the state with him and who suffered with him’ (Mnt 224) < *bayigululča- ← *bayigul- ~ LM (L) bayigul- ‘to cause to be or exist; to create, realize, establish, institute, constitute, found, organize’ ← *bayi- ~ LM (L) bayi- ‘to be, stay, exist, live, reside; to occur, be found at a certain place, be present; to have, possess; to cease, give up, stop’;

Mnt duradulča- ‘to recall together, to bring up together’: erta’-ū anda bolulča’qas-an-yan duradulčan ‘Remembering how earlier on they became sworn friends’ (Mnt 116); < *duradulča- ← *durat- ~ LM (L) durad- ‘to mention, quote, enumerate, set forth; to slip in a remark, touch upon; to invoke, implore (gods)’ ← *dura ~ LM (L) dur-a(n) ‘wish, desire, wanting, liking, inclination; volition; arbitrariness; taste, fancy’;

Mnt ijilidülčē- ‘to grow friendly, to shake together’: aqa de’-ū’ür sayi ijilidülčen būkū-tūr ‘now that we have just grown friendly with our kinsmen’ (Mnt 131) < *ijilidülčē- ← *ijild- ~ LM (L) ijild- ‘to get used to, become friends, be in harmony or sympathize with; to be too similar; to be too familiar; to belong to the same group, herd, or breed (of cattle)’ ← *ijil ~ LM (L) ijil ‘one of a pair or complete set; peer; fellow, companion; belonging to the same herd; of the same color; accustomed to or familiar with each other; same, identical, equal’;

Although in later LM texts it may appear as -läč-, e.g. jəlbarläč- (Heissig 1953: 520) which may be not merely an orthographical feature, but probably reflects the spoken dialect of the scribe it must be a secondary form since no sign of allomorphs appear in Middle Mongol.

The function of the suffix is to indicate that the action is performed by more than one subject, and is performed simultaneously by the subjects (4).

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81 The expression kele ab- translated here as ‘to gain information’ is a military technical term. The translation of de Rachewiltz is a literary one, while a more exact interpretation ‘to catch a tongue’ is to be found in the commentary of the text (2004: 523).

82 Cf. the form -balji- in the same text, as the counterpart of the suffix -bAljA- (Heissig 1953: 520, 521).
(4) Mnt gödöülče- ‘to move together, to depart together’: tende jamuqa Ong qan-lu’a qamtu gödöülçejü yabarun ‘Jamuqa then moved on together with Ong Qan and, as they went’ (Mnt 160) < *ködöülče- ← *ködöl- ~ LM (L) ködöl- ‘to move, budge, shake, stir; to be moved; to start, depart; to act, be actuated; to be touched’;

Mnt e’üslüč- ‘to set forth, to depart together’: Činggis qahan u’daran e’üslüčejü qarun morilaqsa’ar Kelüren-ü Arqal-geügi-de gürbe ‘And at once set forth from Lake Baljuna together with the army. They rode out and arrived at Arqal Geügi on the Kelüren River.’ (Mnt 183) < *egüslüč- ← *egüs- ~ LM (L) egüs- ‘to begin, originate, spring from, appear, arise, descend; to be born’;

Mnt butara’ulča- ‘to extinguish together, to disperse together’: sayin ečige-yin činu nilqa nuntuq hünü butara’ulčajü atuqai ‘Allow the youngest brother of your good father, together with his people, to let the smoke of their camp swirl up!’ (Mnt 242) < *butaragulča- ← *butarakul- ~ LM (L) butarayul- ← *butara- ~ LM (L) butara- ‘to break to pieces, smash; to disperse, scatter’; It is well known from the modern Mongolic languages that some verbs, do not take the reciprocal verb suffix. To express a reciprocal action they take the cooperative verb suffix instead. This feature (5) appears in the Mnt as well.55

(5) Mnt de’ermüülče- ‘to steal from each other, to pillage each other’: erte Čoji-darmala Taičar goyar-un adu’u-ban de’ermüülčeksen-ü tula ‘Once, when Čoji Darmala and Taičar stole from each other their herds of horses’ (Mnt 201) < *degermüülče- ← *degermet- ~ Mnt de’ermät- ‘to rob’, and cf. LM (L) degeremde- ‘to rob, pillage, plunder’;

According to the data in the Mnt, the transitivity or intransitivity of the derived verb will depend on the transitivity or intransitivity of the stem, so the cooperative suffix does not change the transitivity of the stem (6). Despite of the descriptions of Önörbayan66 and Dondukov67 this feature is present in the modern Mongolic languages as well.68

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53 The translation of de Rachewiltz here slightly differs from Ligeti’s, who has “Jó atyándak ṣ a legiaštalab ogöce, a szállás füstjét hadd ūzze el véled együtt.” ‘He is the youngest brother of your good father. Let him disperse the smoke of the camp together with you.’

54 Khalkha būdax ‘to fire, to shoot, to shoot at, to fire on’ → būdalca ‘to shoot at each other’;
Khalkha yarix ‘to speak, to talk; to talk about, to speak of’ → yarilca ‘to converse, to talk to each other, to talk’;
Khalkha xelx ‘to say, to speak’ → xellexca ‘to converse, to talk to each other’;
55 For another Middle Mongol example cf. MA (255) nım nikendii yama ögüülčeuler ‘dellis’ drug s drugom vsem, čto ugodno’.

56 For Khalkha Önörbayan (2000: 57) lists this suffix among those having a transitive meaning, and according to him is “usually” added to transitive verbs. As “usually” is not a linguistic category i cannot agree with such a statement.

57 Similarly to Önörbayan, Dondukov also deals with the transitivity of the suffix but with reference to the Buryat (1964: 149). He suggests that the derived verb is transitive, but even his examples do not support that statement, e.g. yabalsaxa ‘idti (ili jehat’) vmestone s kem-l.; hodit’ drug k drugu’; saragdalsaxa ‘sovum. byt’ vidimym, vidnet’şja’ (Dondukov 1964: 149).

58 intr. ← intr.: Khal.K. irelcalex (< *irelče-) ‘együtt érkezik/jön’ ← *ire- ~ LM (L) ire- ‘to come, arrive, approach’
intr. ← intr.: Khal.B. bāilcax (< *bailiča) ‘to be present (at), to attend’ ← *bayi- ~ LM bayi- ‘to be, stay, exist, live, reside; to occur, be found at a certain place, be present; to have, possess; to cease, give up, stop’;
intr. ← intr.: Mnt garulça- ‘to go out together, to go out at the same time as somebody else’: Altani uda’a’raldun güyyijü qarulçaju ‘Altani followed her out and running together with her caught up with Qargil Sira’ (Mnt 214) < *garulça- ← *gar- ~ LM (L) yar- ‘to go or come out, emerge; leave; to climb, ascend; to pass over, across, or through’;

intr. ← intr.: Mnt salulça- ‘to part/depart from each other’: salulçaquq quirum qurimlaya ‘we decided to hold a parting feast’ (Mnt 275) < *salulça- ← *sal- ‘to separate, branch off, part with, take leave or become free from; to be detached, isolated, parted from; to divorce, dissolve a marriage’;

tr. ← tr.: Mnt sonosulça- ‘to hear together, to listen to together’: Šigi-qutqu-łu’a járqu kehte’il-eće járqu sonosulçatuqu ‘Some of the nightguards shall decide on judicial matters together with Šigi Qutqu.’ (Mnt 234) < *sonosulça- ← *sonos- ~ LM (L) sonos- ‘to hear, listen; to obey, yield to advice’;

tr. ← tr.: Mnt seri’ülülçe- ‘to revitalize together’: umartaqsan-ıyan duratqalduju // umntaraqsan-ıyan seri’ülülçëjü ‘Let us each remind the other of what he has forgotten, Let us each wake up the other who has fallen asleep’ (Mnt 200) < *serigülülçe- ← *serigül- ~ LM (L) serigül- ‘to wake (up); to cause to recover one’s senses’ ← *seri- ~ LM (L) seri-/ sere- to awaken, revive; to recover consciousness; to become sober; to keep vigil; to learn, find out; to mistrust’;

Ramstedt supposed, that the suffix is a compound of the verbal suffixes -l- and -ŁA- (Ramstedt 1912: §36; 1952: 166, 169), which is highly probable but remained unproved. Some parallel examples of him however are worth to mention. Such parallel forms are dagača- and dagalča- ‘einander folgen’ (Ramstedt 1952: 169) ← *daga- ~ LM (L) daya- ‘to follow, accompany, travel with; to submit oneself to, obey; to imitate; to observe, comply with’, daruča- ‘sich vordrängen’ and darulča- ‘zusammen mit anderen pressen, beim Pressen behilflich sein’ ← *daru- ~ LM (L) daru- ‘to press, press down; to squeeze; to affix a seal; to print; to pickle, marinate, preserve’.

He further supposed, that the deverbal verb suffix here is the iterative suffix, while -ČA- is a reciprocal one, which during time came to mean the cooperative actions.

The other examples that occur in the Mnt are the following:

Mnt jibši’erülče-/jibšiyerülče- ‘to reform the ranks in a battle’: doroqši de’ekši iqurqaldun jibši’erülčen büküi-tür ‘As they pressed on each other downhill and uphill,

tr. ← tr.: Khal.K. xyadalax (< *kidulča-) ‘öldökles rész ven, együtt öldököl/mészárol vkiel’ ← *kidu- ~ LM (L) kidu- ‘to cut; to massacre, slaughter, kill; to annihilate, destroy’;

tr. ← tr.: Khal.K. nolox (< *nogalača-) ‘tobb személy együtt cibál, ráncigál; huzakodik’ ← *nogola- ~ LM (L) nolola- ‘to tear to pieces, tatter; to bite (of dogs); to romp, play boisterously; to bother, pester’;

99 According to the commentary the translation of this passage “disagrees with Ligeti’s and Murakami’s and follows that of Haenisch, Kozin, Cleaves and Ozawa, which is not only in agreement with the Chinese sectional summary […] but is also confirmed by the passage in § 201, where Jämua refers to the exchange of ‘unforgettable words’, i.e. the former oath of sworn friendship, and to not being separated from each other in bed.” (de Rachewiltz 2004: 747) The translation of Ligeti “‘amit elfelejtetteünk, juttassuk egymás eszébe, ami elszerűdött, ébresszük fel újra ‘Let’s remind to each other what we have forgot, and let’s revive what has fallen asleep’ still seems to be more close to the original, more living.

90 There are the chances, that originally the base was *dar-, cf. LM (L) darda ‘a kind of flowered Chinese silk’.
and reformed their ranks’ (Mnt 143); Köyten bayilduğu iquriqaldun jibšyerülčen büküi-tür ‘pressing on each other, were reforming our ranks’ (Mnt 147) < jibšigerülče- jibšiger- ~ Mnt jibšie’er- ‘ordnen, in Ordnung bringen’

Mnt tusulča- ‘to find each other, to fall in the hands of each other’: üj’e’esü Börte üjin-i tanju teberildün tusulčaba ‘he looked at them, recognized Lady Börte, and they fell into each other’s arms’ (Mnt 110) < *tusulča- *tus- ~ LM (L) tus- ‘to hit upon, hit the target, strike upon, be hit by; to shine upon; to reflect; to be reflected; to fall to one’s share’;

Literature


Reciprocal voice

-(A)ldU-

The suffix -(A)ldU- is fairly prevalent in the text of the Mnt. It forms the reciprocal voice of the verbs. There appear about 50 verbs with this suffix. It was discussed by Street (1957: 65–66) and Godziński (1985: 69–70).

The majority of the material on dispose shows stems ending in vowels, however there appears the verb abaldu- (1), the stem of which according to our knowledge ends in a consonant.

1. Mnt abaldu- ‘to wrestle, to grasp each other’: Bürü-bökő tere giü-ben hoyimasçu Belgütei nasuda abaldurun bar’a un qancu-ban mulțuhlju ničügün yabuqu büle’e ‘Bürü Bökő took that man under his protection. Now, Belgütei, when wrestling, used to remove his right sleeve and go on fighting bare-armed.’ (Mnt 131); Çinggis qahan niken ǔdür Bürü-bökő Belgütei qoyar-i abaldu’uluya ke’ebe ‘Çinggis Qa’an said, Let us make Bürü Bökő and Belgütei wrestle with each other’ (Mnt 140); hontuçuju čimada qard’aasu heregyey-yen hoqotloju o’rqsuqai abalduqju čimada laqda’asu umaqsan qajar-aça bül buoşuqai ‘If we shoot arrows at a long distance and I am outdone by you, I shall cut off my thumb and throw it away! If we wrestle and I am defeated by you, I shall not rise from the place where I have fallen!’ (Mnt 254) < *abaldu- *ab- ~ LM (L) ab- ‘to take, grasp, get hold of; to receive, obtain, gain, procure, acquire etc.’

The suffix can be added to simplexes (2) as well as to derived stems (3):

2. Mnt aldu- ‘to be together’: qamtu ker alduqun bida ‘How can we live together with them?’ (Mnt 77); Kereyid-iün Öng qahan bürün urida Yisügei qa’an-u čaq-tur sayibar el
alduqan-tur Yisügei qan-lu’a anda ke’eldüksen aju’u ‘As for Ong Qa’an of the Kereyit, previously - in the time of Yisügei Qa’an - because they were living together very harmoniously, he and Yisügei Qan had declared themselves sworn friends’ (Mnt 150); ama’ar kele’er olučaju büšireye // ke’en teyin üge baraldyhu amara’alin aldubai ‘By explaining only face to face We shall believe each other! And, pledging their word, they lived together in mutual affection.’ (Mnt 164) < *aldu- ← *a~ LM (L) a- ‘to be’.

Mnt alaldu- ‘to kill each other’: gičiitii omoqtu Gųčųliik gürülčekkii alaldukii üdïr maqa ene omogiyin bü taltituqai ‘May the strong and proud Gųčųliik not lose this pride of his on the day when we meet on the battlefield and slay one another!’ (Mnt 194); alalduqii üdïr // haran-ü miqa idet tede ‘On the day of killing. // They eat human flesh’ (Mnt 195); anggida ber ö’re yabu’asu // alalduqii üdïr // a’ušqi jürüge-ben ebetgii büle’e či ‘Although you separated from me // And went a different way // On the day one fights one another // Your lungs and heart were aching for me’ (Mnt 200) < alaldu- ← *ala- ~ LM (L) ała- ‘to kill, murder, to butcher’.

(3) Mnt qamtutqalu- ‘to take part in gathering’: qara buluqan daq-yin qari’u // qa qaçaqasan ulus-i činu // qamtutqaldjuq öksii ‘In return for the black sable coat, // I shall bring together for you // Your divided people’ (Mnt 104) < *kamtudkalu- ← *kamtudka- (*kantu-d-KA-) ~ LM (L) qamtuda- ‘to combine, unite, unify; to collect; to put or join together’;

Mnt andačiilalu- ‘to swear friendship to each other’³¹: jamuqa burst-yin qoyar eber ni’aju nükelejuq dawuku yor-iyan Temüjin-e ö[k]čii Temüjin-ü arča manglaîtu qodoli araljuq andačiilalubai jamuqa split and stuck together the two horns of a two-year-old calf, bored holes in them, and gave this whistling arrowhead of his to Temüjin. In exchange Temüjin gave him a knob-headed arrow with a tip of juniper wood, and they became sworn friends once more.’³² (Mnt 116) < *andačiilalu- ← *andačila-³³;

Mnt čäbčiilalu- ‘to strike together, to strike (of both)’: jajiraday jamuqa-yi qa ergiye ke’en aŋuq ge’iün ke’us čäbčiilaluq andaqalaluq ‘Saying, Let us raise Jamuqa the Jajirat as qan, they jointly hacked the backs³⁴ of a stallion and a mare and together swore an oath of friendship.’³⁵ (Mnt 141) < *čäbčiilalu- ← *čäbčil- ~ LM (L) čäbčila- ‘freq. of čäbči-’ (‘to hew, chop; to blink; to kick with a forefoot or forefeet (of a horse)’). The meanings ‘to hew, chop; to kick with a forefoot or forefeet (of a horse)’ are

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³¹ Cf. Hungarian egymással szemben testvéríséget fogad.

³² The verb ‘to split’ that appears in the translation of de Rachewiltz does not seem to be present in the original. However in the commentary he writes: “Jamuqa made the whistling arrowhead himself by gluing together the two horns of a two-year-old calf, i.e. the four halves of the two horns of a calf, as correctly interpreted by Cleaves” (de Rachewiltz 2004: 438)

³³ The stem andačila- is not traceable from any MM sources, however etymologically does not have any problems, being derived from the Mongolic noun *anda ~ LM (L) anda ‘sworn brother, friend’ by the suffix -čiLA-.

³⁴ There is no counterpart of the word back in the original, and I do not find “hack the back” as an English phrase.

³⁵ There are some problems with the translation of de Rachewiltz. First of all, there is no reference to the “backs” of the stallion and the mare. Second, etymologically of course the word anda and the verb andaqa- pertain together, however the verb means simply ‘to swear’ and not ‘to swear an oath of friendship’. That is confirmed by further derivations, as LM (L) andayai and andayar ‘oath, solemn promise’.
etymologically connected to the Turkic verb čap- (ED 394a), while the nominal
derivation čab·či- is perfect for the meaning ‘to blink’.

The form of the suffix in older texts is -ldU-, but the literature mentions it also in the form -lda-
(e.g. Ramstedt 1912: §67). This may be an effect of the spoken languages to the written language,
however, citing only the secondary form (e.g. Önbayyan 2000: 60) is not right.

The function of the suffix is to derive reciprocal verbs, indicating that the action is performed by
more persons, and they perform it on, to or against each other (4):

(4) Mnt andaqaldul– ‘to swear to each other’: jājīradai jamaq–yi qa ergīye ke’en ajīrqa ge’en
ke’ūs čabčiladlu andaqaldul ‘Saying, Let us raise Jumaqa the Jajrat as qan, they
jointly hacked the backs of a stallion and a mare and together swore an oath of
friendship.’ (Mnt 141) < *andakaldul- ← *andaka- ~ Mnt andaqa- ‘Eid leisten, schwören’;

Mnt qarbulaldu/-qarbiyaldu- ‘to exchange arrow-shoots’: Belqetëi mudut ququru
tatalaj šibe’e barij Qasr qarbulaldu ‘Belgëitei tore out trees and, hauling them up
together, erected a palisade. While Qasr exchanged arrow shots’ (Mnt 79); nökör numu
sumu nada-ača bi qarbulaldušu ke’eb Temüijin ügülerin minu tula či erüste’üjei bi
qarbulaldusu ke’ejü eserüg qarın qarbulaldub ‘Friend, give me the bow and arrows. I’ll
trade shots with him! Temüijiin said, I am afraid you’ll come to harm because of me. I’ll
trade shots with him! He swung around and they began to shoot arrows at each
other.’” (Mnt 91) / te’iniq qoyina qabar alangir numutan qarbiyalduñ bikiin–tür ‘After that,
in the spring, as they practised shooting with their firwood bows’ (Mnt 116) < *karbul-
/*karbiya- ~ LM (L) qarbul- ‘to shoot intermittently’;

Mnt oljalaldu- ‘to capture, seize from each other’: olon ulus bulqa büle’e // oron-duriyan
üli oron // oljalaldun büle’e ‘The many people were in turmoil: They did not enter their
beds to rest, But fought against each other’” (Mnt 254) < *oljalaldu- ← oljala- ~ LM (L)
oljala- ‘to seize, capture, take prisoner; to profit, gain, make a fortune’;

Mnt ungšilaldu- ‘to shout to each other’: bidu–u manglan tenen–tür ungšilalduyungšiŋuvu
jilda boldaju manaqar qatqalduya ke’ejü içajü qol–tur neyilen qonoba ‘Our vanguard shouted
at them, and they shouted back, but it was already getting late. Saying, ‘Tomorrow
we’ll fight! ” our men withdrew and spent the night together with the main body of
the army.’ (Mnt 142) < *ungšilaldu- ← *ungšil- being the frequentative of the verb
*ungši-. The meaning given by Haenisch for the verb ungšilaldu- and ungši- ‘rufen
nennen’ is not quite exact. Those meanings given by Ligeti as ‘to shout’ is probably
more close.

Mnt qubituldu- ‘to share with each other’: či oroču de’ü-de’en čimada soyurqal de’ü–ner–üin
qubi–yi–ygar qubitulu ‘you shall be allotted the same share as the younger brothers’
(Mnt 203) ← *kubila- ~ LM (L) qubila- ‘to divide into parts or shares’;

The stem *karbiya- is not traceable from the sources. It is worth to mention that in the parallel verb forms the two
causative *-l- and *-GA-suffixes are traceable.

The translation given by de Rachewiltz is actually the same as that of Ligeti’s. However a different interpretation is
possiblable as well. I would suggest the following translation ‘Many nations were hostile (i.e. not belonging to the
Empire), instead of entering their place (i.e. the Empire) they pillaged each other.’
Beside of this main function, in strikingly many cases the derived verb denotes a cooperative action ⁹⁸ (5). This is even more transparent in such case when cooperative-reciproc constructions are used side by side: töreqüi-li’ē töröldüken // ösqüi-li’ē esülcəken ‘Who at birth were born together with me, // When growing, grew up together with me’ (Mnt 211) or umartaqsan-iyan durataqaldu // umtaragqani-yan seri’ülülçeji aya ‘Let us each remind the other of what he has forgotten, // Let us each wake up the other who has fallen asleep’ (Mnt 200). The fact that meaning can be cooperative sometimes led to some misunderstanding of the text, cf. the verb qurimlaldu- (6) and the meaning given by Haenisch as ‘sich gegenseitig zum Fest bewirten’.

(5) Mnt abalallu- ‘to hunt together’: bidan-i šibawulaqui abalakui-tur kebte’ül bidan-lu’a šibawulaldun abalaldun yabutuqai ‘When We go falconing or hunting, the nightguards shall go falconing and hunting with us’ (Mnt 232) < *abalallu- ↔ *abala- ~ LM (L) abala- ‘to hunt in a group or in a battue’;

Mnt šibawulalu- ‘to hawk together’: bidan-i šibawulaqui abalakui-tur kebte’ül bidan-lu’a šibawulaldun abalaldun yabutuqai ‘When We go falconing or hunting, the nightguards shall go falconing and hunting with us’ (Mnt 232) < *sibaguladu- ↔ *sibagula- ~ Mnt šibawula- ‘mit dem Falken jagen, beizen’;

Mnt oroldu- ‘to attend something, to join’: Altun-aşuq uğülerini bi ber ene eye-tür oroldula’ğü jiči qan-iyon āmaya tebün yadaba ‘Altun Aşuq said, ‘I too did take part in this scheme, but I could not do away with you, my Qan’ (Mnt 152); Temiğin anda-tur morila’asu bi kündelen-eçe oroldusu ‘If you move against my sworn friend Temiğin, I will join you and attack his flank!’ (Mnt 166); turqa’ut-lu’a qorčin keşik keşik-tür orolduran Yisün-te’é niken keşik qorčin-i aqalaj urotuqa ‘When the quiverbearers together with the dayguards join to form the various companies, Yisün Te’é shall join as the commander of one company quiverbearers’ (Mnt 225); turqa’ud-un dörben keşik keşik-tür açıd-un qorčin-iyon jasaju orolduturaqai ‘marshalling their quiverbearers of the bodyguards, shall respectively join the four separate companies of the dayguards to carry quivers’ (Mnt 278) < *oroldu- ↔ *oro- ~ LM (L) oro- ‘to enter, go or come into a place, space, substance, state or condition; to penetrate; to be received (as proceeds, income); to yield, give in, obey; to fall under the influence of; to become addicted to; to be dependent on; to be in rut (of animals); to hold, have the capacity of (of a container); to enter upon, begin, start; to join; to be included, fall under; to be encompassed; to fall, come down; to require, take, take in’;

Mnt qonoldu- ‘to pass the night together, to put up together’: söni könjile-de’en qaqça qonolduquq bülle’e ‘and at night they slept together, the two of them alone under their blanket’ (Mnt 117); tende čeri’üt-li’ē-ben qamtu güre’eleji qonolduba ‘they set up a circular camp and also passed the night in the same spot, alongside their troops’ (Mnt 144); qurban söni qurban üdür keşik üdür-iyen dawusçu mün gi yosuur qurban söni qonolduju ye’ütgeljiq söni kebte’ül atuqai ‘When they have completed their days of service, consisting of a three-day and a three night turn of duty, and have passed the three nights exactly in the same manner, they shall be relieved, but the night after

⁹⁸ Cf. the grammar of Schmidt (1831: 78–79), where the author does not distinguish the two suffixes (for the suffix -ldU- Schmidt has -ldA-) according to their different function, but calls them “cooperative”.
their relief, they shall still be on duty as nightguards, and shall spend the night lying down all around’ (Mnt 192); Boroqul de’ere bawulduju haqausan čišun inu ama’ar-iyan šimjū sōni qonoldju ‘Boroqul got off his horse and stopped by him, sucked the clotting blood with his mouth and spent the night with him’ (Mnt 214); kešik oroju qurban qonoldju yeyükeliddițiget ‘after spending three days and nights with them the company shall relieved’ (Mnt 227) < *kono- ~ LM (L) qono- ‘to spend the night’;

Mnt unaldu- ‘to fall together, on each other’; yasu hüsü-ben kemkerü unalduju hünjįi bayitala daracaju üülđițjįi ‘they fell breaking their bones and died crushing each other till they were like heaps of rotten logs’ (Mnt 196) < *unaldu- ← *una- ~ LM (L) una- ‘to fall, fall down, off, or out; to drop out; to slump; to set (of the sun)’;

Mnt yabulu- ‘to go together, to go side by side’; tede irgen Bodončar-i kenįi’ei ba ya’unų’ai be ke’en asaqqu ügei Bodončar be tede irgen-i ya’un irgen ke’en asa’ülčaqu ügei yabulduba ‘Thus they got along together without the people asking Bodončar whose son he was and to which clan he belonged, and without Bodončar for his part asking them what people they were’ (Mnt 29); ulus bayyirüülčan yabulduqat-ta mingen mingalaju mingad-un noyat tüşjiį soyurqal üge ügüleši ‘To those who sided with me when I was establishing our nation, I shall express my appreciation and, having formed units of a thousand, I shall appoint them commanders of a thousand’ (Mnt 202) < *yabulu- ← *yabu- ~ LM (L) yabu- ‘to go; to walk; to depart, go away’;

(6) Mnt qurimlalu- ‘to make a feast together’99: Tayyiči’ut Onan-nu ergi de’ere qurimlaluju naran šingge’esti tarqaba ‘the Tayyiči’ut held a feast on the bank of the Onan. At sunset they dispersed.’ (Mnt 81) < *kurimlalu- ← *kurimla (= *kuri-m+I(A-) ~ LM (L) kurimla- ‘to celebrate, feast, entertain, regale’;

There appear some cases where the function of the suffix is obscure. In the first group of such examples there is only one subject, but the action itself is happening while there is another person present (7) (in this very case the another person is Çinggis himself, being the object of the action):

(7) Mnt sakildu- ‘to guard each other’; bökleksen čišun-i jelse šimin šimin ama’an čisudaju jelse busu gü’un üli itegen sakilduju sa’ųjų sōni dii bölelal bökleksen čišun-ı ama’ar düüäreng jalki’at asqa’at ‘Jelme sucked and sucked the blood which clogged Činggis Qa’an’s wound and his mouth was all smeared with blood. Still, Jelme, not trusting other people, stayed there and looked after him. Until the middle of the night he swallowed down or spit out mouthfuls of the clogging blood.’ (Mnt 145) < *sakildu- ← *saki- ~ LM (L) saki- ‘to protect, preserve, guard, safeguard, watch; to observe (as law or rule)’

There occurs in the text the very puzzling verb sa’aldu- (8) which in the different translations is rendered as a derivative of the suffix -(A)lDU-, cf. Haenisch’s ‘mit-, für-, nacheinander melken’, de Rachewiltz’s ‘milking’. There must be a serious corruption in the text which led to the misinterpretations. As can be seen below, the verb occurs in the verbal construction širgjii’elejjii sa’alduju, the first member of which was identified by Eldengtei – Öyundalai – Asaraltu, here quoted from the work of de Rachewiltz 2004: 556. They stated that širgjii’ele- means ‘to put a

99 Cf. the meaning given by Haenisch ‘sich gegenseitig zum Fest bewirten’.
muzzle (on a calf) to prevent suckling’. As sa’aldu- would mean something like ‘to milk each other’ I am inclined to think that this verb is not connected with sa’a- ‘to milk’, but is the stem of the noun *saqaldurga, cf. LM (L) sayaldury-a ‘string for attaching objects to the saddle or for fastening a hat under the chin’ (cf. Old Turkic sakalduruk ‘a strap covered with brocade and fixed to a hat, so that the hat may be fastened below the chin and does not fall off’ (ED 810b)) and goes back to the word *sakal ‘beard’ ← Turkic. I maintain this idea in spite that the construction appears later in Mnt 177 as follows: basa Gür qan-nača daʃjú qaɾču Uiyud-un Tanyaʃud-un qasɾ-iyar yadaʃu ayiʃurun tabun ima’shirgjεleʃjú sa’ajú teme’en-ụ čisun qanaʃu ide’et yadaʃu Gusi’tür-na’ur-a ire’esū ‘He fed himself on the way by milking five goats, muzzling their kids, and by bleeding his camel. While in these straits, he came to Lake Gusi’tür.’ (Mnt 151) < *sagaldu- ← *saga- ~ LM (L) saya- ‘to milk’;

Önörbayan claims that the suffix in Khalkha forms intransitive verbs independently from the transitivity of the stem. The situation is not so simple. The majority of the examples show that the suffix does not change on the transitivity of the stem (9):

(9) tr. ← tr. Mnt to’oladu- ‘to enumerate, to count’: tendeče Çinggis qahan Dalan-nemürges-eče Qalqa huru’u gödölürün to’o to’oladubai to’oladu’as uqyar minqan jirwa’an ja’ut bolbaj ‘Then Çinggis Qa’an departed from Dalan Nemürges following the course of the Qalqa River downstream, and counted his forces. When numbered, there were two thousand six hundred men.’ (Mnt 175); Qalqa-yin Or-nu’yin Kelteği-qada bawuju to’a-ban to’oladu’u minqan tende minqalaju minqan-u noyan ja’un-u noyan harban-u noyan tende tüşibei ‘at the Or Bend of the Qalqa River. He counted his troops and on the spot formed units of a thousand men, appointing the conunanders of a thousand, the commanders of a hundred and the commanders of ten.’ (Mnt 191) < *toğaladu- ← *toqala- ~ LM (L) toyala- ‘to count, calculate, enumerate’;

tr. ← Mnt salqaldu- ‘to separate from each other’: ede’e Altan Quçar qoyar-un uru’uḍ-ača tanlu’a salqalduya ‘We shall separate also some of the offspring of Altan and Quçar’ (Mnt 255) < *salqaldu- ← *salga- ~ LM (L) salya- ‘to separate, divide; to take apart; to remove; to sort out, classify; to break up (as a set, a marriage etc.)’

intr. ← Mnt boljaldu- ‘to meet each other’: Onan-müren-nü teri’ün-e Botoqan-bo’orji-da boljalduya ‘we shall meet at Botoqan Bo’orji at the source of the Onan River’ (Mnt 106); ba tani uḍa’aran gödöljü Keliuren-ǔ Arqal-geği-de boljalduya ta tende iretkün ‘We shall follow close behind you and meet at Arqal Geği on the Keliuren River. You must come there!’ (Mnt 183) < *boljaldu- ← *bolja- ~ LM (L) boljo- ‘to agree on; to make an appointment; to determine beforehand, prearrange; to foresee, surmise, know beforehand’;

intr. ← Mnt iquriqaldu- ‘to press each other in a battle’: dorоqši de’ekši iquriqaldun jibši’eričiʃen buqüi-tür ‘As they pressed on each other downhill and uphill, and reformed their ranks’ (Mnt 143); Köyiten bayilduju iquriqaldun jibšiyerüičen buqüi-tür ‘When we
fought at Köyiten and, pressing on each other, were reforming our ranks’ (Mnt 147) < *ikurikaldu- ← *ikurika- cf. Mnt iquri- ‘wegrücken’

The question of transitivity, however is not so simple. To picture that cf. the verb jolqaldu- (10) below. The stem which appears in LM as jolya- is rendered as an intransitive verb, but if one examines its occurrences in the Mnt will find, that jolqa- is used together with an accusative case.100

(10) Mnt jolqaldu- ‘to meet each other’: tere ö’ede möçğı’et Kimurqa-qoroqan-nu Beder-qoši’un-u Qorçukai-boldaq-a bükü-tür jolqalduba ‘he followed the tracks up along this stream and came upon his own people who were staying at the time at the Qorçuqi Hill of the Beder Promontory by the Kimurqa Stream’ (Mnt 88); Börte üjин-i teyin jolqalduju Merkit irgen-eče aburasqa yosun eyimü ‘This is how Lady Börte was rescued from the Merkit tribe, and how she was reunited with Temüjin’ (Mnt 110); bi ö’esin Kürelü-ü Bürgi-ergideče uqudun xorçju Gülșür-na’ur-a jolqaldbai ‘from the Bürgi Escarpment on the Kelüren River, I in person went to receive you, and we met at Lake Gülse’ür’ (Mnt 177); şirqa aqattan naiman morit de’ermettüjı ja’ura qurban qonqu nekëjü ayisukü-tur jolqaldbai je ’î was robbed of eight horses, the light-bay geldings. I spent three days and nights on the way pursuing them and, as I was going, we met each other’ (Mnt 205) < *jolqaldu- ← *jolga- ~ LM (L) jolya- ‘to meet, present oneself to, greet; greet with qaday’;

Some other examples:

Mnt qorilaldu- ‘to prohibit for each other’: Qorilartai-mergen Qori-Tümed-ün qajar-tur-iyan buluqan keremün görö’etei qajar-iyan qorilalduju mawulalduju Qorilar oboqtu bolju ‘As in their land the Qori Tumat had imposed bans on one another’s sable, squirrel and wild game hunting grounds, and mutual relations were bad as a result, Qorilartai Mergen separated from the Qori Tumat and took the clan name Qorilar’ (Mnt 9) < *korilaldu- ← *koril-. This secondary stem is not attested, but most probably is the frequentative form of the *kori- ~ LM (L) qori- ‘to shut in, confine, imprison, enclose, to prevent, prohibit; to hold back, dissuade’, cf. Old Turkic qori- ‘to fence in, or protect (a piece of ground)’ (ED 645b);

Mnt jasaqlaldu- ‘to clarify the orders for each other’: türün-ü dobtulqan-tur ese eke’erüksen giü’in-i moköri’ilüye ke’en jasaqlaldbai ‘Those men who do not turn back to the point where we began the attack shall be cut down!’ So he decreed with them’ (Mnt 153) < *jasaqaldu- ← *jasagla- ~ LM (L) Jasayla- ‘to act according to the law; to administer law, govern; to penalize’;

Mnt uda’araldu- ‘to follow’: qoyinača inu qurba’ula uda’aralduba ‘The three men rode after him.’ (Mnt 55); eke qayılaq kö‘ün baraba ke’ekü-li’e Altani uda’araldun guyyifjı qarulčaju Qargil-şira-yin qoyinača guyyiçefjı ‘Altani followed her out and running together with her caught up with Qargil Şira’ (Mnt 214) < *udagaraldu- ← *udagara- ~ LM (L) udayara- ‘to last, continue; to be protracted or prolonged’;

100 Uriangqadai giü’in čö’e buqo alaju qabırqas inu abit inu şiraju bügü-yi jolqaju (Mnt 12); yadanggi giü’in kö‘ü-be’en kötöljü yabuq-yi jolqaju (Mnt 14); Yügüei-ba’atür Onan-müren-ne Sibawulan yabuq-yu Merkid-ün Yeke-čëldë Oloqunu’ut irgen-eče öki רכיםa e‘üşgejü ayisuq-yi jolqaju (Mnt 54); Çekčer Çiqçırqı qoyar-un ja’ura Onggirdan Dei-sečen-ni jolqaba (Mnt 61); etc.
Mnt *qarmaldu*- ‘to gather, to collect (together with others)’: *qara ker‘e bolju // qada‘un bügün-i // qarmaldusu* ‘I shall be a black crow, // And with the others // I shall gather for you // All that is found outside’ (Mnt 124) < *karmalu* ← *karma*- ~ LM (L) *garma*- ‘to take up, gather together’;

**Literature:**


-čA-

-čA- is a Mongolic deverbal verb suffix. Although especially from the modern languages several derivatives are traceable, in earlier literature is mentioned only by some researchers, e.g. Ramstedt (1912: §34, §35; 1952: §83), and Szabó (1943: §59). At the mentioned place Ramstedt discusses several homophone suffixes under one title, so according to him the suffix can be added to nominal stems, e.g. *dayiča*- ‘einander bekriegen’, as well to verbal bases e.g. *qoli-ča*- ‘sich mischen, miteinander mischen’. In connection with the Mnt it was mentioned by Street (1957: 64). According to him, there are 4 verbs in the text derived by the suffix -čA-.

In the collected material the suffix appears to be added only to stems ending in a vowel, although in some cases (e.g. *daru-*) cannot be ruled out the possibility that the stems originally were monosyllabic and the final vowel of the stem is a petrified linking vowel. As a stem there appear only simplexers, however usually they are disyllabic ones (1).

1. Mnt *qarbuča*- ‘to shoot arrows conversely’: odun ọqatçu *qarin qarbučaju uquqatu qulan sumutu buq bolju otbai ‘left in fright and haste, then turned back, exchanged shots with us and went off like lassoed wild asses or stags with arrows in their bodies’ (Mnt 199); Qasar *minu qabu gücku erdetći tula qarbučaju qaruşan-i // qarbuju oru‘ulgu büle‘e* ‘My Qasar has skill in archery // And might, and so he was wont // To shoot and subdue // All those on the run, shooting at him.’ (Mnt 244) < *karbùča* ← *karbu*- ~ LM (L) *qarbu* ‘to shoot (an arrow or firearms)’;

Mnt *jöriče*- ‘to move, advance (?in a confusion)’: Tayyici‘ut ber kökkü mün söni bö‘et jöričen jamaqà jük göölebei ‘The Tayyici‘ut, for their part, became frightened and that same night in great confusion actually moved to Jamuqa’s side’ (Mnt 119); *qonoqsat kebte‘il-eče busut dotoqsii jöričen oroqun haran-i bariqsat kebte‘il ‘those nightguards who have spent the night on duty and are to be relieved, the nightguards shall seize anyone who by mingling with them has entered the precinct.’ (Mnt 278) < *jöriče* ← *jöri* 101 ~ LM (L) *jöri* ‘to fail to meet; to miss each other or cross each other’s paths; to disagree; to be disobedient; to act in a contrary way’;

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101 For this verb see LM (L) *jöriče* ‘to disobey; to be obstinate; to do the opposite; to violate’ with the same suffix -čA-. 
Mnt nököče- ‘to associate, to partner, to consort with’: ere-yin mung niken būi je bi čimatur nököčesü ‘men’s troubles are the same for all. I will be your companion’\(^{102}\); (Mnt 90) Belgütey-yi Bo’orçu-yi nököcèye ke’en uriju ilebe ‘he sent Belgütei to invite Bo’orçu to join him as his companion’ (Mnt 95); anda-yin setkil ānu ulju anda da minü sayiqa-tur gů nököčiőjü agițkün ‘put the sworn friend’s mind at ease, be the good companions of my sworn friend!’ (Mnt 127); Further occurrences: Mnt 92, 93, 105, 121, 129, 140, 147, 149, 150, 179, 188, 200, 201, 205, 211, 214, 223, 245, 248, 249 < *nököče- → *nökö-. It is not quite clear if the LM (L) nökö- ‘to patch, darn, mend; to fill a gap, fill in; to replace, substitute’ and the stem of the verb nököče- is one and the same. It is sure, however, that from the same stem the nouns *nökor and *nököbüri, cf. LM (Kow) nököbüri ‘posobie, pomošć’ also was derived. Doerfer (TMEN 388) pointed out that the original meaning of nökor was ‘the other’, and connected it with such Mongolic forms as *nököge ‘the second, the other’, *nököji ‘the second’.

Mnt güyyiče-/güyiče-/küyyiče- ‘overtake, overhaul’: qoyinača anu nekejü Teletü-amasaraga güyyičiøjü ‘He pursued them and, overtaking them, at the Teletü Pass’ (Mnt 136); Tarqatay-kiriltuq-un kőüt de’ü-nner inu buliju abuya ke’en güyyičiøjü irejüüi ‘the sons and younger brothers of Tarqatay Kiriltuq said, ‘Let us take him away from them! They approached and overtook them.’(Mnt 149); /// Ürünggü huru’u hiildė’et Kišil-baš-na’ur-a güyyičiøjü Buyiruq qan-ni tende muqtaqaba ‘[Pursuing Buyiruq Qan down] along the Ürünggü River, they overtook him at Lake Kišil Baš, and there they finished him off.’ (Mnt 158); Further occurrences: Mnt 184, 196, 199, 214, 236, 237, 249; /// niken čaqa’an moritu gü’un u’urqa barjuq qaqa’ar küyyičiøjü ayisü ‘one man on a white horse and holding a pole-lasso drew closer and caught up with them’ (Mnt 91); qoyitus nökoṯ küyyičiøjü irebe ‘His companions, who had fallen behind, caught up with him’ (Mnt 91) < *güyitchenser - LM (L) güyyi-/güyij- ‘to run; to flow; to be current, marketable’;

Beside of these etymologically quite clear examples there appear some verbs in the text which probably were derived by the suffix -čA- (2):

(2) Mnt hiriče- ‘to abandon’: ai soyiuq kö’un-eče’en qaqaqçu-yu törő-deče qaqaqcabà hiriçegüyüş üyyile-deče hiriçebii bi ‘By abandoning my son /I abandoned the norm; / By parting from him /I parted from my duty.’\(^{103}\) (Mnt 178) ← ?;

Mnt güliče- ‘warten’: edő’e iregü čaq bolba qorumut güliče ‘Now is about the time of his coming. Wait a little!’ (Mnt 31); Belgütey-yi bū tebčikün ke’et jaibilan sa’üş güličebē ‘do not make away with Belgütei! So he said, and sat cross-legged, waiting for their arrows’ (Mnt 77); Temüjin Jamuqa-yin ene üge-yi uqan yadaju sem-iyer bayiyuq qocörču [ne]’üri dumda terget güličiøjü ne’üri bö’et ‘Temüjin could not understand these words of Jämjaq and remained silent. Falling behind, he waited for the carts in the middle of the moving camp - for it was a moving camp’\(^{104}\) (Mnt 118); Further occurrences: Mnt

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\(^{102}\) Although semantically the translation is right, it does not picture that in the Mongolic text there is a Dative case čimatur nököčesü ‘Let me take company with you/I will consort with you’.

\(^{103}\) Cf. another version of translation from the commentary: “To abandon my son?/So I did, and thereby I abandoned the norm./To part from him?/So I did and thereby I parted from my duty (or obligations)” (de Rachewiltz 2004: 643)

\(^{104}\) The translation of ne’üri bö’et ‘as for it was a moving camp’ is not quite exact. I suggest something like ‘He joined the moving (camp)’.
133, 136, 259, 264) < *kůli-, cf. LM (L) kůliye- ‘to wait, expect; to receive, accept; to acknowledge, admit; to be indulgent or tolerant’; LM (L) kůligelje- ‘to wait for, wait a little; to tarry; to hesitate’;

Mnt hontuča- ‘to shoot a long-distance arrow’: qaqatču qaruqsan-i // hontučaju oro’ulqu bûle’e ‘With long-distance arrows he was wont // To shoot and subdue // All those on the run, in fear of him’ (Mnt 244); hontučaju qimada qard’aasu heregey-yen hoqtolju o’rusuqai ‘If we shoot arrows at a long distance and I am outdone by you, I shall cut off my thumb and throw it away!’ (Mnt 254) < *hontuča- ~ ← *hontu-; cf. ontud- /ontut- on the Stele of Yisünkge. On the other hand the verb Khalkha verb ontosax ‘célba talál (nyîl, lövedék)’ was traced back to *on tus-, where *on means ‘hit’, while *tus- corresponds to LM (L) tus- ‘to hit upon, hit the target, strike upon, be hit by; to shine upon; to reflect; to be reflected; to fall to one’s share’. The stem of the Mnt verb hontuča- is for sure the noun *hon, and the Mnt form hončitan ‘Leute, welche Geschick im Bogenschießen haben’ belongs here as well, however, the further derivation model is obscure. Further the following LM words pertain to this stem: ončid- ‘to discharge an arrow in the air; to shoot into the air or over the target’; ono- ‘to hit a target; to hit upon; to be due to (as a share); to guess or conjecture rightly, find the answer; to penetrate (mentally), solve; to understand’;

A special group is formed here by those verbs which were derived from the so-called preverbs (3).

(3) Mnt qaqača- ‘to leave’: doromjilaju qaqačaju qeji newübe ‘looking down on him, they left him and moved away’ (Mnt 11); Dei-sečen-nü Börte üjin-i yisün nasutu bükii-tür üjejü irekse’er qaqačaju bûle’e ‘Lady Börte, the daughter of Dei Sečen, from whom he had been separated since he had visited her at the age of nine.’ (Mnt 94); qaqačaqsan ulus-i činu qamtuqaju qskii ‘I shall bring together for you // Your divided people’ (Mnt 96); Further occurrences Mnt 104, 118, 120, 121, 122, 130, 144, 162, 171, 172, 177, 178, 194, 196, 198, 200, 201, 203, 208, 213 < *qaqača- ← *kaqa-, ~ LM (L) qaqa ‘intensifying adverbial particle placed before verbs expressing breaking or cleaving’. To picture the “verbal nature” of the word *kaqa, the following derivatives should be mentioned: *kaqaš (< *kaqa-s) ~ LM (L) qaqs ‘half; semi-; clear(ly), distinct(ly), neat(ly)’; *kaqadasun (< *kaqa-dAsUn) ~ LM (L) qaqadasun (1) ‘fishbone’ (2) ‘log, chump, billet’;

The function of the suffix was determined as to form reciprocal verbs (4), cf. Szabó’s „egymásra ható” (1943: §59). While in some cases this definition of function can be accepted, in the case of some verbs found with this suffix there are two actors, however only one of them is an active participant of the action.

(4) Mnt daruča- ‘to press, to follow’: bidan-u čeri‘ü[t] dürbejji yubuqen Merkidi-i söni-de gii daručaju ‘but even in the night our troops were pressing hard after the hastily fleeing Merkit’ (Mnt 110); Naiman-u qara’al-i bükle‘et daručaju qol-tur anu neyile‘ülün ‘we shall chase the Naiman patrolmen and, pressing hard on them, we shall make them rejoin the main body of the army.’ (Mnt 193); hünjübü bai̇talara daručaju üülüdüjü‘üi ‘died crushing each other till they were like heaps of rotten logs’ (Mnt 196); Činggis qahan qol čeri̊k daručaju Kitad-i gòdölgejü ‘Činggis Qa’an, pressing on with the main body of the army, dislodged the Kitat from their positions’ (Mnt 247) < *daruča- ~ ← *dar- ~ LM
(L) *daru-* ‘to press, press down; to squeeze; to affix a seal; to print; to pickle, marinate, preserve; to oppress, suppress, subdue, defeat, restrain; to outshine, eclipse, excel; to cover, hide, conceal; to sit on eggs; to hold, delay, or shelve (as official business); to deduct or withhold from one’s wages or salary’;

Mnt *temeč*- / *demeč-* ‘to strive, to struggle’ // Mnt *denggeč*- ‘to be equal’; *ulus ülű temečet* ‘We do not strive for dominion’ (Mnt 64); *qamq’a’ulsun keyyiskii-tür qara hoī temečekči Qa’atai-darmala* ‘Qa’atai Darmala, who when the saltwort // is carried by the wind, // Quickly flees into a dark forest’ (Mnt 105); *teyin bō’esű a’ula-yin ündür temečeye ‘If this is so, let us go up to the top of the mountain!’ (Mnt 195); *Tayang qan iğe-tür minu üktügüjü o’ede temečen ürgüjü qarbai ‘At my words Tayang Qan has lost his head And in panic he has scrambled to the heights.’ (Mnt 196); *Tunggon-amasar-i temečen daba’a bii daba’ulutqan ‘fight for the Tunggon Pass and do not let them cross the defile!’ (Mnt 251); *Oyirad-un Quduqa-beki hoi demečen Šigsis jorin ködöljü‘üi ‘Quduqa Beki of the Oyirat went towards the Šigsis River, making for the forest’ (Mnt 144); *minu metü oroču de’ü sača’u denggečen qubi ker abqū ‘How can a late-born younger brother like me take the same and equal share as that of the others?’ (Mnt 203); *qadanadus mingali’ut sača’un bolju denggečen ‘If outside leaders of a thousand, regarding themselves as equal to and a match for my guards’ (Mnt 228); *köüűd-i’en aburi ülű itqan denggečen setkikūn bolun ‘By not restraining your sons’ nature, you and your sons began thinking that you were equal to me’ (Mnt 246) *Mönglik eçige-yin uruq-tur ken denggečekün büle’ei ‘who among Father Mönglik’s offspring would have dared to consider himself equal to me’105 (Mnt 246);

I think there is a possibility to connect in an etymological relationship the three different forms above. It is possible that all these verbs go back to < *tengeč*- < *tenge*- At this point it is important to note that the consonant cluster *ngč* in this stage of Mongolic is prohibited, and occurs only in foreign elements. That raises the question if the above mentioned verbs of the Mnt are deverbal or denominal derivations, cf. ~ Mnt *dem* ‘Ordnung’ and LM (L) *teng* ‘equilibrium; evenly, equally, exactly’ (Lessing 801); The different forms in *teng*/tem/dem could point to different historical layers of Mongolic or to Turkic origin, cf. Old Turkic tāñi ‘equal, equivalent’ (ED 511a). It is not impossible that beside of the stem, the base verb itself was copied from Turkic as well, cf. Old Turkic tāñä– ‘to value something’ (ED 516a).

In later periods there appears a certain group of verbs in the case of which the verbs formed with the suffix -čA- clearly have a cooperative meaning. Such verbs are *orkiča-* ~ LM (L) *orkiča-* ‘to bandy, to toss to and fro (as a ball)’ and *sorgėč*- ~ Khal.K. *sorgöčox* ‘szembefordul egyik a másikkal, egymással szembeszegül, ellenkezik’. This fact was also mentioned by Ramstedt, who determined the function of the suffix as reciprocum and cooperativum. Probably these two suffixes have to be differentiated, since this second suffix forms transitive verbs as well. This

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105 de Rachewiltz himself admits that the translation of e.g. Ligeti (“Ha megfékeztesd volna fékeltelen természetüket, Mönglik atya nemzetségével ugyan ki vehette volna fel a versenyt.”) could be more plausible than that of his. With reference to Mostaert he argues that “such a statement on Činggis’ part would have acknowledged the superiority of the Qongqotan clan over all the other clans – including Činggis Qan’s own clan – which is most unlikely in the circumstances.” The reasoning of de Rachewiltz, as well as his translation seems to be enforced.
form is seemingly positioned by an inlaut -r- in the base-verb, but probably it does not originate from *-lČA-, cf. *kūrulče-, *surulča- and other verbs.

**Literature:**

Street 1957:64; Ramstedt 1912: §§34, §35; 1952: §83; Dondukov 1964: 138–139; Benzing 1985: 23; Szabó 1943: §59;

**Aspect**

-(V)l-

In the Mnt there appear several verbs which were derived by the deverbal verbs suffix -l-. In the mirror of the linguistic data provided by the Mnt it seems to be possible distinguishing more homophonous suffixes. At this point must be mentioned that in the literature there appears a denominal verb suffix -l- as well, which was discussed together with the suffixes +či- and +rA- by Ramstedt (1912: §5). The examples of that suffix include those verbs which were derived from a so called adverbial root or preverb. As can be seen below, I do not distinguish two such suffixes.

The first deverbal verb suffix is what is usually called the Mongolic iterative suffix.

Most of the examples have a stem with a final vowel (1), however, in some cases it is not sure that these stem-final vowels are etymologic (2). On the other hand, there are appear some verbs with Turkic cognates, which show a final consonant (3), in the case of which the linking vowel U was used:

1. Mnt *tamtu* - 'to tear off': jaqa-ban bū *tamultugun* 'Do not tear off your collar!' (Mnt 126) < *tamtul- ← *tamtu-*, cf. LM (L) tamtu- 'to break to pieces, crush, ruin, devastate'; LM (L) tamtuug 'broken in small pieces, tattered, fragmentary; good for nothing'; LM (L) tamtuči- 'to tear to pieces, rip; to destroy; to pillage'; LM (L) tamtur- 'to browse here and there; to eat sparsely growing grass (of cattle)';

Mnt čučal- ‘to open, to undo’: buqa’u inu čučalju qal-tur tülejü ‘they smashed open Temürjin’s cangue, burnt it in the fire’ (Mnt 85) < *čučal- ← *čuča- ~ LM (L) čuča- ‘to undo, untwine, untwist’;

2. Mnt *sewürel* - ‘to sough’: Yisüi qadun yekede sewürelbi ‘Yisüi Qatun heaved a deep sigh’ (Mnt 156) < *sigürel- ← *sigür-/sigüre- ~ LM (L) sigür- ‘to filter through; to trickle, to percolate’;

Mnt *heyil* - ‘to leave, abandon’: e’üten-neč činu heyilü’esü ‘If they abandon your door’ (Mnt 137); Šır güi’eti ebüen-ü köö ütu inu heyilükset irebei ‘the sons of Old Shirgü’eti who had withdrawn on their arrival now returned’ (Mnt 149) < *hegil- ← *hegi- ?~ LM (L) ege- ‘to return, go back; to fall back, retreat; to die’;
Mnt **duyal**- ‘to jiggle, to forward with joy’: te‘ünül qoyinača duyalju to’oriqaju ayisuqun-i üjeği ‘When he saw them approaching from the rear and encircling them’ (Mnt 195); ed’e ese‘ü bayasçu teyin duyalun ayisai tede ‘Do they not rejoice now as they draw near, bounding thus in delight?’ (Mnt 195) < *tuyal-, cf. LM (L) tuyila- ‘to buck (of horses) ← *tuyī-, cf. LM (L) tuyiba- ‘to be unsteady or shaky’;

Mnt **juqul**- ‘to pull out, to drive out’: kituq-qani taimeljü juqulun yabuq-tur ‘as he was going forward feeling for and drawing out his knife’ (Mnt 214) *jukul- ← *jaku-/jugu-, cf. Mnt juquis ‘in the greatest hurry’ (Mnt 55);

(3) Mnt **ötol**- ‘to get old’: ökin gü‘üm-nü jaya’an törkeşen e‘uten–tür ötolgülü ügei ‘But the fate of a girl is not to grow old in the family in which she was born’ (Mnt 66); bi ber edo‘e // ötolbe namayi ötoljü // ındüt-te qaru‘asu qa‘uçita bı // qa‘uçitçu qaldut-ta qaru‘asu // qamuq ulus ken medegü ‘I have grown old, and having grown old, When I shall ascend to the heights – // I have grown ancient, and having grown ancient, // When I shall ascend to the cliffs – // Who will govern all my people?’ (Mnt 164); eme jala‘ui ere bi ötolbe ‘My wife is young, but I, her husband, have become old’ (189) < *ötol- ← *öt- (*öte-), cf. LM (L) öteği ‘old man, senior’?< Turcic, cf. Old Turkic öt- ‘the basic connotation is movement through or over; it is both Trans. and Intrans., in the letter case almost always with ‘time’ of some sort as the subject’ (ED 39a).

The judging of the iterative suffix in different grammars of Mongolic languages is different, since there is an immense fluctuation in the form of the suffix since the older written monuments of the Mongolic languages. Sometimes even in the same record we find parallel forms in -l- and -la-. For example, in the Muqaddimat al- Adab we find tatal- ~ tatalba dël ‘suba stjanulas’<sup>106</sup> and tatala-~ tataladuba tînlë ‘borolis’ drug s drugom / tatalaqdabà ‘byl tašcen’. That is why for example Szábó in her work on Kalmuck word formation gives two iterative suffixes -l- and -la-, while Godziński (1985: 70) uses the designation -l(A)-. This alternation in the forms was pointed out already by Ramstedt (1912: 94).

According to these facts the form -la- should be considered an allomorph of the iterative suffix, which appeared very early. Although the evolution of the allomorph historically has its phonological reasons, that is dissolving a forbidden consonant cluster, in the stage of the Middle Mongol they are not transparent any more. Rarely, such an alternation is traceable in the Mnt as well (4). In spite of its very early occurrences I consider the allomorph -la- as secondary,<sup>107</sup> while originally the form of the suffix was -l- (5). Poppe was on the same opinion as well, as we can see in his GWM, where he gives only the form -l<sup>108</sup> (GWM §236).

(4) Mnt **mültül-/mültule**- ‘to doff, to take off’: čamča-ban mültüljü ‘She took off her shirt’ (Mnt 55); bara‘un qanču-ban mültüljü ‘used to remove his right sleeve’ (Mnt 131); teyin mültulekni niqgün mürti inu ‘his shoulder, which had been left exposed and bare’ (Mnt 131) < *mültül- ← *mült-, cf. Mnt mültüs ‘plötzlich’ (Mnt 145); Mnt mültüre- ‘sich

<sup>106</sup> There are the chances that it is not the iterative suffix which occurs here in the verb tatal-, but the Turcic suffix of passive voice, cf. its Turcic translation: tartläč ton.

<sup>107</sup> If one would try to prove that there existed two iterative suffixes, s/he should find the rule, when which form of the suffix should be used. I cannot find at the moment such a rule. Many dictionaries that quote LM forms give only the forms in -la-.

<sup>108</sup> His examples are: čokil- ‘to hit, to knock incessantly’; čakil- ‘to lighten, to flash’; dusul- ‘to drip’.
löschen, aufgehen (eines Bandes) und abfallen`; LM (L) möl tü/mol tüś ‘slightly, somewhat, superficially’;

(5) Mnt mürđü- ‘to poke with horns’: qo’ačin üni’en įreʃjü jąmuqa-yi horčijü yabuʃju ger tergen ina mürđü’et jąmuqa-yi mürđüjü öre’ele eber-ıyen quqraqjü soʃʃür jür ebertį bolʃjü ‘There came a fallow cow. She circled Jamuqa and struck his tent-curt with her horns; then she butted him too, breaking one of her two horns. Being thus left with uneven horns’ (Mnt 121) < *mürgü- ← *mürgü- ~ LM (L) mürgü- ‘to butt (of animals); to hit, knock one’s forehead against something; to pray; to bow’;

Mnt tatala- ‘to tear’: Belgütei mudut ququru tatalaʃjü šibe’e barijü ‘Belgütei tore out trees and, hauling them up together, erected a palisade’ (Mnt 79); modun-u ǥesi’üt ququru tatalaʃjü itüges-iin bülę’üt suqaʃjü a[b]ču aʃgilalduʃjü jürkın-i ʃlaʃču Qorʃjn qadun Qu’určin qadun jörin-i bulju abubai (Mnt 132) < *tatal- ← *tatal- ~ LM (L) tatal- ‘to draw, pull, drag, twitch, stretch, attract; draw (a line); to install something long; to play (a musical instrument); to inhale; to chop or grind (as meat)’;

Mnt ačila-109 ‘to load, burden’: ama’ar alaqaʃan // ačilasu üli boli // üge-tür üki’üliksen // übi’esiʃ üli boli ‘Game that one has killed only with one’s mouth // Cannot be loaded on one’s mount; // Game that one has slain only with one’s words // Cannot be skinned.’ (Mnt 255) < *ačil- ← *ači- LM (L) ači- ‘to load a vehicle or animal; to burden, put on the back; to pile up; to accumulate; to throw one’s opponent in wrestling over one’s back or thigh’;

Examples of the Mnt reveal, that the derived verbs are not only iterative or frequentative (6) but in a great amount of verbs the suffix denotes that the action is carried out intensively, distinctly or suddenly110 (7), thus the derived verbs may be iterative or semelfactive. As the meaning of the derived verb in many instances greatly depends on the context, it is not always possible to make such a distinction among these shades of meanings. A further difficulty during the characterization is that the stems in the majority of the examples were not preserved up to the Middle Mongol period.

(6) Mnt derbel- ‘to tremble, to quake’: qajar derbelümüi ‘The earth is shaking’ (Mnt 98) *derbel- ← *derbe- ~ LM (L) derbe- ‘to flutter, to struggle (as birds or fish);

Mnt temtel- ‘to palpate’: kituqaq-ban temteljü juqulun yabuqutur ‘as he was going forward feeling for and drawing out his knife’ (Mnt 214) < *temtel- ← *temte-, cf. LM (L) temteri- ‘to grope, search by feeling, touch with the hands’; Khal.K. temtčix ‘meg-megtapint, tapogat; tapogatőz’ik ← *temteči-.

Mnt hulal- ‘to grow red’: hulalun büküi qal-tur oroqda’ai bül’e’ei je ‘I would have gone right // Into whirling waters, // Into a blazing fire.’ (Mnt 204) < *hulal- ← *hula-, cf.

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109 The form ačila- is quite strange. de Rachewiltz left this verb uncommented. In my view there are two possibilities for its analysis. According to the first one this is a frequentative/iterative form of the verb ači- ‘to load, to burden’, however must be seen that the parallelism of the verses would not suggest ačilasu but *ačiašu, which would be the verb ači- with a conditional gerund.

110 Önörbayan (2000: 74) referring to Khalkha was the first to mention that in the meaning of the derived verb it is included that the action happens once, so there is a clear opposition between the suffix -t- and -či-, which indicates that the action happens repeatedly.
LM (L) ulabalja- ‘to be, turn, or flash red, to blush frequently’; LM (L) ulalja- ‘to look or flash red’; LM (L) ulaksi- ‘to shimmer with red; to flash’;

Mnt aril- ‘to clarify’ eülən arilju // eke naran iykeksen metiü ‘As if one saw Mother Sun // When the clouds disperse’ (Mnt 238) < *aril- ← *ari-, cf. Old Turkic ari- ‘to be, or become, clean, pure’ (ED 198a); LM (L) ariyan ‘cleanliness, purity, chastity; clean, pure, clear; chaste; sinless; holy, sacred’;

Mnt gerel- ‘to boggle, to become frightened’: Çinggis Qa’an gereljü šqaqdaši jayila qaruya ‘Çinggis Qa’an became frightened. Being pressed by them, he said, ‘Make way, I am going out.’” (Mnt 245) < *gerel- ← *gere-, a stem unattested in Mongolic, but cf. *nora- ~ LM (L) nor- ‘to become wet, soaked, drenched, damp’, *kör- ~ LM (L) kör- ‘to cool off, become cool; to freeze, congeal’; In addition cf. LM (L) gene- ‘to be worried, troubled; to commit a mistake’; LM (L) genede- ‘to be taken by surprise, be panic-stricken, to overlook; to take a false step, to commit a mistake; to be credulous’;¹¹¹

Mnt tulbal- ‘to cleave, to crack’: tulu-yın nirun bi tulbalba ‘I have cleft the back of the trout’ (Mnt 272) < *tulbal- ← *tulba-, cf. Mnt tulbas ‘umfallend’ (< *tulba-s VN).

Mnt hemtel- ‘to tear to pieces’: ebür ba anu hoqtorqu bolqabai // helige ba anu hemtelbei bida // oro ba anu hoqtorqu bolqabai ‘We emptied the breasts of the Merkit people [Who take their revenge as a man does,] // And we tore their livers to pieces. // We emptied their beds’ (Mnt 113) < *hemtel- ← *hemte-, cf. Mnt hemtere- ‘haltieren, zweiteilen, in zwei Stücke reißen’; LM (L) entere- ‘to be chipped, nicked; to be (heart)broken’; LM (L) emtegei ‘notch, jag, chipped place, breach, gap, split, jagged’ LM (L) emteger ‘jagged; notched, serrated; having holes, gaps; chipped’; Khal.K. emtix ‘kicsorbul, (pereme/éle le)töredexik’ < *emteyi-; Bur. emsger (świadtei) ‘bez perednych zubov’ < *emčeger; Bur. emserexe ‘otlamyvat’sja (o zube, lezvi, topore i t.d.)’ < *emčere-;

Mnt hoqtol- ‘to cut’: Neüdei čaqa’an-u’a-yin teriü inu hoqtolju morin-u se’il-tür čirčü otçu’ui ‘Having cut off the head of Çaqa’an U’a of the Ne’üis, he dragged it away bound to the tail of his horse’ (Mnt 129); bosaq-dača činu bulji’asu // borbi inu hoqtol ‘If they stray from your threshold, // Cut off their heel tendons!’ (Mnt 137); Further occurrences Mnt 172, 189, 198, 254. < *hoqtol- ← *hoqto-/hoqto-; cf. LM (L) oytoči- ‘to cut into small pieces, mince, chop up, hash’; LM (L) oytoyor ‘tailless, short-tailed, bobtailed’; LM (L) oytöyi- ‘to be (come) short (of hair, tail, or clothing)’; LM (L) oytos ‘apart; fragment, chip, splinter’; LM (L) oyodong ‘short (as tail, skirt)’; LM (L) oyotor/oytor ‘short’; LM (L) oqor/aqur ‘short (not extended in time or space)’; ?LM (L) word oyto/oyta ‘fully, completely, entirely, altogether (used only to emphasize negation)’;

Ramstedt alluded to the fact that sporadically there is a change in transitivity during the derivation, namely transitive verbs become intransitive, or even the contrary can happen. His example for the first type is the verb čaki- ‘Feuer schlagen’ and čakil- ‘blitzen’, while for the

¹¹¹ It needs some further examination exploring and separating the meanings that appear in Lessing’s dictionary. I suppose the meaning ‘to be frightened, to be taken by surprise’ should be separated from meanings like ‘to commit a mistake’. For this last one cf. LM (L) gem ‘defect, disease, ailment; fault, mistake; wrong, harm; crime; sin, vice’.
second one Kalm. dar- ‘folgen’ → darl- ‘dem einen nach dem anderen (z.B. einen Trunk Kumys) geben, allen Gästen der Reihe nach etwas reichen’ (1912: §4). (*čakil- ~ LM (L) čakil- ‘to strike; to flash; to come or pass like a flash of lightning; to walk very fast’ ← *čaki- ~ LM (L) čaki- ‘to strike fire from a flint; to flash’) However the case is not so simple, since the verb čaki- has transitive and intransitive uses as well, depending on the context. Consider the Khalkha expressions caxīlgān caxix ‘to lighten’ where it is an intransitive verb and xet caxix ‘to strike a light’ where it is transitive.

For the Khalkha Önörbayan characterizes the suffix as forming mostly transitive verbs (2000: 59), but he also mentions that there are some intransitive examples, most of them derived from onomatopoeic roots. Actually the transitivity of the derived verb depends on the transitivity of the base (8).

(8) tr. ← tr. Mnt ta’ul- / da’ul-/tawul- ‘to give, to pass’: qorčin qor bawurčin ayaqa saba kebte’ül-e ta’ulju ottaqa ‘The quiverbearers shall leave, turning over their quivers - and the stewards their bowls and vessels - to the nightguards’ (Mnt 229); ye’ütgejü qarqun kebte’ül ta’ulju gi qarqũ ottaqa ‘the outgoing nightguards when relieved shall likewise hand theirs over and depart’ (Mnt 229); // kebte’ül keşik ye’ütkeleþürün belge anu da’ulju oroju ıretiguei ‘When the company is relieved, the incoming nightguards shall hand over their passes and only then come in and take their turn of duty’ (Mnt 229); emçi tümken keşikten-in ınu Ça’adai aqa Tolūqi qoyar Öğödei qahan-na tawulbāi qol-un ulus-i mii yoso’ur tawulbāi ” the ten thousand guards [who had been in close attendance on the person of my father the Qan] were all handed over by elder brother Ça’adai and Tolūqi to Öğödei Qa’an. The domain of the centre they handed over to him in the same manner (Mnt 269) < *tagul- ← *tagu-, LM (L) tayu- ‘to drive (as cattle or cart); to chase, pursue, track’.

tr. ← tr. Mnt hawul-/ha’ul- ‘to haste, to ride quickly, to overrun’: ger-tür-iyen qarīn hawulju ‘He swiftly rode back to his tent’ (Mnt 54); eme kö’iin ınu // écätti def hawuluya // [...] qotola ulus-i ınu // qo’osun boltala hawuluya ‘We shall kill his wives and children // To the last one, [...] // We shall utterly destroy his people // Till nothing will be left.’ (Mnt 105); olon dayyisun-tur hawulju olja oula’asu oulaṣa’ar abutqun ‘When swiftly pursuing many foes, // If you get booty, // What you get you shall take away’ (Mnt 219); // bida teden-i ha’uluya ke’ebe ‘Let us raid them’ (Mnt 35); edő’e irebe kê’et ha’ulju otcu ke’er-e buqusam nambuq sa’ulqa-ban açraba ‘Now I have come back.’ With this he rode off to fetch his leather bucket and pail which he had concealed in the grass’ (Mnt 93); Further occurrences: Mnt 36, 38, 123, 142, 152, 164, 187, 199, 253, 257, 279, 281. < *hagul- ~ ← *hagu- ~ LM (L) ayu- ‘to scoop out, drain; to complete, finish’; MMC ha’u- (=? ha’ad-) ‘völlig abreiben, wegreiben, vernichten’ (Mnt 276). As the quoted passages reveal both an intransitive and a transitive meaning is present.

intr. ← intr. Mnt huyil- ‘to seethe, ?to boil, to whirl’: huyilun büküi usun-tur ‘Into whirling waters’ (Mnt 204) < *huyil- ← *huyi-, cf. LM (L) uyil ‘excessens or knot on a tree’; LM (L) uyilaqai/uyilangqai ‘watery blister in the intestines of animals’;

It is instructive how transitivity can mislead the reader in some cases. It is clear from the quoted passages below, that the verb ketiül- (9) is transitive. In turn, if one checks the dictionary of Lessing will find the indication that the verb is intransitive, but in the phrase quoted by him it is
clear again that the verb is transitive, cf. LM (L) *getil*- ‘to traverse, cross, ford, wade, ferry across; to be delivered, freed, saved’: *dalai-yi getülkii ongyoča* ‘seagoing vessel’.

(9) Mnt *ketül*- ‘to cross’: *Tenggis ketüljü irebe* ‘They came crossing the Tenggis’ (Mnt 1); *usut olon ketülbe* ‘Has already crossed many streams’ (Mnt 56); *Tamir huru’u yabu’at Orqon-i ketüljü* ‘he went downstream along the Tamir River and crossed the Orqon’ (Mnt 195). Further occurrences Mnt 109, 161, 177, 198, 199, 254, 258, 262, 264, 270. *ketül- ← *ketü, cf. MMC ketüs ‘quer (gehend)’ (Mnt 195, 255);

While discussing the causative suffixes in Written Mongolian, Poppe mentions a causative suffix -l-, which appears in the pre-classical language, “added to primary stems ending in a syllable consisting of γ (or g) + vowel” (§227). Godziński also mentions a causative suffix with this shape (1985: 67–68), however his examples are positioned after final -gU of the stem, so it is not clear whether we really observe the suffix -l- or the verbs Mnt sa’ul- and u’ul- are contracted forms of an earlier *sagul*- and *ugul*- respectively. I think if there really existed such a causative (factitive) suffix that should appear in the Mnt as well. Although Poppe’s and Godziński’s examples are not eligible for proving the existence of such a suffix, I find its presence quite feasible. It appears in the following examples of the Mnt:

Mnt *qadal*-112 ‘to quote, to cite’: *qa’učin üges qadalun* ‘Citing old sayings’ (Mnt 78); *qa’učin üges qadaljü* ‘Citing old sayings’ (260) ← *kadal- ← *kada- ~ LM (L) *qada*- ‘to rise, go up’.

Mnt *nitul*- ‘to cut, to cleave’: *čėuγen čila’un-i čewűrűn // če’el usun-i nitulun // abai je ta ‘You shattered the shining stones, You cleft the deep waters’ (Mnt 209) ← *nitul- ← *nitü, cf. LM (L) *nitü* ‘to perish’ ← Turkic, cf. Old Turkic *yit* ‘to stray, get lost’ hence by extension ‘to perish’ (ED 885a);

Of course remains a question if the so-called iterative suffix and this causative suffix have something in common or not.

Further occurrences in the text:

Mnt *qa’ul*- ‘to skin’: *qara ni’ur-iyā // qa’uldaχuy-ača* ‘The skin of my black face // Peeled off in shame’ (Mnt 201) ← *kaγul-, cf. LM (L) *qayudasun* ‘sheet of paper; list; leaflet; page; note, memo’; LM (L) *qayura*- ‘to peel off’; LM (L) *qayus keγus* ‘superficially, lightly, perfurctorily’;

Mnt *bürel*- ‘to annihilate, to destroy’: *bügüde Merkid-i büreltele // Börte u’än-i činu aburaj ŏksee bi* ‘Even to the complete destruction of the Merkit, // I shall rescue for you your Lady Börte’ (Mnt 104) ← *bürel- ← *büre-/būr- cf. LM (L) *bürgi*- ‘to be seized with fear of terror; to be in a panic, be confused; to be scattered’;

Mnt *ququl*- ‘to break, ?to cut’: *buq-yin örō’ele quyà inu ququlju* ‘cut off one thigh of the three-year-old deer’ (Mnt 16); *njii’el müüsüt ququlütqun ke’ejü ökbe* ‘She gave an arrow-shaft to each of them and said, ‘Break it!’ (Mnt 19); *niru’u inu ebudükjii ququlju ilebe* ‘he

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112 It is obscure if the passage *qadalun da’un qarbiwu’an qaqasat* pertains here or not, cf. the commentary (de Rachewiltz 2004: 874-875)
pressed his knee on his spine and broke it’ (Mnt 140); Further occurrences Mnt 149, 245, 277. < *kugal- ← *kugu-113 cf. LM (L) quyu ‘reinforcing adverbial particle placed before verbs expressing breaking or separation; with a snap’; LM (L) quyus ‘middle, equinox’; LM (L) quyuči- ‘to break into pieces (of long stick-like objects)’; LM (L) quyura-/quyara- ‘to break (of long objects such as branches of a tree, sticks, etc.); LM (L) quyuča- ‘to set a time or term; to relieve of an obligation or service completely or partially’;

Mnt tasul- ‘to tear’ altan bosoqa-dača činu // anggida odu’asu // ami inu tasulju gêtkün “If they depart from your golden threshold // Put an end to their lives and // Cast them away!’ (Mnt 137); ibaqa-yin oro bül tasultuqai ke’en jarliq bolba ‘they are not to abolish Ibaqa’s rightful place among my wives’ (Mnt 208); ede qadalun da’un qarbiwu’an qajaqsat quyiy-yan tasuluqats ‘Have snapped at their own afterbirth, Have cut their own birth cord’ (Mnt 244) < *tasul- ← *tasu-114 cf. LM (L) tusu ‘onomat. indicating a sudden and definite breaking, hence a perfectivizing “particle” denoting completion or completeness, frequently with the connotation of destructiveness, intensity’; LM (L) tasuɣ ‘section, department, classroom; workshop; group, squad’; LM (L) tasura- ‘to be torn away from, cut off; to be interrupted, stopped, finished’; LM (L) tasuči-/tasuča- ‘to break or tear apart (repeated action); tasuda- ‘to tear apart, asunder, or to pieces’;

Mnt debül- ‘to boil’ dekkeksen jürägen-i // derge nökör bolju tōde’efü // debulküi toq’an-i // delegei sinaqa bolju amurlı’ıdajı ‘Being at my side as faithful companions // Have restrained my agitated heart, Being like a broad ladle Have calmed the overboiling cauldron’ (Mnt 277) *debül- ← debü-, cf. LM (L) debüre-/deberi- ‘to spout, gush forth, bubble up, boil; to overflow’; LM (L) debüre ‘vessel with a spout, jug, tea pot’; LM (L) debke- ‘to jump, leap’; LM (L) debse- ‘to stamp the feet, trample’; LM (L) debsi- ‘to rise, go up; to develop, make progress, advance; to be promoted; to prosper, thrive’; LM (L) debte-/debtü- ‘to be soaked, steeped or saturated with a liquid; to swell, expand’; LM (L) debji- ‘to grow, develop, increase, enlarge; to progress; arise; to be excited’; It has to be cleared if the root *deb of these words has something to do with the Mongolic root *dege ‘up’ and the Turkic word *yag, cf. Old Turkic yeg ‘better’ (ED 909). (Cf. the probably wrong comparison in the EDAL)

Mnt kinggül- ‘to break’: kileye-yin niru’un bi kinggülbe ‘I have rent the back of the sturgeon’ (Mnt 272) < *kinggül- ← kingü-; cf. Mnt kinggüs ‘quer durch’; Mnt kinggürü ‘quer durch’ (Mnt 255); Mnt kinggürü- ‘abschneiden’;

Mnt möril- ‘to long for’: Yisügei aqa Temüjin-i maši mörlüjü öre-ben ebedümü Temüjin-i abura irebe ke’ejü’yı Dei-sečen ügülerüün quda kö’ü-ben mörölgü bö’esü ottuqai ‘Elder brother Yisügei thinks constantly of Temüjin, his heart is aching. I came to get Temüjin.’ Dei Sečen said, ‘If my quda is longing for his son, let him go.’ (Mnt 69) < *mőrël- ← mörö-, cf. LM (L) möröged- ‘to miss, long for’;

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113 Cf. Old Turkic kök- ‘to decrease, diminish’ (ED 609).
114 Cf. Old Turkic tas originally bad and the like, it came in the medieval period to be used only with Aux. V.s to mean ‘lost destroyed’ and the like. (ED 554b)
The Mongolic suffix *-l- was first treated as a cognate of the Turkic suffix -l- by Ramstedt (1912: 4–9). As in Turkic the suffix -(x)l- is the most common means to form passive verbs, that is the subject of the verb is the object of the action, and is represented as taking no initiative in the occurrence of the event (Erdal 1991: 651) I do not find plausible to connect them directly.

Literature:


-či-

Mongolic languages show several derivatives with the verbal suffix -či- but it has quite a few examples in Middle Mongol and especially in the Mnt. Later the number of examples increases, indeed it is mentioned only in a few grammars of Mongolic languages, e.g. Ramstedt 1912: §24–25; Szabó 1943: §60; GBja 188–189. In connection with the Mnt it was mentioned by Street (1957: 64), however, he quotes only one example.

It seems to be quite probable that historically there were more suffixes with the same shape.

One of the most thought-provoking examples of the Mnt is the verbs arči- (1) which is usually traced back to the causative form (arí-) of the Turkic verb *arí-, cf. Old Turkic arí- ‘to be, or become, clean, pure’ (ED 198a). It is obscure if the verb was derived by the suffix -či- or not, since the Mongolic verb arči- is transitive while the Turkic arí- is intransitive.

(1) Mnt arči- ‘to wipe, to scrub’: Otčiğin bosu’at nilbusu’an arči’at qarçu ‘Whereupon Otčiğin rose, wiped away his tears and, going out of the tent’ (Mnt 245); manlay-yin kölesün arči’n yadatala ‘To the point where they could not wipe off The sweat of their brow’ (Mnt 260) < *arči- ↔ *arí-.

Several derivatives of the suffix -či- that appear in the Mnt, seem to be of Turkic origin (2) which fact tells us something about the period when the suffix was productive. In addition there is a certain number of verbs, which might be derived by the suffix -či- but the etymology of which are obscure. 116

(2) Mnt čabči- ‘to strike’: Belgütey-yin mürü kanggas ča[b]či’qan tere bül’e ‘It was he who, with his sword, split open Belgütei’s shoulder’ (Mnt 50); ničügün mürü inu Bûri-bökô

115 Strangely, although there is a reference to the work of Ramstedt (1912), the EDAL does not mention the function of the suffix to form deverbal verbs, only deverbal nominatives, and denominative attributive are quoted. (EDAL 186–190)

116 Cf. Mnt tebči- ‘to abandon, to desert, to leave’; Mnt qubči- ‘to collect’; Mnt übči- ‘to fly, to skin’; Mnt jübči- ‘to attach’; Mnt secči- ‘to pierce, to stick’; Mnt nökči- ‘to pass (of time)’; Mnt čoči-/soči- ‘to get frightened’; Mnt horči- ‘to surround’; Mnt qiči- ‘to wrap, to cover’.
üldü’er ǰanggas čabču’u ‘On this occasion, Bürük Bökö’s sword split open his shoulder, which had been left exposed and bare’ (Mnt 131); Qasar Itüügen-tür üülü keleleldün mün tende čabču’ gebe ‘Qasar who, without saying a word to him, cut Itüügen down and cast away his body there and then.’ (Mnt 184); (Further occurrences: Mnt 188, 229, 278) < *čabči- ~ LM (L) čabči- ‘to hew, chop; to blink; to kick with a forefoot or forefeet (od a horse)’ ← *čap- ~ Old Turkic čap- ‘an onomatopoeic verb with several meanings both Trans. and Intrans., the only connecting link between which seems to be that they all describe noisy action’ (ED 394a).17

Mnt ‘qaβčį-118 ‘to hide, to keep private’: üjeksen-iyen üülü ni’un sonosuqaš-ıyan üülü qaβčiqun bülė’e ‘never hid from me what they saw, never concealed from me what they heard’ (Mnt 210); üjeksen-iyen sonosuqaš-ıyan üülü ni’un qaβčin ji’an aqun bülė’ei ‘without hiding or concealing, have always reported to me what they saw and heard’ (Mnt 216) < *qaβči- ← *qaβ- ‘Turkic *kap-., Old Turkic kap- present in such Old Turkic words as kapak, kapţi, kapça, kapja (ED 580a);

In spite of the low number of the examples it seems that there are no restrictions in connection with the stem-final sound of the base-verb119 (3):

(3) Mnt ‘qaβčį- ‘to catch, seize’ Qargıl-šıra bosu’at kō’eken-i su’u-dur-iyan qaβču’ qaɾçu yavu’ja aysurun ‘Qargıl Shi-ra rose and seizing the child pressed him under his arm’ (Mnt 214) < *qaβčį- ~ LM (L) qaβči- ‘to squeeze, clamp; to pinch; to exert pressure, oppress; to compel, force out’ ← *qaβ- ‘Turkic *kap-., cf. Old Turkic kap- ‘to grasp, or seize, with the hands, teeth, etc’ (ED 580a)

Mnt hoqtočį- ‘to cut’: hula’an buqa-yın yabuqsan mör-iyer mör-tür bayyiqsan modut hoqtočin čabču’lʃu kirıgede’ülʃu mör bolqau ‘Along the paths trodden by the red bull he had them chop, hew and saw the trees that stood in the way, thus making a road for the army to pass’ (Mnt 240) < *hoqtoči- ← *hoqto-, cf. LM (L) oyto/oyta ‘fully, completely, entirely, altogether (used only to emphasize negation)’; LM (L) oyto ‘apart; fragment, chip, splinter’; LM (L) oytoyor ‘tailless, short-tailed, bobtailed’; LM (L) oytoyi- ‘to be(come) short (of hair, tail, or clothing)’; LM (L) oyodong ‘short (as tail, skirt)’; LM (L) oyoli ‘adze’; LM (L) oyotor/oytor ‘short’; LM (L) oqor/aqr ‘short (not extended in time or space)’;

It appears that in the Middle Mongol period the suffix may be added only to simplexes (4), however, must be seen that these simplexes are disyllabic. Later the suffix was added to derived stems as well.120

17 The meanings ‘to hew, chop; to kick with a forefoot or forefeet (of a horse)’ are etymologically connected to the Turkic verb čap- (ED 394a), while the nominal derivation čabči- is perfect for the meaning ‘to blink’, cf. LM (L) čab ‘suddenly, unexpectedly’ and Old Turkic čap ‘an onomatopoeic for the blow of a whip and smacking the lips’ (ED 393a).
18 For the verb qaβči- Haenisch gives the following translation: ‘verbergen, verschweigen; klemmen, stecken’. Although they etymologically belong together, in the MM period it seems that there are two homophonous verbs. The meaning of the first one is ‘to hide, to keep in secret’, while the second has the meaning ‘to catch, to seize’.
19 This statement is affirmed by the modern data as well, cf. *buudači- ~ LM (K) buudači- ‘lő (egyet), meglő ← *buuda- ~ LM (L) buuda- ‘to shoot with a firearm’, *agusči- ~ LM (K) usči- ‘felöldődík, beolvd (pl. kisebbseg a többségbe)’ ← *agus- ~ LM (L) aŋus- ‘to dissolve, pass into solution’ etc.
Mnt qa[t]ačī-qa[t]ačī- ‘to crush, to obliterate’: qa[m]uq Merkid-i qa[t]ačīfu // qatun Börte-yi činu // qari-ulju abčiraya bida ‘We shall crush all the Merkit, // We shall cause your wife Börte to return, // Bringing her back to you!’ (Mnt 104); qa[m]uq Qa’at-Merkid-i qa[t]ačīfu // qatun Börte-yi’en // qari-uljum aburaya ‘Crushing all the Qa’at Merkit, // We shall rescue your wife Börte, // Causing her to return!’ (Mnt 105) *<ka]t]ačī- ← *ka]t]a-, cf. LM (L) qa[t]as ‘half’; Khal.K. xalti/xalt’t ‘ige]kötö hirtelen, sebtiben; úgy ahogy, felületesen; könnyedén, éppen csak’; Khal.K. xaltčīx ‘(fa kér]gét itt-ott) lehánt(j)a; nehezen silabizál, gyöngén olvas’ (< *ka]t]ačī-) cf. LM (L) qaltar ‘variegated, spotted, blemished; having a white muzzle’

The suffix is thought to derive transitive verbs by many authors. Already Ramstedt mentioned that the suffix derives transitive verbs, Szabó (1943: §60) calls it a transitive suffix, and Poppe in his GWM also emphasizes that while its function is to express actions performed energetically or with strength the derived verbs are transitive (GWM §253). However the situation is not so clear, as many times the verbs have intransitive meanings or at least transitive and intransitive as well. According to data one finds in the Mnt, must be seen that actually the suffix does not change the transitivity of the stem.121 (5). This is best pictured by the meaning of the Khalkha verb butčix in Cewel’s dictionary, where one will find ‘bain bain buyū daxin daxin butrax butlax’. While in this meaning both transitive and intransitive shade appears, the Khalkha word cowΧčix ‘bain bain cowxroξ’ is clearly intransitive.


The function of the suffix is to form verbs which indicate that the action is performed suddenly, unexpectedly.123 (6). Önörbayan was the first to notice that depending on the context, the
meaning of the derived verb may include an iterative shade so the action happens quickly and repeatedly.

(6) Mnt ququći- 'to brake, to fracture': nij'i'el-i ya'u bayyi'ulqun ququći'jü o'rba 'they immediately broke the single arrowshafts and threw them away' (Mnt 19) < *kugu- < *kugu- ~ LM (L) quyu 'reinforcing adverbial particle placed before verbs expressing breaking or separation; with a snap'; cf. LM (L) quyus 'middle; equinox' ~ Mnt ququs 'ab(gebrochen); LM (L) quyuça- 'to set a time or term; to relieve of an obligation or service completely or partially'; etc. For a possible Turkic correspondence cf. Old Turkic kōk when qualifying a V. connotes comprehensive action; when qualifying an Adj. means 'thoroughly, completely'; when qualifying a N. means 'all' (ED 579b);

Mnt suqući- 'to pull out': modun-u geši'üt ququru tatalați itüges-iän büle'üt suqući'jü a[b]ču 'breaking off tree branches, pulling out the churners of the kumis leather bags and grabbing them (Mnt 132) < *sugući- < *sugu- ~ LM (L) suyu 'adverbial particle expressive of a sudden jerky movement'; cf. LM (L) suyuski- 'to break loose, get free, slip out'; LM (L) suyuđ- 'to pull out, pluck out, draw out; to draw in a lottery'; LM (L) suyul-/juyul- 'to pull out, pluck out, draw out; to draw in a lottery'; LM (L) suyum/siyum 'line, ruler'; LM (L) suyulı- 'to put under the belt; to attach to the belt (as an arrow, etc.); to put one's hand into an opening in order to get something out'; LM (L) suyunay 'column of smoke': suyunay odun 'shooting star';

In the modern languages the suffix is frequently added to verbal stems of onomatopoeic origin, e.g. Khal.K. tošgčič 'csettingget, cuppog, cuppantgat', Khal.K. xošxčič 'kiáltos, rikoltoz (pl. több madár), fütyyentget, fütyyög (pl. mormota), xašgčič 'kiáltosik, ordlózoik' where the meaning of the suffix is to emphasize the frequency of the action, not the suddenness. No sign of such use is traceable in the Mnt.

As Mongolic či several times (but not always) originates from an earlier *ti, the suffix -či- was traced back to *-ti- by Ramstedt (1912: §24, §25), but that still has to be proved.

There appear some etymologically obscure examples in the text of the Mnt.

The first of them is the verb qada'uçī-, which remained untranslated in the dictionary of Haenisch.

Mnt qada'uçī- 'to take care': teyn ke[b]Te qada'uçijî gū kē'et nōkčibe 'Lie just so and be careful! And with these words he went off.' (Mnt 82); anda qada'uçī 'Sworn friend, take care!' (Mnt 196).

The shape of the word supposes a reconstructed form *kadaguçi-, which if really contains the suffix -či- then its root must be something like *kadagV-. In turn that could be connected to such
LM words as LM (L) qadayala- ‘to place in safekeeping, preserve, conserve, save, keep; to keep in confinement’.

The second such etymologically obscure example is the verb qubči- ‘to collect’.

Mnt qubči- ‘to collect’: ölősču turju ireb ke’en Ong qan-a qubčiri qubčju ökči güre’en dotora oruľju teji’ebe ‘Because Ong Qan had arrived starved and exhausted, Činggis Qa’an raised taxes for him, brought him into the camp and took care of him’ (Mnt 151); jiqasun bolju Tenggis dalai-tur oru’asu či Sübe’teei gölmi qubč’ur bolju ši’üzü qubčiju ǔlũ’ũ abqu ‘If they turn into fishes and plunge into the Tenggis Sea, you, Sübe’teei, will you not become a casting-net and a dragnet, and get them by scooping them out?’ (Mnt 199); Güčügür moçi-da ĭrge tutaqdujet endečę tendečę qubčiju ‘As the Güčügür lacks subjects to form a unit of a thousand, let these be collected from here and there and given to him’ (Mnt 223); minqad-un noyad-un kőüt-te harban nököt huja’ur minqan ja’un-ača qubčiju öktügei ‘the ten companions to be given to each of the sons of the commanders of a thousand must be drawn from the units of a thousand and the units of a hundred from which they originally came’ (Mnt 224); eğiye-yen ögüksen qubi kešik bő’esü iñu beye qad-iyar oluqasen jö’eksen ere aqta keduũ bő’esü iñu emčü qubi-ača anggida bidanu kemleksen kem-iyer qubčiju teyin qubčiju jasaju öktügei ‘Whether or not they have a share of goods given by their fathers and regardless of the number of men and geldings that they have personally acquired and constituted as their own patrimony, a levy shall be raised – independently of their personal share of goods – of mounts and men according to the amount fixed by Us and, levying men and preparing mounts in this manner, they shall be given to them’ (Mnt 224); Tangyut ırgen-eće’en teme’et qubčiju tawun yadatala abçiraļuş ôkbei ‘He levied camels from his Tang’ut people and, bringing so many that it was impossible to drive any more of them, he gave them [to Činggis Qa’an]’ (Mnt 249);

The verb is transitive, which refers to a transitive stem *kub-. This in turn can be compared to the Old Turkic verb kuvra- ‘to come together, assemble’, which does not have a good Turkic etymology (cf. ED 586a) and Mong. *kura- ‘to gather, assemble; accumulate’.

Literature:


-IJa-

The suffix -IJa- is a deverbal verb suffix in Mongolic languages, however, it must be mentioned that the judgement of this suffix is not unambiguous, since some authors discuss it as a denominal suffix (e.g. Szabó 1943, Önlörbayan 2000). In the text of the Mnt occurs only twice (1) and other Middle Mongol occurrences are scarce as well. The suffix was treated by Godziński (1985: 71), but at the mentioned place he discusses together the suffixes -IJa-, -bAlJa- and -KalJa-.
(1) Mnt darbalja- ‘to quiver’: dabčitu gor darbaljaqui-tur // dayyij[i]q[i]či Dayyir-usun // edős Orqon Selenge qoyar-un Talqun-aran-a būi je ‘Dayir Usun, who on hearing // The rattle of a loose quiver // Deserts his own companions, // He must now be at Talqun Aral // Between the Orqon and the Selenge’ (Mnt 105) ← *darbalja-124 ~ LM (L) darba- ‘to float, billow, flutter (of a flag, sail, or garment); to move (of something wide-open, or gaping);

Mnt unjilja- ‘to impend, to dangle’: basa,niken gû‘în ayisu gürčû ayisuqu-tur döro inu köl-ıyen unqıllıja ayisu üje’estı qaqqça gû‘în metü büyyü ‘He advanced and drew closer, his feet dangling under him; yet, when one looked, it seemed like a single person riding.’ (Mnt 173) ← *unjıllıja- ← *unjı-125 ~ LM (L) unjı- ‘to hang down, be suspended; to drag along the ground; to droop; to be weak or sickly’;

It is obscure if the verb müçilje- (2) belongs here or not.

(2) Mnt müçilje- ‘to smile’: ene üge-tür ċa’adai müçıljeji ügilderiını (Mnt 255) ← ?*müçi-; It is obvious that the stem pertains to the stem of LM misiye-/misige ‘to smile, laugh (elevated style)’, however, at present it does not seem to be possible to define the more exact nature of their connection.126

The data from the Mnt and some comparative data taken from LM and Khalkha127 show that the suffix is always added to multi-syllable words, and that the etymology of the stems usually is not known. Further it is visible, that it is frequently added to verbs ending in the juncture bA.

The function is to express rhythmic motions, and according to Poppe is added to verbal stems expressing motions (GWM §239), which is true, but must be seen, that many times the stems themselves already denote a rhythmic motion.

The data available from the Mnt is not enough to judge it, but the comparative data shows that the verbs formed with this suffix are always intransitive, even if the base-verb was transitive.

Literature:


124 Cf. Buryat darba-darba governitsja o pokačivanič čego-1. sodranogo ilı visjačego.
125 Cf. Buryat unça-unça governitsja o dvjënii kogo-1. dolgovjažogo ili čego-1. rastjanutoogo.
126 In the consonantism of the stem there appears a striking similarity with the stem moš- of the Hungarian verb mosolyog. While I do not think that they are directly related, during the etymologization of the Hungarian verb an onomatopoetic origin could be postulated.
127 LM (L) sebilje- ‘to blow gently’ ← *sebe- ~ LM (L) sebi-/sebe- ‘to wave; to fan’; LM (L) qaşqalja- ‘to sway’ ← *kayiba- ~ LM (L) qaşqala- ‘to sway or rock from side to side; to swim (of birds and animals)’; LM (L) dayilja- ‘to totter, wobble, sway, rock’ ← *dayiba- ~ LM (L) dayila- ‘to wobble, totter, sway’; LM (L) derbeje- ‘to flutter, flap in the wind’ (cf. Mnt darbalja-); ← *derbe- ~ LM (L) derbe- ‘to flutter; to struggle (as birds or fish)’; LM (L) tuyilja- ‘to be unsteady on one’s feet’ ← *tuyiba- ~ LM (L) tuyila- ‘to be unsteady or shaky’; Khal.K. širveljex (= *širvelje-) (cf. LM (L) širbalja-) ‘ráŋg, rezeg; farkát csivádjia; barátságtalanul tekintet; csapos’ ← *širbe- ~ LM (L) širbe- ‘to sweep; to dust’; Khal.K. cerveljex (= *cervelje-) ‘lengedezík, hajdózík (fű, vetés a szélben)’ ← *čerbe- ~ LM (L) čerbe- ‘to swing, sway’;
-bAljA- / -KAljA-  

-bAljA- and -KAljA- are Mongolic deverbal verb suffixes. The number of their occurrences in the text of the Mnt is extremely low. Different grammars discuss these suffixes together, or even together with -IjA-, e.g. Godziński (1985: 71). Interestingly Street (1957: 65) mentions only the formant -GAljA-. As there is no distributional rule when which form, -bAljA- or -KAljA- should be used, in the present work they are considered to be historically two different suffixes.

An analyze of these suffixes comes across many difficulties. The grammars, which mention them are not even identical in the judging the nature of these suffixes. Some grammars refer to them as deverbal verb suffixes, e.g. Godziński (1985: 71), or Poppe (GWM §238): sanayaljA- ‘to reflect on’ ← sana- ‘to think’; anilibaljA- ‘to twinkle’ ← ani- ‘to shut his eyes’, while others discuss them among the denominal verb suffixes, e.g. (Önörbayan 2000: 107–110). In the same manner there is also a controversy on the question if they are separate suffixes or just allomorphs of the suffix -IjA-.

In some LM texts and there appear some allomorphs of these suffixes, namely -bUljA- and -GUljA- (Szabó 1943: §74), or even -bAlji-, e.g. tatabalji- and čayılalbalji- (Heissig 1953: 520, 521).

In the Mnt they occur in the following verbs:

Mnt darbaljA-128 ‘to quiver’: dabčitu qor darbaljaqui-tur // dayyij[a]či Dayyir-usun // edo’e Orqon Selenge qoyar-un Talqun-aral-a büi je ‘Dayir Usun, who on hearing // The rattle of a loose quiver // Deserts his own companions, // He must now be at Talqun Aral // Between the Orqon and the Selenge’ (Mnt 105) ← *darbaljA- ←?*dar.129 cf. LM (L) tar.130 ‘onomat. describing the sound of tapping or of footsteps on a hard surface’;

Mnt šičabaljA- ‘to creep’ qarurun naran sara-yin kili-ker šira noqai metiš šičabaljAfu qarqu büle’e ‘When he departed, he crept out on a moonbeam or a ray of sun in the guise of a yellow dog’ (Mnt 21) ← *šičabaljA- ← *čiča.131, cf. LM (L) čičab ‘suddenly, jerkily, with a start’; LM (L) čičab ki- / čičebki- ‘to jerk, start, move suddenly’; Khal.K. časaxix (← čičas ki-) ‘felriad, felrezzhen’; LM (L) čičay-a ‘looseness of the bowels, diarrhea; watery feces’; *Khal.K. čagcanax (← čičagan-) ‘össse–összerezzen, meg-megrándul, rángatózik’;

Mnt niqsaqaljA- ‘to stagger, to wamble’: üdesi naran šingeksen-ü qoyina Belgütée dargi oqodur qongqor-tur tarbaqat ačiju niqsaqaljatala yabuqan kötof[l]jü irebe ‘Belgütée was then away marmot-hunting on a short-tailed, short-haired chestnut horse. He arrived on foot in the evening after sunset, leading behind him the short-tailed, short-haired chestnut horse, which was so laden down with marmots that it staggered’ (Mnt 90) ← *niqsaqaljA- ← *niqsa-, cf. LM (L) niy ‘solid(l), dense(l), condensed’; LM (L) niyču ‘thickness; thick, dense(l) (of grass or trees); crowded’; niyta ‘thick(l), dense(l), compact(l); thorough(l), accurate(l)’;

128 Above the verb darbalja- was used to demonstrate the suffix -IjA-.
130 Other shades for the meaning of this onomatopoetic word is probable as well, cf. LM (L) tarčigina-/tarjigina-/darčigina- ‘to rustle (of leaves); to knock, tap, clatter, stamp; to jar, rattle (from detonation)’.
131 The initial consonant of the root is not sure, cf. LM (L) sečen ~ čečen; saču~ ~ čaču~; sečeg ~ čečeg.
Mnt ketūgelje- ‘to move crosswise’: naran śinggeksen-ü qoyina ordo-yin qoyina’un urida’un ketūgeljen yabaţu guün-i barjį kebte’il barjį qonqo manaqar-i; kebte’il üges inu asaqtuqai ‘Any person who moves about crosswise at the rear or front of the Palace after sunset shall be arrested and the nightguards shall hold him in custody for the night. The following morning, the nightguards shall question him’ (Mnt 229) ← *ketū-, cf. MMC ketüs ‘across’ (Mnt 195, 255);

Mnt čerbeğelje-ül- ‘to dangle in the air’: müt čeri’it Belgütey-yin eke-qi sundula’lju qoyar köl inu čerbeğelje-ülju qadaraju gürüči ir’e[l] ‘but at that very moment the same soldiers came trotting up. Forced to sit on one of the horses behind the rider was the mother of Belgütei, both feet dangling in the air’ (Mnt 101) < čerbeğelje-ğül- ← čerbe- ~ LM (L) čerbe- ‘to swing, sway’;

According to Poppe the function of the suffixes is „to express lasting actions“ (GWM §238). As it is clear from the examples, it should be added that in the case of many verbs (even one of Poppe’s example support that) deriving from the durative meaning, the derivatives express rhythmic or oscillating actions. The meaning of oscillating action appears in the case of the stems which describe a kind of movement.

An interesting comparison is offered by the verb-pair *tatalja- and *tatalja- to determine if there is a difference in the meaning of the suffixes. For the LM we find LM (L) tatalja- ‘to abstain or refrain from; to hesitate, be indecisive; to disagree; to worry about’ and LM (L) tatalja- ‘to make repeated motions of pulling or stretching; to jerk; to be nervous, have nervous spasms or twitches; to be hesitant; to refrain from; to be clumsy or awkward as a result of nervousness or hesitation’. Approximately the same meaning one finds for Khalkha in Kara’s dictionary. According to these data, *tatalja- is more mental, while *tatalja- is more physical in meaning, but the lack of more parallel verb forms averts me in taking a moral.

The material provided by the Mnt allows only to say that the derived verb is always intransitive, while if data from LM is considered it can be stated that the suffix forms intransitive verbs, even if the base-verb was transitive, e.g. LM (L) tatalja- ‘to abstain or refrain from; to hesitate, be indecisive; to disagree; to worry about’ ← *tata- ~ LM (L) tata- ‘to draw, pull, drag, twitch, stretch, attract; draw (a line); to install something long; to play (a musical instrument); to inhale; to chop or grind (as meat).

The two-syllable suffix-body indicates that there could be a possibility to analyze them as historically compound suffixes. There already was an attempt by Ramstedt to confirm that fact. In his Verbstammbildungslehre (1912: 888) he states, that -bAltA-/-buljA- is a compound of -bu- and -ljA-. Some of his examples for ascertaining the suffix -bu- are the following: *julbu- ← julu- (tū. yul-); *delbe/-delbū- ‘sich ausbreiten’ ← *deli- ‘den Bogen spannen’; *jūl-bū- ‘die Haut abwerfen; hautlos werden (z. B. die Schlange), die Farbe verlieren’ ← *jōl-gū, jūl-ge- ‘abreifen, abschaben’; *kel-be-yi/-kel-bū-yi- ‘sich lehnen, seitwärts neigen’, *kel-be-nī-, kelberi-, *ur-bu- ‘sich

132 LM (L) aniballja- ‘to blink or wink repeatedly’ ← *ani-
133 Cf. LM (L) dənnyalja- ‘to waver, falter, hesitate, be uncertain, doubt’ ← *dənma- ~ LM (L) dənna- ‘to carry on a shoulder a load suspended on each end of a yoke; for two or more persons to carry a load suspended in the middle of a pole; to carry on a litter or stretcher’; Khal.K. jūsagoljox (← *jōsagolja-) ‘meg-megáll, meg-megtorpan’ ← *jūsag- ~ LM (L) jūso- ‘to stand up; to stand still; to stop, cease';
verändern' ← burj.Tunka ur-il- (tr.) verändern'; *nil-bu- ‘speien’ vgl. tü. yaš; *jur-bu-sun ‘lang
geschnittene Stücke Fleisch’ ← *jiru-/*juru- ‘Linien ziehen, zeichnen, ritzen’ *cirbu-yur >
*cilbuyur od. cirbuyul, vgl. čir- ‘ziehen, schleppen’; *sülbege ‘Zwirn, Band’, vgl. sül-ji ‘flechten (z.B.
einen Korb)’; *ser-be-yi- ‘sich nach einer Krankheit erholen, sich besser fühlen’ ← *sere- ‘wachen,
wach sein’; *dal-ba- ‘flattern, mit den Flügeln schlagen, schwingen’; qolba- ‘vereinigen,
zusammenbinden, zusammenpaaren’ wahrscheinlich zu qos ‘Paar’;

I would like to suggest another way for analyzing these suffixes:

First of all in -bAlJA- we can see a deverbal noun suffix -b. To analyze the further part of the suffix
there are two possibilities.

1. -bAlJA-: The suffix is a compound of the deverbal noun -b and a-lJA-, where a- is the verb
   meaning ‘to be’.

2. -bAlJA-: The suffix is a compound of the deverbal noun -b and the denominal verb suffix +lJA-
   while the first A is a connective vowel.

From these two possibilities I find the first one more convincing, however, must be seen that
later there appears the allomorph of the suffix as -bULJa-, where U is more probable to be a
connective vowel.

It is a little bit more complicated the verb -KAlJA- -K (-G) again is a deverbal noun suffix, or maybe
we should count not with -K but -KA. The suffix lJA- is the same as above.

**Literature:**

Godziński 1985: 71; Street 1957: 65; Ramstedt 1912: §76; GWM §238; Poppe 1960: 101; Dondukov
1964: 152–153; Benzing 1985: 54, 58, 174, 184; Szabó 1943: §74;

**Medial verbs**

- rA-

The deverbal verb suffix -rA- forms medial verbs. Its existence was marked by Street (1957: 65),
indicating that it has 6 examples in Mnt. The suffix again was discussed by Godziński (1985: 60) as
a denominal suffix. From the Mnt he quoted the verbs quaura-, tasura-, hoqtori-, qaltari-.

The suffix can be added to simplexes (1) and derived stems as well (2).

(1) Mnt nidura- ‘to dry up’: če’el usun niduralu’a // čeüän čilawun čewürelü’e ‘The deep
water has dried up, // The shining stone is shattered’ (Mnt 72) ← *nitura- ← *niitu- ~
LM (L) nitu- ‘to perish’ ← Turkic, cf. Old Turkic yit- ‘to stray, get lost’ hence by
extension ‘to perish’ (ED 885a); cf. LM (L) nitul-/nitula- ‘to kill; to deprive of life; to
slaughter, esp. animals’;
Mnt anggijira-.\textsuperscript{134} ‘to separate from something/somebody’: edő‘e qan eçige minu ama‘ar kele’er-ű olulcaju anggijiraba c‘i ‘And now, my father the Qan, when you separated from me, did you explain face to face?’\textsuperscript{135} (Mnt 177) < *anggijira- ← *anggiji;

Mnt bürkire- ‘to bellow?, to clomp’: qara buqa-yin arasun-niyar // bürkisen bürkiren bükü // dawutu kö‘urple ben deletbe bi ‘I have beaten my bellowing drum // Covered with the hide of a black bull’ (Mnt 106) < *bürkire- ← *bürki-\textsuperscript{136};

The stems to which this suffix is added often have Turkic counterparts (3).

Mnt abura- ‘to retain, preserve, to keep, to protect’: haçi minu aburan sorif(t)qun ‘Strive to revenge me!’ (Mnt 53); Tayiçi‘ut aqa de‘ü-ye‘en qasî‘u ker aburaqun bida ‘how to take vengeance for the outrage committed by our Tayiçi‘ut kinsmen’ (Mnt 76); edő‘e mün ki tede namayi aburamu je ‘Now those same people will surely save me’ (Mnt 84); Sibawuqan-ı turumtai buta-tur qorqobas buta aburaju‘ui ‘When a sparrow-hawk causes a sparrow to take shelter into a bush, the bush saves its life’ (Mnt 85); qan eçige minu eme kö‘ü aburaju öktügei ke‘en irebe ba ‘We have come now to ask you, O Qan my father, to rescue my wife and return her to me’ (Mnt 104); Further occurrences: Mnt 77, 78, 102, 105, 110, 146, 149, 152, 163, 164, 177, 214; < *abura- ← *abu- << Turkic, cf. Old Turkic abî- (ED 6a)\textsuperscript{137}.

Mnt sa‘ara- ‘to hesitate’: barıju ülû sa‘araq bars metû ‘Like a tiger never hesitant // When seizing its prey’ (Mnt 78) < *sagaras- ← *saga-\textsuperscript{138}, cf. LM (L) sayar ügei ‘without doubt; certain(ly), positive(ly)’;

No examples are known where the suffix was added to a stem ending in a consonant, however in the case of some of the stems cannot be ruled out that their final vowel is a petrified linking vowel (4).

Mnt jibtura- ‘to reduce’: Tęb-tenggeri-yi ügei bolqa‘at Qongqotan čirai jibturaju‘ui je ‘After Teb Tenggeri had been annihilated, the proud air of the Qongqotan was much reduced’ (Mnt 246) < *jibtura- ← *jibvt- ← *jib- ~ LM (L) jib- /čib- ‘to sink/to sink, to become submerged’;

Mnt ququra- ‘to break’: jam‘uqa-yi mürğüjü öre‘ele eber-iyen ququraju so[l]jiř ebértü bolju eber minu aça ke‘en ke‘en ‘She circled]amuqa and struck his tent-cart with her horns; then she butted him too, breaking one of her two horns. Being thus left with uneven

\textsuperscript{134} As the stem *anggiji- is not traceable, usually the verb anggijira- is quoted as an example of the suffix -jira-. In turn it is clear that the suffix is compound in -ji- and -RA-.

\textsuperscript{135} Cf. the slightly different translation of Kara (personal communication): ‘Now my father the khan, you distanced (yourself from me. Have you) discussed (this with me) in person?’;

\textsuperscript{136} The stem *bürki- is unattested, however its etymology is clear, being an onomatopoeic verb derived from the stem bür with the suffix -ki-. This lack of data caused us that in several works a suffix forming onomatopoeic verbs is suggested with the form -kira- (e.g. Ramstedt 1912, Szabó 1943, GWM), cf. the verbs arkira-, urkira-, gaškira-, qorkira-, kürkire-.

\textsuperscript{137} Cf. Old Turkic ol ani kışidin abîdi ‘he hid him from the people’ (ED 6a). Although the Turkic word is a hapax legomenon in Old Turkic texts, derivations from this verb assure its existence: e.g. abî ‘causative form of abî- but with the same meaning’ (ED 7a), abîn- ‘reflexive form of abî’ (ED 12b). An early Turkic loanword in Hungarian as óv (Berta 1999).

\textsuperscript{138} Cf. Old Turkic sak- ‘to think’.
horns, “Bring me my horn!” she kept saying’ (Mnt 121); Belgütei uqa otçu de’ere inu aqdalaju qoyar jaqas inu solbin meğeflen tataju niru’u inu ebüdüklejü ququfju ilebe Büri-bökö niru’u-ban ququraju ügülerin ‘Belgütei understood. He sat on top of Büri Bökö and, crossing the two ends of his collar, he pulled them towards himself, tightening his grip. As he did that, he pressed his knee on his spine and broke it. Büri Bökö, his spine broken, said’ (Mnt 140); qoyar kilgütei tergen nökö’e kilgü-ben ququra’asu hüker inu jikdün yadayu ‘If a two-shaft cart breaks the second shaft, the ox cannot pull it.’ (Mnt 177) Naiman Merkit ğirai-ban ququraju bayyıldun yadayu busangaqdabat je ‘the Naiman and the Merkit lost heart; they could no longer fight and were scattered’ (Mnt 208) ← *kukurakku -< *sugura -< *sugur -< *sugur -< < Turkc, cf. Old Turkic suj - ‘Hap. leg. to draw out or drain’ (ED 805a);

Mnt so’ura’ul- ‘to let someone escape’: tus qan-yan üfe’et barjju ker ala’ulq ke’en tebčin yadayu amı-yan qoroqan künktütügü ke’en su’ora’ul’un bulqadula’a bé ‘How can I let my rightful lord be seized and killed before my eyes? Unable to forsake him, I struggled and kept on fighting so that he could escape and save his life’ (Mnt 185) ← *sugurakku ← *sugur -< sugur -< Turkc, cf. Old Turkic suj - ‘Hap. leg. to draw out or drain’ (ED 805a);

Mnt tasura- ‘to secede; olangniyan tasuracqajú tende bariqdala’a ‘his saddle-strap broke and he was captured on the spot’ (Mnt 158) ← *tasura -< *tasu -< *tasu -< Turkc, cf. Old Turkic tasu ‘onomat. indicating a sudden and definite breaking, hence a perfectivizing “particle” denoting completion or completeness, frequently with the connotation of destructiveness, intensity’; LM (L) tasul- ‘to break apart; to tear asunder; to cut off; to separate’;

Mnt te’üre- ‘to break; tengisiqetei tergen-i // terre’ür de’ere büi te’üre’ülüsü ‘I shall not let an axle-cart collapse on the road’ (Mnt 124) ← *tegüre- ← *tegü -< *tegü -< *tegü -< *tegü -< Turkc, cf. Old Turkic têg ‘complete, full, whole, fulfilled; perfect, accomplished; twins’; LM (L) teğüs- ‘to come to an end; to be finished, fulfilled, carried out, completed; to be perfect, complete’ LM (L) tegülder ‘full of ...; full (of moon); perfect, complete; completely, perfectly, entirely’;

In LM142 the suffix many times has a quasi-allomorph in -ri-. It is a question if the verbs of the Mnt with the suffix -ri- contain such an allomorph, or we have to deal here with an independent suffix, which coincided with -ra- (5).

(5) Mnt da’arih- ‘to pass, to pass by’: Sulduš-un Sorgan-şirə Jòlý da’arihju üjejju ügülerin [...] basa Sorgan-şirə da’arihju ügülerin ‘Sorgan Şira of the Sulduš happened to pass by [and

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139 Cf. Old Turkic kôk- ‘to decrease, diminish’ (ED 609).
140 Cf. Old Turkic tas originally ‘bad’ and the like, it came in the medieval period to be used only with aux. verbs to mean ‘lost, destroyed’ and the like.
141 Cf. Old Turkic têg- ‘to pound, crush, grind’, the causative form of which is present in Hungarian as tör-.
142 LM (L) čubırı-/čubura- ‘to move one after another; to drip’; LM (L) qalyurı- ‘to slide, slip, glide’; LM (L) yuturak/yutur - ‘to be confused, put in disorder; to despair, lose courage; to grieve, be unhappy’; LM (L) ilber- ‘to be smooth, slick; to be crafty or cunning; to flatter’; LM (L) matari-/matara- ‘to bend, curve, stoop’;
he saw Temüşin lying in the stream] As Sorqan Şira again passed by Temüşin, he said to him' (Mnt 82, 83); erüge de’ere inü oröju // erkin e’ede inu // embüri da’arju // eme kö’un inu // eçülete hawuluYa // quutuq e’ede inu // ququru da’arju // qotola ulus-i inu // qo’sun boltaal hawuluYa ‘Descending on the smoke-hole // Of that coward Tqtö’aa’s tent, // Its proud frame we shall smite, //So it collapses; // We shall kill his wives and children // To the last one. // Of his door the sacred frame, // We shall smite so it shatters; // We shall utterly destroy his people // Till nothing will be left.’ (Mnt 105); To’oril qan aqa morlarun Burqan-qaldun-u ebür-iyer Temüşin anda-yi da’ar’at irejü Onan-müren-nü teri’in-e Botoqan-bo’orji-da boljalduya ‘After elder brother To’oril Qan has set out and, passing by my sworn friend Temüşin on the southern side of Burqan Qaldun, comes jointly with him, we shall meet at Botoqan Bo’orji at the source of the Onan River’ (Mnt 106); ülü bawun söni dülün gödöljü ayisuqui-tur Ja’ura mör-tür Tayyici’üd-i da’ariba ‘without pitching camp they set off, travelling at night. As they proceeded, they passed the Tayiçi’ut’s encampment along the way’ (Mnt 119); Further occurrences: 109, 115, 151, 170, 195, 198, 253, 257, 265 < *dagari- ← *daga- ~ LM (L) daya- ‘to follow, accompany, travel with; to submit oneself to, obey; to imitate; to observe, comply with’;

Mnt šiljirî- ‘to swirl, to move’: šiljirin bükü boro’on-a //šiljütken bükü jü’en-e // čitqun bükü qura-da/šiltesütei ger minu horčin //jirim ülü kin bayyryu //jirüge amu’uluqasan ‘in the swirling snowstorm, // In shivering cold, in pouring rain, taking no rest, // Stood all around my latticed tent //Bringing peace to my heart’ (Mnt 230) < *šiljirî- ← *šilji-;143

Mnt bultari- ‘to dodge, to evade’: bidantur kešik oro’ulaqun haran bultarijü ülü bolqu haran bidanu dergede yabukui-ban berkešiye’esü busu-yi oro’ulju tere güi’in-i ere’ülejü ‘As to the people who have been recruited to serve on roster for Us, if any of them are unsuitable for duty because they evade it, regarding their service by Our side as too difficult, we shall recruit others in their stead and we shall punish those people’ (Mnt 224) < bultari- ← *bulta- ~ LM (L) bulta- ‘to avoid, flee, dodge, sneak or slip away’;

Mnt kinggüri- ‘to cut’: güçiğürgeg-i güjü’ünt anu kinggüriktükün // oromqaqun-i omori‘ut [t] onglajïtqun ‘Cut the neck of the braggart, // Cleave the breast of the arrogant!’ (Mnt 124) < *kingüri- ← *kingi-; cf. Mnt kinqgüs ‘quer through’; Mnt kinggüri ‘quer through’; Mnt kinggüül ‘quer throughbreach’

The function of the suffix is to form verbs, which indicate that the action happens to the subject, but the causee is not known or not important (6).

(6) Mnt talbira- ‘to dismiss, to discontinue’: irgen orqa altan mönggüt adu’usun ide’en joli’a ökgiye ke’en abital‘asü ülü talbiran dulet türigung-e adalamai ‘We shall give, as substitute for the Q’a’an, people, gold and silver, cattle and food’, the illness did not abate and they raged even more violently’ (Mnt 272); uruq-un güi’in-ece bolqu-yü ke’e’sü sibiraamai ‘When we say, ‘Could a person from the Q’a’an’s family serve as a substitute?’, the illness abates’ (Mnt 272) < *talbira- ← *taibi- ~ LM (L) taibi- ‘to place, put, set, lay or put down; to install; to set free, release, let loose’

143 There exists the verb in LM (L) šiﬁ- ‘to change a position, place, or course; to move, change, shift’, but I find more probable that the above mentioned verb was formed from another verb with the same shape.
Mnt umtara- ‘to expire’: umartaqsan-iyor duraqaldaju // umartaqsan-iyor seri’ililčejų aya ‘Do remind him of what he has forgotten, Do wake him up when he has fallen asleep’ (Mnt 200, 272); umartaqsan-i duraqaju // umartaqsan-i seri’ililju ‘I shall remind him of what he has forgotten, I shall wake him up when he has fallen asleep’ (Mnt 255) < *umtara- ← *umta- ~ LM (L) utma- ‘to sleep’;

The most interesting point in this characterization is the question of transitivity. According to rules of the Literary Mongol the derived verb is always intransitive, even if the base verb was transitive (7):

(7) intr. ← intr.: LM (L) bayura- ‘to decline, fall; to diminish, lower, depreciate, degenerate; to fall into decadence; to slump, weaken’ ← LM (L) bayu- ‘to come or go down, fall; to descend, dismount, step down; to land (airplane); to settle down, encamp; to stop by, stop on the way; to surrender’

intr. ← intr.: LM (L) kögere-/köger-/kögeri- ‘to foam up, overflow, rise (as boiling milk)’ ← LM (L) köge- ‘to swell, distend, intumesce; to foam’;

intr. ← tr. LM (L) asara- ‘to gush or pour out; to spill’ ← LM (L) asqa- ‘to pour out, scatter, splash out, spill, shed’;

intr. ← tr. LM (L) ebdere- ‘to break down, fall to pieces; to fall down, decline, deteriorate; to be wrecked’ ← LM (L) ebede- ‘to destroy (concrete or abstract objects), break, wreck, ruin, annihilate; to break up, rescind (as a resolution or agreement); to violate (as an oath, vow, rule, ethics); to transgress (as a law); to deprive (as of power, independence, or freedom); to disturb (as order or peace); to stir up (as a quarrel)’;

As some of the examples of the Mnt appear to be transitive,\(^\text{144}\) cf. Mnt abura-, da’ari- above and the verb hoqtori- and asara- under (8), it is not impossible that there were more homophonous suffixes. However the verb büšire- (9) shows that both transitive and intransitive use is possible, so at present I regard the transitive use as a secondary phenomenon.

(8) Mnt hoqtori- ‘to chop, to cut’: modud-i sumuči kituq-iyor-iyan hoqtori’at mori-yan qaltari’ilu’at qarkui-lu’a Tayyici’ut sakiju aju ‘With his arrow-sharpening knife he cut the bushes [– so thick that it was impossible to get out – around that white rock, the size of a tent, which had fallen and blocked the opening] he let his horse slip through and came out of the thicket. But the Tayiči’u were keeping watch’ (Mnt 80) < *hoqtori- ← *hoko- ~ LM (L) oyo/oyta ‘fully, completely, entirely, altogether (used only to emphasize negation)’; cf. LM (L) oytos ‘apart; fragment, chip, splinter’; LM (L) oytol- ‘to cut, cut off, cut across, chop off; to fell; to operate surgically’; LM (L) oytuči- ‘to cut into

\(^{144}\) The same is the situation in later stages of Mongolic, cf. the following examples:

LM (L) qamura- ‘to seize, clutch, snatch; to scrape, rake; to include’ ← *kamu- (tr.): LM (L) qamu- ‘to gather together; to sweep together; scrape up, rake up’;

Khal.K. Šawrax (← *šibqara-) ‘utolsó cseppig kiürfát, elfogyaszt vmit; kifacsarja, kiráz(zá, a vizet vmibol) ← *šibka- ~ LM (L) šibqa- ‘to scrape out; to scoop out; to empty out; to exhaust; to put forth one’s strength or effort’;

LM (L) Jóbisyre- (tr.) ‘to approve, consent, permit, sanction; to surround, go around’ ← *jóbsige- ~ LM (L) Jóbisyje- ‘to agree, approve, sanction, consent’.
small pieces, mince, chop up, hash’: LM (L) oytovy ‘tailless, short-tailed, bobtailed’; LM (L) oytvyi ‘to be(come) short (of hair, tail, or clothing)’;

Mnt asara- ‘to take care, to take charge’: qol da’aritu qodoli se’ililti qorq šingula-yin kilqasu-n—bar huraqalaqü barju asaraba ‘He made a snare with the hair of his white horse with the black sore back and mangy tail, caught the hawk and reared it’ (Mnt 25—26); üçüget qoçorqasat de’ü-ner-iyen belbisün bergen-iyen asararay-yi či mede ‘You take care of your younger brothers, the little ones that I leave behind, and of your widowed elder sister-in-law’ (Mnt 68); tabun kő’il-iyen de’ü jirqadu’ar kő’il bolcan Şikiken-quduq ke’en nereyitčii eke asaraba ‘The Mother named him Şikiken Quduqu and brought him up as the younger brother of her five children and as her sixth child’ (Mnt 135); Further occurrences: Mnt 145, 155, 171, 174, 181, 187, 189, 231, 232, 233, 234, 272; < *asara- ← *asa-; (9)

Mnt büšire- ‘to speak gratefully, to revere, to believe’: To’oril qan jamuqa qoyar-i Temüjin büširen üğilerin ‘Temüjin, speaking gratefully to To’oril Qan and Jamuqa, said’ (Mnt 113); tus qan-iyen tebčin yadaju üjëet ker ükqi’ilkin ke’ejü talbijü ilbijü ba büširen gückü öksü ke’en irebei ‘but we could not do away with our rightful lord. Saying to ourselves, ‘How can we make him die before our very eyes?’, we freed him and sent him away, and we have come respectfully to offer our services’ (Mnt 149); südä’er ama’ar üğüleldijü büšireye ‘By talking only mouth to mouth // We shall believe each other!’ (Mnt 164); Çinggis qahan Badai Kišiš qoyar-un üges büširejü ‘Çinggis Qa’an believed the words of Badai and Kišiš’ (Mnt 170); Qori-sübeçi Ong qan-ni barjiu’u bi Ong qan bayiy kē’esiu ilil tanin ese büširejü tende alaju’u ‘Qori Sübeçi seized Ong Qan and although the latter declared, ‘I am Ong Qan’, Qori Sübeçi did not recognise him and, disbelieving him, slew him on the spot’ (Mnt 188); Further occurrences: Mnt 177 < *büšire-.145 ← *büsi-.146

Examples of this suffix imply some verbs etymologically not totally clear. Such verbs were derived from the so-called preverbs (10). Their verbal origin is assured by semantics, since the nominal suffix *rA- forms verbs which denote acquisition of a quality.

(10) Mnt butara- ‘to scatter’: garciqai-bar bari’uluqasun noqut qalawud-un ödün hüisin anu burqalig časun metti butarajü keyişü iremi ‘the fluff and feathers of the ducks and geese caught by his hawk are scattered and fly over here like swirling snow’ (Mnt 31); buluqan daqu-yin qari’u // butaraqsan ulus-i činu bügütke[l]dijı öksü ‘In return for the sable coat, // I shall unite for you // Your scattered people.’ (Mnt 96, 104); tengger-de ese ta’alaqadaba bida ke’eldü et butarajü’ui ‘Saying to each other, ‘We are not loved by Heaven’, they scattered.’ (Mnt 143); Mnt 150, 208, 248; < *butara- ← *buta-.

Mnt hemtere- ‘to tear apart, to split’: ebür hemterebe ke’en medejü // helige minu ebette ‘Breast was torn apart, // Brought pain to my liver.’ (Mnt 105); < *hemtere- ← *hemte.147

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145 The verb in LM has the form biiše ‘to believe in, revere, worship; to adore, admire; to respect, esteem’.
146 The stem *büsi-/*bisi- is unattested, but its existence is affirmed by the verb *bisi- ~ LM (L) bisil- ‘to contemplate, meditate, reflect, think, imagine; to apply oneself with zeal, practice’; cf. the Hungarian verb bízik.
147 LM (L) emtele- ‘to jog, notch, serrate; to chip, crumble, break off’; LM (L) emtegei ‘notch, jag, chipped place, breach, gap, split, jagged’; LM (L) emteger ‘jagged; notched, serrated; having holes, gaps; chipped’; Khal.K. emtix ‘kicsorbul, (pereme/ele le)tolordziz’;
Mnt hükdere- ‘to rive (as a laceration)’: Quyıldar yaras-yan an’a iüdü ‘iye Činggis qahan-á itqa’asu ülü bolun gör’esün-tür dobtulqu bolun hükdereşü nökdibe ‘Quyıldar, whose wounds had not yet healed, without paying heed to a warning by Činggis Qa’an rushed after the game. He had a relapse and died.’ (Mnt 175) < *hügtere- 148 ← *hügte-, cf. LM (L) ügtege- ‘to pull out, tear out’;

Mnt múltüre- ‘to rive (as a laceration)’: mori-yan kötöljü ayisukui-tur morin-ača eme’el inu múltüreşü qoçörču’u qarijü üje’esü eme’el kömüldürgelekse’er olangla[q]sa’ar múltüreşü qoçörču’u olang či boltuqai kömüldürge basa ker múltüreği büle’e ‘As he moved on leading his horse after him, his saddle worked itself loose, fell from the horse and was left behind. When he went back and looked, he saw that the saddle had loosened and remained behind even though the breast-strap was still attached and the saddle-girth was still fastened’ (Mnt 80) < *mölütre- ← *möltü-, cf. Mnt mültüs ‘abrupt(ly)’ (Mnt 145); LM (L) mölüti/möltilüs ‘slightly, somewhat, superficially’;

Mnt qolbara- ‘to unite, to associate’: kö‘üd-in aqa joci ba qoyar bui je qan eçige-de qolbaran güçün öksü ‘The eldest sons are Joci and I. We shall, in cooperation with each other, serve our father the Qan’ (Mnt 255) < *kolbara- ← *kolba- ~ LM (L) qolbo-/qolba- ‘to unite, combine, connect, incorporate; to link to; to unite in marriage’;

Literature


Other deverbal verb suffixes

-s-

The are a fair amount of verbs in the Mnt which were derived by the deverbal verb suffix -s-. Many verbs discussed in this section were considered to be of denominal origin by Godziński (1985: 62–63). In addition he treats these verbs together with verbs derived by the suffix *sA-, eg. Mnt jusa-. A quite similar treatment is observed in the work of Poppe, who supposed that the suffix is a denominal verb suffix, and during the derivational process the final consonants of the stem disappear (1954: 242). All these facts picture that the etymologies of these verbs many times are insecure, since in many instances their stem is not attested. The reason for that is possibly that the suffix is very old, and already was not productive in the Middle Mongol period. In such

148 Cf. Khal.K. bügtex (< *bügtere-) ’súlyosbodik (betegség); fulladózik; kifullad’.
cases I used some comparative data, to picture, that the derivative is of verbal origin. At the present stage of the work I consider this suffix as a deverbal one.

It appears that the suffix is always added to stems with a final vowel, however in some cases it is doubtful if this auslaut vowel is original, or a petrified linking vowel (1).

1. Mnt **sonos**- ‘to hear’: *ger-ūn belge sün tüsüre’et esüg-iyen sóni-de üdür čayitala bülekä büle’e tere belge sonosču yabubasu büle’ür-ūn danu sonosču gürčü ‘The sign by which one recognized the tent was that, after pouring out mare’s milk, they used to churn their kumis all through the night until daybreak. As he went, listening for this sign, Temüjin heard the sound of the churner and arrived there’ (Mnt 85); solongqa boljü // sonosqu-yin tula // ünen boljü // üjegü-yin tula ‘Hearing is as keen as a weasel’s. Her sight as sharp as an ermine’s,’ (Mnt 103); Temüjin-ū danu sonosču tanıfu tergen-eče bawu’a[f] ‘She heard the voice of Temüjin and, recognizing it, she got off the cart’ (Mnt 110); Further occurrences: Mnt 117, 121, 136, 137, 146, 169, 190, 203, 210, 214, 216, 224, 227, 238, 249, 252, 254, 278, 281 < *sonos- ← *sono- (?*son-), cf. LM (L) sonor ‘hearing; the quality of hearing well; ears (hon.); possessing good hearing, having fine ears; sounding clear; the hammer bone (malleus) of the inner ear’; LM (L) sonin ‘interesting; puzzling; strange, outlandish; news, newspaper’; LM (L) sonomsar ‘intelligent, clever; alert’;

Mnt **debüs**- ‘to spread’: qa[b]taqay čiki-ben dere-tür ilü tilbin // qa[nču]-ban derelejü qormaib-an debüsčü // šilisün-iyen umdalağu ‘His flat ear he did not rest on a pillow: // of his sleeve he made a pillow and // He spread his robe for a mattress. Easing his thirst with his own saliva’ (Mnt 254) < *debüs-<149> ← *deb(v)-, cf. LM (L) debel ‘long garment, dress, gown, robe; clothes’; LM (L) debeš ‘saddle cushion; small square pieces of leather at both sides of the saddle, covering the upper part of stirrup straps’;

It can be stated that usually it is added to simplex stems (2), however there appear some verbs (3) which might be derived ones.

2. Mnt **emüs**- ‘to put on, to take on (of clothes), to wear’: qara qurdun-iyen unuba bi // qatangų de’el-iyen emüsbê bi // qatan jiđa-ban bariba bi [...] oroq qurdun-iyen unuba bi // hüดüşütü quyaq-iyen emüsbê bi // onqitü üldî-be’en bariba bi ‘I have mounted my swift black horse, // I have put on my armor // and grasped my steel spear [...] I have mounted my swift horse // The one with a black stripe along the backbone; // I have put on my leather-strapped breastplate, // And grasped my hilted sword’ (Mnt 106); altatayi emüskii-tür // amtatayi idekkii-tür // Kököcü minu ke’egü büle’e ‘When you wore gold-embroidered clothes, // And ate tasty dishes, // He called you ”my Kököcü.”’ (Mnt 188); qurban dąbqur quyaq emüsci // qurban buqa jıtği’üljü aysu je ‘Wearing a three-layered armour, // He is pulled along in his cart by three bulls’ (Mnt 195); čaqa’an de’el emüscü // čaqan aqta unu’ülju // sa’uri de’ere // sa’ülju takijü ‘He shall wear a white dress // And ride a white gelding; // He shall sit on a high seat // And be waited upon.’ (Mnt 216) to’a asaquṣan gü’in kebte’ül tere gü’in-i tere gü iädür-ün unuṣan aqta eme’eltii qadār-uyi emüsükseñ qubčasun selte kebte’ül abtuqai ‘And the nightguards – with regard to any person who shall have asked their number – the nightguards shall seize the gelding that was riding that very day, with saddle and bridle, together

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149 Cf. LM (L) debis- ‘to spread (as a rug, mattress, cushion, cover, or blanket), lay’
with the clothes that he was wearing’ (Mnt 229, 278); < *emūs- ← emū-150, cf. Mnt emūdūn ‘Hose’;

Mnt e’ūs- ‘to start up’: Činggis qahan To’oril qan qoyar qamtu čerik e’ūsčū Uljā huru’u Ongqıng-čingseng-lü’e qamsan ayısue’-tu r Činggis Qa’an and To’oril Qan, [unable to wait any longer,] together set out with their troops. As they approached, moving downstream along the Uljā to launch the attack in conjunction with Ongging Čingsang’ (Mnt 133); Činggis qahan Ong qan-tur ene kele gürgeľü il’ešū Ong qan kele gürgeľü’et čerik e’ūsčū ötörlen Činggis qahan-tur Ong qan gürččü irebei [When he received this news,] Činggis Qa’an passed it on to Ong Qan. As soon as Ong Qan received the news, he set his army in motion and speedily arrived at Činggis Qa’an’s camp. (Mnt 141); < *egūs- ← *egū- cf. *egür151 ~ LM (L) ūur/ür ‘dawn, daybreak’; LM (L) egūd- ‘to originate, spring up, begin, start; to take place; to be born; to found, initiate’; LM (L) egildőr ‘kind, species; breed, stock, race, blood’; ?LM(L) egürü ‘long time, long ago; old, ancient’;

Mnt nis- ‘to fly’: čaqān šingqor naran sara qoyar-i atqum nisčū īrējü qar de’ree minu tu’uba ‘A white gerfalcon clasping both sun and moon in its claws flew to me and perched on my hand’ (Mnt 63); teden-i jürtü bolju nisčū tenggeri-tür qar’asü či Sūbe’etei šingqor bolju nisčū īlľü’ü bari’uʃiyi ‘If they grow wings and fly up into the sky, you, Sūbe’etei, will you not fly up like a gerfalcon and catch them?’ (Mnt 199) < *nis- ← *ni- ~ LM (L) niği-152 ‘to blow the nose’;

(3) Mnt tolki- ‘to wave’: Onan-mūren-ni tolkistala hoi jubur dawuristala yeke dawu-bar uyyilaju ‘she went on wailing loudly // Until her voice stirred the waters of the Onan River, // Until it resounded throughout wood and valley.’ (Mnt 56) < *tolki- (ʔd-) ← *tolki- ~ LM (L) dolgi- ‘to wave, undulate; to splash out; to be restless, tempestuous, irascible; to rush on’

Mnt čūbtūs- ‘to fall in water’: Naiman Merkit bolun qamtuču bawayıldun yadaʃu buru’ułlan goedöllėrűn Erdiš ketüllėrűn čūbtüsüş olonki-yan usun-tur ükū’ilľi’ü ‘The the Naiman and the Merkit were unable, even with their united forces, to keep up the fight and fled. When they moved away and crossed the Erdiš, most of them fell into the river and drowned’ (Mnt 198); Šin-mūren-e girtelė hüldeʃi yabaqdarun Šin-mūren-tür čūbtüsüş oroqun bolun onon Sarta’ul-iyan tende Šin-mūren-tür só’ebe je ‘They pursued them as far as the Šin River and when, being pressed, the Sarta’ul started throwing themselves into it, many of them did indeed perish there, in the Šin River’ (Mnt 257) < *čūbtūs- ← *čūbtū- ~ LM (L) čöbe- ‘to settle, fall to the bottom (as sediment, esp. of melted butter); to become turbid, cloudy, muddy (of liquids); to deteriorate, become spoiled’;

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150 There are the chances, that this root is not a simplex, cf. Old Turkic ırm ‘trousers, drawers’ (ED 155b)

151 The noun meaning ‘dawn’ was present in the form *ör as well, cf. LM (L) örlügə ‘morning; in the morning’; LM (L) örni- ‘to grow, increase, rise; to develop, flourish; to flame, burn strongly’. This form I think could be secondary from an earlier *ör.

152 The LM form nigi- must be secondary, since no further derivatives appear from this form. This “learned etymology” for LM originates from the stem-final position of /l/ in a monosyllabic word, which in some cases is open for lengthening for example in Khalkhia, cf. *ki> xii- ‘to do, to make’. The monosyllabic origin is further assured by the derivative *nisun ~ LM (L) nisun ‘nasal mucus’. 
Mnt *dawuris-* ‘to concuss’: *Onan-müren-ni tolkistala hai jubur dawuristala yeke dawu-bar uyyilaţû’ she went on wailing loudly // Until her voice stirred the waters of the Onan River, // Until it resounded throughout wood and valley.’(Mnt 56) < *daguris- ← *daguri-, cf. LM (L) *dayuriya-* ‘to imitate, emulate, take as a model, follow an example; to resound’; LM (L) *dayuriyan* ‘echo, resonance’;

It is extremely difficult to say something about the function of the suffix. Ramstedt says that the verbs with this suffix have a light intensive or frequentative meaning. In turn Szabó says that the function of the suffix is to weaken the meaning of the stem. As most stems of the verbs derived by the suffix -s- remain unattested is not really possible to test their statement. In my view based on some examples of the Mnt and of LM at least one function of the suffix is to make the stems intransitive (4):

(4) Mnt *nis-* ‘fly’ ← *ni-;

LM (L) *tegûs-*153 ‘to come to an end; to be finished, fulfilled, carried out, completed; to be perfect, complete’ ← *teg-* (?*tegû-) ?<< Turkic *tâg- ~ Old Turkic tåg- properly ‘to reach (a place Dat.)’ but with various extended meanings from an early date, including ‘to attack (someone), to touch (something), to concern (someone), to be worth (i.e. to reach a price of, so much)’ (ED 476a); cf. in addition LM (L) *tegûs* ‘complete, full, whole, fulfilled; perfect, accomplished; twins’; LM (L) *tegûlder* ‘full of ...; full (of moon); perfect, complete; completely, perfectly, entirely’; LM (L) *tögerî/tögûrîg* ‘circle, disk; circular, round’;

There are the chances that there were more homophonous -s- suffixes. That is indicated by the fact that some examples appear to be transitive (5), while others intransitive (6). The material of the Mnt offers a very interesting verb pair, one of which is intransitive, while the other transitive154 (7).

(5) Mnt *sonos-* ‘to hear’ ← *sono- (?*son-)

Mnt *ülîs-* ‘to swagger, to come out with’: *nikente ger-teče qarçu yâ’u ber qaçça’ar tuniqsân mettî ụge dawu *ülîsçï iřeju ãï ‘having left home but once, you pretend that you alone accomplished everything and come out with such abusive and provocative language’ (Mnt 277) < *ülîs- ← *ülî- ← LM (L) *ülî- ‘to compare, give an example; to weigh’;

(6) Mnt *bayas-* ‘to rejoice at sg.’: Hó’elûn eke *Qasar k’i’et de’ü-ner inu heriţiği aju ijeju bayasba ‘Mother Hó’elûn, Qasar and his younger brothers were worrying about him, but when they saw him they rejoiced’ (Mnt 93) Dei-seçen Temüjîn-i ijeju ma’sî yeke bayasçu uğülerûn ‘When Dei Seçen saw Temüjîn he was very glad’ (Mnt 94); Qasar-i ire’üli’ët bayasçu Čîngîs qahan Ọng qan-tur elçîn ilêye ke’en eyetîjî ‘Čîngîs Qa’an received Qasar and rejoiced. They agreed to send messengers to Ong Qan’ (Mnt 183); Further occurrences: Mnt 96, 130, 134, 195, 237, 260 < *bayas- ← *bayâ-, cf. LM (L) *bayar* ‘joy, happiness, delight, enjoyment’;

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153 It is important to note that in Khalkha there appears a transitive meaning as well, cf. Khal.K. *tôgsöç* (< *tegûs-*) ‘befejez, bevégez, elvêgez vmit, befejezdôrik, bevgêzdik, vége van’.

154 Another interesting point is offered by the verb *deles-*, which has at the same time transitive and intransitive meanings: Khalkha *jûr*x *delse* ‘to have palpitations’ and *modôr* *delse* ‘to strike with a stick’.
Mnt öïîs/-öîîš- ‘to hunger, to starve’: kei ö’ede // kegülîyen keyisümser // ke’er qajar-a // ke’elî-ben öïlsümser bûliyi ‘Whose tuft has never blown // Against the wind, // Whose belly has never hungered // In the steppe’ (Mnt 56); Kelüren-ü teri’un-eče Çinggis qahan ö’esün esergü otçu ölôşçü turuğü irebe ke’en Ong qan-a qubçiri qubçîjü âkçü ‘Çinggis Qa’an went in person to meet him. Because Ong Qan had arrived starved and exhausted, Çinggis Qa’an raised taxes for him’ (Mnt 151); öïlsüsen-i çinu üdür düli-de ese gürgêbe je turuçsan-i çinu sara-yin járim-a ese gürgêbe je bi ‘Your hunger I did not allow to last until noon, your leaness I did not allow to last until the middle of the month’ (Mnt 177); Tatar-un Qargil-šira o’urçaq bolun qarçu jichi yadasjü ölôşçü oroju irejü (Mnt 214); ← *ölîs-155 ← *ôl-, cf. LM (L) öbelje- ‘to look for food (mostly of animals)’; LM (L) ölông ‘starvation, famine, hunger; starving, hungry’;

(7) Mnt hüînîs- ‘to reek’: qoği’ulas tutum // qongşi’ut // hûngi’üles tutum // hûngi’iüt hünistele // talbiba ‘Every tree stump reeked with their stench, // Every dead tree with their foul smell.’ (Mnt 27); ← *hûn-, cf. LM (L) ünîr ‘odor, smell, fragrance, aroma’; LM (L) ünîri- ‘to smell, emit an odor, give forth an aroma’;

Mnt hüînîs- ‘to smell, to scent’: hüînîr minu hüînûsçü yabu ‘Never forget to breathe my scent!’156 (Mnt 55); Mönglik eçîqe maqalalı inu abçu hüînûsçü ebûr-tûr-iyen talbiba ‘As they were wrestling, Tep Tenggeri’s hat fell in front of the fireplace. Father Mönglik took his hat, smelled it and placed it in his bosom’ (Mnt 245) ← *hûn-, cf. LM (L) ünîr ‘odor, smell, fragrance, aroma’; LM (L) ünîri- ‘to smell, emit an odor, give forth an aroma’;

**Literature:**

Godziński 1985: 62–63; Street 1957: 63, 64; Ramstedt 1912: §61; 1952: §78; Dondukov 1964: 155–156; Benzing 1985: 146; Szabó 1943: §56;

-(V)t-

The suffix -(V)t- was mentioned by Street (1957: 65). According to him there are 2 examples of this derivational element, but I think this number increases after an examination of the lexical material provided by our source. Godziński also dealt with such a suffix (1985: 63–64). According to him formants like *yît- in nereyt- and *tU- in yetü- are merely allomorphs of the suffix -(V)t-.

155 The judging of the verb *ölîs- is rather difficult since the generally accepted etymology (Ramstedt 1952: 160) of this Mongolic word derives it from the Turkic verb *öl- ~ Old-Turkic öl- ‘to die’ (ED 125b). However there are some counterarguments against this derivation. First of all the Mongolic verb does not mean ‘to die’. Those who starve do not die inevitably. A much stronger reason is that the verb *ölîs- could have a good etymology in Mongolic, cf. LM (L) öl ‘food, provision; nutritiousness; nourishment; hunger’. The semantics of this word is however not without problems, since it would need a good explanation how a word can mean at the same time food and hunger?

156 de Rachewiltz (2004: 308) argues that in this passage the verb yabu- “plays the role of an auxiliary denoting continuity of action”. This is a possible interpretation, however his translation even in that case is not entirely satisfactory, which in my interpretation would be ‘keep smelling my scent. She took off her shirt...’. Ligeti has a different translation, not counting the verb yabu- as an auxiliary one: “Szívőd magadba szagomat, és eredj!”
Some examples suggest that a linking vowel i or U is used even in cases with an auslaut vowel (1), which in some cases can even be dominant (2):

(1) Mnt udurit- ‘to drive, to lead’: Buqu-qatagi aqa inu üje’et tanjiy abu’at uduritců Onan-műren s’ede qataraju yorçjiy talbiba ‘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’ (Mnt 32); ger-tür-iyen qarin hawuljü Nekün-taissi aqa-yu’ an Därêtai-otççin de’i-ben uduritců irefjiy’ü ‘He swiftly rode back to his tent, then returned leading his elder brother Nekün Taişi and his younger brother Därêtai Otççin’ (Mnt 54); Nekün-taissi aqa inu uduritců Därêtai-otççin de’i inu kiliqü dergcejjiy ayisuiqü-tür ‘his elder brother, Nekün Taişi, led the way, and his younger brother, Därêtai Otççin, rode alongside the shaft of the cart’ (Mnt 56); Oyirad-un Quduqa-beki-yi uqtun urida elsen Tümen-Oyirad-iyen uduridun irebe ‘Quduqa Beki of the Oyirat came to submit ahead the Tümen Oyirat’ (Mnt 239); Further occurrences: Mnt 63, 65, 79, 97, 177, 239 < *udurit- ← *udur- ?<< Turkic, cf. Old Turkic uduz- ‘to lead, or conduct (someone)’ (ED 74b)

(2) Mnt hüulät-157 / ülüt- / ülít- ‘to remain’: Merkid-i jük jük hüülætele qubiyalubai ‘he had the Merkit distributed here and down to the last one’ (Mnt 198) /// kanglin Kibča’ud-i Bajigid-i or’oljü Ejil Jayaq Meget bałaqasu ebdejjiy Orusu’d-i kidju’y üülætele talbadai ‘brought the Qanglin, Kibča’ut and Bajigit people under submission. They crossed158 the rivers Ejil and Jayaq, destroyed the city of Meget, slew the Orusut and plundered them until they were utterly crushed.’ (Mnt 274) /// terme gerten // temen ači’atan // Tangyudud-i čeri’üüt ilêjü onoqsa’ar üülætele tala’ulbai ‘He sent troops against the Tanguts // Who had tents of thin woolen cloth, // Who had camels laden with goods, [and who, with Aša Gambu, had made for the mountains were offering resistance. ] He caused his troops to plunder them as planned until they were utterly destroyed’ (Mnt 266) < *hüulät- ← *hüle- (?* hü-) ~ LM (L) üle- ‘to be left over; to be superfluous; to remain, survive’;

The verbs above are etymologically related, and are likely to be derived from the verb *üll-, rather then from *üll ~ LM (L) üllü ‘negation preceding verbs’.

Mnt köyit- ‘to stir, instigate’: Čoji-darmala Taiçar qoyar-un adu’u-ban de’ermedülcëksen-ü tula Jamaqa anda či buru’uy-a bulça köyitců irefjiy Dalan-baljut-ta qaqludu’y ‘Once, when Čoji Darmala and Taiçar stole from each other their herds of horses, you sworn friend Jamaqua, wickedly stirred up rebellion against me. We fought at Dalan Baljut’ (Mnt 201) < *kögıt- ← *köge-159, cf. LM (L) kögere- ‘to become excited; to rejoice; to boast’;

Mnt sögöt- ‘to knee’: buru’u bó’esü namançilan sögöt ke’ejü Teb-tengeri-yin qoyinaça sögötejiy’ü ‘If you were wrong, kneel down and make amends’, and they had him kneel down behind Teb Tenggeri’ (Mnt 245); Otççin manaqarśi erte Činggis qa’an-i bosu’ai üdíi’iye oron dotora bıgü-tür oroyu uyylia’at sögötçü águaırlın ‘early next day, when Činggis Qa’an had not yet got up and was still in bed, he went into his tent. He wept

157 The forms hüulät- ‘erschöpfen, vernichten’ and ülüt-/ülít- ‘enden, aufhören’ were treated separately by Haenisch, , but obviously they are etymologically related.
158 “The word ketülji ‘the crossed’ after the names of the two rivers ‘Ejil and Jayaq’ has been inadvertently omitted from the text” (de Rachtewitz 2004: 1099)
159 de Rachtewitz (2004: 756) does not give the etymology of the verb, but quotes a parallel form from Kirghiz köyit- ‘to talk someone into something’. 
and, kneeling down, said’ (Mnt 245) < *sögit- - *sög- ?- Turkic, cf. Old Turkic sök- ‘to kneel down’ (ED 818a), cf. Khal.K. sög ‘monadtszó, mellyel a tevét letérdepetetik’;

Mnt üderit- ‘to make halt to rest’: manaqarši üdür düli naran kebepi’ilün Qalaqaljiit-elet gürčü üderin ba’uba üderitčü büküi-tür ‘at noon of the following day he reached Qalaqaljiit sands, where he halted to rest and eat, for the sun to set. While they rested and ate’ (Mnt 170) < *üderit- - *üderi- ~ Mnt üderi- ‘to stop for lunch’;

Mnt oyisulat- / öyisület- ‘to harm secretly’: uridan-u dawulijdqasqan kegesi-ben duratçu oyisuladun qijrü qoro golfü ökči‘ii ‘remembered their grievance for his former raid upon them. With the secret intent to harm, they gave him poison mixing it with his food’ (Mnt 67); tede čigöt narat metü de‘ü-ner-i činu eyin oyisulatqun haran minu qurban dörben üčüget mawun mandutala minu ya‘u mede’ülkin ‘How will people covertly injuring your younger brothers, who are like cypresses and pines, ever allow my three or four little ‘naughty ones’ to govern’ (Mnt 245); büriň-ü emini dörö kičiyeği gülün-i ńlün ńqan oyisüledeɨksen-iyet o’eriynen buru’uşiyaða bi ‘Therefore, I have myself acknowledged the fault of having secretly harmed, without discernment, a person who diligently observed the principle of loyalty in the service of my father the Qa’an and in the service of all’ (Mnt 281) < *ösület- - *ösüle- ~ Mnt oyisula- ‘to harm secretly, to kill’; cf. LM (L) ńqe- ‘to hate, to take revenge’. This etymology, however, can only be accepted if the idea of Poppe, quoted in the footnote proves to be right.

Mnt ha‘ut- ‘to wear away’: harban quru‘ud-ıyan ha‘uttala haçi minu aburan sorı[t]qun ‘Until your ten fingers are worn away, // Strive to revenge me!’ (Mnt 53); harban quru‘ud-un kimul inu ha‘uttala // a‘ulas metü balaqat-tur // abari‘uluyu ‘We shall make him climb the town walls // Which are as high as mountains // Until the nails of his ten fingers are worn away;’ (Mnt 276) < *hagut- - *hagu- ~ LM (L) ńyu- ‘to scoop out, drain; to complete, finish’;

Mnt üyyilet- ‘to do, make’: köőin-i ker tebčişi ke‘emüi ta čidan ele üyyilediňtkün ta medetkiün ke‘ejü‘ii ‘How shall we do away with the son? Just do what you can - is for you to decide!’ (Mnt 167); erkin tusa činu Kereyit-li’a Qalaqaljiit-elet qatqulduqqu-tur herijü büküi-tür Quylidar anda aman aldaba je üyyile inu Jürçeđei či üyyiletbe ‘Your most important service was at the time when we were fighting with the Kereyit at the Qalaqaljiit Sands and were worrying about the outcome of the battle. Sworn friend Quyıldar then made an oath but you, Jürçeđei, carried out his task’ (Mnt 208) < *üyile-? cf. Qunan Kökö-čos qoya-aça eye üge‘ü bü üyyiletkiün Qunan Kökö-čos qoya-tur eyetijü üyyiletiün ke’en jarlıq bolba ‘Do not act without the agreement of Qunan and Kökö Čos. Act only in consultation with them. So he ordered’ (Mnt 210). In this case both the denominal and

160 Quoting a personal communication with Poppe, de Rachewiltz considers oyisulat- to be a misreading of öyisület-.

“Now öyisület- (öyisület-) is no doubt a variant of mo. öshele- (öşleye-) ‘to harbour hate or resentment against s.; to avenge, take vengeance’ (Kow., 514a-b), a verb ultimately deriving from öš (hate, revenge)’.” (2004: 338) This etymology roughly can be accepted, however the ultimate origin of the verb cannot be öš, since š is not an original phoneme in Mongolic. Correctly the etymon is öš, cf. LM (L) öš ‘hated, revenge’, while öš is only a backformation from one of its derivatives.

161 The etymology was not recognized by de Rachewiltz (2004: 304), he only quotes another verb LM (L) ayus- ‘to dissolve, pass into solution’. 
the deverbal derivation is possible. It is important to note that the above quoted passage would be the only evidence for a verb *üyile-, which makes the derivation quite improbable. Instead the form *üyiledütkün could be suggested.

Mnt orkit- ‘to cite, ?to ripple’: qa‘učin üges qadalun // ööttgės üges orkidun // maši mawulabi ‘Citing old sayings, // Quoting ancient words, // mightily reviled her sons’ (Mnt 78); dongqoduran // ööttgės üges orkitču // qa‘učin üges qadalju ‘Quoting ancient words, // Citing old sayings, // and reprimanded them’ (Mnt 260) < *urkit- ← ?*urki- ~ LM (L) urkira- ‘to roar, bellow; to growl’

Mnt neryit- ‘to name, to nominate’: jat irgen-ü kō‘ün būle’e ke’en Jaširadai neryitbe ‘As he was the son of strangers, they named him Jaširadai’ (Mnt 40); tere kö‘ün-i Ba‘aridai neryitbe ‘her son was named Ba‘aridai’ (Mnt 41); ide’en-e baruq tula Yeké-Barula Üçügen-Barula neryitčū Barulas oboqtan bolqaju ‘were also voracious eaters, they were named Yeké Barula and Üçügen Barula; they too had to take the clan name Barulas’ (Mnt 46); erkettü tengirî-de neryitčū // eke etjuven-e gürgejü // ere hačitu Merkit irgen-i // ebür ba anu hoqtorqu bolqabai ‘Called by Mighty Heaven, // Called through by Mother Earth, // We emptied the breasts of the Merkit people’ (Mnt 113); minqad-un noyat tāsîn neryidûrîn ‘So he decreed, and he appointed the following with the rank of commanders of a thousand’ (Mnt 202); Further occurrences: Mnt 55, 57, 123, 134, 135, 147, 203, 255, 269 < *neryi- ← *ner*/neryi-. Street (1957: 64) quotes *yid- as an independent suffix, the only example of which would be neryid-. It is more safe to trace the suffix *yid- back to the compound of *yi- and -t—however, the supposed stem neryi- remains unattested.

In addition the text of the Mnt furnishes several verbs, which are likely being derived by the suffix -t-, however their etymology remains obscure:

Mnt oğhat- ‘to take fright’: dawu bari‘ulurun Toqto‘a-yin Qudu Qal Čila‘un teri‘üten kö‘üt inu odun oğhatču qarin qarbučaju aqrqatcu qulan sumutu buq buhju otbāi ‘The sons of Toqto‘a having at their head Qudu, Qal and Čila‘un left in fright and haste, then turned back, exchanged shots with us and went off like lassoed wild asses or stags with arrows in their bodies’ (Mnt 199); qarbučaju qaruqgaben // qarbuju oru‘ulqu būle‘ // oğhatču qaruqgaben-i // hontučaju oru‘ulqu būle‘ ‘And might, and so he was wont // To shoot and subdue // All those on the run, shooting at him. // With long-distance arrows he was wont // ’To shoot and subdue // All those on the run, in fear of him.’ (Mnt 244) < *okhat- ← *okja-163, cf. LM (L) oyyum/oyjam ‘abyss, steep slope, abrupt(ly);

Mnt böldeyit- ‘to separate’: tere üge-tür Jumuqa orë böldeyitčū qarču nököde‘en üjülerîn ‘At these words Jumuqa drew apart and told his companions’ (Mnt 170); Jumuqa Tayang qan-a ede üges eyin üğile‘et Naiman-nač qaqačan böldeyitču qarču Çinggis qahan-na kele oru‘ulju ilerîn ‘After speaking such words to Tayang Qan, Jumuqa separated from the

162 Cf. Khal.K. alaitax (< *ulaýid-) ‘vöröszen izzük; áttorrósodik’ which can be analyzed in the same manner, however, the meaning of this verb is intransitive.

163 Neither the etymology nor the meaning of the verb oğhat- is clear. The verb is usually used together with other verbs connected to shooting arrows, cf. qarbuča-, hontuča-. The parallelism of the text implies that oğhat- should be something of similar meaning.
Naiman and went off on his own. He sent an envoy to deliver a verbal message to Činggis Qa’an saying’ (Mnt 196) < *böldeyit-\(^{164}\) \(\leftrightarrow\)? This verb is possibly derived from the verb *böl-, cf. Old Turkic böł- ‘to divide, separate, distinguish’, however the further model of derivation remains obscure.

Mnt hiluqat- ‘to stir up?: hiluqatqu-yu metü-tür // hiluqatba // qalqu-yu metü-tür // qalqun bolun // qayiran körün-i minu // qačar-tur // qada’sun qada’ulbai ‘When it would have been better // Not to stir him up, // We did stir him up; // When it would have been better // Not to provoke him, // We did provoke him - thus, alas, // We have been the cause of their driving // A nail into my son’s cheek’ (Mnt 174) < *hilukat- \(\leftrightarrow\) ?

Mnt hončit- ‘to chastise’: sač’a’un oroqsat minu kešikten-i nadača eye ügei büyü hončidutqun ‘do not reprimand my guards, who have enrolled as guards equal to you, without my permission’ (Mnt 227) < *hončit- \(\leftrightarrow\) ?

Mnt möeleť-/mökeleť- ‘to bang, to beat’: Temüjin Burgan de’ereče bawuʃu ebeč’i’-ben möeleteleť tü üğerü ‘Temüjin came down from Mount Burgan and, beating his breast, said’ (Mnt 103); qar-ıyan ebeč’un-düriyen möelelteči[n] naran [jük] yisšını sögöt[či] sačuli öči’lilä ö[k]be ‘He spoke and facing the sun, hung his belt around his neck, put his hat over his hand, beat his breast with his fist, and nine times kneeling down towards the sun, he offered a libation and a prayer’ (Mnt 103); Čingga qahan üğerü ‘mönge tenggeri medettügei ke’ejü ebeč’i’-ben mökeleṭebe ‘Čingga Qa’an beat his breast and said, ‘Let Eternal Heaven decide what should be!’’ (Mnt 172) < *mögögeleṭ- \(\leftrightarrow\) ?

Mnt naruyit- ‘to stretch the hand?: čamča-ban múltüliji morin de’ereče naruyitču askul<ulu’a ‘She took off her shirt and he, on horseback, seized it with his outstretched hand’ (Mnt 55). There does not appear any stem to which the verb naruyıt- could be traced back. The translation was done according to the Chinese gloss. I do not find impossible that this form is a misinterpretation of a similarly unattested verb *aruyıt-, which would have the meaning ‘to reach backwards’. In such a case its etymon would be *aru ~ LM (L) aru ‘back, rear; north, northern, verso of a sheet or folio’; Until further evidence all this remains a hypothesis.

Mnt qalit- ‘to go near’: qara ni’ur-ıyan // qa’uldaqy-aga // qalidun yadan // qan anda-yiyan // qala’un čirai üjen yadaʃu yabuba je bi ‘The skin of my black face // Peeled off in shame; // And so I have been living // Unable to come near you, // Unable to see the friendly face // Of my sworn friend the Qan’ (Mnt 201) < *kalit-

Mnt qulat- ‘to fall down’: mût yabun yadaʃu nuraś-tur quladu’at tengeri-de ese ta’alaqadaba bida ke’eldi’et butaraju’i ‘Unable to proceed, they tumbled into ravines. Saying to each other, ‘We are not loved by Heaven!’, they scattered.’ (Mnt 143); tere sönı Naiman buri’uylan gödölkin bolun Naqush de’ereče qulatcu de’ere de’ere’en qutaqaldaju ‘That night the Naiman moved from their position and tried to escape. Tumbling down from the height of Naqu Cliff, they piled on top of each other’ (Mnt 196) < *qulat- \(\leftrightarrow\) *gul-, cf. LM (L) ýuldu ‘lengthwise, the length of; declivous, sloping’; LM (L) ýulyu-

\(^{164}\) de Rachewiltz connects the stem of this verb with that of the noun bolday ‘isolated hill’ ‘both deriving from *bolda-~ *böldе- ‘to stand alone’’ (2004: 578).
/yulya- ‘to glide, slide, skate, skid; to crawl’; LM (L) yulsa- ‘to glide, slide, skate, skid; to crawl’;

Mnt törít- ‘to stop’: bidanu’ai Sa’ari-ke’er-i gürčü tende törítü ker kikün ke’eldü’essü ‘When our soldiers reached the Sa’ari Steppe they halted there and discussed what to do’ (Mnt 193); eyin gü törítü aqtas-iyan čatallane Sa’ari-ke’er-i delgen bawu’u ‘So, let us indeed halt and set up camp, spreading over the Sa’ari Steppe here until our geldings have eaten their fill’ (Mnt 193) ← ?

Mnt tüyit- ‘to trip’: Büri-bökö Bellgütei-yyi örö’ele qar-iyar barjü örö’ele köl’ier tüyitü unaqaju üllü göölden daruqu bûlé’ ‘seizing Bellgütei with one hand and tripping him with one foot, Büri Bökö toppled him and held him down so that he could not move’ (Mnt 140) < *tügít- (=? tügit-) ← ?*tüg- ← Turkic, cf. Old Turkic tüg- ‘to tie (a knot), to knot (a string)’ (ED 477)

Mnt tüyit- ‘to cover’: Börte üjün dotora öngdeyiji’iı Sa’u’ju könjile-yi’en Jaqa-bar ebčë’ü-ben tüyitü Otčigin-u uyyilaqu-yyi üjejü nilbusu alda’at ügülerün ‘Lady Börte sat up in bed, covering her breasts with the edge of the blanket. Seeing Otčigin weep, she herself shed tears and said’ (Mnt 245) ← ?

Literature:

Street 1957: 65; Godziński 1985: 63–64; Ramstedt 1912: §61; 1952: §80; Szabó 1943: §47;

-Ji-

The deverbal verb suffix -ji- is very rare.165 It is mentioned by Ramstedt (1912: §63) and by Szabó in her work on Kalmuck word formation (1943: §48). In the text of the Mnt there appear some

165 Even from LM only a few examples are traceable, cf.

LM (L) unji- ‘to hang down, be suspended; to drag along the ground; to droop; to be weak or sickly’ ← *una- ~ LM (L) una- ‘to fall, fall down, off, or out; to drop out; to slump; to set (of the sun)’

*sunji- ~ Khal.K. sunjix (=*sunji-) ‘megnyúlik, elnyúlik; (többszörös átadás/közetítés révén) eltorzul (pl. üzenet, hír); elhúzdóik’ ← sun- ~ LM (L) sun- / sung- / sunu- (LM (K) also suna-) ‘to stretch, extend, lengthen’.

*köji- ~ LM (L) köjü- ‘to begin to flame, blaze up; to rise, develop, progress, flourish; to be zealous; to be in a gay mood; to burn with passion’ ← *köge- ~ LM (L) köge- ‘to swell, distend, intumesce; to foam’ ~ Turkic *köp-, cf Old Turkic köp- ‘to swell, foam, boil over’ (ED 687a).

*sanji- ~ LM (L) sanji- ‘to hang, hang down, be suspended, dangle’ ← *san- ~ LM (L) sandayila- ‘to sit with feet hanging down’; LM (L) sandali ‘seat, chair, bench, couch’; LM (L) sänggyi- ‘to sit erect’.

*dagji- ~ LM (L) dagyi- ‘to tremble, quiver, shake; to chatter, ratttle’ ← *dag- ~ Khal.K. dagix (=*dagj-) ‘lovat (tül)hajszol, meghajszol, elcsigáz, nem kímél’.

*süljü- ~ LM (L) sülji- ‘to braid, plait, twine, wreath; to interweave, interlace’, ← ?*sül- ~ Khal.K. sülbex (=*sülbe-) ‘megtüz, rátüz, összetüz vmit, keresztülsüz, átiszü, beledőf vmit’, LM (L) sülfje ‘anything interwoven, braided band; braid, plait; spool; roller, cylinder’.

*uğji- ~ LM (L) uğji- ‘to feed a baby from a bottle’, ← ?*uğu- ~ LM (L) uyu- ‘to drink; to eat liquid food; to absorb liquids; to smoke tobacco’, uğji / ubugji ‘baby’s feeding-bottle (usually a cow’s horn)’.
verbs which probably were derived by -ji- (1), however their etymology is unclear, possibly because the suffix is very old, not productive in the Middle Mongol period.

(1) Mnt onglajī- ‘to cleave, cut in two’: omorqaqun-i omor’u[t] onglajiqun ‘Cleave the breast of the arrogant!’ (Mnt 124) ← *onгла-, cf. Mnt onglalda- ‘to be cut off’

1. LM (L) ongylula- ‘to consecrate, dedicate to the tutelary deities; to bury’

2. LM (L) ongylui- ‘to become wide open, open up, form an opening or a gap; to gape’

Mnt qulajī- ‘to flee in pain, to stampede’: jalayirtai jebke tende qulajīju Barqujin oron buru’utba ‘Jebke of the Jalayir then left in and fled into the Barqujin Lowland’ (Mnt 244) ← *kułą-/qul-, cf. LM (L) yuldu ‘lengthwise, the length of; declivous, sloping’; LM (L) yulhu-/yulha- ‘to glide, slide, skate, skid; to crawl’; LM (L) yulsa- ‘to glide, slide, skate, skid; to crawl’; Such an etymology would suggest that the translation given by the translators is not entirely exact. I suppose a starting point as ‘to crawl, to slide’ → ‘to slip out’ → ‘to flee’.

Mnt nengji- ‘to search’: ö’er ja’ura nengjiileldüye ke’eldijü nengjileldübe ‘Let us hold a search among ourselves, and began searching one another’ (Mnt 86); Sorqan-šira-yin ger-tür tergen-tür iseri-yin döro gürtele nengjijü ‘They searched Sorqan Šira’s tent, his carts, even under the beds’ (Mnt 86) ← *neng aji-.

There are only two examples which might be derived from a verbal stem (2):

(2) Mnt aralji- ‘to exchange’: dawutu yor-iyan Temüjin-e öf[k]čü Temüjin-ü arča manglaitu qodoli araljīju andačiladubai ‘gave this whistling arrowhead of his to Temüjin. In exchange Temüjin gave him a knob-headed arrow with a tip of juniper wood, and they became sworn friends once more’ (Mnt 116); bidan-u Qojin-beki-yi araljın ögüye ‘I shall give in exchange our daughter Qojin Beki’ (Mnt 165) ← *arala-, cf. Old Turkic ara ‘difficult to pin down grammatically; there does not seem to be any record of it as a subject of a sentence or in other contexts in which it could be regarded as an ordinary noun. In the early period it is used only as a Postpon. meaning ‘between (two places), among (a number of people), and the like’ (ED 196);

Mnt ünji- ‘to stop, to pause’: newüqüi-tür ese ünjiiksen ünjiqüi-tür ese newüksen ‘When we were on the move he did not stop, When we halted he did not move on.’ (Mnt 210) < *ünji-, cf. LM (L) önji- ‘to stop for or pass two consecutive nights’ ← *ön-/ün- cf. LM (L) öngere- ‘to pass (over, by, up); to pass away, die’;

A further difficulty is that while the verbs quoted from other sources are intransitive, aralji- in the Mnt is transitive but ünji- is intransitive, however the verbs *sülüj- and *uğüj- are transitive. That is possibly because the suffix does not change the transitivity of the base.

Ramstedt traced it back to *-dir-, and connected it to the suffix -dA- (Ramstedt §63), which fact still has to be proven.

Literature:
Denominal verb formation

+IA-

In point of the number of its occurrences the denominal verb suffix +IA- is the most productive one in the Mnt, and in the Mongolic languages in general.

Stems with a final vowel (1) occur as well as stems with a final consonant. The group of stems with a final consonant form two groups. In the first one enter those nouns which have an auslaut -n. During the derivation, the final -n of such stems disappear (2). In the second group belong those stems which have an auslaut consonant other than -n (3).

1. Mnt abala- ‘to hunt, to make battue’: Qača’uratu-subčit Huliyyatu-subčit da’arın görü’en inu abala’at Tu’ula-yin Qara tünn-ni jorin ičubai ‘then passing by Qača’uratu Subčit and Huliyyatu Subčit, where he hunted wild game, he withdrew in the direction of the Black Forest by the Tu’ula River.’ (Mnt 115); orö’a görö’esün abala’asu // uturaju öksü ba ‘When in a battue we hunt the cunning wild beasts, for you // We shall go ahead and round them up.’ (Mnt 123); olon dayisun-tur ha’ulurun qamtu niken-e ha’uluya orö’a görögesün-tür abalarun niken-e gii qamtu abalaya ‘When we attack the enemy hosts, // We shall attack together as one; // When we chase the cunning wild beasts, // We shall also chase them together as one!’ (Mnt 164); Further occurrences: Mnt 175, 189, 190, 199, 219, 232, 233, 265, 267, 278 < *abala- ← *aba - LM (L) aba ‘chase, hunt, battue’;

Mnt aqta-/aqdala- ‘to ride, to straddle’: širgü’etü ebugen bosun yadaqu Tarqatay-yi tergen de’ere unuju gedergü de’ere inu aqtałan sa’uju’u kituqai qarqaju uğülerin ‘Old Şirgü’etü got onto the cart and, sitting astride Tarqutai, who was lying on his back and unable to stand up, drew a knife and said’ (Mnt 149); mün ele ükiägüi-düriyen dere abun ükiäsi ke’e’et aqtalaaju yeke kituqay-iyarän qo’olai inu ququla ru gürkii-tür ‘So, at the very moment I die, I shall die taking you as my death-companion. Thus saying he straddled him and was about to cut his throat with his big knife’ (Mnt 149) /// Belgüeti uqa otçu de’ere inu aqdalaju qoyar jaqas inu solbin megefilen tataju niru’u inu ebdüüklefi ququla ru ilebe ‘Belgüeti understood. He sat on top of Bürü Bökö and, crossing the two ends of his collar, he pulled them towards himself, tightening his grip. As he did that, he pressed his knee on his spine and broke it.’ (Mnt 140) ← *aktala- ← *akta - LM (L) äpta ‘gelding; gelded, castrated’

Mnt doromjila- ‘to disesteem’: dörben kö’üt inu Dobun-mergeń abaqa-yu’an uruq-a ullü bolqan doromjilaju qaqaçaju gejiä newübe ‘his four sons no longer regarded their uncle Dobun Mergen as a member of the family but, looking down on him, they left him and moved away’ (Mnt 11); bidan-i doromjilan ügülefi Ča’ur-beki-yi ullü ögün ese ta’alaju ui ‘he spoke disparagingly of us; he was not pleased with our proposition and would not give
Ča'ur Beki' (Mnt 165); Ča'ur-beki-yi quyus'un mét lī biđan-i doromjīlaü ʻulī ḍogin bûle' ʻWhen we requested Ča'ur Beki, those same people despised us and would not provide her’ (Mnt 168) < *doromjīla- ← *doromjī LM (L) doromji ‘low, abject, base; downtrodden, oppressed; dull; inconspicuous; humiliation, contempt; inferiority, weakness; object of contempt’;

(2) Mnt adu'ula-/adilā- 'to pasture': alaqā'ī 'uṭ qoni>n>d-i adu'ulaü // alam di'ürgesū // qongqoqčī 'uṭ qoni>n>d-i adu'ulaü // qoton di'ürgesū // qo'olančar mawūdi bûle' bi // qoni=n't adu'ulaü // qonjīyasūn ʻidesū bi' i shall tend pied sheep, // And shall fill the bottom of the cart with them. // I shall tend brown sheep, // And shall fill the sheepfold with them. // I was a base and greedy man: now // I shall tend sheep, // And tripe shall I eat!’ (Mnt 124); Čīgīdei Yadīr jūyīl-e jūyīl-e noq'ān-tur aqtas-iyan adu'ulan yabuqū-tur ‘While [they rested and ate] Čīgīdei and Yadīr, [the horseherders of Alčidai], led their geldings to pasture, some here and some there, on the fresh grass’ (Mnt 170); jūk jūg-'ūn mingat minqad-ača ge'ūt qaṛqaļu sa'āt sa'ari>n ċintan-i adu'ula'at nuntuqälēt-i orošin tūlet qaṛqaļu unuqčēn boltuqāi ‘From the various units of a thousand of different areas mares shall be provided and milked, and the mare-milkers shall be the ones to tend them. The campmasters shall constantly provide replacements of mares and shall in turn be herders of the milch mares’ (Mnt 279) /// Tayyīči'udai Qutu Morīči Muḷqalqul qurban-ni adu'ulf abulatuqāi ke'be ‘And he said, Tayīči'udai, Qutu Morīči and Muḷqalqul shall tend the herds of horses!’ (Mnt 124) < *aduqula- ← *adugun LM (L) aduyn ‘herd of horses; horse’;

Mnt ebesūle- 'to graze': širqa aqtañan naimän morī[t] tere yeke gi'ir-en-ū kifā'ar-a ebesülen bayyīfū būkīy-yi újebe ‘They saw the eight horses, the light-bay geldings, standing at the edge of that large camp, grazing’ (Mnt 90) < *ebesūle- ← *ebesūn LM (L) ebesūn ‘grass, hay, herb’;

Mnt šibawula- 'to hawk, to hunt with falcons': Yisūqēi-ba'atūr Onan-mūren-ne šibawulan yabuqū-tur ‘At that time Yisūqēi Ba'atūr was hunting with falcons along the Onan River’ (Mnt 54); qan minu torluq Tayang jō'ēlen būyyū ċi šibawulaqu abalaq quyar-ača bušī setkīl erdem ügei būi 'you, my qa'n Torluq Tayang, are soft. You have no thought or skill except for falconry and hunting’ (Mnt 189); bidan-i šibawulaqu abalakū-tur kebē't-ūl bidan-lu'a šibawulaldun abalaldun yabutuqāi ‘When We go falconing or hunting, the nightguards shall go falconing and hunting with us’ (Mnt 232); Further occurrences: Mnt 233, 278 < *sibagula- ← *sibugun LM (L) sibayun ‘bird, fowl; child’;

(3) Mnt abīta- 'to foretell, to bode from intestines': irgen orqa ʻaltan möngqin adu'usun ide'en joli'ā ogiye ke'en abīta'asū ʻulī talbirm diulet tūrgqin-e adalāmī uquq-un ġu'īn-e bolqu-yā ke'en abīta'asū qahān nīdīn-yen ne'eji usun quyqyju u'uju ya'un bolbi ke'en asaqtaļu bō'es ʻečirūn ‘When they divined by inspecting the entrails of victims and said to the lords and rulers of the land and rivers, ‘We shall give, as substitute for the Qa'an, people, gold and silver, cattle and food’, the illness did not abate and they raged even more violently. When they divined further by inspecting the entrails and said, ‘Could a person from the Qa'an's family serve as a substitute?’; the Qa'an, opening his eyes, requested water, drank it and asked, ‘What has happened?’ The shamans then reported to the Qa ‘an as follows’ (Mnt 272); busu ya'un ber joli'ā ogiye ke'en abīta'asū diulet tūrgq-en ji'ūremedemū ‘When we divine by inspecting the entrails of victims and
say "We shall give anything as substitute", with renewed anger they rage even more violently' (Mnt 272) < *abitla- ← *abit ~ LM (L) abid 'intestines';

Mnt ebüdükle- 'to press the knees against st.': Belgütei uqa oťu de’ere inu aqdalaju qoyar jaqas inu solbin megefli tanaju niru’u inu ebüdüklejii quaqlju ilebe ‘Belgütei understood. He sat on top of Bürü Bökö and, crossing the two ends of his collar, he pulled them towards himself, tightening his grip. As he did that, he pressed his knee on his spine and broke it.’ (Mnt 140) < *ebüdükle- ← *ebüdük ~ LM (L) ebüdüg ‘knee; sty on an eyelid’;

Mnt a’urla- ‘to become angry’: a’urla’asu angqu’a sumu-ban delji’i talb’asu // a’ula alus bükün // harban qorin haran-i ülgetele qarbuyu ‘When he is angry and draws his how, // And releases a forked-tip arrow, // He shoots and pierces ten or twenty men // Who are beyond a mountain!’ (Mnt 195); eke a’urlaju gürčü tergen-eçe bawu’at eke ö’esün Qasar-un huqaqsat qanču dalju talb’at maqalai büse inu Qasar-a ökčü ‘The mother was furious. As soon as she got there and dismounted from the cart, she herself untied and loosened Qasar’s sleeves, the opening of which had been tied up, and gave back to Qasar his hat and belt’ (Mnt 244) < *agurla- ← *agur ~ LM (L) ayur ‘steam, vapor; breath; atmosphere’;

Mnt čaqla- ‘to weigh, to reckon’: ene üğe-tür ö’er-ůn beye-ben či čaqlaba či mede ke’ebe ‘You yourself have determined your own part; you decide!’ (Mnt 203); tergen-tür jarimud-ıyan čaqlaju talbütuqai ke’ebe ‘but exactly one half of them shall stay at the carts’ (Mnt 232); bidan şibawulaqu abalaqu-tur jarimud-ıyan ordo ger tergen-tür čaqlaju talb’ju bidan-l’a jarim kebe’hui yabtutuqai ‘When We go falconing hunting, exactly one half of the nightguards shall stay at the tent-carts of the Palace and the other half shall go with Us’ (Mnt 278) < *čakla- ← *čak ~ LM (L) čay ‘time, period, season, age; time as a general situation or set of circumstances; tense (gram.)’;

Mnt čiimarla- ‘to chastise’: qodulaqu-yi čiimarlaqu-yi Jamuqa de’ü medetügei ke’ebe ‘it is up to younger brother Jamuqa to punish and lay blame!’ (Mnt 108) < *čiimarla- ← *čimar ~ Mnt čimar ‘criticism, resentment’

Contrary to what is observable in LM and modern Mongolic languages that is after a nasal auslaut other than -n the allomorph of the suffix appears as –mA- (GWM §245)  is not present in the Mnt (4)

(4) Mnt kemle- ‘to measure’: abalabasu kemlejii abalatqun ‘If you make a battle [in order to give additional provisions to your troops,] hunt with moderation’ (Mnt 199); ečüge-yen ögüksen qubi kešik bo’esü inu beye qad-uyar oluqsan jö’eksen ere aqta kedii bo’esü inu emčü qubi-acho anggida bidanu kemleksen kem-iyer qubči jayin qubči jasaju öktügei ‘Whether or not they have a share of goods given by their fathers and regardless of the number of men and geldings that they have personally acquired and constituted as their own patrimony, a levy shall be raised - independently of their personal share of goods - of mounts and men according to the amount fixed by Us and, levying men and preparing

166 This feature, however does not take effect in every case, cf. LM (L) olongla- ‘to buckle the saddle girth’; LM (L) ayağima- ‘to do something slowly or sluggishly; to procrastinate’; LM (L) jarçima- ‘to establish as a principle; to make a rule or law; to follow a principle’; LM (L) mungla- ‘to be in need, wanting’ etc.
mounts in this manner, they shall be given to them’ (Mnt 224) < *kemle-
~ LM (L) kem ‘measure, size, proportion; limits; measure of time, term’;

Mnt ölümle- ‘to fight to death’: alaldaqü üdür // amı-yar ḍerken-ü tula // üküldügü üdür // ölümleken-ü tula ‘Because, on the day one kills and is killed, // He disregarded his life; // Because, on the day one meets death together, // He fought to the death’ (Mnt 208); manglay-yin kölesin ula-tur gürtele ula-yin kölesin // mangla-tur qartala ölümlen kişiyan yabukui čaq-tur ‘Till the sweat of his brow reached the sales of his feet, // Till the sweat from the soles of his feet went up to his brow’ (Mnt 254); qan ečige-yin minu tus-u’an emine ölümlegi Doqolqu-yi kegesüleği buru’u alt’as edő’e minu emüne ken teyin ölümlejü ökgü ‘Because to secretly injure Doqolqu who strove fiercely in the service of his rightful lord, my father the Qan, was a fault and a mistake. Who will strive so fiercely in my service?’ (Mnt 281) < *ölümle- ← *ölüm, cf. Old Turkic ölim ‘death’ (ED 146a);

Mnt qaramla- ‘to be covetous’: basa tenggeri qajar-ača jaya’atu törøksen goro’esün-i aqa de’ü jük odü’ü ke’en qaramlağju quru’a yo’urqa nödü’üljü jetgüjü aqubolun “What if the wild animals born with their destiny ordained by Heaven and Earth go over to the territory of my brothers?” I had fences and walls built of pounded earth to prevent the animals from straying’ (Mnt 281) < *karamla- ← *karam ~ LM (L) qaram ‘jealous; possessive, stingy, greedy; jealously; stinginess; regret’;

There is no any restriction in connection with the derivedness of the stem, so simplexes occur (5) as well as derived nouns (6).

(5) Mnt aqala- ‘to command’: ta qoyar urida bayyiqa’sar ede bügün-i aqalağjü ülü’ü aqun ta ke’ebe ‘You two, who stood by me from the beginning, will you not be at the head of all these here?’ (Mnt 125); dalan turqa’ud-i Ögabe-čerbi aqalağju atuqai Qudus-qalçan-lu’a yetüldüjji atqun ‘Ögele Čerbi shall be the commander of the seventy dayguards, acting in consultation with Qudus Qalčan’ (Mnt 191); ci Qubilai čerqi-ün üyyile bügide-yi aqalağjü ülü’ü aq ‘Qubilai, will you not be in charge of military affairs?’ (Mnt 209); keve’tü’i Yekte-ne’ürin aqalağju minça medeji atuqai ‘Yeke Ne’ürin shall be the commander of the nightguards and he shall be in charge of a thousand’ (Mnt 225); Further occurrences: 225, 227, 270, 278 < *akala- ← *aka ~ LM (L) aq-a ‘older brother; senior, elder, older’;

Mnt adala- ‘to rage’: Kitat iргen-ü qajar usun-u ejet qa-ne’t iргen orqo-ban davulqiḍarun balaqat qotod-ıyan ebedekderün türügün-e adalamui iргen orqa altan mônggün adu’usun ide’en joli’a öküyje ke’en abitla’asü ülü talbiran dület türügün-e adalamui ‘The lords and rulers of the land and rivers of the Kitat people are raging violently against you now that their land and waters are destroyed and their people plundered. When we divine by inspecting the entrails of victims and say, “We shall give anything as substitute’, with renewed anger they rage even more violently.’ (Mnt 272) < *adala- ← *ada ~ LM (L) ada ‘evil spirit; demon, devil; object of aversion; nuisance; obstacle, hindrance’;

(6) Mnt qaʃarčila- ‘to act as a guide’: Buqa qaʃarčilağju otba ‘Buqa went with him acting as a guide’ (Mnt 239); ireʃi joči-yi uduritcu tumen Oyirat-duɾiyan qaʃarčilağju Şıq sı-tur oro’ulba

167 Cf. LM (L) kemne/-kemle-.
(Mnt 239) < *kajarčila- ← *kajarči ~ LM (L) yı̄jarči- ‘guide, conductor’ ← *kajar ~ LM (L) yı̄jar ‘ground, soil, earth, land, terrain’

Mnt aça’ala- ‘to burden, to load’: tendeče Činggis qahan to’osun üje’et aqtas-ıyan bari’ulu’at aça’alaju morilabai ‘Then Činggis Qa’an, having seen the dust, had his geldings brought in, loaded them, and rode off’ (Mnt 170) < *açıgala- ← *açıgan ~ LM (L) açıyan ‘load, burden, freight, cargo’ ← *açı- ~ LM (L) açı- ‘to load a vehicle or animal; to burden, put on the back; to pile up; to accumulate; to throw one’s opponent in wrestling over one’s back or thigh’;

The function of the suffix is to derive verbs from nouns, but it is quite difficult to define a more exact function. Although I am inclined to call this suffix the “general denominal verb suffix” without ascertaining its exact function, according to the meaning of the derived verbs below I will list some categories where the suffix appears frequently. It is clear, however, that such a characterization cannot be exhaustive, the categories are permeable, and that the meaning of the base does not always indicate exactly the meaning of the derived verb:

‘to put something in the thing noted by the primary word’ (from items of the garment)

Mnt qormaila- ‘to wrap, to swathe’: tede ani ese ire’esü otçu morin-u junda’ul mettii qormailaju af[b]čirat je bida tede’er-i ke’ebe ‘If they do not come and join us of their own accord, we shall go out, wrap them up like dry horse dung in a skirt, and bring them here!’ (Mnt 174) < *kormaila- ← *kormai ~ LM (L) qormai ‘lower hem, flap; skirt; foot of a mountain’

Mnt qançula- ‘to hold in the sleeve’: güiün tutum qançun-duriyan kituqai qançulağü dere abun ükiye ke’eldijü ‘said among themselves, ‘Let everyone put a knife in his sleeve and let us die each taking an enemy with us as a death-companion!’ (Mnt 154) < *kançula- ← *kançu ~ LM (L) qançu/qançui ‘sleeve’;

‘to do the thing noted by the primary word’

Mnt haçila- ‘to wreak’: heliğen-u uru[q] busut-u bida // haççı-ıyan ker haçilağun bida ‘Are we not of kindred blood? // How shall we avenge this injury?’ (Mnt 105) < *haçila- ← *haçı ~ LM (L) açı ‘favor grace; merit; requital; reward; benefit; consequence, result’

Mnt jewüdüle- ‘to dream’: Yisügei quda bi ene sönî jewüdüün jewüdülebe ‘Quda Yisügei, I had a dream last night, I did.’ (Mnt 63); jewüdüün sayin jewüdülebe ‘I had a dream of good omen’ (Mnt 63) < *jewüdüle- ← *jewüdüın ~ LM (L) jewüdüjn/jewüden ‘dream’;

‘to use the thing noted by the primary word’

Mnt büsele- ‘to bind, to belt’: üçüget kȫüd-ıyen teji’erün // ukitala boqatalaju // højitala büseleği // Onan-müren şede irada güyyfü ‘And she nourished 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’ (Mnt 74); horaitala boqatalaju // ho’ojital büseleği // niyitałalá boqotłaju // nidurala büseleği tani-yän ösgerün

168 Death companion stays here in place of cushion.
'Pulling firmly her tall hat // Over her head, // Tying tightly her belt // To shorten her skirt, // Fastening her tall hat // Over her head, Fixing her belt // To tighten her waist, // She brought you up, her sons’ (Mnt 254) *büsele- ← *büse ~ LM (L) büse ‘girdle or belt (worn around outer garments)’;

Mnt geügile- ‘to fish with a hook’: elgü‘ür geügi ğasalduşu // eremdeq ğemdeq jiqašu // elgüfü geügilefü // je‘ü-ber geügi eke‘ülü // ğebuga ğadara ğeügilefung // ğilime ğubči‘ür ğuyaju // jíramat jiqašu ši‘üfü // jíči eke-uy‘en hači teji‘ebe ‘They prepared their hooks and fished // Mean and paltry fish // Bending needle into hook, // They fished for salmon and grayling.They made seines and dragnets, // And caught fingerlings: Then with grateful heart, // The fed their mother’ (Mnt 75) *geügi- ← *geügi ~ LM (L) geüge/geügi/gügegie ‘hook, fishhook’;

Mnt arqala- ‘to deceive’: sorılдуya ke‘esü ülü bolun arqalaju gebtemü çaqtu nökör aju‘u ‘When I said, ‘Let us measure up to each other’, he was not willing to wrestle and lay down pretending that he could not get up. Not much of a companion, is he!’ (Mnt 245) ← *arkala- ← *arka ~ LM (L) arya ‘means, method; way out, possibility; ruse, trick, artifice, scheming; the male or positive element in nature’;

‘to act in the manner noted by the primary word’

Mnt daruqala- ‘to command, to supervise’: bidan-u umdän ide‘en-i kebe‘ül daruqalatuqai øtken ber miqan ide‘en-i kebe‘ül daruqalaju bolqatuqai umdän ide‘en-i qor qomsa bolu‘asu daruqalaqdaqsat kebe‘ül-ece eriya ke‘ebe qorçin umdän ide‘e tüke‘erün daruqalaqsat kebe‘ül-ece eye ügei bü tükêtügei ‘The nightguards shall supervise Our drink and food. The nightguards shall supervise and cook the uncut meat and food as well: if drink and food are lacking, we shall seek them from the nightguards who have been entrusted with their supervision.’ And he said, When the quiverbearers distribute drink and food, they must not distribute them without permission from the supervising nightguards’ (Mnt 232); umdän ide‘en-i øtken miqan kebe‘ül daruqalatuqai ke‘en järliq bolba ‘The nightguards shall supervise drink and food – the uncut meat’ (Mnt 278) ← *darukala- ← *daruka169 ~ LM (L) daru-y ‘chief, superior; chairman; commander; director, manager; elder’;

Mnt darqala- ‘to be a freeman, darqan’: ulus-un qo‘as sayit ökit darqalan abqa‘ulju quçin ba emes-tü bolqa ‘allow me to take freely beautiful and fine girls from among the people, and let me have thirty as wives’ (Mnt 121); qorçila‘ulju ötkle‘ülf‘ü uruq-un uruq-a gürtele darqalan jıraqatqun ‘enjoy the privilege of being freemen to the offspring of your offspring, allowed to carry quivers and drink the ceremonial wine!’ (Mnt 187); Erdiş qudus hoy-yin irgen-tür gürtele nuntuq darqalan nuntuqalju hoy-yin irgen-i daru‘ul-un Qorçı tımen medetügei ‘Freely establishing his camp along the Erdis River up to the People of the Forest, Qorçı shall reduce the People of the Forest to submission and be in charge of the ten thousand’ (Mnt 207); soyurqa‘asu nuntu[q] darqalasu Merkid-iün qajar Selenge-

169 As this is not the proper place to explain such an etymology with a huge literature, at this place I just want to remark that the Turkic title tarkan Mongolic darqan has a Mongolic etymology and its stem is the Mongolic verb *dar- ‘to press’.
yi nuntuqlaju darqalsu ‘Let me settle on and freely use the territory of the Merkit on the Selengge River’ (Mnt 219); < *darkala- ← *darkan ~ LM (L) darqan ‘artisan, craftsmen; persons free from corves or taxes; etc.’

Mnt ötögüle- ‘to act as a senior’: turqa’ud-un dörben keši’üd-üni ötögülegen-i tüşirün ‘issued the order appointing those who were to be the elders of the four companies of dayguards on roster duty’ (Mnt 227) < *ötögüle- ← *ötegü ~ LM (L) ötegü ‘old man; senior’

‘to make something alike the thing noted by the primary word’

Mnt manglaila- ‘to make vanguard’: minu üge-tür müt jirgin-iyen tumbualaju manglailan Jasalduba ‘at these words of mine those same Jirgin were ordered to the forefront as vanguard’ (Mnt 170); Uru’ud-un jürçedei ebin či ya’u ke’emü chimiyi manglailaya ke’ebe ‘Uncle Jürçedei of the Uru’ut, let us make you the vanguard; what do you say?’ (Mnt 171); Çinggis qa’an-um emine ba Uru’ut Mangqu manglailan qaqtulusu170 ‘Let us, Uru’ut and Mangqu, fight as vanguard in front of Çinggis Qa’an!’ (Mnt 171); hula’an degelen-i manglailan jasaju Tunggon-amasar-i tenečen daba’a bű daba’ultuqun ‘With the army blocking the passage and disposing the Red Coats as vanguard, fight for the Tunggon Pass and do not let them cross the defile!’ (Mnt 251) < *manglaila- ← *manglai ~ LM (L) manglai ‘forehead; front, vanguard; chief, leader; principal, advanced, foremost, supreme’;

Mnt alginčila- ‘to be a scout’: Jürçedei Arqai qoyar-i alginčilaju172 ‘He sent Jürçedei and Arqai ahead to reconnoitre’ (Mnt 183); Kelüren ő’ede Jebe Qubilai qoyar-i alginčilajuyabu’at ‘He rode upstream along the Kelüren River and sent Jebe and Qubilai ahead to reconnoitre.’ (Mnt 193); Çinggis qahan ő’esün alginčilaju Qasar-i qol jasa’ulba ‘Çinggis Qa’an in person formed the vanguard, putting Qasar in charge of the main body of the army’ (Mnt 195); Baljuna-na ur-aça morilarun Jürçedey-yi alginčilaju Kereyit-tür morilaju ‘When we set out again from Lake Baljuna, Jürçedei went ahead to reconnoitre. We took the field against the Kereyit’ (Mnt 208) < *alginčila- ← *alginči ~ Mnt alginči ‘scout, patrol’;

Mnt emčüle- ‘to make servant’: yeren tabun minqad-aça minu beye ča’ada emčülen ilqa’u irekset tümen emčü kešikten-i minu mona qoyina minu oro sa’uqan kő’üt uruq-un uruq-a minu ede kešikten-i geri’es meti setkijü ‘As for my ten thousand personal guards who have come to serve in my presence, chosen for personal service from the ninety-five

170 Cf. the former shade of meaning.
171 Cf. ene üge-yi jokšiyeyü jürçedei Arqai qoyar-i alginčilaju’ulju sönit düli’et gürčü (Mnt 185);
172 In his etymological proposal de Rachewiltz (2004: 276) connected the military term alginči ‘scout, spy’ with the Old Turkic verbs alka-, alkan-, algan- ‘to praise’. This by semantic reasons is unacceptable. More probably the word is connected with Old Turkic al ‘front, facing, prior position’ (ED 121a), and alin ‘forhead’ (ED 147b) but the further morphological built up of the word needs some further research. Although the meaning is given by de Rachewiltz in his commentary as ‘to reconnoitre; to be (form) the vanguard’, the translations of certain passages suppose a transitive meaning, cf. “he sent Jürçedei and Arqai ahead to reconnoitre’. The resolution of this problem lies in the syntax, which makes impossible the presence of two subjects in one sentence. To avoid this case, the subject of the subordinate clause is put in accusative case. This, however, is a false-accusative.
thousand, you, sons of mine who will later sit on my throne to the offspring of my offspring, considering these guards as a keepsake from me’ (Mnt 231) < *emčüle-
← *emčü ~ LM (L) emčü/ömči ‘inheritance; share of property; property’

to set in parts noted by the primary numeral’. Examples pertaining here, however, form a subgroup of the former characteristic. Although later the suffix appears with other numerals as well, in the Mnt it derives verbs only from ten and its powers.

Mnt harbala- ‘to bring under ten, to form a unit consisting of ten men’: minqan minqalan ja’u ja’ulan harban harbalan baraju nayyan kebe’ül dalan turqa’ut tende keşikten ilqaju ‘he formed units of a thousand, a hundred, and ten men, and he chose and recruited eighty men to serve on roster as nightguards and seventy men to serve as day guards’ (Mnt 191) < *harbala- ← *harban ~ LM (L) arban ‘ten’;

Mnt ja’ula- ‘to set in company, to form a unit consisting of hundred men’: minqan minqalan ja’u ja’ulan harban harbalan baraju nayyan kebe’ül dalan turqa’ut tende keşikten ilqaju ‘he formed units of a thousand, a hundred, and ten men, and he chose and recruited eighty men to serve on roster as nightguards and seventy men to serve as day guards’ (Mnt 191) < *jagula-- ← *jagun ~ LM (L) Jayun ‘hundred’

Mnt minqala- ‘to set in regiment, to form a unit consisting of thousand men’: Qalqa-yin Or-nu’u-yin Keltegei-qada bawuju to’a-ban to’olaldaju minqan tende minqalaju minqan-u noyan ja’un-u noyan harban-u noyan tende tişibe’i ‘set up camp at Keltegei Qada, at the Or Bend of the Qalqa River. He counted his troops and on the spot formed units of a thousand men, appointing the commanders of a thousand, the commanders of a hundred and the commanders of ten’ (Mnt 191); minqan minqalaju ja’u ja’ulan harban harbalan baraju nayyan kebe’ül dalan turqa’ut tende keşikten ilqaju ‘he formed units of a thousand, a hundred, and ten men, and he chose and recruited eighty men to serve on roster as nightguards and seventy men to serve as day guards’ (Mnt 191); Arqai-qasar-i soyurqaju ba’atud-i ilqaju minqalatuqai ‘Showing favour to Arqai Qasar, he then ordered: ‘Let him choose himself his brave warriors and form a unit of a thousand” (Mnt 191); minqa minqalaju minqad-un ja’ud-un harbad-un noyat tişiği ‘Forming units of a thousand, he appointed the commanders of a thousand, of a hundred and ten’ (Mnt 224) < *minqala- ← *mingan ~ LM (L) mingyan ‘thousand’

Mnt tümele- ‘to form a unit consisting of ten thousand men’: minqa minqalaju minqad-un ja’ud-un harbad-un noyat tişiği tümen tümeleği tümed-un noyat tüşiği ‘Forming units of a thousand, he appointed the commanders of a thousand, of a hundred and ten. Forming units of ten thousand, he appointed the commanders of ten thousand’ (Mnt 224) < *tümele- ← *tümen ~ LM (L) tümen ‘ten thousand; the masses, multitude, myriad; indefinitely large number; a military unit of 10,000 men’

Sometimes there appear quite surprising meanings, cf. Mnt hoila- ‘to go in the forest, to abscond, to hide’; Mnt a’ulala- ‘to climb a mountain’;
As it is mentioned in the different grammars of the Mongolic languages the suffix derives “mostly transitive verbs”. In addition as I presented above by the verb alginčila- the same verb can be transitive and intransitive.

By Street in his work is mentioned the suffix *jila- (1957: 64). He states that it “occurs in verbs meaning ‘consider [something] X’ where X is the meaning of the attribute base”. As this suffix is clearly a compound of the denominal noun suffix *ji- and the denominal verb suffix *la- it will not be dealt with here in detail, I just remark that such verbs pertain here as yekejile-, and de'ejile-(-kde-). It is important to note, however, that the derivation could occur in one step. That is at least suggested by the fact that while *degeji is present in the Mongolic lexicon, *yekeji is not.

It is difficult to find any cons against the theory that this suffix is common to the Mongolic and the Turkic languages (Ramstedt 1912: 80, 1952: 195; Hambis 1945: 41).

**Literature:**


**(V)t-

The denominal verb suffix +(V)t- appears in the Mnt as a counterpart of LM +d-.

One cannot find any restriction on the auslaut sound of the stem. Derivation from stems with an auslaut vowel (1) occur as well as ending in consonant. At this point, however, since word-final consonant clusters are not allowed in Mongolic the bases with a final consonant are of special interest. The text of the Mnt features several possibilities to resolve such a case. The first such resolution is dropping the final -n of the stem (2):

1. Mnt qamtut- ‘to unite, to join with’: Jamuqa de‘ii qoyar tümet morilatuqai qamtutqu bolja’an Jamuqa de‘ii-de‘che boltuqai ‘As to the time and place of our meeting and joining forces, let younger brother Jamuqa decide!’ (Mnt 105); Temüjin To’oril qan Jaqa-gambu qurban qamtu³tu³ tende³e göd³[llü]³ ‘Temüjin, To’oril Qan and Jaqa Gambu came together and started off from there’ (Mnt 108); qamtu³nu³ bara‘asu³ // qaça³kui³ berke bolqun-ü // qamtu³nu³ bara‘asu³ // qara ni³dü-iyen hirmes üli³ kikün tede³ // qaça³-iyen qa³quda³asu³ // qara çisun qar³asu³ // qaltaril üqei qa³taggin Mongqol-tur // qamtu³nu³asu³ bolqu-yu³ ‘If we engage them and fight them to the end, // Will it not be difficult to disengage ourselves? // If we engage them and fight them to the end, // They will not blink their black eyes. // Is it advisable for us // To fight these tough Mongols // Who do not flinch even if their cheeks are pierced // And their black blood gushes forth?’ (Mnt 194) gürü³çekü³ alaldukui üdür maqa ene omogiyan bü talbü³qai gürü³çen qamtu³nu³ bara‘asu³ qaça³kui³ maqa berke bii³ je³ ‘May the strong and proud Güçüülük not lose this
pride of his on the day when we meet on the battlefield and slay one another! When we meet on the battlefield and fight to the end it will surely be difficult to disengage ourselves!(Mnt 194) Further occurrences: Mnt 109, 115, 141, 142, 194, 198, 200 < *kamtut- ← *kamtu ~ LM (L) qamtu ‘together, along with, jointly, simultaneously’

Mnt bügüt- ‘to be complete’: čeri’ūt manu bügütbe ‘Our troops are completely assembled.’ (Mnt 258) < *büküt- ← *bükü ~ LM (L) bükü ‘all, whole, everything; general, common’;

Mnt daldat- ‘to hide, to sneak’ Temüjin ümereče daldatçu Qasar emüneče daldatçu sumban salbajû gürküt-tür Bekter ije’et üğilerün ‘Temüjin, hiding from behind, and Qasar, hiding in front, were approaching and about to draw out their arrows when Bekter saw them and said’ (Mnt 77) < *daldat- ← *dalda ~ LM (L) dalda ‘hidden, concealed, secret(lty); latent(lty); reticent(lty); illegal(lty); secret, something hidden or unknown’;

Mnt buru’ut- ‘to flee’: Selenge huru’u Barqujin oron čő’en beyes-iyen duta’an buru’utçu’ui ‘went downstream along the Selenge and entered the Barqujin territory. Few in number and dispossessed of all but their bodies, they escaped by taking flight.’ (Mnt 109); Ong qan-nu de’ü Erke-qara Ong qan aqa-da’an alanqadarun buru’utçu otçu Naimaća qan-tur oroju’ui ‘when Ong Qan’s younger brother Erke Qara was about to be killed by his elder brother Ong Qan, he escaped and submitted to Inança Qan of the Naima’ (Mnt 151); basa te’ünün qayına Naimaća-aça ayuţi buru’utçu Sarta’ul-un qajar-a Chu-müren-e Qara-kıdad-un Gür qan-tur otba ‘After that, he fled again for fear of the Naima and went to the gür qan of the Qara Kidat on the Chu River, in the country of the Sarta’ul’ (Mnt 152); Further occurrences: Mnt 156, 177, 244, 254 < *burukut- ← buruku173 ~ Mnt buru- ‘to avoid’;

Mnt qodolit- ‘to shoot with a knob-headed arrow’: očigen nıkte bi-iljür qodolitqan-i teyın giü buljü abula’a ‘Once already, the other day, a lark we shot with a knob-headed arrow,2 they snatched it away from us, just like that’ (Mnt 77); Belgütei noyan Merkidei eley yasutu giü’ün-ni eke-yi minu abčira ke’eji qodolitqı bıle’ ‘He then shot knob-headed arrows at any man of Merkit stock, saying, ‘Bring me my mother!’’ (Mnt 112) < *kodolit- ← *kodoli ~ Mnt qodoli ‘(Pfeil mit) knöchernem Ende (Kerbe?)’, cf. Hal.K. godil ‘tompavégü nyil; tomba, gömbös nyilhegy’;

(2) Mnt belet- ‘to prepare, make ready’: Oťčigin bosu’at nilbusu’an arči’at qarçu qurban bökös-i beletçü bayyiba ‘Whereupon Oťčigin rose, wiped away his tears and, going out of the tent, stood in readiness with three strong men’ (Mnt 245) < *belet- ← *belen ~ LM (L) belen ‘prepared, ready, in readiness, available’ (tr.)

Mnt qa’učit- ‘to become old’: oťölbe namayi oťöljü // ündüt-te qaru’asu qa’učitba bi // qa’učitçu // qaldut-ta qaru’asu // qamnuq ulus ken medeği ‘I have grown old, and having grown old, // When I shall ascend to the heights // I have grown ancient, and having grown ancient, // When I shall ascend to the cliffs // Who will govern all my people?’ (Mnt 164) < *kagucit- ← *kagucin ~ LM (L) qayucin ‘old (mostly of inanimate objects); ancient, former; past, last; obsolete; worn out; chronic illness’;

173 buruku is the Nomen Futuri form of the verb buru-. 
If the auslaut consonant of the stem is other then -n, there are two possibilities again:

I. The use of a linking vowel is observable\(^{174}\), which can be either i (3) or u (\(?\)o) (4):

(3) Mnt bo\'olit- ‘to enslave’: hülkesd-i bo\'oliduya jük jük qubiyalduya ‘The rest we shall enslave: Some here, some there, dividing them among ourselves!’ (Mnt 154) < *bogolit- ← *bogol ~ LM (L) boyl ‘slave, serf, bondsman; slavery, servitude, serfdom; knave (playing card)’;

Mnt jusrut- ‘to flatter’: Jusuritü yekin teyin şili\’un aqa de\’ü-yi\’en ulkin jingkün ügüleyü ‘How can you speak so deceitfully, backbiting and uplandering your unkind brother?’ (Mnt 160) Yegei-qongtqa\’ar-un kö\’i\’in To\’oril či ken-ü ulus-ut õksü ke\’en jusuridun yabayu či ‘You, To\’oril, are Yegei Qongtqa\’ar\’s son. You constantly flatter Ong Qan saying, "I will give you people" - whose people?’ (Mnt 180) < *jusrut- ← jisur ~ LM (L) jisur/Jusur ‘flattery, adulation; wily, crafty, cunning, sly’;

Mnt ebürit- ‘to admit, ?to embrace’\(^{175}\): hülkeset eme kö\’i\’un anu ebürit[k]ün medüs-i ebürittbe e\’i\’tten-tür orö\’uldaqun medüs-i e\’i\’tten-dürüyen orö\’ulba ‘Their remaining wives, // Those suitable to be embraced, // Were embraced; // Those suitable to be let into the tent // Through the door and serve as slaves // Were let in through the door’ (Mnt 112); ene qan aqa bidanu üge\’ü aburitu hümegi helige ebürittü yabayu aqa de\’ü-yi baraba ‘Our elder brother the Qan // Has a miserable nature; he goes on // Harbouuring a rotten liver’ (Mnt 152); edö\’e Temüjin kö\’i\’ün-tür teyin yahuqsan-ıyan umartaju hümegi helige ebürittü yabayumu ‘Now, forgetting that he kept himself alive like this thanks to his son Temüjin, he goes on harbouuring a rotten liver’ (Mnt 152) < *ebürit- ← *ebür ~ LM (L) ebür ~ öbüür ‘breast, bosom, front, lap; part of the dress or coat covering the breast; south; southern side of a mountain’;

Mnt uyuyit- ‘to tire of sg’: edö\’e bidan-a\’ca uyuyitqu čaq bolba ‘Now the time has come when he has grown tired of us’ (Mnt 118) < *uyuit- ← *uy ~ LM (L) u\’i ‘mourning sorrow’;

(4) Mnt dongqot- ‘to utter a word, to scold’: basa mün üge ügüle\’esü aqa inu ya\’un-a ber üllü bolqan qari\’i\’ inu ese dongqotba ‘When he repeated the same words, his elder brother again ignored them and did not answer’ (Mnt 34); Jürce\’ed\’e-yi dongqotgu-yin urida Mangqud-un Quyildar-shift uģülerü\’n ‘Before Jürce\’ed真的是 utter a word, Quyildar Se\’en of the Mangqut said’ (Mnt 171); eke čimatču ese dongqotba ‘The mother dissatisfied,

\(^{174}\) Cf. LM (L) jijlid- ‘to get used to, become friends, be in harmony or sympatheize with; to be too similar; to be too familiar; to belong to the same group, herd, or breed (of cattle)’ ← *jil\’i\’il: LM (L) jii ‘one of a pair or complete set; peer; fellow, companion; belonging to the same herd; of the same color; accustomed to or familiar with each other; same, identical, equal’;

LM (L) jabsarid- ‘to cleave, split; to break up; to be neither here nor there’ ← *jabsar: LM (L) jabsar ‘gap, interstice, slit; crevasse, fissure; hiatus; interval, time between, pause, interruption, break; weakness, blemish, fault, loophole’;

LM (L) muqulayid- ‘to make round’ ← *mukulayi: LM (L) muqulay ‘rounded, ball-shaped, globular, spherical; kiosk, pavilion’

\(^{175}\) The meaning ‘zur Frau machen’ given by Haenisch is somewhat misleading. The translation of that passage should be ‘Those remaining women and children who should be admitted were admitted, those who should be let in, were let in’. That was accepted also by Ligeti, cf. ‘A megharad tőrk közül az ágyasnak valókat ágyasokká tették, az ajtón bebocsatani valókat az ajtajuken bebocsátották.’
thinking them too few, but she did not complain\textsuperscript{176} (Mnt 242); Mőnglik ečige-yi döngötчу döngodun baraǰu ‘So he railed at Father Mőnglik. When he had finished railing at him, he said further’ (Mnt 246); Further occurrences Mnt 252, 254, 257 < *dongkut-. To etymologize this verb cf. LM (L) dongsı- ‘to talk to much, babble, prate; to wander about idly, gad, saunter’; LM (L) döngços- ‘to chatter, jabber, make idle talk’. It seems, however, that there is an opportunity to trace this word one more step back. In my opinion all these words were derived from *dom\textsuperscript{177} ∼ LM (L) dom ‘sorcery or ceremony for ridding of diseases or calamities; magic formula or cure’. From *dom, probably in Turkic the derivation → *domak happened which was copied by Mongolic as *domag ∼ LM (L) domag ‘legend, fable; historical tale; joke, fun, ridicule’. This *domag appears in a contracted form in the stem of the above mentioned verbs.

It is a question whether in the verb de’ermet- (5) the e in the last syllable is a linking vowel, or is etymologic. While in the Mnt the stem appears as de’erme ‘raid’ LM suggests a stem-final consonant. Although the etymology of the stem is of unknown origin, must be seen, that the suffix -m is more productive than -mA.

(5) Mnt de’ermet- ‘to rob’: niken üdür širqa aqtatan naiman mor[t] ger-ün dergede bayyiyu büküy-yi de’erme irejii üjetele de’ermetčii yorčiba ‘One day some robbers came and stole the eight horses, the light-bay geldings, that were standing by the tent and made off with them before their very eyes’ (Mnt 90); Taičar Joči-darmala-yin adu’un de’ermetčii abču ońču’ui Joči-darmala adu’u-ban de’ermetčii o[t]aǰu ‘Taičar stole Joci Darmala’s herd of horses and took them away. The same Joci Darmala, thus robbed of his herd’ (Mnt 128) < *degermet- ↔ *degerme ∼ LM (L) degereh ‘robbery, pillage; violence; bandit, brigand highwayman, robber’;

II. The final consonant disappears, and the suffix is added (6):

(6) Mnt čimat- ‘to get sore’: edöl’e qan ečige minu yambar čimar-tur minu čimatba či ‘Now, my father the Qan, out of what grievance do you reprimand me?’ (Mnt 177); eke čimatču ese döngotoba ‘The mother dissatisfied, thinking them too few, but she did not complain’(Mnt 242); Činggis qahan Joči Ča’adai Őgodei qurban kö‘üd-i čimatču qurban üdür ese a’ulja’ulba ‘Činggis Qa’an reprimanded Joci, Ča’adai and Őgodei - the three sons in question - and for three days did not allow them into his presence’ (Mnt 260) < *čimat- ↔ *čimar, cf. Mnt čimar ‘Schelte, Vorwurf, Unmut’

At this point, however, it is worth to pore over the question if in čimat- we really have to deal with the disappearance of the final -r. Above I quoted several examples, in the case of which the final -r did not disappear, instead a linking vowel was used during the derivation. As -r is a well-known deverbal noun suffix, it is possible to suppose a verbal root *čima-, to which a deverbal verb suffix -t- could be added.

To make this concept more grounded consider the following verb:

Mnt ebet- ‘to ache, to pain’: Čimbai Čilawun qoyar kö‘üüt inu örö jirüge-ben ebetčii söni namayi üjejii buqa’u minu ab[e]ču sulalaju qono’a’ululai ‘His two sons, Čimbai and Čila’un, felt in their hearts very sorry for me, and seeing me at night they took my cangue,

\textsuperscript{176} Actually she did not utter a word.

\textsuperscript{177} Cf. Old Turkic yon ‘efficacy of medical remedies’ (ED 941a).
relieved me of it and enabled me to spend the night resting’ (Mnt 84); oro ho[q]torqu bolba ke’en medejü // örö minu ebetbe // ebür hemterebə ke’en medejü // helige minu ebetbe [Temüjin’s] Bed has become empty, // Brought pain to my heart. // To know that his // Breast was torn apart, // Brought pain to my liver’ (Mnt 105); ünen üküldüküü üdür // öre jürüge-ben ebetgü büle’e çi // angaqida ber õere yabu’asu // alalduquü üdür // a’ušqi jürüge-ben ebetgü büle’e çi ‘On the day one kills and is killed, surely // Your heart was aching for me. // Although you separated from me // And went a different way, // On the day one fights one another, // Your lungs and heart were aching for me.’ (Mnt 200); Činggis qahan-ni morin-ača una’asu mariya-ban maši ebetçi Čo’orqat bawubai ‘Činggis Qa’an fell off the horse and, his body being in great pain, he halted at Čo’orqat’ (Mnt 265) < *ebet− ← *ebe-, cf. Khal.K. ewer ‘betegség’;

There is no any restriction on the complexity of the base, but must be mentioned that beside of simplex stems (7) the suffix is observed to be more intensively added to derived stems (8).

(7) Mnt durat- ‘to remember’: uridan-u dawuljaqan kegesü-ben duratçu oysuladun ‘and remembered their grievance for his former raid upon them’ (Mnt 67); ügüleksten üges minu üllü umartan üde manaqar duratçu ügüleldüüt[k]ün ta ‘Do not forget the words that I have just spoken; think of them evening and morning and repeat them among yourselves’ (Mnt 201) < *durat− ← *durán ~ LM (L) dur(a)n ‘wish, desire, wanting, liking, inclination; volition; arbitrariness; taste, fancy’;

(8) Mnt seri’üüt- ‘to cool down’: bida içaju qahan-u mara’a seri’üdüü’esü basa jibi morilat je bida ‘Let us withdraw. Then, when the Qa’an’s body has cooled down, we shall set out again’ (Mnt 265) < *serigüt− ← *serigün ~ LM (L) serigün ‘cool, fresh’;

There are no real allomorphs for the suffix, but if the suffix is followed by another one with an initial vowel, stem allomorphy is observable, that is -t changes to -d. (For some examples see the above quoted passages.)

In spite of the clear phrasing of Poppe in the GWM (§241) about the function of the suffix, that is “to express the acquirement of the quality designated by the primary word”, in the literature appears a desperate confusion in connection with that.178 The following cases may be observed:

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178 The following cases may be observed:

(1) the form with the suffix -dA- was not quoted by the author, but its meaning appears in the meaning of the verb with the suffix -d-, e.g. LM (L) berked- ‘to be(come) too difficult, hard, or complicated’; LM (L) fuʃayad- ‘to be(come) too thick or dense’;

(2) the form with the suffix -dA- was not quoted by the author, but its meaning appears as the meaning of the verb with the suffix -d-, e.g. LM (L) nimged- ‘to be too thin (of flat objects); LM (L) noytad- ‘to be too wet or moist’;

(3) under the form with suffix -dA- there appear the meanings of both verbs, e.g.: LM (L) ergidüde- ‘to be(come) stupid’; LM (L) biʃaquda- ‘to be(come) narrow or tight; to be narrow-minded’;

(4) under the form with suffix -dA- there appears the meaning of the verb derived by the suffix -d- ~ e.g. LM (L) doorada- ‘to become low or worse; to deteriorate, degenerate’; LM (L) jabayada- ‘to become tasteless; to have halitosis; to become meaningless or senseless (of speech); to be sloppy, untidy’; LM (L) ʃiʃiʃde- ‘to become smaller; to reduce’;

(5) the two verb form are designated to be variants of each other, e.g. LM (L) çoged-/çogede- ‘to be too few; to be insufficient’; LM (L) mayada-/mayad- ‘to worsen; to become weak, thin; to decline, deteriorate; to fall out with or quarrel with one’; LM (L) olada-/olad- ‘to multiply, propagate, increase’; ündürde-/ündürid- ‘to be(come) too high’; LM (L) qolad-/qolada-/qoladu- ‘to be(come) distant or remote; to remove oneself’ or the designation in the headword is -d(A)-, e.g.: ileyüd(e)- ‘to be(come) superfuous, redundant, or abundant; to exceed’
The problem is that there is not only a +d- verb suffix in Mongolic, but also +dA-, 179 and these two suffixes resulted in the same form in modern languages. While +d- has the above mentioned function, and the verbs derived with it mean ‘to become somehow’ verbs derived with the suffix +dA- mean ‘to be somehow’. These two fields of meaning are treated rather liberally by the editors of dictionaries, so one will find many times the meanings of two historically different verbs under one entry. To mention such an example consider the verb *adalid-, which appears in Lessing’s dictionary as LM (L) adalid- ‘to be (come) identical; to resemble’ ← *adali: LM (L) adali ‘the same, identical; equal, similar, resembling, analogous; similarly, identically, equally; in the same way, just as’. It is clear that only the meaning ‘to become identical’ pertains to the verb *adalid-, while the meaning ‘to be identical, resemble’ is of the verb *adalida-.

The worst case is, however, when the not the right meaning is attached to the right verb. Such a case is that of the verb *bogonid- ~ LM (L) boyonid- ‘to be too short or low’ ← bogoni: LM (L) boyoni ‘low, short; base, mean’, where the meaning pertains to the verb *bogonida-, while the meaning of the LM verb boyonid- should be ‘to become short’. I admit of course that these misunderstandings are not always faults of the editors, but the use of the two suffixes were mixed by the Mongols themselves. However, we have to understand what is behind this question.

We find a totally different picture in the Mnt. There beside of the same function that appears in Literary Mongol, that is “to express the acquirement of the quality designated by the primary word” (e.g. qamut-, büköt-, etc.) the suffix +t- must have another function as well, consider such verbs as qodolt-. In such cases we have to see the counterpart of that LM (L) suffix +dA- the function of which is “to express the use of the object designated by the primary word”. The same suffix appears also as +dA- in the Mnt, cf. Mnt qarda-/qarta- ‘to put hands on’; Mnt kölde- ‘to enchain the legs’; Mnt arqada- ‘to cheat, to pretend’; Mnt čisuda- ‘to become smudged by blood’ 180.

It is not clear when is the meaning of the derived verb transitive, and when intransitive. In addition some verbs which are traceable in LM, a parallel transitive and intransitive use is demonstrable, e.g. Mnt belet- ~ LM (L) beled- ‘to prepare, make ready; to be (come) ready’.

In the text of the Mnt there appears the verb deleqt- (9), the etymology of which is unknown.

(9) Mnt deleqt- ‘to strike, to whip’: qubi-yu’an quya inu delectü quburi nambalis buruqui-lu’a ‘he struck his dun mare over the rump and galloped away over a hill’ (Mnt 55); qara buqa-yin arasun-niyar // bürxken bürkiren bükü // dawutta köxrge-ben deleetbe bi ‘I have beaten my bellowing drum // Covered with the hide of a black bull’ (Mnt 106); neke’ilü niijüüilen temür telege delectü hüker jil ča’ura’ilbait ‘And so, in the Year of the Ox, he had an iron cart made to pursue them to the very end’ (Mnt 199) ← *deleqt- ←?

179 Furthermore there is not only one +dA- nominal verb suffix. Beside of the above mentioned one, consider the suffix +dA- quoted by Poppe in the GWM §242, where the function of the suffix is “to express the use of the object designated by the primary word”. His examples are dayuda- ‘to call’ ← dayan ‘voice’, buuda- ‘to shoot’ ← buu ‘rifle’, degermend- ‘to rob’ ← degeme ‘robbery’, and aryada- ‘to outwit’ ← arya ‘trick’. Poppe’s remark that the suffix forms “mostly transitive verbs” may deserve some attention.

180 Contrary to the meaning given by Haenisch, the verb is clearly transitive, cf. bökdenen čisun-i jelmе Shimin ṣimin ama’an čisudaļu jelme busu ga’il inili ilege sakildiļu (Mnt 145). In LM one can observe both the transitive and the intransitive meaning, cf. LM (L) čisuda- ‘to be bloody or bloodstained; to swell from blood gathering in the tissues; to smear with blood
There is a debate in the literature on the nature of the suffix *dkA-. Several grammars (e.g., Szabó 1943) treat this causative form of the suffix *d- as an independent suffix. From one point of view that can be acceptable, because these causative forms in several instances became parts of the lexicon, while sometimes the forms without the causative suffix disappeared. However, as *dkA- historically is clearly a compound of *d- (?*+t-?) and -kA it will not be dealt with here. From the Mnt such verbs pertain here as duratqa-, adalitqa-, boqunitqa-, šidurqutqa-, qamututqa-, türšitke-, büğiitke-.

**Literature:**


+*dA-

The denominal verb suffix *dA- was mentioned by Godziński (1985: 57–58). Among other Middle Mongol data from the Mnt he quotes the verbs argada-, beri’ede- and osolda-. Street marks 6 examples, but he only quotes argada- ‘to deceive’ and čisuda- ‘to become bloody’. Later stages show a large amount of derivatives.¹¹¹

One cannot find any restriction on the final sound of the base, so stems with a final vowel occur (cf. argada-) as well as with final consonants (cf. osolda-, qarda-). It seems that the rule observable in LM, according to which final -n of the stem is dropped during the derivational process,¹²² is valid also for the Mnt, cf. beri’ede-.

The function of the suffix is to form verbs which mean the use/the practice of the thing denoted by the stem. Considering LM data, beside of this basic meaning,¹³³ several times there is a possibility to distinguish some shades of meaning: (1) added to names of materials the derived verb will have the meaning “to cover/coat with the primary word”,¹³⁴ (2) when added to nouns designating musical instruments, the derived verb will have the meaning “to play the given

¹¹¹ Cf. LM (L) bekeđe- ‘to smear or soil with ink; to blacken, dye black’; LM (L) belgede- ‘to signify, prognosticate; to explain signs, divine, forebode’; LM (L) bileydede- ‘to whet, hone, sharpen on a stone’ ← *bileği: LM (L) bileğiü/bileii ‘whetstone, hone’; LM (L) čalmada- ‘to catch with a lasso’

¹²² Cf. LM (L) čögede- ‘to be too few; to be insufficient’ ← *čeğen; LM (L) olada- ‘to multiply, propagate, increase’ ← *olan. however exceptions occur: Khal.K. barândax (← *baraganda-) ‘tül(ságosan) sözété(n)ek bizonyul’; LM (L) eriyende- ‘to be too motley or variegated’; Khal.K. namxandax (← *namkanda-) ‘tül alacsonynak bizonyul vmihe / vmr’; Khal.K. xatandax (← *katanda-) ‘tül(ságosan) mervenek v keménynek bizonyul’; Khal.K. turxandax (← *turakanda-) ‘tül(ságosan) soványnak bizonyul’. The explanation of these exceptions could be the relatively late derivation.

¹³³ Cf. “to express the use of the object designated by the primary word” (GWM §242)

¹³⁴ E.g. LM (L) altada- ‘to gild, decorate with gold’ ← *altan; LM (L) čayirda- ‘to coat or plate with zinc’ ← *çayır; LM (L) jósuda- ‘to stain with ocher or coloother’ ← *jós; LM (L) palangda- ‘to enamel’ ← *palang;
instrument\(^{185}\). (3) In a certain number of examples the primary word is not the instrument of the action but its result.\(^{186}\) (4) In addition there appears a group of examples, which are semantically obscure. It seems to be clear that they are derived by the suffix »dA-, but their meaning is 'to weaken, to waste'.\(^{187}\)

The derived verbs are transitive.

It is important to note that in the Mnt there do not appear examples of the another suffix »dA- which has the meaning 'to be somehow, to show the feature denoted by the primary word', occurring in a large amount of verbs in later stages of the language\(^{188}\). In contrast with the suffix »dA- that appears in the Mnt, this suffix forms intransitive verbs. Strange enough not even Poppe mentions such a suffix in his GWM.

Mnt arqada- 'to deceive, to abuse': qahan-nača ayuq arqadan unaq arīyaq bolun amindur-ıyan gesture bi ‘fearing the Qa’an, I took a fall on purpose. I hesitated, so I lost my life’ (Mnt 140); Ong qan ečige Senqgüm anda qoyar namayi arqadan uriqsan-tur ayisuran ja’ura Mőnglik ečige-yn ger-tür qonosu ‘when Father Ong Qan sworn friend Senqgüm deceitfully invited me to betrothal feast and on the way I spent the night in Mönglik’s tent’ (Mnt 204) < *argada- ← *arga- ~ LM (L) ary-a ‘means, method; way out, possibility; ruse, trick, artifice, scheming; the male or positive element in nature’;

Mnt beri’ede- ‘to strike with a rod’: aqalaba ele ke’eqjjo sača’un kešikten-i minu ő’erün qar köl gürgejji beri’edesü beri’-e-yn qari’u beri’e gü nudurqa-yn qari’u nudurqa gü qari’ultuqaq (Mnt 227) ‘If you yourselves merely on the ground of seniority lay hands on my guards who are equal to you and strike them with a rod, as requital for strokes of the rod you shall be repaid with strokes of the rod, and as requital for fists you shall be repaid with

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\(^{185}\) LM (L) biskišgerd- ‘to play the flute’ ← *biskišiër; LM (L) bürüyede- ‘to blow a trumpet or horn’ ← *bürüyen; LM (L) čuzyarda- ‘to play a čuzyur’ ← *čuzyuri; LM (L) damaruda- ‘to rattle the skull drum; to shake the head’ ← *damarur; LM (L) düngišgerd- ‘to beat a drum’; LM (L) kenggerede- ‘to beat the drum or tambourine’ ← *kenggeren; LM (L) köğišme- ‘to play a musical instrument’; LM (L) lingbide- ‘to play on a flute’ ← *lingbi; LM (L) quyarda- ‘to play the guyur’ ← kugur; LM (L) šobsyurda- ‘to play a pipe; to deceive, cheat; to call animals or game with a call’ ← *šobsišiër; LM (L) tobišyurda- ‘to play the tobišyiur’ ← *tobišišiër; LM (L) urumda- ‘to lure deer with a hunter’s whistle; to lure with a birdcall; to bellow (of deers and bulls)’ ← *urum; LM (L) yatuyada- ‘to play the zither harp’ ← *yatuaq;

\(^{186}\) LM (L) yobida/-qobida- ‘to cut a groove in wood or metal’ ← *gobil/kobil; LM (L) qobida- ‘to make a groove’ ← *kobil; LM (L) qobil ‘groove’; LM (L) jayalmayida ‘to cross, put crosswise’ ← *jagalma: LM (L) jayalmaı ‘cross (of any shape); cross-shaped, cruciform’; LM (L) buqida- ‘to stack hay’ ← *bukal: LM (L) buqul ‘a haystack, rick’;

\(^{187}\) LM (L) tamirda- ‘to be weak, lose strength’ ← *tamir- LM (L) tamir ‘bodily strength, health, energy, vigor; blood vessel’; LM (L) tengkegede- ‘to be or feel exhausted, lose strength’ ← *tengkege- LM (L) tengkege/tengke ‘power, force, strength; ability, capability, talent’;

\(^{188}\) LM (L) almayida- ‘to be careless, inattentive, absent-minded, or forgetful’; LM (L) ayajimda- ‘to be too slow or sluggish; to procrastinate’; LM (L) bačiýada- ‘to be pressed, stifled; to be in agony; to too short (of time); LM (L) nüserde- ‘to be clumsy; to be foolish’; LM (L) boynid- ‘to be too short or low’; LM (L) čiŋyad- ‘to be too strong, tight, strict etc.’; LM (L) čaluqard- ‘to be negligent, careless, or inaccurate; to err, omit, make mistakes, blunders’; LM (L) čoćimayda- ‘to be too sudden or unexpected, happen too suddenly’; LM (L) čuluyida- ‘to be too plain, smooth, etc.’; LM (L) čiŋgerde- ‘to be pot-bellied’; LM (L) dušayda- ‘to (prove to be) insufficient, short, or incomplete’ LM (L) kerčeqeyeida- ‘to be too fierce, cruel, or brutal’; LM (L) naqayida- ‘to be slow, hesitant; to be careless’; LM (L) nomyida- ‘to be slow, move slowly, linger, dawdle; to be apathetic’; LM (L) örüşesüde- ‘to be single, unpaired or odd’; LM (L) qoböyda- ‘to be too gluttonous or greedy’; LM (L) qoyarda- ‘to be dual; to be two-faced’; LM (L) qoyıarda- ‘to be too far back’; LM (L) tarčiýda- ‘to be scanty, meager or scarce’; LM (L) ügeyide- ‘to be left without something; not to have’
fists’ < *berigede- ← *berigen ~ LM (L) beriy-e(n) ‘stick, pole, club, staff, baton; handle of a whip’;

Mnt osolda- ‘to neglect’: üde-yin undān bü osoldasuqai // ke’en bawurćin bolba ‘We shall not neglect your drinks In the evening! // And so they became stewards’ (Mnt 124); edo’e Altan Qučar qoyar-un uru’ud-aca tanlu’a salqalduya teden-i ijeji ya’u osoldaqun ‘Now, with you, We shall separate also some of the offspring of Altan and Qučar: seeing them, how can you be remiss in your duties?’ (Mnt 255) < *osolda- ← *osol ~ LM (L) osol ‘misshap (from negligence, or carelessness), accident; carelessness, negligence; fault’;

A special group is formed by those verbs which were formed from names of body parts. The rich LM data of this kind helps distinguishing two shades in the function of the suffix. The first shade appears when the derived verb will mean ‘to seize, to take by the body part denoted by the primary word’. ¹⁹⁹ de Rachewiltz translates according to this shade the passage qar inu qardaju // köl inu köldəjü // öksügei ‘We shall seize his hands, And grasp his feet!’. I am not totally convinced that this was the right translation here, as the former passages would suggest a more “violent” meaning. ²⁰⁰

The second shade of meaning is to use the thing denoted by the stem for beating or harming.¹⁹¹ In the Mnt this meaning appears in some occurrences of the verb qarda-. It is important to note, however, that it is not an individual case, when a verb can have both shades of meaning, cf. LM (L) ösügeyide- ‘to hit the opponent’s leg with one’s heel (in wrestling); to grasp by the heel’.

Mnt kölde- ‘to grasp the feet / to kick’: qar inu qardaju // köl inu köldəjü // öksügei ‘We shall seize his hands, And grasp his feet!’ (Mnt 166) < *köle- ← *köl ~ LM (L) köl ‘foot, leg’;

Mnt qarda/qarta-²⁰² ‘to lay hands on’: čimayi qan-ian qardaba ke’en ese teki ala’asu qan-ian qardaba ke’en alaqu gu’u ala’asu teki mün gu’alaqdaqu gu’u bi mün e likištük-düriyen dere abun üküssi ‘telling myself that I am laying hands on my lord, they will surely kill me saying that I did lay hands on my lord. And if I do kill you, I shall of course be killed all the same. So, at the very moment I die, I shall die taking you as my death-companion.’ (Mnt 149); bida ene Tarquta-yi barjü gürü’esü Činggis qahan bidan-i tus qan-ian qardaju irejü’ü ke’en Činggis qahan bidanı tus-ian qardagu irekset ya’un itegelen haran ede bidan-te tor basa ker noköčekün noköčel üge’in haran tus qan-ian qardaqsat haran-i mököri’üldekiün ‘If

¹⁹⁹ Cf. LM (L) bayalayarda- ‘to seize by the neck or collar; to try to suffocate, choke, or strangle’; LM (L) čikide- ‘to pull somebody’s ear, take by the ear’; LM (L) delde- ‘to seize an animal by the mane, hold on to the mane’; LM (L) ğejede- ‘to hold, pull or seize by the queue, grab by the hair’; LM (L) kļjūide- ‘to place one’s arms around another’s neck, embrace; to hang around the neck; to seize by the neck’; LM (L) sująđa- ‘to carry under the armpit; to seize or to support by the armpit’; LM (L) takimda- ‘to seize someone by his knee joint (in wrestling)’; LM (L) üsätze- ‘to grab by the hair’;

²⁰⁰ Cf. ba Hö’elän eke-yin kö’ün-i // aqa-yi alaju // de’ü-yi te[b]čişi // öksügei ke’efü’ü (Mnt 166)

²⁰² Cf. LM (L) alayada- ‘to strike or slap with the palm of the hand or with a paw; to clap’; LM (L) sooyada- ‘to wound with tusks; to untie a knot with an awl; to clean a pipe’. For an example, the stem of which is not a

²⁰³ It is important to note that there occurs another verb qarda- in the Mnt, but that is the passive form of the verb qar- ‘to go out’
we arrive holding this Tarqutai captive, Činggis Qa’an will say of us that we came having laid hands on our rightful lord. Činggis Qa’an will say of us, "How trustworthy a people are these who come having laid hands on their rightful lord? How can they still be companions to us? They are people who are not worthy of companionship. People who lay hands on their rightful lord must be cut down!" (Mnt 149); tende Činggis qahan ḍuqu-ya nökčietkün ke’em Tolun-čerbi qardaǧu nökči‘etiğei ke’em järliq bolba tende Tolun-čerbi ḍuqu-ya qardaǧu bütü‘ebe Činggis Qa’an then ordered that ḍuqu be put to death and that Tolun Čerbi seize and execute him with his own hands. Afterwards, when Tolun Cerbi reported that he had seized ḍuqu and killed him,’ (Mnt 267) Further occurrences: Mnt 166, 200 // nökčete dayîysun bolun qâqaçaqsan-i jürçedei uduju arqa- bar Jaqa-gambu-ya qâqaçaq baraqaqan-i [45b] qartaǧu bariju bütü‘eji‘i‘i je ‘he became hostile and separated from us, Jürçedei lured him with a stratagem and, after seizing him, made an end of Jaqa Gambu who had broken with us for good’ (Mnt 208) < *karda- ← *kar ~ LM (L) yar ‘hand, arm; side (right or left); flank, wing (of an army)’;

**Literature:**


**rA-**

Interestingly no mention was made by Street about the existence of such a suffix. In turn it was discussed by Godziński (1985: 61–62). From the Mnt he mentions the verbs samawura-, daldari- and üderi-. Other MM examples of him include MA koker-, MA belbesûre-, MA jujâra-, MA belgüre-, MA qaygura-. It would be quite surprising if the suffix really appears only in these sources, so that would need a more thorough investigation.

As by semantic reasons the verbs daldari- cannot be connected here, they were discussed in the present work under the suffix *rî-.*

Mnt qolba‘ara- ‘to join, to become a pair’: Ča‘adai ba qoyar qolba‘aran gučii öksü Ögödey-ya ke’eldiye ke’ebe Činggis qahan järliq bolun qolba‘aratala ya’un bûi ötögen eke a’u bûi bûret usut olon bûi ‘Ča‘adai and I shall, in cooperation with each other, serve the Qan. Let us agree on Ögödei.’ So he spoke, and Činggis Qa’an declared as follows: ‘Why should you two go so far to cooperate with each other? Mother Earth is wide: its rivers and waters are many.’ (Mnt 255) < *kolbagara- ← *kolbagan195 ~ LM (L) qolbayan ‘tie, link, combination, contact, connection; union, junction; federation, association; verse, alliterative words or phrases; double, pair’.

This verb should be handled carefully. Just some lines before its occurrences, there appears the verb qolbara- in the same environment, cf. qan eçige-de qolbaran gučinin öksü (Mnt 255). I am not sure

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195 This word has Turkic connections, cf. Old Turkic kâsh ‘a pair; one of a pair’ (ED 670a).
if this *qolbara-* is really a deverbal derivation from *kolba-* ‘to tie, to bound’ with the deverbal verb suffix -ra- or is *qolbāra-, where the scribe left the long vowel unmarked. Anyhow, in the case of *qolba’ara-* the denominal origin is indisputable.

Poppe in his GWM (§246) states that the function of the suffix is to denote acquirement of a quality. Taking into account the examples of the Mnt will reveal that beside of verbs which really show up to fit to the definition of Poppe in a certain number of examples this definition is not valid, or the stem does not denote a “quality”.

Mnt *jalira-* ‘to soften, to abate, to calm, to still’: *te'li ke'en soyurqaju jči jaliraba* ‘Enough of this matter!’ And, his anger abated, he showed favour to him again’ (Mnt 246); *soyurqa’asu a’ulja’ulu’asu bolqu-yu ke’en öči'esi Činggis qahan jaliraju joči Ča’adai Ögedei qurban kā'ūd-i a’ulja’ulu’u dongoqdurun ‘Will you not, therefore, show favour to them and allow them into your presence?’ Upon their petition, Činggis Qa’an, appeased, allowed the three sons Joči, Ča’adai and Ögedei into his presence. He rebuked them’ (Mnt 260) < *jalira-194 ← *jali ~ LM (L) jali ‘ruse, craft, cunning, trick, deceit’;

Mnt *samawura-* ‘to get in trouble, to get harmed’: *či qaqča’ar odu’asu ja’ura čeri‘üt samawui čaq-tur čimayi ber üli a’ulqu ők taki činu samawuraqu ke’emoji qurban ǔd̪ür qurban sōni tōrtjeqű’ii ‘In this time of disorder, if you go alone, soldiers on the way will certainly not leave even you alive, and your daughter too will be in much trouble.’ And he held Dayir Usun for three days and three nights.’ (Mnt 197); *Činggis qahan-nu yeke noyan büyyu bi bida qamtu ők činu qahan-na üje’ülüye ja’ura čeri‘üt samawuraqu ke’en itqaļu’a edo’e Naya’a-dača busut čeri‘üt-tür učira’asu samawu-tur tüöl[t]kūl-tür oroqu-yu őju’ ‘I am a high officer of Činggis Qa’an. Let us go together to offer your daughter to the Qa’an. The soldiers on the way will be troublesome." So he warned us against going alone. Now, had we met with other troops but Naya’a’s, no doubt we would have been intercepted and would have got into difficulties’ (Mnt 197) < *samawura- ← *samagu ~ LM (L) samayun ‘confusion, disturbance; disorder, disorganization; rebellion, mutiny’

Mnt *quši’ura-* ‘to be in the front’: *te’ińi ayqinača aysiqun üyeseksen šibawan metiš šilemelčeqiši quši’uraju ayiqun ke’n büyyu ke’en Tayang qan jaumaqa-dača asaqçu’u ‘Who is the one approaching from the rear, coming forward at the head of the army and drawing near like a greedy, slaverling falcon?’ (Mnt 195) < *kosigura- ← *kosigun ~ LM (L) qosiylan/qušiylan ‘proboscis, snout, muzzle, beak, bill; chatter; bow of a vessel; spur of a mountain, cape, promontory, peak’;

Mnt *utura-* ‘to go first, to lead’: *oro’a gör’esün abala’asu // uturaju őksbü ‘When in a battle we hunt the cunning // Wild beasts, to you // We shall go ahead and round them up’ < *utura- ← *utu ~ LM (L) utu ‘the ends of the chain of hunters in a battle’, cf. Old Turkic üč ‘extremity, end, tip’ (ED 17b).195 I find it plausible to make one more

194 Cf. LM (L) *jalira-* ‘to shirk, be lazy or nonchalant; to rest from work; to stop for a time; to calm down; to abate, get better (as illness)’.

195 This comparison including Manchus *uturi* ‘Ende der Treiberkette’ is found in the Wu-ti, and here was quoted from TMEN §41.
step in the etymology, and connect this noun with the following Old Turkic data ӄ-‘to follow’ (ED 38a); ӧduz- ‘to lead, or conduct (someone)’.

Mnt Ӄӱse- ‘to fall (of rain)’: qura ӄӱdür söni ürgülji Ӄӱserekki dém-tür ‘the rain poured down incessantly day and night’ (Mnt 205) < *Ӄӱse- ← *Ӄӱse- ~ LM (L) Ӄӱs/-Ӄӱs/- ‘to cut lengthwise, cut into stripes, slice, shred, incise’, but cf. LM (L) Ӄӱsen/Ӄӱsün ‘inundation, continuous or intense rain’.

The first point is that there appear some clearly denotational verbs, that are transitive, however it is not impossible that the transitivity of them is secondary, originating from the meaning ‘to behave in the manner denoted by the stem’. 

Mnt ӄuda-’aras- ‘to follow, to go after’: ba tani ӄuda’aran gödlüş Kelüren-ӄ Arqal-geği-де boljalduya ta tende iretkün ‘We shall follow close behind you and meet at Arqal Geği on the Kelüren River. You must come there!’ (Mnt 183); Jürchedei Arqai goyar-i alginčilajü Bajfina-na’ur-aça Činggis qahan ӄuda’aran e’üssülčeji qarun morlaqa’ar Kelüren-ӄ Arqal-geği-de gürbe ‘He sent Jürchedei and Arqai ahead to reconnoitre, and at once set forth from Lake Baljuna together with the army. They rode out and arrived at Arqal Geği on the Kelüren River’ (Mnt 183); eke mede’et söni bö’et ӄuda’aran čaqan teme’en kölji qara’utai tergetei söni-de dülin yorçijö ‘When mother heard this, straightaway – it was still night – she harnessed a white camel and set out in a black covered cart, travelling all night’ (Mnt 244); uridus-i üülü ӄuda’arakuy-aça // umartaqı ajq’u // ükülen-e üülü erişegiye-eč // umtarqaju ajq’u ‘I forgot // As if I would not follow the forefather; // I slept // As I would not be caught by death’ (Mnt 254) < *ӄudaga- ← *ӄudaga ~ LM (L) ӄuday-a ‘one of a number of recurring or multiplied instances, or repeated acts; occasion, instance’;

Mnt ӄäçira- ‘to take revenge, to pay back’: ede qurban Merkit qurban ja’ut haran ӄӱdür-ӄen erte Toqto’a-beki-yin de’ü Yeke-čiledi-deče Yisügei-ba’atür-a Hö’elüin eke-yi buliți abtalai ke’en te’un-ı ösön ӄäçıranc otcu’ui ‘those three Merkit with three hundred men, said, ‘In former days Mother Hö’elüin was abducted by Yisügei Ba’atur from Yeke Çiledü, the younger brother of Toqto’a Beki’, and they set out to take revenge for that’ (Mnt 111) < *ӄäçira- ← *ӄäçi ~ LM (L) ači- ‘favor, grace; merit; requital; reward; benefit; consequence, result’;

?Mnt ӄa’ur-a ‘to go on military campaign’: Sübe’etei-ba’atür temür telegeti Merkid-ĭn Toqto’a-yın Qutu Čila’un teri’üten kö’üd-i inu neken ӄa’uraj ӄui-müren-e güyyičėji muqutaqaju irebe ‘Sübe’etei Ba’atür, who had been provided with iron cart, had gone on a campaign in pursuit of the of Toqto’a of the Merkit led by Qutu and Čila’un. He overtook them at the Cui River, destroyed them and came back.’ (Mnt 236); õntür daba’a daban // örgen müret ketılın // urtu ӄa’ur ӄa’uran // olon ulus-ıyan jibši’erini setakebei ‘has thought of // Establishing order over his many people, // Climbing high passes, // Crossing wide rivers // And waging a long campaign’ (Mnt 254); urtu ӄa’ur ӄa’uraju // oqor bolqa bolqaqaju öksü ‘I shall go forth for him on a long campaign // Or fight in a short fight’ (Mnt 255) < *ӄagura-.
The etymology of this verb raises several questionable points. Usually it is connected with the noun *čagur* 'soldier'. The etymology would need the supposition of a denominal verb suffix +A-, which at the moment is not assuringly traceable. Another way is to suppose a former *čagurra-* ← čagur+rA-.

**Literature:**


**+čilA-**

The denominal verb suffix +čila- has several derivatives and is present in the linguistic monuments of the Mongolic languages from quite early periods until recent times.

The material provided by the Mnt should be handled with caution, as not all verbs ending in čilA- are examples of this suffix, only those, in the case of which the derivation in one step is provable. Others are examples of the suffix +la- on a noun derived by the so-called Nomen Actoris, and accordingly should be omitted during this characterization. In the light of that the following verbs, meaning ‘to behave in a manner or like the person designated by the primary word’ will not be dealt with in this examination: esükčile-198 ‘to drink milk’; kelečile-199 ‘to report’; qajarčila-200 ‘to guide’; tarbaqčila-201 ‘to hunt for marmots’; alginčila- ‘to scout’; alaqčila-202 ‘to be arbitrary’, qorčila-203 ‘to appoint to the rank of quiverbearer’; ḍermičile-204 ‘to differentiate oneself’. There remains one verb the background of which is not completely clear. That is the verb namečila- ‘to apologize’. The stem of namančila- is of Sanskrit origin, but a word like nameči is not attested for Mongolic.

In the light of the above in the Mnt the suffix +čilA has 3 occurrences (1). These three examples are listed below:

198 Derived from *esükči* ‘one who likes Kumiss’, cf. LM (l.) miqačin ‘ogre, carnivorous’ ← *mikan.
199 Derived from *keleči ~ LM (l.) keleči ‘interpreter, commentator’.
200 Derived from *kajarči ~ LM (l.) qajarči ‘guide, conductor’.
201 Derived from *tarbakači ~ LM (l.) tarbayacín ‘marmot hunter or trapper’.
202 Derived from *alakčin ~ LM (l.) alayčin ‘motley, variegated, parti-colored, piebald’
203 Derived from *körči ~ Mnt qorčın(n) ‘quiverbearer’.
204 Derived from *obyermiče (ʔ-ʔ) ~ LM (l.) obermiče ‘difference, distinction; peculiarity, special characteristics; individuality; especial(ly), particular(ly), different(ly)’.
(1) Mnt de‘üčile- ‘to treat as a younger brother’: derge-de’en kebte‘üljü // de‘üčilen ösgebe je namayi ‘She let me lie at her side // And brought me up as the younger brother of her children’ (Mnt 203) < *degüčile- ← *degü- ~ LM (L) degü ‘younger brother or sister; younger’;

Mnt kö‘üčile- ‘to treat as one’s own son’: köl-düriyen kebte‘üljü // kö‘üčilen ösgebe je namayi ‘She let me lie at her feet // And brought me up as her own son’ (Mnt 203) ta dörben-ni irgen-ü nuntu-ača // köser-eće olju // köl-düriye düriju // kö‘üčilen teşi‘erüün ‘the four of you my mother // On the hare ground she found you, // In other people’s camps. She placed you close to her legs, // She treated you as her own sons’ (Mnt 214) < *kögüčile- ← *kögün ~ Mnt kö‘ün ‘Sohn’;

Mnt emečile- ‘to compare to a woman, treat as a woman’: ene üğe-tür Tayang qan öer-iyen emečilekden ügilekdejü Tayang qan ügilüren ‘to these words, whereby Tayang Qan himself was spoken of as behaving like a woman, Tayang Qan said’ (Mnt 194) < *emečile- ← *eme ~ LM (L) em-e ‘woman, wife; female’

Later on the number of examples increases, and the suffix is productive even today.

To give a more accurate characterization of the suffix beside of the verbs quoted from the Mnt some comparative data will be used.

There are no restrictions in connection with the auslaut of the base, so beside of stems with an auslaut vowel there are some instances with an auslaut consonant as well (2).

(2) LM (L) boyolčila- ‘to treat as a slave, enslave; to be a slave, live in servitude’ ← *bogol ~ LM (L) boyol ‘slave, serf, bondsman; slavery, servitude, servdom; knave (playing card)’;

LM (L) jabčila- ‘to do something in one’s spare time’ ← *jab ~ LM (L) Jab ‘free time, leisure; occasion’;

LM (L) kilbarčila- ‘to make easy or simple, simplify; to popularize; to treat something lightly; to abbreviate’ ← *kilbar ~ LM (L) kilbar ‘easy, simple; easily, simply; simple-minded; accessible, approachable’;

LM (L) kitadčila- ‘to sinicize, to translate into Chinese’ → *kitad: LM (L) kitad ‘China, Chinese’.

It seems to be a rule, that if the suffix is added to a noun with an -n stem, then the final -n is dropped (3), however, not all of the examples show this feature, as the case of köbegüčile- ‘to treat as one’s son’ and köbegüncile ‘to take someone as his son’ show. (This latter quoted from GWM §240).

(3) LM (L) ebügečile- ‘to respect the ancients, honor the elders’ ← *ebügen: LM (L) ebügen ‘old man; old (of men)’;

LM (L) uračila- ‘to do something well, artistically, or skillfully’ ← *uran: LM (L) uran ‘artist, craftsman; art, craft; artistic; crafty; artistically, masterly, skillfully’.

One cannot find any restriction on the complexity of the stem, so simplex bases occur (4), as well as derived ones (5).
(4) LM (L) doščile- ‘to take a short cut; to consider near or close’ ← *döte: LM (L) döte ‘near, close, short, straight; abbreviated, abridged’;
LM (L) ilečile- ‘to declare, reveal, make clear, manifest or public’ ← *ile: LM (L) ile ‘clear, manifest; obvious; perceptible, visible, distinct’; etc.

(5) LM (L) neyigemčile- ‘to spread over the whole society, socialize’ ← *neyigem: LM (L) neyigem ‘society, community; uniform, equal, alike, similar; social, public’
LM (L) sanayačila- ‘to put one’s mind to; to initiate an idea’ ← *sanaga: LM (L) sanayačila(n) ‘thought, thinking, idea, reflection, attention; opinion, conception, sentiment; frame of mind’;
LM (L) surtalčila- ‘to explain, expound; to propagandize’ ← *surtał: LM (L) surtal ‘teaching, doctrine; propaganda; habit, custom’;

Although earlier works do not mention variants for this suffix, some etymologically obscure examples (6) are worth to mention. Seemingly they show the suffix -čila, and before it a protetical b. Such are:

(6) LM (L) konggečile- ‘to make lighter or easier, relieve, alleviate, assuage’ ← *konggen: LM (L) konggen ‘light (of weight); cheap; easy; unimportant, irrelevant’;
LM (L) naribčila- ‘to proceed, act cautiously or accurately; to penetrate, investigate carefully; to pursue with zeal; to know or understand thoroughly; to work or proceed with an eye to detail’ ← *narin: LM (L) narin ‘fine (not coarse); narrow, tight; thin, slender; high pitched; of good quality; fine, delicate; thin; careful, thorough; elaborate, detailed’;
LM (L) qurdubčila- ‘to hurry, hasten; to do something quickly’ ← *kurdun: LM (L) qurdun ‘quick, fast, rapid, swift, nimble, prompt; speed’;

Khal.B. ixewčlex (< *yekebčile-) ‘to finish doing a greater part (of something)’ ← *yeke: LM (L) yeke ‘great, big, large (both physical and abstract); older, elder; majestic, imposing; adult (adj.); much, very, greatly’;

Khal.K. aniwičox (LM (K) anibčila-) ‘sürün pislog’. This verb was, however, is not *anibčila- but anibčil-; which is the frequentative form of the verb anibči- ~ Khal.B. aniwičix205 ‘to blink’. In the same manner, following the tradition of earlier dictionaries, seyičile- given by Kara as a LM form of sícłex ‘újra meg újra bemetsz vmibe, vés vmít’ is the frequentative form of *seyiči- ~ LM (L) seyiči- ‘to loosen, poke or stir with a hoe, pitchfork, etc. as fire, soil or hay’.

LM (L) baribčila- ‘to seize, capture, arrest’ ← *barib ← *bari- ~ LM (L) bari- ‘to hold, grasp, grip, take; to seize, catch, arrest; to harbor or cherish feelings or thoughts; to keep (as a vow); to build, construct; to set up, establish; to steer, drive; to control, rule; to present, offer, submit; to shape, model, mold; to make (of bread, cookies)’.

205 Bawden’s example under this word is nūdīg aniwičix ‘to blink the eyes’ which suggests that this verb is transitive.
LM (L) *yayarabčil-* ‘to hurry, hasten’ ← *yayarab ← *yagara- ~ LM (L) *yagara- ‘to hurry, hasten, rush, speed; to be busy’;

This problem was briefly discussed by Önôrbayan (2000: 31). He states that if the suffix is added to nouns ending in -n, then this final -n shifts into -w (← *b). In addition he quotes the following examples: *bûdûwčil-, tûrgewčil-. As it is not characteristic for Mongolic languages that protetical sounds appear Önôrbayan’s explanation cannot be accepted. In some cases above, there appears a deverbal noun suffix -b, cf. *baribčila- and *yagarabčila-. For such a derivation consider LM (L) *tôsûb ‘plan, project, conjecture, assumption; estimate. budget’ ← *tôs- ~ LM (L) *tôs- ‘to assume, presume, guess; to have a general knowledge, a rough idea of’; LM (L) *sedûb ‘subject, problem; theme; topic; thesis, argument’ ← *sed-. 206: LM (L) *sedû- ‘to plan, devise, think out; to work out; to invent; to start, set going’. Other examples, as Khalkha aniwčilax are results of wrong segmentation. In the case of Khalkha *ixewčilx, or LM (L) *naribčila- it should be pondered if not the denominal noun suffix *bči was used.

The most striking difference among the examples of the Mnt and the later material appears in the meaning of the stem to which the suffix is added, since all occurrences in the Mnt were formed from a family-term.

The function of the suffix +čila- is to derive verbs which have the meaning ‘to treat like the thing (or more correctly person) designated by the primary word’.

Poppes’ definition referring to the Written-Mongolian in which he states that the function of this suffix is to indicate that the object is rendered into, made into, or made like the thing or quality designated by the primary word (GWM §240) seems to be right, but it does not work in the case of his example *tarbayačila- ‘to hunt marmots’ which is derivated from the word *tarbayačin ‘marmot hunter or trapper’, and not directly from *tarbayan ‘marmot, Arctomys, tarbagan’. Such derivations are numerous.

On the other hand Street is also wrong, when he derives the verb *køûčile- ‘to treat like a son’ from the word *køûči ‘one who deals with a son’, because we do not know a Mongolian word like *køûči, on the other hand his semantical explication „treat like a son (lit. act like one who deals with a son)” seems to be artificial because he wants to provide an intransitive meaning to a transitive verb.

The examples of the Mnt are transitive.

The suffix +čila- was considered to be a compound since the work of Orlov (1978). Ramstedt analyzed this suffix as a compound of the well-known Nomen Actoris +či and the denominal verb suffix +lA-. (1912: §100) The same thing was stated later by Szabó(1943: 43) and Godziński (1985: 57). However, if we consider its occurrences, we will find that the meaning of the suffix can not be deduced from the meaning of its elements.

206 In spite that dictionaries quote this verb as *sedů-, it is more plausible to suppose that this verb had not a vowel in the auslaut position, since there are such derivations like *sedkûl: LM (L) *sedjûl/*sedkûl ‘courier, messenger; letter, missive; magazine, journal, periodical’ and *sedkî- ~ LM (L) *sedkî- ‘to think, reflect, ponder; to intend’.
Literature:


+rKA-

+rKA- is denominative verbs suffix. It comes for very rarely in Middle Mongol. According to Street in the text of the Mnt there are four derivatives of this suffix.

When added to stems ending in a consonant the given consonant is dropped (in the examples above that happens to -g and -n, comparative data shows that the same can happen to -r). However, as Khalkha and Buryat data show the drop out does not happen inevitably.207

The material of the Mnt does not allow to check if dissimilation occurred (Poppe 1960: 97) in cases when the stems contained an -r-,208 unless the r is a stem-final consonant. In such cases this stem-final -r is dropped.209

Mnt omorqa- ‘to swagger’: güčürgegün-i gūjū’üt anu kinggūritkūn // omorqaqun-i omori’u[t] onglajitqun ‘Cut the neck of the braggart // Cleave the breast of the arrogant!’ (Mnt 124) < *omorka- ← *omog ~ LM (L) omog ‘arrogance, haughtiness, conceit, pride; anger’;

Mnt dayysisurqa- ‘to be hostile’: qaça öndegen hū’ūtugel mān aqa gūjūn-ü ebče’in-tür dayysisurqan aju’u ‘May he and he alone rot like an egg! He has turned against the bosom of a person who is senior to him’ (Mnt 276) < *dayisurka- ← *dayisun ~ LM (L) dayisun ‘enemy, foe, adversary; menace’;

Mnt güčürge- ‘to brag’: güčürgegün-i gūjū’üt anu kinggūritkūn // omorqaqun-i omori’u[t] onglajitqun ‘Cut the neck of the braggart // Cleave the breast of the arrogant!’ (Mnt 124) < *küčürke- ← *küčün ~ LM (L) küčün ‘power, force (also military), strength; effort; energy; validity’;

Mnt usurqa- ‘to search for water’: Senggüm Didik-saqal-un Nekūn-usun-a üllü oron qada’un yorčłu Čöl-tür orujo usurqaran qutat hilu’tatuju bayyiqun-i Senggüm bawuju mariyaju’u ‘Senggüm did not go to Nekūn Usun of Didik Saqal, but bypassed it and entered the

207 Cf. Buryat omogorxoxo ‘gordit’sja; pohvaljat’sja’; Khalkha čavdaqarxax ‘tül zsugorinak/fukarnak bizonyul’; Khalkha noromorxox ‘tudalékosodik, tudáskosodik; tudományával kérkedik’; Khalkha xovdogroxox ‘telhetetlenkedik, mohó(n)/kapzsi(n viselkedik’; etc.

208 Cf. LM (L) erelke- ‘to boast of one’s courage; to pretend to be brave; to be impudent or haughty’; LM (L) degerelke- ‘to consider oneself very important; to be arrogant or conceited’; LM (L) nerelke- ‘to be pretentious, proud’; Khal.K. šaralxax ‘elfuvalkodottan mélatatlankodik’; Khal.K. xarilxax ‘idegenkedik vmitöl’. It seems that there is only one exception to this rule, cf. Khal.K. morixox ‘lovát dícsérı, lovával kérkedik/henceg, lovaglásban való jártasságát fitogtatja’.

209 Cf. LM (L) iderke- ‘to be vigorous, strong, brisk, energetic, healthy, mature.
Čöl. While searching for water, he dismounted and stalked some wild asses that were standing there, plagued by gadflies’ (Mnt 188) <- *usurqa- ← *usun ~ LM (L) usun ‘water; body of water’;

In addition Godziński (1985: 62) quotes the verb soyurqa- .

Mnt soyurqa- ‘to show favor’: tus qan-ıyan tebêñ yadaqsan setkil tanu jöb büi ke’en Naya’a-yi soyurqaba ‘Your thought that you could not do away with your rightful lord is correct.’ So saying, he showed favour to Naya’a’ (Mnt 149); Yisügen qadun ügülerin qahan soyurqa’asu namayi giüün-e bodo-da bolqaju asaramu ‘Yisügen Qatun said, ’If it pleases the Qa’an, he will take care of me, regarding me as a human being and a person worth keeping’ (Mnt 155); Činggis qa’an-i soyurqa’asu ariyal ügei büi büçüjü bariya ke’en üge baralduba ‘If Činggis Qa’an favours us with his trust, he will not hesitate to act: they have pledged to surround and capture you’ (Mnt 169); Further occurrences: Mnt 185, 186, 188, 191, 197, 201, 203, 204, 207, 208, 209, 213, 218, 219, 235, 238, 239, 246, 248, 249, 251, 252, 255, 257, 260, 266, 277.

In Godziński’s view this verb originates from an unattested form *soyu which he traces back ultimately to the Chinese word tz’ü ‘kind, merciful’. Clauson pointed to the same origin for the Turkic verb tsourka- ‘to have pity on (someone), to be compassionate’ (ED 556a). In addition he supposed that it is an early loan-word in Mongolian from Turkic. That could be true, taking into account the semantics of the derived verbs. Referring to Written Mongol Poppe defined the function of the suffix as to denote possession of something in abundance. (GWM§247) Checking the verbs of the Mnt, it can be stated that such a definition does not work here. The verbs omorqa-, dayyisurqa-, and güçürge- all involve a quite pejorative meaning. I find more appropriate to define the meaning of the suffix as ‘to act in the manner denoted by the primary word, or to act in a manner full with the thing denoted by the primary word’.

With the exception of usurqa-, all verbs are intransitive, that is why the relevance of usurqa- here is questionable.

Godziński (1985: 62) analyzes this suffix as a compound of *rA- and the causative suffix -KA-, but it must be seen that the derived verbs with the exception of usurqa- are intransitive.

**Literature:**

The nominal verb suffix +s- was dealt with by Street (1957:63). According to him the form of the suffix is +is- and its only example would be the verb keyis- (1). At the given place Street mentions another nominal verb suffix +s- as well, for which he marks two occurrences, but he quotes only the verb hünis-. In addition (1957:64) with reference to the suffix +is- he lists the suffix +ys-, for which the only example would be the verb keyyis-. There is no need to separate the suffixes +is- and +ys-, as the latter is only an allomorph. On the other hand Godziński deals with a suffix, which he marks as -s(A)-, however, he does not differentiate historically clearly different suffix. Thus he quotes at the same place (1985:62-63) the verbs umda’as-, bayas-, keyis-, öles-/ölös-, sonas-/sonos-, hünis-, jusa-, and amsa-, only the last of which is not present in the Mnt.

For semantic reasons Mnt umda’as- and ölös- evidently pertain together. In these two verbs the suffix +s- has a deprivative meaning, just as in the verb *nigüles-, cf. LM (L) nigüles- ‘to pity, be compassionate, merciful, sympathetic; to show grace, kindness’ which is quite prevalent in sources of Buddhist topic, derived from the noun *nigül, cf. LM (L) nigül ‘sin’. It is not clear, however, how the verb keyis- joins the picture.

On the base of the first two verbs, the function of the suffix would be to derive verbs which indicate the want, or suffering from the lack of the thing denoted by the stem. Later in Literary Mongol the suffix appears as +sA- and modern data feature a fair amount of derivatives.210

(1) Mnt keyis-/keyyis- ‘to blow (of wind)’: kei bolu’asu qarçiqai-bar bar’uluqsan noqut qalawud-un ödün hüsün anu burlqaliq časun metü butarajü keyisjü iremü ‘when the wind blows from the northwest, the fluff and feathers of the ducks and geese caught by his hawk are scattered and fly over here like swirling snow.’ (Mnt 31); kei øede // kegülïyen keyisimser // ke’er qajar-a // ke’eli-ben ölüsismser bülïyi ‘Whose tuft has never blown // Against the wind, // Whose belly has never hungered // In the steppe’ (Mnt 56); Burqan-ni quçilüqsat qurban fa’ut Merkid-i uruq-un uruq-a gürtele hünisi’er keyistle ülğebe ‘The three hundred Merkit who had once circled Mount Burqan // Were exterminated, down to // The offspring of their offspring; // They were blown to the winds like hearth-ashes.’ (Mnt 112); Aša-gambu-yi abçu // termi gertü // temu’en aci’tatu // irgen-i inu hünesi’er keyistle talžulbaï ‘He captured Aša Gambu and plundered his people // Who had tents of thin woollen cloth, // Who had camels laden with goods // until they were blown to the winds like hearth-ashes’ (Mnt 265) // qamq’ulsun keyyisküi-tür // qara hoi temečekči // Qa’atai-darmala edö’e // Qarajï-ke’er-e bii je ‘Qa’atai Darmala, who when the saltwort // Is carried by the wind, // Quickly flies into a dark forest, // He must now be in the Qarajï Steppe’ (Mnt 105) < *keyis- ← *kei ~ LM (L) kei ‘air, wind, atmosphere, gas’;

210 Cf. LM (L) qujirsa- ‘to suffer from lack of salt (mostly of animals); to long for a saline pasture ground’; LM (L) buqasa- ‘to rut (of large horned animals)’; Khal.K. xusax ‘(nóstény juh) kost kíván’; Khal.K. ürsex ‘kicsinyéhez nagyon ragaszkodik’.
Mnt *umda’as/-umdās*—‘to parch, to be thirsty’: Činggis qahan dotora’an sergijű ügüleriin čisan haqçu baraba umda’asumu bi k’ébe ‘Činggis Qa’an revived and said, ‘The blood has dried up completely; I am thirsty.’” (Mnt 145) /// Šira-ke’er-e Tatar irtgen qurimlan büküütür jolqaju umdāșcu qurim-tur anu bawu-l-ba ‘[Yisügei Ba’atur] met some Tatars who were having a feast in the Šira Ke’er by Mount Čekčer. As he was thirsty, he got off his horse and joined them at the feast’ (Mnt 67) < *umdagas-* ← *umdagan ~ LM (L) umdayan ‘beverage, drink’;

Mnt ölös/-ölüs*—‘to hunger’: kei o’ede // kegülīyen keyisümser // ke’er qəjar-a // ke’eli-ben ölüsümser büliyi ‘Whose tuft has never blown // Against the wind, // Whose belly has never hungered // In the steppe’ (Mnt 56); Kelüren-ü teri’iin-eçe Činggis qahan ő’esün esergü otçu ölösçü turuşu irebe ke’en Ong qan-a qubçirı qubçju ökçü ‘from the source of the Kelüren River, Činggis Qa’an went in person to meet him. Because Ong Qan had arrived starved and exhausted, Činggis Qa’an raised taxes for him’ (Mnt 151); ölösüksen-i činu üdür dülii-de ese gürgebe jere tuuruqsan-i činu sara-yin jarıım-a ese gürgebe jere bi ‘Your hunger I did not allow to last until noon, your leanness I did not allow to last until the middle of the month’ (Mnt 177); Tatar-un Qargil-šira o’urçaq bolun qarçu jieči yadaju ölösçü orofju ireffju ‘Qargil Šira of the Tatar escaped and became an outcast. Then, reduced to straits and suffering from hunger, he came back, and entering the tent’ (Mnt 214); < *ölös*-211 ← *öl ~ LM (L) öl ‘food, provision; nutritiousness; nourishment; hunger’;

Although it was listed as a derivative of the suffix -s-, there is a possibility to place the verb hünis-among the derivatives of the suffix *s-* (2).

(2) Mnt hünis*—‘to smell bad’: qoj’ulas tutum // qongsi’ut // hünji’ülès tutum // hünŝi’üt hünistele // talhiba ‘he placed all about, so that // Every tree stump reeked with their stench, // Every dead tree with their foul smell.’ (Mnt 27) < *hünis- ← *hünü ~ Mnt hünü ‘smoke’;

**Literature:**

Ramstedt 1912: §61; 1952: §95/3; Szabó 1943: §86; Önörbayan 1998: 39, 40; 2000: 35–38; 44–45;

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211 The judging of the verb *ölös*- is rather difficult. This verb above was listed among the examples of the deverbal verb suffix *s-*. Its generally accepted etymology (Ramstedt 1952: 160) of this Mongolic word derives it from the Turkic verb *öl- ~ Old Turkic öl- ‘to die’ (ED 125b). However there are some counter-arguments against this derivation. First of all the Mongolic verb does not mean ‘to die’. Those who starve do not die inevitably. A much stronger reason is that the verb *ölös- could have a good etymology in Mongolic, cf. LM (L) öl ‘food, provision; nutritiousness; nourishment; hunger’. The semantics of this word is however not without problems, since it would need a good explanation how a word can mean at the same time food and hunger?
+yi-  

Mongolic is probably uniquely in that it has verbs derived from roots of pronouns. Such verbs, called *verba pronominalia* are present in the Mnt as well. These are *eyi-* and *teyi-* in which the suffix +yi- is most probably denominal.\(^{212}\)

Mnt *eyi-* ‘to act in this manner’: *Ambaqaq qahān-ni ṭükbe’ü či ke’ejī Hō’elān-ne gūrtele eyin ke’ekdekeii bolbī ‘Is it because you say to yourself that Ambaqaq Qa’an is dead, that we are being spoken to in this way’ (Mnt 71); *manu būrin-i ulus a[b]ču newükderün itqaq bolun eyin kikdebe ‘When I tried to stop them, this is how I was treated’ (Mnt 73); *Suldus-un Sorgan-šira jō[b] da’arjū ujefji ugülerün jō[b] ele eyimü arqatu-yin tula ‘Sorgan Şira of the Suldus happened to pass by and he saw Temüjin lying in the stream. He said to him, ‘It is just because you are so clever’ (Mnt 82),\(^{213}\) *eki-* ← *e*, cf. LM (L) *ene* ‘demonstr. pron. this, he, she, it’, LM (L) *egiin* ‘stem of the demonstrative pronoun *ene*’

Mnt *teyi-* ‘to act in that manner’: *Alan-qo’a-yi tende quyuu ĭ Dobun-mergen-ni avuqsan yosun teyimi ‘This is how Dobun Mergen asked there and then for Alan Qo’a, [...] and how he took her as his wife.’ (Mnt 9); *teyin atala Dobun-mergen ügei bolba ‘Before long, Dobun Mergen died’ (Mnt 17); *ńengelj[i]-qoroğan huru’n neviųj iɾe[k]se[t] irgen-tür teyimiği gii’u teyimiği mori-n-tu bulle’ ke’en sura’asu ‘He asked those people who had moved down along the Tünggelik Stream about such-and-such a man with such-and-such a horse.’ (Mnt 30) *teki-* ← *te*, cf. LM (L) *tere* ‘demonstr. pron. that, he, she, it’; LM (L) *teqin* ‘stem of the demonstrative pronoun *tere*’; etc.

In addition I should remark that a deverbal suffix -yi- was mentioned by Ramstedt (1912: §70) and by Szabó (1943: §46). According to them the suffix forms reflexive verbs, a category which, however, does not seem to exist in Mongolic. The examples quoted by Ramstedt are: *ńimuyi/-nimyi-\(^{214}\) ‘den Mund, die Augen zusammengepresst halten’; *gedeyi-* ‘den Kopf rückwärts halten, zurückgebebgen sein’; *yuduyi-* ‘den Kopf senken, vorwärts hängen’ (vgl. *yudus* ‘vorwärts, nach Unten’); *ńiluyi-* ‘verschwinden’ ← *ńilu-, Kalmuck zul- ‘fliehen’; *ńokiyi/-ńokiyi/-ńokiyi-* ‘in gebückter Stellung stehen’ (ńökire- ‘sich bücken, gebogen werden’); *ńakiyi-* ‘eine schiefe Stellung haben (z.B. die Hand)’ (ńakir ‘verrenkt, schief’); *ńękkeyi-, Kalmuck keńke- ‘weit und breit sein, gross und leer dünken’; *ńumiwi-* ‘zugespült, zugezogen sein (z.B. die Mündung des Sackes)’ ← *ńumi-* ‘einziehen, zuziehen, zusammenschnüren (gegen die Mitte)’ (ńumir-?); *ńquyi/-ńquyi- hervortreten, hervorrucken, überragen’; *ńadayi- ‘offen, breit sein, flach liegen’ (vgl. *ńadayi- ‘offen, breit, weit’; *ńadayi-, nadayira- ‘aufschwellen (z.B. das Zahnfleisch)’ (ńadara- ‘sich verbreiten, vermehren’, *ńadur ‘mästen’; *ńurjiiy- ‘sich runzeln, einschrumpfen’; *ńalbeyi-/ńaldayi-/ńaljiyi- ‘herabhängen’; *ńulča- ‘rote Augen haben’; “u. zahllose andere.”

I am inclined however to consider several of these examples denominal, and then the suffix is the same as in the above mentioned verbs *eyi-* and *teyi-* in comparison with other historical

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\(^{212}\) One wonders where the corresponding verb derived from the root *ya could disappear. Instead the form *yaki-* ~ Mnt yeki- ‘in what manner to act’ is present.

\(^{213}\) Further occurrences will not be listed.

\(^{214}\) Cf. Old Turkic *yum-* ‘to shut’ (ED 934a)
dimensions of the Mongolic languages, in the Mnt this verb suffix appears in extremely few cases, and while it seems to be clear that they were derived by a formant yi- their exact etymology at present is obscure.

Mnt önggeyi- ‘to lean forward’: Merkid-ün Yeke-čiledü Oloqunu’ut ırıgen-eče öki a(b)ču e’išgeji ayisuq-yi jolaqju önggeyiği iye’esü öngge jisü bušitai öki qatu iječi ‘the Merkit Yeke Çiledü who was on his way home, taking with him a girl of the Oloqunu’ut tribe to be his wife. Leaning forward to have a better look, he saw that she was an unusually beautiful young woman.’ (Mnt 54) < *önggeyi- ← *öng-, cf. önggelje- ‘to encroach, attempt; to look or peek at something by leaning over it’. There are two possibilities to etymologize the stem, both of them suggest a Turkic origin. 1. << Turkic, cf. Old Turkic öni ‘the front of anything’ (ED 167b); 2. << Turkic, cf. Old Turkic ün- ‘to rise’ (ED 169a).

Mnt öngdeyi- ‘to sit up, to rise’: dotora nidiün minu geyibe ke’e et öngdeyijü sa’utala üdür geyijü gegen bolju iye’esü ‘The eyes within me have cleared up.’ He spoke and sat up: it was daybreak and growing light’ (Mnt 145); Činggis qa’an-i donșodu’ai üdû iye Börte üjiñ dotora öngdeyijü sa’uçu ‘Before Činggis Qa’an could utter a sound, Lady Börte sat up in bed’ (Mnt 245) < *öngdeyi- ← *öngde- << ?Turkic, cf. Old Turkic öned- ‘to recover one’s health’ and Old Turkic ün- ‘to rise’.

By semantic reasons it is obvious that the verb qarayi- belongs here. Probably on the base of the Chinese gloss the verb is translated as ‘to look back’, however such a meaning is not traceable from other sources. There is only *kara- ‘to look’. The verb, however, could be an erroneous form instead of qalayi-,”125 which is strengthened by semantics, cf. Khal.(Cewel) xalaix ‘xarax, ajix, ajiglax’.

Mnt qarayi- ‘to leap, jump’: qayila’asu // qarayijü ńilibi üjegi ü imeyi // qayibasu // qa’ülqas inu ńilibi olqo ći ‘If you call him, and he looks back, // He will not see you; // If you look for his tracks, // His trail you will not find.’ (Mnt 56)

A relatively clear semantic field can be attached to the verbs čayi- and geyi-. Both of them mean something like ‘to show, to pretend the quality denoted by the root’.

Mnt čayi- ‘to shine, to dawn, to gleam’: ger-ün belge sün tüşüreyet esüg-iyen söni-de üdür čayitala büleki bułe ‘The sign by which one recognized the tent was that, after pouring out mare’s milk, they used to churn their kumis all through the night until daybreak’ < *čaki- ← *ča-/, cf. LM (L) čayan ‘white; light (of color); the white of an egg or of the eye; walleye’; LM (L) čaki- ‘to strike fire from a flint; to flash’ etc.

Mnt geyi- ‘to glare, to gleam, to shine’: niken manaqar erde gerel Şiral üdür geyin bükü-tür ‘early one morning - the light was yellowish as day began to dawn’ (Mnt 98); Tenggeli[k]-qoroqan öde gödöljü ayisun bükü-tür herii baru-da üdür geyin bükü-tür esergün-eče čerik haran qataraju ‘and moved upstream along the Tenggelik Stream. As she was proceeding in the dim light - the day was breaking some soldiers came riding at a trot towards her.’ (Mnt 100); dotora nidiün minu geyibe ke’e et öngdeyijü sa’utala üdür

125 I am indebted for György Kara, who attracted my attention on this possibility.
geyifü gegen bolju “The eyes within me have cleared up.’ He spoke and sat up: it was
daybreak and growing light’ (Mnt 145); Further occurrences: Mnt 146, 120; < *geki- →
*ge/-, cf. LM (L) gegen/gegegen ‘daylight; morning dawn light; splendor, brightness;
heart; bright, brilliant, serene’; LM (L) gerel ‘light, beam of light; illumination;
splendor; shine, gloss, polish’;

There appear in addition some verbs in the Mnt like bayi- ‘to stand, to be’\textsuperscript{226}, qayi- ‘to search for’,
tayi- ‘to offer up a sacrifice’, güyyi- ‘to run’, quyi- ‘to ask for’ that are probably derived by the
verbal suffix yi-, yet their etymology is obscure.

It is a question if this suffix can be traced back to the verb ki- ‘to do’ or not. Such parallel forms as
tayi- and taki-, čayi- and čaki- could strengthen such a suggestion. If it turns out that the suffix
originates from the verb *ki-, than it can be stated that the phenomenon of grammaticalization
occurred several times to that verb, cf. the suffix *-ki- deriving onomatopoetic verbs.

**Literature:**

1964: 151–152; Cydypov 1988 64; Benzing 1985: 186; Szabó 1943: §80;

\textbf{+JA-}

The denominal verbs suffix +JA- was mentioned by Street (1957: 63) to be present in the verbal
übülje-. Godziński (1985: 58) discussed this suffix as an allomorph of the suffix +ji-. While it is true
that Classical-Mongolian and the modern languages refer to the form +ji-, it must be mentioned that
the examples of this suffix have to be separated from that of +ji- meaning ‘to become
somehow’ discussed in in work in a separate section. In view of that, either there were two
homophone suffixes with the shape +ji- but with different functions, or we should presume that
the form +JA- is the original one, which later coincided with +ji-.

The suffix has a very special meaning ‘to spend the season denoted by the stem’. Taking in
account other sources\textsuperscript{227}, it can be stated that it forms verbs from names of seasons, except the
noun for summer, for which cf. jusa- ‘to spend the summer’ under +SA-.

Mnt übülje- ‘to spend the winter (somewhere)’: ulus irgen-i anu gödölgejü irejü Činggis qahan Qoba-qaya übüljebei Činggis Qa’an carried away the people of their tribe, and
spent the winter at Quba Qaya’ (Mnt 148); tere übül jere’er newüjü Činggis qahan Quba-
qaya-yi übüljebe ‘That winter, in an orderly way they moved to new pastures and
Činggis Qa’an wintered at Quba Qaya’ (Mnt 151); tere übül übüljejü noqai jil namur inu
Činggis qahan Çaqa’an-Tatar Alči-Tatar Dutaut Alqui-Tatar tede Tatar-tur Dalan-nemërjes
bayyilduju qatqulduqy-yin urida ‘After having spent that winter (1201–1202) at Quba

\textsuperscript{226} A connection between this verb and the Old Turkic bar never was suggested.

\textsuperscript{227} Cf. LM (L) qaburji- ‘to pass the spring season (at a given place)’; LM (L) namurji- ‘to pass the autumn (at a certain
place)’
Qaya, in the autumn of the Year of the Dog (1202), Činggis Qa’an engaged these Tatars in battle at Dalan Nemürges: the Ča’ań Tatar, Alči Tatar, Duta’ut [Tatar] and Aruqai Tatar.’ (Mnt 153); Further occurrences: Mnt 177, 187, 198, 265 < *ebülje- ← *ebül ~ LM (L) ebül ‘winter; in winter’

**Literature:**

Street 1957: 63; Godziński 1985: 58; Benzing 1985: 187;

**+mši-**

The suffix +mši- was mentioned by Street (1957: 63). Although from modern Mongolic languages quite numerous examples are traceable\(^{218}\), in the text of the Mnt it occurs rarely, that is why further derivations were considered as well. According to Godziński (1985: 60) from the Middle Mongol period the suffix is traceable only from the Mnt, which is true only if the so-called Pre-classical monuments are excluded from the examination.

The suffix +mši- is observed to be added either to stems ending in a vowel, or stems ending in -n, which disappears during the derivational process.

This derivational element is possibly a compound one, but it is not clear what are its components.

Mnt ünemši- ‘to credit, to take seriously’: tere deleme uğe činu ya’un bolumui haran ba ünemšige’üjey ke’ejü’üj ‘What is this idle talk of yours? Some people here may take it seriously’ (Mnt 169) < *ünemšige-\(^{219}\) ← *ünemši- ← *ünen ~ LM (L) ünen ‘truth; faithfulness; justice; true, genuine, real, authentic’;

Mnt eremši- ‘to consider oneself as a man’: niken qoyar Orusut Kibča’ud-i olju edege-yin ši’ira olu’ai jö’ei iđü’uie eremšiju ‘You took one or two Orusut and Kibča’ut, but while you haven’t yet acquired as booty even the hoof of a kid, you make yourself into a hero’ (Mnt 277) < *eremši- ← *ere ~ LM (L) er-e ‘man, male (often preceding names of animals, where in certain cases it may designate a castrated male), husband; manly, daring, bold, brave, plucky’;

Mnt noyamšiq ‘to behave like a lord’ < *noyamšiq\(^{220}\) ← *noyamši- ← *noyan ~ LM (L) noyan ‘lord, prince, chief, superior, commandant, seigneur; title sometimes given to the son of a prince or high-ranking nobleman’;

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\(^{218}\) Cf. LM (L) mergemši- ‘to have or acquire outstanding abilities; to pretend to be an expert’; LM (L) ejemši- ‘to become master or lord of something; to take possession of, conquer, appropriate, occupy; to familiarize oneself with; to command, control’; Khalkha neremšik ‘viii lyen néven ismerté válik, elnevezése bevetté válik’; Khalkha ñrǐmšik ‘magabiztosan viselkedik, úgy viselkedik, mint aki otthon érzi magát’.

\(^{219}\) *ünemšige- is the causative form of *ünemši-.

\(^{220}\) *noyamšiq is derived by the aid of the deverbal noun suffix -šiq.
The function of the suffix is to derive verbs meaning to consider something or oneself like the thing or quality denoted by the primary word.

The derived verbs are always intransitive.

The shape of the suffix implies that it is possibly a compound suffix, but it is not completely clear what are its components. Supposing a denominal noun suffix *m could make sense on the base of the suffix *msUg (GWM §131). The analyze of the remaining part of the suffix is a little bit complicated. ši- of the suffix originates from a former si. *s- is a denominal verb suffix, discussed in this work under *(i)s-. Added to stems with a final consonant will result in a phonotactically prohibited situation, which will be resolved by the connective vowel of the suffix, put at the end of the derived verb.

**Literature:**

Street 1957: 63; Godziński 1985: 60; GWM §131, §173; Dondukov 1964: 157;

**+ri-**

The denominal verb suffix +ri- was mentioned by Street (1957: 63). According to him there are two verbs present derived by this suffix: daldari- and üderi-. The same examples were quoted by Godziński (1985: 61–62). He discusses it together with the denominal verb suffix +rA- which means ‘to be a sort of the thing or quality denoted by the primary word’. This for semantic reasons at the moment seems unacceptable.

Mnt daldari- ‘to lag behind, to shelter, to hide’: daldarîqsan-îyan dalbaru çâbîldusu qoûdaqsan-îyan borbîn-îyan kingûrî çâbîldusu ‘Whichever of us evades his duty // Shall have his head split open; // Whichever of us lags behind // Shall have his heels cut across.’ (Mnt 255) < *daldari- ← *dalde ~ LM (L) dalda ‘hidden, concealed, secret[ly]; latent[ly]; reticent[ly]; illegal[ly]; secret, something hidden or unknown’

Mnt üderi- ‘(to stop) to rest and eat’221: manaqarši üdir dûli naran kebeli‘ülûn Qalaqaljît-elet ûrçü üderin bâ’ûbâ ‘at noon of the following day he reached Qalaqaljît Sands, where he halted to rest and eat’ (Mnt 170) < *ûderi- ← *ûde LM (L) üde ‘noon’;

It is a question if the verb to’ori- can be discussed among the examples of +ri- or not. This verb is of onomatopoeic origin, but after comparing it with other derivations from the same root,222 separating the suffix +ri- seems to be plausible.

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221 Cf. the meaning given by Street: ‘stop for evening meal’.

222 Cf. LM (L) toyovan ‘saucepan, cooking pot’; LM (L) toyono/toyona ‘the frame of the opening in the top of a yurt; smoke-hoe in the top of a yurt’; LM (L) toyorçaç ‘bud or calyx of a flower; hair tied together on the top of the head, coiffure; cone of a coniferous tree; the button on top of a small cone-shaped hat; small cap with a button on top’; LM
Mnt to’ori- ‘to turn about’; to’orikui tutum // toyi jokiyu // derelgü gû tutum // dem jokiyu ‘Every time they turn about, // Their battle array holds; // Every time they wheel round, too, // Their ranks hold’ (Mnt 170); jirqo’an Qongqotan kő’iit inu e’üten boisu qolumta to’orin bayiyû qańud-iyyan şimaliqaqdarun Činggis qahan gereljiş şıqaqdażu Jayila qaruya ke’e’et qarqu-lu’a Činggis qa’an-i horčin qörčin turqa’ut to’orin bayiyibai ‘his six Qongqotan sons barred the door and disposed themselves around the fireplace. When they rolled up their sleeves, Činggis Qa’an became frightened. Being pressed by them, he said, ‘Make way, I am going out.’ As soon as he stepped outside, quiverbearers and day guards surrounded Činggis Qa’an and stood by’ (Mnt 245) < *togori- ← *togo-.

The verb iquri- is quite puzzling. In this form it seems to be present only in the text of the Mnt. In addition to this active form the causative form of the verb is traceable as well. Later in LM the verb appears as uquiri- ‘to step back, retreat; to go back on one’s word or promise’.

Mnt iquri- ‘to retreat in haste’: Tayang qan ügülerin ele tede doromji-aça qolo bayiya ke’ejü qoynaqşi iquriju a’ula asan bayyiäl’a ‘Tayang Qan said, ‘Let us then stay away from those vile creatures!’ he retied in haste and took up position astride the mountain.’ (Mnt 195) < *ikuri- ← *iku-/uku-. Although some semantical problems appear, the verb iquri- etymologically could be related to LM (L) uqus ki- ‘to dash forward, jump up from one’s place; to attack’. The word uqus could be be connected to the verb iquri- if the stem denotes the haste and not the direction of the movement.

The verb kigüri- also seems to be present only in the Mnt. It is a question if this verb some connection with the Turkic verb kik- ‘to sharpen’ (ED 710a). In addition the LM (L) word kiyağa ‘edging, braid’ should be mentioned.

Mnt kigüri- ‘to go on the ridge’: Činggis qahan-i erin Qara’un-jidün-ü niru’ut kigürifşi olun yadan yadafu širi širbusun idejü yabu’at ‘He climbed the ridges of Qara’un Jidün, but he could not find him there; being in dire straits he ate hides and sinews and went on’ (Mnt 183);

Literature:

Street 1957: 63; Godziński 1985:61–62; Ramstedt 1912: §28;

(L) toyi ‘the kneecap, patella’ (for which cf. Old Turkic tošik ‘a ball; a rounded protuberant bone, usually ankle-bone or knee-cap’ (ED 437b); ?LM (L) toyimu ‘approximate; approximation; survey, review; a general conception’; ?LM (L) toyimu ‘hornless; shaven (of head)’.

223 Cf. Köyten bay[i]du duroqşi de’ekşi iqurıqaldun jibis’erülčen bıqüi–tür (Mnt 143, 147);
+čA-

+čA- is listed by Street (1957: 63) as a denominal verb suffix. According to him +čA- “occurs in verbs meaning ‘be, become X’ where X is the meaning of the noun base.” He marks 3 occurrences, but he quotes only nökče- ‘be, become a friend’ ← nökör ‘companion, friend’.

Godziński (1985: 56) mentions examples from the Mnt and other Middle Mongol sources, e.g. nökče- (Mnt; H; MA); qala’uča- ~ qalawuča- (MA), qalüča- (Leiden); denggeč- (Mnt), tengčewülbe (MA); dergeč- (Mnt).

As -r is a well-known deverbal noun suffix, and there is a denominal noun suffix with this shape as well, it is far from clear if the verb nökče- was derived from the noun nökör or not. Since there appears a deverbal verb suffix -čA- as well, this etymology becomes more problematic. Semantics would stay on the side of deverbal origin.

As I wrote above is almost impossible to judge if the verb demeče/-temeče/denggeč- is of denominal or of deverbal origin.

There remain the verbs dergeč- and hontuča-, from which dergeč- seems to be derived by the suffix +čA-, while the etymology of hontuča- remains obscure.

Mnt dergeče- ‘to be or go on the side’: Dāritai-otčiğin de’i inu kilii dergeçeji ayisuqu-tur ‘his younger brother, Dāritai Otiğin, rode alongside the shaft of the cart’ (Mnt 56); Dāritai-otčiğin dergeçeji yabuşu ügülerin ‘Dāritai Otiğin, riding beside her, said’ (Mnt 56); Qada’an-ı urju ire’ülfü dergeçen sa’ulbai ‘He invited Qada’an to come to him and had her sit by his side’ (Mnt 146) ← *dergeče- ← derge ~ Mnt derge ‘sth. on the side of sth.’;

Mnt hontuca- ‘to shoot a long-distance arrow’: qajatçı qaruqsan-i // hontucaju or’ulqu büle’e ‘With long-distance arrows he was wont // To shoot and subdue // All those on the run, in fear of him’ (Mnt 244) hontucaju čımanda qarda’asu heregey-yen hoştölü or’usquila ‘If we shoot arrows at a long distance and I am outdone by you, I shall cut off my thumb and throw it away!’ (Mnt 254) ← *hontuca-~ ← *hon-; cf. Yis ontud-/ontut-. It was the idea of Kara to trace back the Khalkha verb ontusax ‘célba talál (nyil, lövedék)’ to *on tus-, where *on means ‘hit’, while *tus- corresponds to LM (L) tus- ‘to hit upon, hit the target, strike upon, be hit by; to shine upon; to reflect; to be reflected; to fall to one’s share’. The stem of the Mnt verb hontuca- is for sure the noun *hon, and the Mnt form hončitan ‘Leute, welche Geschick im Bogenschießen haben’ belongs here as well, however, the further derivation model is obscure. Further the following LM words pertain to this stem: ončid- ‘to discharge an arrow in the air; to shoot into the air or over the target’; onon- ‘to hit a target; to hit upon; to be due to (as a share); to guess or conjecture rightly, find the answer; to penetrate (mentally), solve; to understand’;

Literature:
The denominal verb forming suffix +sA- was mentioned by (Godziński 1985: 62–63) who at the given place discusses the verbs derived by +sA-, by +s- and by -s-. The text of the Mnt features quite many verbs which end in sA-, but the etymology of these verbs are either obscure or unknown. According to Street (1957: 63) there are two examples of this derivational element, but he only quotes the verb jusā-.

Taking into account the semantics of the derived verbs, it seems possible to differentiate at least two homonymous +sA- suffixes.

The first one is that which occurs in the verb jusā- (1), where the function of the suffix is to derive verbs which mean to spend the given season. Summer is the only season with which this suffix is used, other names of seasons take the suffix +ja- (jī-).

1. Mnt jusā- ‘to spend the summer’;224 ļubīl ļubīļjējū jusāju namur inu Merkit irgen-u Tqto’a-beki-tür morilajū ‘When winter was over and summer had passed, in the autumn I rode against Tqto’a Beki of the Merkit’ (Mnt 177); Bala-yi gūļičen Altan-qoŋqan-u niri’un Soltan-u Jusulang Jusāju Tolu-tur elčin ilēbe ‘waited for Bala and spent the summer at the ridge of Altan Qorqan in the former summer quarters of the Soltan. From there he sent messengers to Tolu’ (Mnt 259); tende Činggis qahan qarju ja’ura Erdiš jusāju dolodu’ar hon takiya jil namur Tūla-yin qara tūn-e েrdos-tur bawubai ‘Then Činggis Qa’an returned home. On the way he spent the summer on the river Erdiš. In the autumn of the Year of the Hen (1225) – the seventh year of the campaign – he settled at his Palaces in the Black Forest by the Tūla.’ (Mnt 264); Činggis qahan Časutu de’ere jusāju ‘Činggis Qa’an spent the summer on Časutu Mountain’ (Mnt 266) < *jusā- ↔ *jun ~ LM (L) Jun ‘summer’

The second one appears in those verbs which mean the acquirement of a quality or a state (2).

2. Mnt alqasa- ‘to diminish’: qoyiči-yu’an surtuqai kő‘üt aburi-yan alqasa’uqai ‘Let this be a lesson for their future conduct! We fear lest the sons’ natural ardour may be discouraged as a result of this’ (Mnt 260); kő‘üt sayi edii ayalaan surun bākāi-tür kő‘iid-i ʃingtalun mene meti yekin eyin dongoqodum kő‘üt ayuju sėtki-iyen alqasa’uqai ‘the sons are barely learning how to wage a military campaign, and, at such a time, you rebuke them in this way, piling abuse on them. Why? We fear lest the sons, being afraid, will lose heart.’ (Mnt 260) < *alqasa- ↔ *alga ~ LM aly-a ‘adverbial particle of restricted usage expressing negation: there are non; does not exist’;

Mnt qamsa- ‘to unite, to join each other for an attack’: edō’e ene qanqalqa-tur qamṣaya bida ‘Now, taking this opportunity, let us jointly attack them!’ (Mnt 133); ebuγes eγeγes-i bidan-u baγaqsat Tatar-i qamsaya bida ‘Let us jointly attack the Tatars who have destroyed our fathers and forefathers’ (Mnt 133); Činggis qahan To’orl qan qoyar qamtu čerik e’iisčū Ulja huru’u Ongging-Čingseng-lii’e qamsan ayisuqini-tur ‘As they approached, moving downstream along the Ulja to launch the attack in conjunction with Ongging Čingsang’ (Mnt 133); Megiğin-se’ältii-yi qamsaju ałaqan tanu Altan qan-a maši yeke tusa

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224 Haenisch argued that the verb requires a direct local object. This view of him is based on an expression in the passage 264 of the text, for which Haenisch has “Erdiš-i jusāju”. It is quite interesting that for the same expression Ligeti and de Rachewiltz has “Erdiš jusāju”.

kibei ta ‘You have done a very great service to the Altan Qan by your joint attack on Megüjin Se’ültü and by killing him’ (Mnt 134); te’ün-ü qoyina erten-ü östen kišten ebüges eçügesti bidan-u baraqsat Tatari-qamsan morilayø ke’en ‘After that, we said that we would set out and jointly attack the Tatars who, full of hatred and resentment, had from old destroyed our fathers and forefathers’ (Mnt 136); şi bar’a un qar bol bi endece qamsaju tedeket Mongqul-un qor anu abuya ‘You be the right wing. I shall join you from here and we will take the quivers of those few Mongols!’ (Mnt 190); ede qurban-ile ilerinin quáda’un otçu Sultan-u cînana qarçu bidan-ı gürge’ilîn qamsatqun ke’efü ilîbe ‘As he sent these three ahead he said, ‘Go round the outside, coming out at the other side of the Sultan and waiting for Us to arrive, attack him from your side. So saying he sent them forth’ (Mnt 257); Sûbê’teti Bûjek qoyar-un dalda-da yabuşu olo’ar bûri-yer qamsaju Orusu[t] Kibçâ’udî oro’ulju ‘you set out under the shelter of Sûbê’teti and Bûjek, with the full force of the army, to bring the Orusut Kibçâ’ut under submission’ (Mnt 277) < *kamsa-
← *kam ~ LM (L) qam: qam toy-a ‘collective numerals’; Cf. in addition LM (L) qamtu- ‘to be united, combined, incorporated; to come together; to be together; to work jointly or collectively’; LM (L) qamtu ‘together, along with, jointly, simultaneously’; LM (L) qamnu- ‘to gather together; to sweep together; scrape up, rake up’; LM (L) qamji- ‘to do something together; to aid, help’;

Mnt joqsa- ‘to halt’: odu’asu olan adu’un anu joqsañü üllü’ü qoçoru’uñai ordo ger anu e’ürejü üllü’ü qoçoru’uñai ‘If we go forward, won’t their numerous herds come to a halt and stay behind? Burdened with their palatial tents, won’t they abandon them?’ (Mnt 190)
< *joqsa- ← *jog ~ LM (L) Joy; Joy ki- ‘to startle, stop suddenly’;

It is not clear whether the verb debse- ‘to dance’ belongs here or not, since its etymology is obscure. However, if we accept that the verb joqsa- is an example of this suffix, then debse- could be as well, since both mean a kind of movement.

Mnt debse- ‘to dance’: Qorqonaq-un Saqlagamarin horçin qabirqa-ta qa’ulqa ebüdükte ollake boltala debsebe ‘they danced around the Leafy Tree of Qorqonaq until there was // A ditch up to their waist, // And dust up to their knees.’ (Mnt 57); bida Qorqonaq-jubur-un Qutula qan-nu de[h]seqü Saqlâr-modun-a bawu’asu ‘When we set up camp near the Leafy Tree in the Qorqonaq Valley around which Qutula Qan used to dance’ (Mnt 206)
< *debse- ← *deb ~ LM (L) deb ‘step, grade, rank, class, classification’; cf. debke- ‘to jump, leap’; LM (L) debdeçii, debderi- ‘to limp slightly’; LM (L) debi- ‘to wave, flap (as wings); to fan; to dust, brush off (as dust); to winnow (of grain’);

Both aqsa- and buqsa- appear to be transitive, so it is not impossible that a third suffix with the shape +sA- should be supposed.

Mnt aqsa- ‘to halter, to hang up’: Çinggis qahan bolu’at Bo’orçu-yen de’ü Ögülei-çerbi qor a[q]saban Qaç’iun-toqura’un qor a[q]saban jetee Doqolçu-çerbi aqa de’ü qoyar qor aqṣaba ‘Having become qa’an, Çinggis ordered225 the younger brother of Bo’orçu, Ögülei Čerbi,

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225 The text does not speak about any order. Cf. also the next example. The actor is Çinggis himself, who hangs on the quivers on the mentioned persons. This in fact was the nomitation ceremony of these persons for the rank of quiver-bearer.
to carry a quiver, Qač’i’un Toqura’un to carry a quiver, and the two brothers Jetei and Doqolqu Čerbi each to carry a quiver.’ (Mnt 124); Qubilai Čilgütei Qarqal-toqura’un qurban-ni Qasar-lu’a bolun ʿildiš aqṣaǰu ‘Qubilai, Čilgütei and Qarqai Toqura’un together with Qasar were ordered to carry swords’ (Mnt 124); qor aqṣaqy-a turqa’ud-un kešik kešik qorčin-iy-un teyin aqalaju or’ultuqai ‘These four shall make their quiverbearers join the various companies of dayguards to carry quivers and so be their commanders’ (Mnt 225); qor aqṣaquya turqa’ud-un dörben kešik kešik-tür aṣid-un qorčin-iy-un jasaǰu orolduqtaq ‘marshalling their quiverbearers of the bodyguards, shall respectively join the four separate companies of the dayguards to carry quivers’ (Mnt 278) < *aǥa- ṣe’ül K. aɡ ‘szoros, szük, szorosan, szüken’;

Mnt buqṣa- ‘to hold back’: ginji-ben mǔltiļdeǰü ed’e ese’ül buqṣaǰu aqṣat bayaʃču teyin šilemelfen ayisai tede ‘Loosed from their iron chains - which had surely restrained them! - they are now full of joy and are approaching thus, slavering at the mouth’ (Mnt 195) < *bugša- ṣe’ul bug, cf. LM (L) buyuly- ‘yoke, whipple-tree; horse collar’;

It is not clear the etymology of the verb öyese-, thus it is not sure that it belongs here:

Mnt öyese- ‘to be greedy’: ayisqun öyueseken šibawun metū šilemelfeǰü quši’uraju ayisqun ken büyvyi ‘Who is the one approaching from the rear, coming forward at the head of the army and drawing near like a greedy, slavering falcon?’ (Mnt 195); Temūjин anda minu öyueseken šibawun metū eyin šilemelfen ayisu ‘The one approaching us is my friend Temūjин’ (Mnt 195);

Literature:


+tU-

The nominal verb suffix +tU- was quoted by Street (1957: 63). According to him the suffix has only one derivative, the verb eyetī- (1). Godziński (1985: 63–64) discusses this suffix as an irregular form of the suffix +t-. This could be a likely way for explaining the low number of examples. The theory of erroneous back-formation could be even more strengthened by the fact that this verb is usually used in reciprocal form as eyetīlду-, which demands the use of a connective vowel. There are 18 such occurrences in contrast with the 7 occurrences without the reciprocal suffix.

226 As noted by de Rachewiltz (2004: 822-823) this passage is quite difficult and is rendered differently by most translators.
Mnt eyetü- ‘to agree, to accord’: Qasar-i ire‘ülü‘t bayaschü Činggis qahan Ong qan-tur elčin ʻilėye ke‘en eyetüţi jewüredei Qali‘udar Uriangqadai Čaqurşan qoyar-iyar üğülejü ʻilėrūn ‘Činggis Qa’an received Qasar and rejoiced. They agreed to send messengers to Ong Qan. Through Qali‘udar of the Je‘üret and Čaqurşan of the Uriangqai Činggis Qa’an sent a message’ (Mnt 183); uruq-un uruq-a ʻırtle Ŝigi-qutuqu-yin natur eyetüţi yosulaţi kōkō bičik ʻaća‘an ʻaćalşun-tur debterleksen-i bū ye‘üketüţi ‘Until the offspring of my offspring, let no one alter any of the blue writing that Ŝigi Qutuqu, after deciding in accordance with me, shall make into a book with white paper.’ (Mnt 203); Qunan Kōkō-ços qoyar-âca eye ţepe’i bū üyyiletkūn Qunan Kōkō-ços qoyar-tur eyetüţi üyyiletkūn ‘Do not act without the agreement of Qunan and Kōkō Čos. Act only in consultation with them’ (Mnt 210); Mongqol-un qan-tur edö‘et-tür elsen eyetüţi eye-tür orofu Mongqol-i icu‘asu icuqaçaşan-u qoyina basa busu setkil bida tende eyetüldüti je ‘let us for the present submit and come to terms with the ruler of the Mongols. If the Mongols agree to withdraw, after their withdrawal we shall there and then take up another different counsel’ (Mnt 248) < *eyetü- ← *eye ~ LM (L) ey-e ‘peace, accord; harmony, concord; amity, friendship, urbanity; comfortableness’;

In addition there appear some verbs which probably contain the suffix +tU- (2):

Mnt hibu‘atú- ‘to be teased by gadflies’: Senggiüm Didik-saqaql-un Nekün-usun-a ülıi oron qada‘un yorčju Čol-tür orofu usurqaarun qulat hibu‘atu ju [6a] bayyiqun-i Senggiüm bawuju mariyaju‘u ‘Senggiüm did not go to Nekün Usun of Didik Saqal, but bypassed it and entered the Čol. While searching for water, he dismounted and stalked some wild asses that were standing there, plagued by gadflies’ (Mnt 188) < *hibuqatan- ← *hibuqan ~ LM (L) ilayān ‘fly, gnat, gadfly’, Ordos ilō ‘taon’ which assures the correctness of the etymology.

Mnt uqtu-/uqdu- ‘to meet, to receive, to welcome’: Oyirad-un Quduq-beki-yi uqtun urida elsen Tūmen-Oyirad-iyan uduridan irebe ‘Quduq Beki of the Oyirat came to submit ahead of the Tūmen Oyirat’ (Mnt 239) /// basa bi o‘esin Keliären-iii Bürgi-ergi-deče uqduq yorčju ‘furthermore, from the Bürgi Escarpment on the Keliären River, I in person went to receive you’ (Mnt 177); ede qurban-i ayisai ke‘en Qada eserqü uqduq altatai hartai a‘urasu bar‘i at Jungdu dotorača qarču eserqü irebe‘i ‘As these three were approaching, Qada went ahead to greet them, taking with him gold-embroidered and patterned satins. He came out of Jungdu and welcomed them’ (Mnt 252) < *uqtu-;

Literature:


+ji-

Interestingly the denominal verb forming suffix +ji- was not mentioned by Street. The reason for that is possibly that the verb dayyiji- presented below, was read by him as dayyiţi-. The suffix, however, was discussed by Godziński (1985: 58). At the given place Godziński quotes several verbs
which seem to be formed by the suffix *-ji-, however it must be seen, that e.g. Mnt übülje- does not pertain here, even if Literary Mongol and the modern languages suggest a former *übülji-.

The only sure example of the suffix is the verb dayyiji-. It seems to me that this verb was slightly misunderstood by Haenisch, as its meaning is not ‘to leave’ but ‘to act in a hostile way, to fight’. The misunderstanding probably comes from the fact that the verb usually is used together with a verb meaning a kind of moving, like qar- ‘to go out’, gödöl- ‘to move, to start moving’, bos- ‘to get up, to stand up’.

Mnt dayyiji-/dayiji- ‘to move off, to desert, to rebel’: Čilger-bökö dayyijju qarurun ügülerün ‘As Čilger Bökö [had been looking after her ever since, when he] fled, deserting his own companions, he said’ (Mnt 111); tende niken hon ülli da’usun jiči dayyijjin gödöljü ‘Then, in less than a year, he rebelled and left once more’ (Mnt 152); Temiijin-lii’e dayyijjju qarușan Mongol qa’a otqun ‘As for the Mongols who have rebelled against us and who left with Temiijn, where can they go?’ (Mnt 174); Further occurrences: Mnt 177, 188, 198, 257, 266 /// Merkid-ün jarimut ulus dayyijjju Taiqal-qorqa qorqalju’ui (Mnt 198) < *dagiji- ← *dagin - LM (L) dayin ‘war, battle; hostility, enmity’, cf. Old Turkic yaği ‘enemy, hostile’ (ED 898a);

It is quite confusing what one learns from different Mongolic dictionaries. Lessing has LM dayiči- ‘to be hostile; to make war, act as an enemy’, while as the corresponding Khalkha word is given by him as daičix, something missing both from Bawden’s and Kara’s227 Khalkha dictionary. In turn Bawden has daijix (dajìn jailax, dajìn juxatax) ‘to shy away, to get away, to take evasive action’, similarly misunderstood as in Haenisch’s dictionary. The only example confirming such a meaning, is Bawden’s phrase gerēsē daičix ‘to run away from home’, however, it is of high probability that such a meaning is a secondary one.

In contrast with the Literary Mongolian, where the function of the suffix is to express the acquirement of whatever is designated by the primary word (GWM §243), Mnt shows that the function of the suffix is to form verbs meaning ‘to act in the manner denoted by the primary word’. This meaning probably evolved secondarily from that observed in LM.

The derived verb is intransitive.

In addition there appear some verbs which have the chances to be derived by the suffix *-ji-.

First of all consider the verb qo’oji-:

Mnt qo’oji- ‘die (Flaum?-)Federn abwerfen’: qoluqat qo’oji’u // šilüget šiberiiji’ü ‘The little rascals have shed their down, The snotty ones have grown up!’ (Mnt 79)

This passage has several different translations. That of de Rachewiltz is based on the Chinese sectional summary, but he himself also remarks that the Chinese gloss in the interlinear text derives it from the verb qolu- ‘to hate, loathe, abhor’. The uneasy translation of this passage allows the presumption that something was misunderstood by the transcribers or the translators. I would suggest another reading for this detail of the text, and accordingly a new translation:

227 Neither Kara, nor Cewel has daičix or daijix.
quluqat qo’qijuu // šilüget šiberijü’ü ‘the little foals became beautiful // the little sheep became a foal/beautiful’ where quluqat is a plural diminutive of qulun, cf. Old Turkic kulun ‘foal, from the birth to one year’ (ED 622b). Whether the verb qo’qij- really should be translated as ‘to moult’ on the base of LM (L) yuuj- ‘to molt, cast off the hair or feathers (of birds and animals); to peel, scale off’ is not clear. Pondering that it is a denominal verb derived from *koga-kogo ‘nice, beautiful’ seams reasonable. It is not impossible, however, that on a historic level the two suggested etymons pertain together.

The word šilüget is not without problems as well. The translation snotty of de Rachewiltz originates this word from *silō ‘juice, soup’, cf. LM (L) silükei ‘slobberry, drivelining; glutinous’; LM (L) silüüsün ‘saliva, spittle, slaver, slobber’. Again I have to remark that is not impossible that etymologically they belong together, but at this very place šilüget is a plural of *šilügen ‘an animal with full teething’, cf. LM (L) silüge ‘a three-year-old sheep’.

Although it does not have a LM counterpart, the verb šiberi- remained unexplained by de Rachewiltz, and his translation, as well as former translations probably goes after the Chinese gloss. Concerning it as a denominal derivation, and tracing it back to a form *sibe and comparing it to Old Turkic sip ‘a one year old colt’ (ED 783a) seems to be reasonable. In turn that could be compared to Hungarian szepe ‘pale’ and szép ‘beautiful’.

Unless we originate it from the noun qulun ‘wild ass’ there is no traceable etymon for the verb qulaji-:

Mnt qulaji- ‘to take fright, to flee’; jalayirtai jебke tende qulajiju Barqujin oron buru’utba ‘Jebke of the Jalayir then left in fright and fled into the Barqujin lowland’ (Mnt 244) ←? *kulan;

As Ramstedt traced back this suffix to a former *-di-, Szabó connects it with the LM suffix +dA-, which does not seem to be totally soothing. In turn such a reconstructed *-di- could be compared to the suffix *-d-, Mnt +(V)t-, and then the sound i of *-di- could even be a petrified linking vowel.

The suffix *ji- appears as an element of the compound suffix *jirA- listed separately by Godziński (1985: 58), but not mentioned by Street. The suffix was listed by Poppe in connection with Literary Mongol[229] as well. According to him the function of the suffix is to express the acquirement of whatever is designated by the primary word, (GWM §244) which actually is the same as of the suffix *ji-. As no parallel forms in *ji- and *jirA- appear, it seems that such a compound was used when the form with *ji- loses its meaning, or the meaning becomes obscure.

Mnt anggičira- ‘to take leave, to separate’: edö’e qan ečige minu ama’ar kele’er-ű olulčaju anggičiraba či ‘And now, my father the Qan, when you separated from me, did you explain face to face?’ (Mnt 177) < *anggičira- ← *anggi ~ LM (L) anggi ‘class, group,
part, section, category; unit, detachment; branch of science; different(ly), separate(ly), apart';

**Literature:**


**+lJa-**

The nominal verb suffix +lJa- was mentioned by Street (1957: 63). He marks one occurrence. The only example of this suffix seems to be Mnt ſi’alja- (1). This fact, however arises the question if this suffix is a real one, or is a misread/misinterpreted form.

1. Mnt ſi’alja- ‘to play a game with anklebones': Jamuqa quraltuq ſi’a Temüjin-ne ökčii Temüjin-ü čingültüktü ſi’a anda bolucaju anda ke’eldüksen Onan-nu mölsün-tür ſi’aljaqi-tur tende anda ke’eldüle’ei’ Jamuqa had given Temüjin a roebuck knucklebone, Temüjin in return had given him a copper knucklebone, and so they had become sworn friends. Having declared themselves sworn friends, they had played knucklebones together on the ice of the Onan River.’ (Mnt 116) < *šigalja- ← *šiga ~ LM (L) siyai ~ siyan ~ šay-a ‘anklebone’.

Later stages of the language furnish a suffix with this form. In this work that suffix was discussed as a deverbal verb suffix, cf. the section -lJa-. Taking in consideration the data provided by comparative data, it must be stated, however, that it is not easy to determine the nature of the stems to which the suffix is attached. This may mean, that the nominal-verbal ambiguity in the nature of the stems, appears in the derivatives as well.

I could identify only one further example (2), in the case of which the stem is clearly nominal, and I will quote another one (3) which is strikingly ambiguous:

2. Khal.K. nambaljar (< *nambalja-) ‘kérkedik, hivalkodik, piperkőcködik; fensőbbségesen viselkedik’ ← *namba, cf. LM (K) namba (< Tibetan rnam-pa) ‘külső, látszat; méltóságteljesség, méltóság teljes magatartás, tekintélyféltő távolságtartás, tekintélyesség, komolyság, kimértés’;

3. LM (L) delbelje- ‘to move, sway (of flat, protruding objects)’ ← *delbe, cf. LM (L) delbegene- ‘to move, sway (of flat, protruding objects)’; LM (L) delbeyi- ‘to be(come) wide or broad (usually of flat objects)’, LM (L) delbeger ‘wide, broad, large (usually of flat objects)’; LM (L) del ‘petal of a flower; helix of the ear’, but LM (L) delbeg ‘large, wide; plentiful(ly), abundant(ly), bountiful(ly)’;

**Literature:**

Street 1957: 63;
The nominal verb suffix -li- was mentioned by Street (1957: 64) and Godziński (1985: 60). Both of them quote two occurrences of this suffix in the verbs amurlı- and mawuqali-.

Mnt amurlı- ‘to ease, to still, to calm down’: dayyısun-a dawulıqdarun ayuju buru’utçu yabuş edo’e amurlıba je (Mnt 156); Bo’orçu Muqalı Şigi-qutuq qurban-u kelen-tür amurlıba je ‘he calmed down at the words of Bo’orçu, Muqalı and Şigi Qutuq’ (Mnt 242)

<Mnt amurlı- ← *amur ~ LM (L) amur ‘peace, quiet, calm, rest, leisure; pleasure; good health, well-being; easy, not difficult; peacefully, quietly’;

Mnt mawuqali- ‘to be in a bad relationship, to be in passion’: minu túla aqa de’ü-tür mawuqalin bolulça’uğai ‘On my account, I fear we may fall out with our kinsmen’ (Mnt 131) < *magukali- ← *magukai/magukan ~ LM (L) mayuqai ‘ugly, nasty, filthy, dirty, sordid, bad; badly, utterly, awfully, very’ / LM (L) mayuqan ‘somewhat bad, stupid, silly, foolish’;

In addition to these two examples, I can add two more or less sure occurrences:

Mnt amara’ali- ‘to be in mutual affection’: ke’en teyın üge baralduju amara’alın aldubai ‘And, pledging their word, they lived together in mutual affection’ (Mnt 164) < *amaragali- ← *amarag ~ LM (L) amaray ‘love affection; beloved, dear, darling’;

Mnt da’uli-/dawuli- ‘to rive, to rob’: Činggis qahan Ong qan qoyar tende Tatar-i da’ulju qubiyalduju abulçaju geyi[t]-tür-iyen qariju bawubai Činggis Qa’an and Ong Qan plundered the Tatars and shared the booty, each taking his part; then they returned to their own encampments’ (Mnt 134) /// tede irgen-i aqa-nar de’ü-ner tabu’ula dawulıju adu’un ide’en-e haran tutqar-a aqui sa’uquy-a gürbe (Mnt 39); dürbejū yabuqun Merkid-i söni-de gü daruçaju dawulin talan yabuquq-tur (Mnt 110); Jürkin-i Kılären-ü Ködö’e-aral-un Dolo’an-bolể’ut-ta bükü-tür irgen inu dawulıba’ ” (Mnt 136); Further occurrences: Mnt 59, 144, 148, 152, 153, 157, 162, 177, 179, 187, 197, 208, 240, 257, 268, 273, 274, 275.  

< *daguli- ← *dag, which is unattested in Mongolic, but cf. Old Turkic tak ‘need’ (ED 463b); The suggested etymology is not free of difficulties²³⁰, however, I find it worth of further examination.

The presence of the vowel a after the stem in the verb amara’ala- could seem to be unexpected. There are at least two possibilities to explain it. The easier way is to consider it an error/misreading instead of amaraqla-. However an examination of the Middle Mongol corpus will reveal, that the consonant cluster -gl- is very rare²³¹, and it is exactly the Middle Mongol period when probably under the influence (expansion) of the suffix -lA- this phonotactic prohibition becomes cancelled.

²³⁰ For the initial consonant cf. LM (L) tayuli- ‘to chase, pursue; to attack; to seize’ /// dayuli-/dauli- ‘to pillage, make prisoner; to seize, take possession of’, which variation also could point to foreign origin.

²³¹ Actually beside of some deverbal nouns in -lA-, like keregle-, keküdegle-, čayla-, quyayla- it appears only in the nouns aylay, tuyluy and ışlige. While aylay and tuyluy are probably of Turkic origin, ışlige seems to be Mongolic.
It is quite insecure to add anything else to the distributional rules of the suffix, since it is not sure what is the stem of mawuqali-, and while added to the noun amur a connective vowel does not appear, amara‘ali- seems to furnish one.

According to Street the suffix “occurs in verbs meaning ‘be, become X’ where X is the meaning of the attribute’. This definition of about the function of the suffix is somewhat broader, than the examples occurring here would allow. I find it more appropriate to say that the function of the suffix is to derive verbs which indicate the attainment of the quality/stage denoted by the stem. At this point again I want to mark, that the verb da‘uli-/dawuli- has semantic problems as well.

The derived verbs are intransitive, with the exception of da‘uli-/dawuli-.

**Literature:**

Street 1957: 64; Godziński 1985: 60;

+A-

It is not clear whether a suffix with this shape should be suggested, or the following verbs are compounds of a noun and the verb a- ‘to be’.

Mnt qojida- ‘to be late’: bor‘an ber bolu‘asu // boljāl-tur // qura ber bolu‘asu // qural-tur bīqojidaya ‘we won’t be late // At the appointed meeting, Even if there be a blizzard; At the gathering, Even if there be rain?’ (Mnt 108); qojidaqsan-iyän borbin-iyän kinggūrū čabdīlusu ‘Whichever of us evades his duty // Shall have his head split open; // Whichever of us lags behind // Shall have his heels cut across.’ (Mnt 255); je-yin nūkūr // je‘erde-yin mina‘a bolju // je-deče ǚli qojidan // jerge-deče ẓolayitan // urtu ča‘ur ča‘uraju // oqr bolqa bolqaju ɔkṣi ‘And the whip of his chestnut horse. // Not being remiss in my "yes", // Not being absent from the ranks, // I shall go forth for him on a long campaign // Or fight in a short fight.” (Mnt 255) <*køjida- (or *køjid a-) ~ *køjid ~ LM (L) qojid 'later, afterward’;

?qMnt ča‘ura- ‘to go on a campaign’: Sūbe‘etei-ba‘atur temūr telėgettū Merkid-ūn Toqto‘a-yin [11b] Qutu Čila‘un teri‘ütent kō‘ūd-i inu neken ča‘urajū Čuī-mūren-e güyyičejū muqutqajū irebe Sūbe‘etei Ba‘atur, who had been provided with iron cart, had gone on a campaign in pursuit of the of Toqto‘a of the Merkit led by Qutu and Čila‘un. He overtook them at the Cui River, destroyed them and came back.’ (Mnt 236) <*čagura- ~ *čagur ~ Mnt ča‘ur ‘military campaign’;

+KA-

The suffix +KA- is listed by Street (1957: 63) as a denominal verb suffix. According to him, there is one example of this derivational element: Mnt andaqa- ‘take an oath of friendship’ (1). As well as Godziński (1985: 58) he mentions separately the suffix +YA- (1957: 64). Both of them quote the
derivative qubiya- as an example of the suffix. In my work I treat them as allomorphs of the same suffix, as well as already by Ramstedt (1912: 14) was done. The allomorph -yA- appears after the sound i (2). It seems that the suffix is always added to primary stems.

(1) Mnt andaka- ‘to swear’: edə‘e kö‘ü-ben üjejü mawui setki‘esü ene metü čisu-ban qargaqdasu ke’en andaqaju ‘Now, if I think evil when I see my son, let my blood be shed like this!’ And, taking the oath’ (Mnt 178)\(^ {232} \) < *andaka- ← *anda ~ LM (L) anda ‘sworn brother, friend’;

(2) Mnt qubiya- ‘to distribute, to divide’: tedüü Kereyit irge dorayyita‘ulju jük jük qubiyaju tala‘ulbai ‘Thus [Činggis Qa‘an] crushed and despoiled the Kereyit people, distributing them on all sides’ (Mnt 186); čisutu tonq abuqçi jirgin ba‘atud-i jisüüjü qubiyaju gürgelĎün yadaybi ‘As for the brave Jirgin who used to strip the blood-stained clothing and possessions from the enemy, they divided and apportioned them, but could not give some to everybody’ (Mnt 187); eke-de kö‘ü-t de‘ü-ner-e irge qubiyaju şöyüye [Činggis Qa‘an decreed that] he would apportion subject people among his mother, children and younger brothers’ (Mnt 242) Further occurrences: Mnt 260, 279 < *kubija- ← *kubi ~ LM (L) qubi ‘part, share, portion; allotment; one’s own lot, concern, or affair; copy or issue (of a book, magazine); part (calculus), grade, degree; minute (in geometry and chronometry)’;

It is not easy to determine the function of the suffix. The most safe is to say its function is to form denominal verbs. In addition to Street’s single example the following verbs should be added (3):

(3) Mnt jolqa- ‘to find that, to meet’: Uriangqadai gu‘in čö‘e buq alanu qabqas inu abit inu širaju bügü-yi jolqa‘u ‘In the forest he met a man of the Uriangqai tribe who had killed a three-year-old deer and was roasting its ribs and entrails’ (Mnt 12–13); niken yadangi gu‘in kö‘ül-be‘en kötölji yubahyu-yi jolqa‘u ‘On the way he met a poor man on foot who was leading his son by the hand’ (Mnt 14); Yisügei-ba‘atur Onan-müren-ne Şibawulan yabuküt-tur Merkid-in Yeke-čiledü Oloqunu‘ut irgen-eče öki a[b]ču e‘üşeşi ayisquu-yi jolqa‘u őnggeyiji ője’esü ‘At that time Yisügei Ba‘atur was hunting with falcons along the Onan River when he met the Merkit Yeke-čiledü who was on his way home, taking with him a girl of the Oloqunu‘ut tribe to be his wife. Leaning forward to have a better look’ (Mnt 54) Further occurrences: Mnt 61, 67, 90, 155 < *jolka- ←\(^ {233} *jol ~ LM (L) jol ‘good luck, fortune, good result, success’ ?< Turkic, cf. Old Turkic yöl ‘road, way’ (ED 917a);

Mnt jirqa- ‘to rejoice over st.:’ Mongqol-un jirqalang de[b]sen qurimlan jirqaq bule‘e ‘The Mongols rejoiced, and in their rejoicing they danced and feasted’ (Mnt 57); qorčila‘ulju ötokle‘üljü uraq-un uraq-a gürtel darqalan jirqatqun ‘enjoy the privilege of being freemen to the offspring of your offspring, allowed to carry quivers and drink the ceremonial wine!’ (Mnt 187); edə‘e minu turuq qorčila‘ulju ötokle‘üljü darqalan jirqatqun ‘You shall be a freeman, allowed to carry a quiver and drink the ceremonial wine’\(^ {234} \) (Mnt 219) < jirka- ← *jir;

\(^ {232} \) Cf. the reciprocal form in Mnt 141: ajirqa ge‘ün ke‘üs čabčiladaju andaqaldaju tendeče Ergüne-müren huru‘u newajı.

\(^ {233} \) Semantically the derivation is clear, cf. Hungarian szerencséje volt vmihez/vkihez ‘to meet’ where szerencse means ‘luck’. The connection of the Mongolic and the Turkic words widely present in the literature is possible, but supposes a very early semantic split.

\(^ {234} \) The passage ‘to the offspring of your offspring’ is not present in the original.
Mnt *ariya- ‘to hesitate’: Belgütey-ye ʿilū ḫaqladaqu būle’e bi qahān-nača ayuju arqadan unaqu aryayaq bolun amin-dur-īyān ġūrtēbei bi ‘I would not have been defeated by Belgütei, but fearing the Qa’ān, I took a fall on purpose. I hesitated, so I lost my life.’ (Mnt 140) < *ariya- ?← *ari 225 << Turkic, cf. Old Turkic ara’ [...]a Postposn. meaning ‘between (two places), among (a number of people)’, and the like’ (ED 196);

In addition to the above cited data I would like to add one more, which is present only in a multi-derived form:

Mnt *mungqaq ‘stupid, fool’: Bodončar-āa mungqaq budawu büyyü ke’en uruq-a ʿilū to’an qubi ese ökbe ‘to Bodončar no share was given, for they said that he was a fool and a half-wit, and they did not regard him as one of the family’ (Mnt 23) < *mungkag ← *mungka- ← *mung – Mnt mung ‘trouble, worry’;

From these five examples *qubiya- and *jolqa- is transitive, while the other four are intransitive, or at least seem to be intransitive, cf. the verb *andaqa-.

Literature:

Street 1957: 63, 64; Godziński 1985: 58; Ramstede 1912: §14; Szabó 1943: §79;

+či-

Such a suffix was not mentioned by Street. Godziński (1985: 56–57) marks a denominal verb suffix +či-, however, the examples quoted by him (quqči-, suqči-, hoqčiči-) in this work were considered to be of deverbial origin 226, cf. the section of -či-. It is not doubtful, however, that as LM and Khalkha show 227 such a suffix exists for Mongolic.

Mnt übči- ‘to peel off (tr.): hula’an ni’ur-īyān // übčikdekiyy-eča // urtu setkīlṭu anda-iyān // ǖen ėčrai ėjīn yadajū yabubā je bi ‘The skin of my red face // Came off in shame; // And so have I been living // Unable to see the true face // Of my sworn friend with a long memory.’ (Mnt 201); ama’ar alaqsan // ačilasurü ülū boli // üge-tür ükī’ülūksen // übči’esū ülū boli ‘Game that one has killed only with one’s mouth // Cannot be loaded on one’s mount; // Game that one has slain only with one’s words // Cannot be skinned.’ (Mnt 255)

225 The etymology proposed here is obscure. To bring something against such a derivation apart from the semantic obscurity I should mention the phonetic difficulties.

226 In addition Godziński quotes the verb qaqača-, the verb forming suffix of which he considers an allomorph of -či-.

227 Khal.K. xesegči (← *kesegči-) ‘(fel)darabol, réšsekre bont vmit’ ← *keseg: LM (L) keseg ‘part, piece, portion, fragment; group; paragraph, chapter, section; division; department; moment; some time’;

LM (L) toboči- ‘to speak fluently but concisely’ ← *toč: LM (L) toč ‘clear(ly), distinct(ly), definite(ly);

228 The form ačila- is quite strange. de Rachewitz left this verb uncommented. In my view there are two possibilities to analyze it. According to the first one this is a frequentative/iterative form of the verb ači- ‘to load, to burden’, however must be seen that the parallelism of the verses would not suggest ačilasu but *ači’asu, which would be the verb ači- with a conditional gerund.
This verb was translated by Haenisch as ‘schinden, abziehen, ausplündern’. It would be interesting to know from where Haenisch took the meaning ‘ausplündern’, since it does not appear in the text, however consider the Old Turkic verb üple- ‘to pillage’. The Turkic verb is most probably of Mongolic origin, cf. *öb ~ LM (L) öb ‘share, allotted part or portion; inheritance; property (to which a person has a legal title)’. Although de Rachewiltz translates it as ‘valuable thing’ I find more plausible to translate is as ‘booty’ or something like that\(^\text{39}\).

From this noun other derivations are → *öble- ~ LM (L) öble- ‘to divide into parts, shares, distribute in portions; to own, possess; to appropriate, use or keep as one’s own’. On the other hand consider the verb LM (L) öbüre- ‘to be exhausted, grow weak’.

### Literature:

Szabó 1943: §90;

### +ši-

The denominal verb suffix +ši- was not mentioned by Street only in the compound +šyA- which however is merely the causative form of the given suffix. It was mentioned by Godziński (1985: 63), who quoted from the Mnt the causative form orošiul-, the active form of which is present in the text as well.

Mnt oroši- ‘to introduce, to nominate’: sa’ari<- čintan-i adu’ula’at nutu[a]čitan-i orošin tölet garqaju unuqčin boltuqai ‘and the mare-milkers shall be the ones to tend them. The campmasters shall constantly provide replacements of mares and shall in turn be herders of the milk mares.’ (Mnt 279) < *oroši- ← *oron ~ LM (L) oron ‘place in general; territory, country, locality, area, land, site; dwelling place’;

In addition, however there occur several verbs in the Mnt which probably feature this suffix. Such are kobsi-, nobši-,

Mnt kobsi-: (reciproc kobsildü-) ‘to be cold’: noyitan nobšilduju // köyiten kö[b]sildüjü // nendü qutq bolju yabuba je či ‘When it was wet // You suffered the wet with me; // When it was cold, // You suffered the cold with me.’ (Mnt 207); noyitan nobšilduju // köyiten kobsildüjü yabuba je či ‘When it was wet // You suffered the wet with me; // When it was cold, // You suffered the cold with me.’ (Mnt 213) < *kobsi- ← *kob ← *kö-, cf. LM (L) körö- ‘to cool off, become cool; to freeze’

Mnt nobši-: (reciproc nobšildu-) ‘to be wet’: noyitan nobšilduju // köyiten kö[b]sildüjü // nendü qutq bolju yabuba je či ‘When it was wet // You suffered the wet with me; // When it was cold, // You suffered the cold with me.’ (Mnt 207); noyitan nobšilduju //

\(^{39}\) cf. Mnt ubyte: üb tonaq jidatu ere-yi ji’ju čisutu tonaq tonoqčin // üldätü er[e]-yi hüldejü // unaqaju alaju // üb tonaq abuqčin // Uru’ut Mangqut ke’ekdet tede ‘These are called the Uru’ut and the Mangqut They rush after men armed with spears // And strip them of their blood-stained clothing; // Chasing after men armed with swords, // They fell and kill them, // And take away their valuables and clothing.’ (Mnt 195)
köyiten köbšildüjü yabuba je či ‘When it was wet // You suffered the wet with me; // When it was cold, // You suffered the cold with me.’ (Mnt 213) < *nobši- ← *nob ← *no-, cf. LM (L) nor-240 ‘to become wet, soaked, drenched, damp, moist’;

It is not clear if the verb dabši- belongs here or not. It is of onomatopoeic nature. LM has dabsi- and tabsi- ‘to hit gently with the palm of the hand’ which is a transitive verb. It must be seen however, that this passage is part of a poem, with two semantic parallels, both of which241 furnish an intransitive verb. In view of this parallelism I find it more plausible not to translate the verb dabši- as a transitive one, as was done by de Rachewiltz ‘to strike’, but as an intransitive verb.

Mnt dabši- ‘to clack, ?to snap’: edő’e tere // gölme dabšikui-tur // kö‘ürge-yin dawu bolqaju // kökidek Toqто’a Bu’ura-ke’er-e bűi je ‘Now, // That Toqто’a, who takes fright // When one strikes the saddle-flaps, for // He takes it for the sound of the drum, // He must be in the Bu’ura Steppe’ (Mnt 105)

In the same manner it is of onomatopoeic origin the verb ungši-. Transitivity again proves to be a difficult question.

Mnt ungši- ‘to shout’: Tayyič’ut ungšišju ügülerüün aqa-ban Temüjiin-i ilė ‘when the Tayyič’ut shouted, ‘Send out your elder brother Temüjiin’ (Mnt 79); Temüjiin dürbejü ayisuaqun irgen-tür Börte Börte ke’en ungšišju yabuqui-tur učiraju Börte ijin tede dürbekün irgen-tür büjü’ü ‘Temüjiin moved among the people that were hurriedly escaping, calling, ‘Börte, Börte!’ And so he came upon her, for Lady Börte was among those fleeing people’ (Mnt 110); bidan-u manglan teden-tür ungšišladuju ungšišu jilda boldaju manaqar qatqalduya ke’ejü ičjuq qol-tur neyilen qonoba ‘Our vanguard shouted at them, and they shouted back, but it was already getting late. Saying, ‘Tomorrow we’ll fight! ‘ our men withdrew and spent the night together with the main body of the army.’ (Mnt 142); Temüjiin-i ere-yi minu aburatuqai ke’en ungšišu qayilaqju uyyilaba bi ‘I cried and wailed and called on Temüjiin to save my husband’ (Mnt 146) < *ungši- ← *ung, cf. LM (L) ungkila- ‘to seek a mate (of deer during mating season)’ ← *u, cf. LM (L) ui ‘mourning, sorrow’; LM (L) ukila- ‘to cry, sob, weep’; LM (L) uyila- ‘to cry, sob, weep’; LM (L) unjį- ‘to cry, lament’

As the forms in +šyA- (Street 1957: 64; Godziński 1985: 63) are clearly the petrified causatives of verbs with the suffix +ši- I feel myself free to discuss these forms here. So much the more that there is not always possible to find a difference in the meaning of the active and causative forms. There appear five examples of this compound suffix. These are samšiya-, buru’ušiya-, jöbšiye-, berkešiye-, he’üšiye-.

Mnt samši-/samšiya- ‘to suffer loss/to cause to suffer loss’: qorqaqsat Tatar-tur bidanu čeri’üüt e’erekün bolun maši samšiu’u qorqalaq-[2ob]sat Tatar-i joboju oro’ulju ülütken či’in-tür ülijü kiduqui-tur Tatar ügüledârîn gü’ün tutum qançun-duriyan kituqai qançulaqju dere

240 Actually the LM form of this verb is not nor- but nor-.
abun üküye ke'eldiýjü basa maşi gü samşiýu’u ‘As our soldiers tried to surround and attack the Tatars that had barricaded themselves in, they suffered great losses. After much trouble, when they forced the barricaded Tatars into submission and were about to slay them to the last man by measuring them against the linchpin of a cart, the Tatars said among themselves, ‘Let everyone put a knife in his sleeve and let us die each taking an enemy with us as a death-companion!’ And again we suffered great losses.’ (Mnt 154) /// yeke eye baralduqsan-i Belgütey-ýin ja’aqu-ýin tula bidanu čeri’üüt maşi samşiýabai ‘Because Belgütei divulged the decision we took together with our kinsmen at the great council, our soldiers suffered great losses.’ (Mnt 154) *samš- ← *sam. The etymology of this verb is obscure.

Mnt: buruşya- ‘to consider faulty’: qahan eğiye-ýin minu bürin-ü emüne dörö kičiyeğü gü’ün-i ülü aqan öyisüldükken-ýer o’eriyen buruşuşiýaba bi ‘Therefore, I have myself acknowledged the fault of having secretly harmed, without discernment, a person who diligently observed in the service of my father the Qa’an and in the service of all’ (Mnt 281) *buruşça- ← *buruşuši- ← *buruğu ~ LM (L) buruğu ‘error, misconception, mistake, guilt; erroneous, false; unjust; wicked; contrary; left-hand side (of a person); right-hand side (of a ridding animal);

Mnt jöbşîye- ‘to approve’: Börte üjin-ü üge-ber jöbşîyejü üli bawan söni dülin gödljü ayisüqui-tur ‘They all approved of the words of Lady Börte and without pitching camp they set off, travelling at night.’ (Mnt 119); eñe üge-yi jöbşîyejü jürçedei Arqai qoyar-i alyaqsta’ulju söni düli’et gürçü ‘Činggis Qa’an approved these words and sent Jürçedei and Arqai ahead to reconnoitre. They travelled through the night and having reached’ (Mnt 185); Činggis qahan Qadaq-ba’atun üge-yi jöbşîyejü jari’q bolurun ‘Činggis Qa’an approved Qadaq Ba’atur’s words, saying’ (Mnt 185); Further occurrences: Mnt 191, 193, 197, 248, 255, 260, 265, 271, 277, 279, 280 *jöbşt- ← *jöb- ~ LM (L) jöb ‘correct, true, right; the right or correct side’;

Mnt berkeşiye- ‘to consider difficult’: bidanu dergede yabukun-i berkeşiye’esü busu-yi oro’ulju tere gü’il-ü ere’iljejü nidiin-e eçine qolo qajar-a iléye ‘regarding their service by Our side as too difficult, we shall recruit others in their stead and we shall punish those people and send them to a distant place, out of Our sight.’ (Mnt 224); basa müm keşiktü qurbanta keşik ho’ara’asu qucin dolo’an beri’es göyü’éet bidan-tur yabuqui-ban berkeşiyan ayu’u eçine qolo qajar-a iléye ‘if the guard fails once more - that is three times - to take his of duty, thus regarding his service by Our side as difficult, he shall be disciplined with thirty-seven strokes of the rod and shall be sent to a distant place, out of Our sight’ (Mnt 227); basa müm gü’il-ü etebet šila’a ügei keşig-ü ütögü-tür eye ügei qut’a’arta keşik ho’ara’asu bidan-tur yabuquq-yu berkeşiyan ayu’u qucin dolo’an beri’es söyü’éet qola qajar-a nidiin-ü eçine iléye ‘If, once more, same man, without sickness or other reason and without having first consulted the elder of the company, for the time fails to take his turn, thus regarding his service by Our side as too difficult, he shall be disciplined with thirty seven strokes of the rod and shall be sent to a distant place out Our sight’ (Mnt 278) *berkeşi- ← *berkeš- ← *berke ~ LM (L) berke ‘difficult, hard; burdensome, troublesome; complicated, serious; difficulty, hardship; trouble’
The analyze of the verb he’üšiy– meets some difficulties. The word was discussed by Cleaves 1950: 113–114. Based on a previous work of Poppe, who identified this verb with LM ügüşiye– ‘sušit’ na solnce’, his final statement is that he’üšiy– is a denominal verb in +şiyA- from an unattested adjective egü (< hegü) ‘disagreeable, intolerable’. This statement of Cleaves is by all means correct, however, there appears in LM ege- ‘to warm; to dry in the sun or by fire’. Further derivations from the same verbal root include LM (L) egeg ‘place exposed to the sun, but protected from the wind; covered or sheltered place; roof’; LM (L) egem-e ‘heat, sultriness; hot, sultry’; LM (L) eger ‘scum or foam on sour milk’; LM (L) egerm-e ‘open plain, desert, steppe’. Since the existence of a deverbal verb suffix +ši- is not grounded, I am inclined to suppose that the root *heği is actually *heg, and the vowel ü is merely a linking vowel, cf. LM (L) egsi- ‘to dry, dry up; to dry in the sun’, LM (L) egści- ‘to dry, desiccate; to dry in the sun’ which exactly corresponds to the verb in the Mnt. The only thing to add to this etymology, that the LM (L) ege- is a denominal verb in +A- from the same root.

Mnt he’üšiy– ‘to consider disagreeable, intolerable’: Mongqol-un ba ere aqta qaʃar he’üšiyeyjü kőleqirmęi ke’ekqemüi ‘it is said that the men and geldings of the Mongols find our country unsuitable and fall victim to epidemics.’ (Mnt 248) < *heğišiy– ← *heğiši ← *heği.

Literature:


+ıGʊ-

In the former literature this suffix was mentioned only by Street (1957: 63). As it has only one derivative, and is not traceable from any other sources, I suppose that it is compound suffix. Its first component probably is the suffix +IA-.

Mnt büselgü– ‘to encircle’: Činggis qaʃan narana jılda boldaʃu Naqu-kun-nu a’ula-yi büşelgüün bayyifu qonobai ‘Late in the day Činggis Qa’an surrounded the mountain of Naqu Cliff; he took up position with his troops and spent the night there’ (Mnt 196) < *büşelgü– ← *büse ~ LM (L) büse ‘girdle or belt (worn around outer garments)’;

Literature:

Street 1957: 63;

\[242\] From that the Mongolic verb eged/egede- ‘to turn sour, sour, curdle, set, coagulate’ was formed.
Conclusions

Most important tool in revealing the history of a given language is the knowledge of the etymology of its words. Realizing the etymological background of a language will authorize the researcher to compare the given language to another, similarly well mapped ones. Anybody familiar to the field of Altaic Studies will agree that this was not the way in which the Altaic languages were compared to each other.

Not dealing here with the problems concerning the other Altaic languages, let us see in what estate is Mongolic linguistics.

Historical phonology of the Mongolic languages seem to be best elaborated. This means that we are quite familiar with the phonological stock of the Mongolic languages, but seldom is made a reference in the literature to the fact that this only means the period from the 13. century on. Not only on the field of Mongolic phonology is observed that according to the literature the history of the Mongolic languages practically begins in the Middle Mongol period. Earlier stages remain in obscurity. The situation is well pictured by the statement of the editors of the EDAL (p. 149): “attempts to reconstruct for Proto-Mongolian any features absent in the written records have so far been unsuccessful. Thus, the Proto-Mongolian system reconstructed so far is practically identical with Middle Mongolian”. Such an approach is unacceptable for any historical linguist.

It is a generally accepted view, that under ideal circumstances it is possible to make linguistic reconstruction for the period about a thousand year earlier than the first written records. As in the case of Mongolic the first written monuments practically appear in the 13. century, that would mean a possibility to trace back linguistic processes to the 3–4. centuries. In turn with the exception of the always quoted theory supposed already by Ramstedt about an original *p- which in several cases was preserved until the Middle Mongol period, there were no serious and systematic researches carried out for the mapping the processes that played role in the history of the Mongolic languages prior to Middle Mongol period. Reasons for this situation are various, and understandable, but not acceptable. This is one point in the case of which researchers should change their attitude to the subject.

Turning towards morphology, it can be stated that in some respect the situation is better than that of the historical phonology. The reason for that, however, is not the better elaboration of the topic, but the relative conservatism of morphology, which assures that functions of morphological elements observed in the recent material are close to their more ancient counterparts.

It is well observable in the literature, that the direction of research is exactly the contrary to the needs of historical linguistics. This means that the main goal of different grammars is to explain the modern data as opposed to earlier stages, mostly Literary Mongol.

Detailed studies on the derivational morphology of historical stages of Mongolic languages is under-represented in the literature.
Observing this lack in the literature, and finding myself most interested in the history of the Mongolic languages and Mongolic etymology I set out to picture the synchronic position of the derivational morphology of Middle Mongol.

Taking into account the magnitude of the topic, during the work, there appeared the necessity of narrowing it. This narrowing on the one hand touched the topic itself, that became verb-formation, and on the other hand from the Middle Mongol corpus the Secret History of the Mongols was taken as a source. Choosing the Secret History as a source was promoted by two factors. The first one is that in many respects it counts as the most ancient record of the Mongols. The second point considers the extension of the text, which is considerable. This Middle Mongol text furnishes about 30.000 words. That number is a token. One more statistical data concerns the types of verbs, which is around 1100.

A goal of my dissertation was to fairly describe and characterize the verbal stock as it appears in the language of the Secret History, and if there appears a possibility to give some clues on the former history of the suffixes considered.

As a summary I can state that 37 derivational verb forming suffixes were dealt with, 15 of which are deverbal verb suffixes, 22 denominal ones. They are the following:

**Deverbal verb suffixes:**

- GA-, -gUl-, -kdA-, -DA-, -(U)lčA-, -(A)ldU-, -čA-, -(V)t-, -či-, -lJA-, -bAlja-/-kAlja-, -rA-, -s-, -(V)t-, -ji-.

Deverbal verb suffixes show a relatively clear system. Of the 15 mentioned suffixes 12 can be classified by the terms of voice, aspect and mediality. In the case of the remaining three suffixes further researches are necessary to clarify their function reassuringly.

**Denominal verb suffixes:**

*IA-, *(V)t-, *dA-, *rA-, *čiIA-, *rKA-, *(i)s-, *yi-, *JA-, *mši-, *ri-, *čA-, *sA-, *tU-, *ji-, *lJA-, *li-, *A-, *KA-, *či-, *ši-, *lGU-.

Results of the work can be summarized in the following points:

1. Of the 1100 verb types in the dissertation more than 380 were discussed in detail. This number becomes more impressive if it is observed that e.g. the suffix *IA- has 160 derivatives but only 35 were discussed, or the causative suffix -gUl- has 145 derivatives, but only 17 verbs were used during the characterization of the suffix. A similar situation can be observed in the case of other voice suffixes as well.

2. The work revealed that historical morphology can present the etymologies of several verbs, formerly discussed as simplexes, cf. the etymologies of ungši- ‘to read’, nis- ‘to fly’, etc.

3. With my dissertation there came to be at disposal a basic description of the suffixes, together with as strong support as possible. This support appears in the shape of examples. The examples are not restricted to the data itself and its meaning, but longer quotations from the
source text make possible to check the statements of the characterization. On the other hand I managed to give the etymology of the verbs in a very high percentage, which further strengthens my statements.

4. In the dissertation I broke with the unacceptable tradition of the former literature, according to which instead of using reconstructions, linguistic data are compared to Literary Mongol forms. Literary Mongol of course in the majority of the instances is very close to the reconstructed forms, but surely not identical with them.

5. In many etymologies it was supposed, or evidence was given on the existence of a petrified linking vowel, that appears in the material as a stem-final vowel.

6. Throughout the dissertation a new approach in handling the adverbial particles also called preverbs is observable. This part of the lexicon seems to be very ancient, as well as the constructions in which they appear. Contrary to the former practice which considered them to be nominal stems, I suggest that they originally were verbal stems. Handling them as verbal stems incidentally appears already in the work of Street (1957). Discussing them in this way is on the one hand supported by Turkic counterparts, and inner morphological evidence on the other. For a long time these “adverbial particles” caused a confusion in the morphological studies, since it appeared that they can take both deverbal and denominal suffixes. This question requires its own etymological and comparative study in the future to check my idea.

7. On the field of causative suffixes contrary to the earlier literature which distinguished two suffixes -gA- with the same shape I pointed out that since there are no meeting points in their use distinguishing them is needless and unacceptable.

8. I could give a proof for the existence of a causative suffix -l-. The presence of such a suffix was supposed by the earlier literature as well, however, the proof was ambiguous. The Mnt gave evidence for the existence of such a suffix, but also revealed that this suffix had a broader semantics, including iterative and semelfactive peculiarities as well.

9. In the case of several suffixes I managed to clarify or fine down earlier statements regarding the function of the given suffix.

10. I pointed out that suffixes formerly listed as independent morphological elements are clearly compound suffixes, thus there is no need to discuss them on their own. Consider such cases as +šyA-, +jilA-, +dka-.

11. On the other hand I gave evidence that suffixes formerly handled as a compound one (+čilA-), although probably really is a compound, however, not in the way it was supposed by the former literature.

12. I offered new etymologies for the deverbal verb forming suffixes -BAJJA- and -KAJJA-.

As a final conclusion of my work I can state that ascertaining an etymology for the verbs of the Mnt at such a high percentage, gives the hope of materializing an etymological dictionary of the
Mongolic languages with a similar rate of success. This is what I plan to be the scientific goal of my future career.
Appendix

MMU - Middle Mongol in Uighur script


Abu2 1325 The Edict of Abû Sa‘îd (Herrmann – Doerfer 1975a: 341–346)

Ail1–30 1478–1517 Statements Ming (Ligeti 1963: 66–85.)


Arg2 1287 The edict of Argun (Doerfer 1975a: 205–207)


Cal1 XIV c. Calendar fragment (Ligeti 1972B: 184–186; Cerenosdnom – Taube 1993: 148–149);

Cal2 XIV c. Calendar fragment (Ligeti 1972B: 187; Cerenosdnom – Taube 1993: 150);

Cal3 XIV c. Calendar fragment (Ligeti 1972B:187–189; Cerenosdnom – Taube 1993: 150–152);

Cal4 XIV c. Calendar fragment (Ligeti 1972B: 189–191; Cerenosdnom – Taube 1993: 152–153);

Cal5 XIV c. Calendar fragment (Ligeti 1972B: 192; Cerenosdnom – Taube 1993: 154);

Cal6 XIV c. Calendar fragment (Ligeti 1972B: 193–194; Cerenosdnom – Taube 1993: 155–157);
Cal7 XIV c. Calendar fragment (Ligeti 1972B: 194–196; Cerenśodnom – Taube 1993: 157–158);
Cal8 XIV c. Calendar fragment (Cerenśodnom – Taube 1993: 154–155);
Cal9 XIV c. Calendar fragment (Cerenśodnom – Taube 1993: 158–160);
Cal10 XIV c. Calendar fragment (Cerenśodnom – Taube 1993: 160);
Cal11 XIV c. Calendar fragment (Cerenśodnom – Taube 1993: 161);
Cal12 XIV c. Calendar fragment (Cerenśodnom – Taube 1993: 161);
Cal13 XIV c. Calendar fragment (Cerenśodnom – Taube 1993: 161);
Cal14 XIV c. Calendar fragment (Cerenśodnom – Taube 1993: 162);
Cal15 XIV c. Calendar fragment (Cerenśodnom – Taube 1993: 162);
Cal16 XIV c. Calendar fragment (Cerenśodnom – Taube 1993: 162);
Cal17 XIV c. Calendar fragment (Cerenśodnom – Taube 1993: 162);
Cal18 XIV c. Calendar fragment (Cerenśodnom – Taube 1993: 163);
Cal19 XIV c. Calendar fragment (Cerenśodnom – Taube 1993: 163);

Dar 1431 The praise of Tara – Tārā-Ekavimśatistotra (Heissig 1976: 25–70, 100–112);


Qqt2 XIV (G 110 recto) Qara-qoto, Yu-guan (Munkuev 1970; Ligeti 1972B: 105–106; Jančiw 2005:151; Kara 2003: 4–5);

Qqt3 XIV (G 111) Qara-qoto (Ligeti 1972B: 107; Munkuev 1970; Kara 2003: 3–4 ; Jančiw 2005:151);

Qqt4 XIV Qara-qoto (Matsui 1997);

Qqt5 XIV (G 110 verso) Qara-qoto (Kara 2003: 5–7);

Qqt6 XIV (G 122 recto) Qara-qoto (Kara 2003: 10);

Qqt7 XIV (G 113) Qara-qoto (Kara 2003: 10–11);

Qqt8 XIV (G 121) Qara-qoto (Kara 2003: 11);

Qqt9 XIV (G 114) Qara-qoto (Kara 2003: 11–14);

Qqt10 XIV (G 119) Qara-qoto (Kara 2003: 14);

Qqt11 XIV (G 118) Qara-qoto(Kara 2003: 14–17);

Qqt12 XIV (G 107) Qara-qoto (Kara 2003: 17–18);

Qqt13 XIV (G 112) Qara-qoto (Kara 2003: 18);

Qqt14 XIV (G 108) Qara-qoto (Kara 2003: 22–23);
Qtf15 XIV (G 109) Qara-qoto (Kara 2003: 26–28);
Qtf16 XIV (G 115) Qara-qoto (Kara 2003: 34);
Qtf17 XIV (G 117) Qara-qoto (Kara 2003: 34–39);
Qtf18 XIV (G 116) Qara-qoto (Kara 2003: 39–40);
Tfn5 1369 (T M 79 [M 866]) Ileskoja (Haenisch 1959: 30; Ligeti 1963: 151–152; 1972: 216–217; Cerenosdnom – Taube 1993: 168–170; Franke 1977a);
Tfn8 1339 (G 120) Yisün temür (Ligeti 1972B: 222–223; Kara 1971: 170–171; 2003: 28–30; Clark 1975);
Tfn9 1316 (TM 72) Turfan (Haenisch 1959: 30; Ligeti 1963: 154–155; 1972: 224–225; Cerenosdnom – Taube 1993: 190);
Tfn12 1314+ (T 1 U 5361) Fragment (Ligeti 1971b: 139–150; 160; 1972: 229–230; Cerenosdnom – Taube 1993: 185);
Tfn13 XIV (U 5981) Turfan (Ligeti 1971b: 150–153; 161; 1972: 231–232; Cerenosdnom – Taube 1993: 185);
Tfn14 1315+ Turfan (Ligeti 1972B: 233–234; Huang Wen-bi 1954: Pic17–18; Kara 1971; Franke 1971);
Tfn15 1353+ Turfan (Franke 1965; Ligeti 1972B: 235);
Tfn16 XIV Turfan (Franke 1970; Ligeti 1972B: 236; Matsui 1997: 41);
Tfn17 XIV (TM 1020) Turfan (Franke 1970; Ligeti 1972B: 237; Cerenosdnom – Taube 1993: 185);
Tfn18 1309+ (T III 436) Turfan (Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 184);

Tfn19 XIV Turfan (Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 186);

Tfn20 XIV (T II 33) Turfan (Haenisch 1959: 34; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 187-189);

Du1 1323 Tunhuang – Inscription of pilgrims (Pelliot 1914: Tab12; Kotwicz 1926; Ligeti 1965a: 38; 1972: 33–34; Qaserdeni – Garudi 1988);

Du2 XIII–XIV Tunhuang (Ligeti 1972B: 35; Pelliot 1927: 148; 1929: 219);

DuI1ss (Peng Jinzhang – Wang Jianjun 2000–2004);


FrB3 XIV (TM I D 130) Turfan – Fragment of Prajñāpāramitā (Haenisch 1959: 9; Ligeti 1963: 129–130; 1972: 144–145; Cerensodnom 1981; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 120–122);


FrB6 XIV (TM 5 D 130) Turfan (Haenisch 1959: 13; Ligeti 1972B: 150–152; Cerensodnom 1969; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 131–134; Franke 1968b); [belongs to FrB9]


FrB8 XIV (TM 4 D 130) Turfan (Haenisch 1959: 12; Ligeti 1963: 133; 1972: 159–160; Franke 1968b; Jančíw 2005: 199; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993 136–138);


FrB11 XIV (Mong. I 122) Turfan (Ligeti 1972B: 165; Kara 1974);

FrB12 XIV Turfan (Murayama 1958; Ligeti 1963: 147–149; 1972: 166–169);

FrB13 XIV Turfan (Murayama 1958; Ligeti 1963: 145–146; 1972: 170–171; Jančíw 2005: 200);

FrB14B XIV (T III 304a; T III 304b) Turfan (Haenisch 1959: 21; Ligeti 1972B: 174–175; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 144);


FrB14D XIV (T II 1654 Ch/U 7537) Turfan (Ligeti 1971b: 153–155; 1972: 177; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 112–113); [belongs to FrB14A]

FrB14E XIV (T I U 4018a) Turfan (Ligeti 1971b: 155; 1972: 178; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 193);

FrB14F XIV (T II D 324) Turfan (Haenisch 1959: 20; Ligeti 1972B: 179; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 145);

FrB14G XIV (T I D 581) Turfan (Haenisch 1959: 20; Ligeti 1972B: 180); [part of Tfn12]

FrB14H XIV (M 729) Turfan (Haenisch 1959: 24; Ligeti 1972B: 181–183; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 141–143);

FrB15A XIV Turfan (Heissig 1974);

FrB15B XIV Turfan (Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 136);

FrB15C XIV Turfan (Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 146);

FrB15D XIV Turfan (Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 193);


FrTfn1 XIV Turfan (Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 194);

FrTfn2 XIV Turfan (Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 194);

FrTfn3–5 XIV Turfan (Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 195);


Glos1 1324 Al-Samarkandī (Ligeti 1963: 110–111; 1972: 264–265; Blochet 1910: 117; Jančiw 2005: 221; Rachewiltz 1969);

Glos2 XIV Rashid ad-Dīn (Ligeti 1972B: 266–267);


Hin 1362 The inscription of Hindu or Indu (Ligeti 1963: 70–82; 1972: 63–75; Tamura 1937; Cleaves 1949; Dobo 1983: 345: 413; Tulyayuri 1992; 1997);

Jib 1277 The inscription of Jibig temür (Matsukawa 2002: 55–59);

Jig 1338 The inscription of Jigünnte (Ligeti 1963: 59–66; 1972: 51–58; Tamura 1937; Cleaves 1951b; 1954b; Dobo 1983: 269–306);

KüüU 1272+ (Nakamura – Matsukawa – Matsui 1999: 267–268; Očir 2001);
Lal XIII–XIV The Mongol translation of the Lalitavistara (Ligeti 1966a; 1974; Poppe 1967);

Mke1 1253 The inscription of Möngke khan (Nakamura – Matsukawa 1993: 32–34);


Öte 1262 The letter of Ötemiś (Ligeti 1963: 95; 1972: 268–269; Houdas 1895; Cleaves 1953c; Hambis 1962; Jančiw 2005: 222; Šagdarsüren 2002: 56; Gazagnadou 1987);

Qqm1 1346 (Ligeti 1963: 20–24; 1972: 22–26; Kotvič 1918; Poppe 1929; Cleaves 1952; Radloff 1892: Tab41; Dobo 1983: 319–340; Gerelbadrakh 1999a; Korsunkiev 1980; Törbät 1997; Rintchen 1968: 73);


Qqm3 Unpublished material;

Qub1 1261 (Nakamura – Matsukawa 1993: 34–40);

Qub2 1268 (Nakamura – Matsukawa 1993: 41–48);

Sar XIII–XIV (Poppe 1941a; Ligeti 1963: 166–170; 1972: 279–283; Cend 1976; Šongqor 1982);

Srn XIV–Subhāṣītaratnanidhi (Bosson 1969; Ligeti 1948; 1965b; 1973a);

Top 1453 (Cleaves 1950b);


Uwa 1358 (Herrmann – Doerfer 1975b);


Yu1 1407 Yung-lo (Matsukawa 2002b);
Yu2 1407 Yung-lo (Matsukawa 2002b);
Zha 1335 Zhang Ying-rui (Ligeti 1963: 44–58; 1972: 36–50; Tamura 1937; Cleaves 1950a, 1955a; Dobo 1983: 212–268; Farudi 1990; Seçenbayatur 1983);
Zho 1348 Zhong-wei (Ligeti 1972B: 62; Cleaves 1949 (?67); Dobo 1983: 341–344);

MMP – Middle Mongol in ‘Phags-pa script
Bab 1280+ Babuša (Sugiyama 1993: 105–149)
Buy10 1312 (Jančiw 2002: 152)
FrBook XIV Book fragment (Junast 1991: 212–215; Tömörtogő 2002: 67; Jančiw 2002: 143; Franke 1973);


[Grf2 1335 Hui-hsien (Ligeti 1972a: 120; Jančiw 2002: 148);]

[Grf3 XIII–XIV Wine]

[Grf4]

[Grf5]


Kü2 1309 Küülg (Tömörtogő 2002: 17–18; Hugejiletu 2004: 78–88; Matsukawa 2002a: 63–66);


PaiH XIII–XIV Huang Jun (Dang 2001: 36–37)


PaiKe XIII–XIV Ke’er’qin Yu-yi Chung-ch’i (Dang 2001: 36);


PaiMe XIII–XIV Metropolitan Museum (Dang 2001: 37)


Pai Q  XIII–XIV Ch'ing-shui-he Hugejiletu 2004: 458–464; Boxing 2000; Dang 2001: 37);

Pai Š  XIII–XIV So-lun (Boxing 2000; Dang 2001: 37)


Sr n PD u  XIV Subhāṣitaratnaniḍhi (Hugejiletu 2004: 499–502; Northern grottoes III: 415–417);


**Toğ7** 1343 Toğon-temür (Tömörögö 2002: 49–50; Jančiw 2002: 95–96; Hugejiletu 2004: 276–286);


**YisT1** 1324 Yisün-temür (Tömörögö 2002: 39–41; Jančiw 2002: 78–81; Hugejiletu 2004: 208–221; Everding II);

**YisT2** 1324 Yisün-temür (Tömörögö 2002: 41–43; Jančiw 2002: 82–85; Hugejiletu 2004: 222–233; Everding III);

**YisT3** 1328 Yisün-temür (Tömörögö 2002: 43–44; Jančiw 2002: 86–87; Hugejiletu 2004: 234–240; Junast 1996; Everding IV);

**MMC Middle Mongol in Chinese script**

**Mnt** 1228/1240 The Secret History of the Mongols (Ligeti 1964; 1971a; de Rachewiltz

**Hy** 1389 Hua-i i-yü (Haenisch 1957; Ligeti 1972a; Lewiczki 1949–1959)

**Zhi** 1264–94 Zhi-yüan i-yü (Ligeti 1990; Kara 1990; de Rachewiltz 2006)

**MMA Middle Mongol in Arabic script**

**AL** 1345 The anonymous Leiden manuscript (Poppe 1927–1928; Saitô 2006);

**Ast** 1366 Astronomic texts (Franke 1988);

**HQ** 1339? Hamdullah Qazwînî (Pelliot 1930–32);

**IM** XIV Ibn Muhannâ (Poppe 1938b: 432–451; Weiers 1972);

**MA** XV–XVI? Muqaddimât al-Adab (Poppe 1938b; Saitô 2001);

**Ras** 1363– Rasûlid hexaglott (Golden 2000);

**Vdl** XV Istanbul (Ligeti 1962);

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