

**UNIVERSITY OF SZEGED**

# **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 pro<sup>1</sup> or contra.<sup>2</sup> 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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<sup>1</sup> “... regular paradigmatic correspondences in morphology are necessarily indicative of genetic relationship.” (Dybo – Starostin 2008: 125)

<sup>2</sup> “The best way ... is to prove a suggested genetic relationship on the basis of paradigmatic morphology ...” (Vovin 2005: 73)

available, but historical comparative<sup>3</sup> works as well. In the next step these basic researches made possible to carry out several firmly based works on Turkic etymology.<sup>4</sup>

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 Dancaranovič 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<sup>5</sup> for accomplishing such a dictionary. I just regret that the task has not been performed.

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<sup>3</sup> Without angling to completeness cf. the works of Radloff (1893–1911), Räsänen (1957), Sevortjan (1962), Serebrennikov – Gadžieva (1986), Tenišev (1988), Erdal (1991), Berta (1996).

<sup>4</sup> Again only selectively consider Doerfer (1693–1975), Egorov (1964), Räsänen (1969), Clauson (1972), Röhrborn (1977–1998) Fedotov (1996), Eren (1998), Sevortjan (1974–1980), Levitskaja – Dybo – Rassadin (1997, 2000) Levitskaja – Blagova – Dybo – Nasilov (2003).

<sup>5</sup> 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 niuča tobča’an* throughout in this work abbreviated as Mnt<sup>6</sup>), 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.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> 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.

<sup>7</sup> 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.

<sup>8</sup> 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<sup>9</sup> 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<sup>10</sup> 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,<sup>11</sup> 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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<sup>9</sup> 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.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Mnt *hasaq-* ‘to ask’ and LM (L) *asayu-* ‘to ask’.

<sup>11</sup> Lexicalization of the linking vowel has misled 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 *qan-/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”. (Booij 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.<sup>12</sup> 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,<sup>13</sup> (2) reduplication,<sup>14</sup> (3) compounding<sup>15</sup> and (4)

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<sup>12</sup> 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.

<sup>13</sup> 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),<sup>16</sup> back-formation,<sup>17</sup> clipping<sup>18</sup> & blending,<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup> As productivity in case of historical languages, with a few exceptions<sup>21</sup> seems to be impressionistic, this topic will not be touched in the present work.

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of Booij (2005: 36): “Yet, it is clear that we cannot list reduplicative affixes with their phonological content in the lexicon since this content depends on the phonological composition of the stem.”

<sup>14</sup> Reduplication can be simple reduplication, reduplication with additional word initial, reduplication with change of word initial, and reduplication with change of vocalism.

<sup>15</sup> Compounding means that every participant of the word-formation process is an independent lexeme.

<sup>16</sup> This term covers the process when a lexeme changes its word-class. To understand this process a so-called zero-morpheme was suggested.

<sup>17</sup> During back-formation not the addition of a bound morpheme will result in a new meaning, but the omission of something.

<sup>18</sup> 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*.

<sup>19</sup> Blending happens when initial parts of lexemes are added to the end of another lexeme, e.g. English *camera* + *recorder* → *camcorder*; *smoke* + *fog* → *smog*.

<sup>20</sup> 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.

<sup>21</sup> 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,<sup>22</sup> 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).<sup>23</sup>

The last name to mention before presenting a brief sketch of the literature from the 20th century, is Matthias Alexander Castrén's, 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 treasuries of Altaic etymologies as well.<sup>24</sup> 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.<sup>25</sup> His *Introduction to Mongolian comparative studies* (1955) is still the best survey on the topic<sup>26</sup> while his comparative Altaic phonology (1960) remains a basic work for research.<sup>27</sup>

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).

<sup>22</sup> Cf. the chapter entitled *Derivativa* on pp. 75-82.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. pp. 118-129. on verb formation.

<sup>24</sup> For a complete list of his publications and lectures see Halén 1998: 342-355.

<sup>25</sup> For a list of his publications see Cirtautas 1977 and 1989.

<sup>26</sup> It just can be regretted that derivational morphology was not dealt with in this monograph, only comparative phonology, and inflectional morphology.

<sup>27</sup> 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 Tömörtogō (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.

Buljaš Hojčievna Todaeva (1959, 1960, 1960a, 1961, 1963, 1964, 1973, 1981, 1986) examined different Mongolic dialects spoken in Inner Mongolia, as well as some archaic languages spoken in other parts of China.

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 publishment 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.<sup>28</sup> In my opinion Middle Mongol should not

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<sup>28</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup>

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 Rybatzki’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 Rybatzki’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 over-rated. 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.<sup>30</sup> 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).

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<sup>29</sup> To understand my point consider the Uighur-Mongol and ‘Phags-pa versions of the Mongol Subhāṣitaratnanidhi. 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.

<sup>30</sup> 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 qurilta qurijū quluqana jil quran sarada Kelüren-ü Köde'e-aral-un Dolo'an-boldaq-a Šilginček qoyar ja'ura ordos bawuju büqüi-tür bičijü 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 Šilginček and [...]' (Mnt 282) Thus, the place is the plain comprised between the present-day Xerlen and Cenxer Rivers, in Xentī 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*,<sup>31</sup> "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.<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup> (Murayama 1960; Ligeti 1962: 192–196)<sup>34</sup>

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

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<sup>31</sup> 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 uja'ur*" (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 uja'ur* 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 uja'ur* 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.

<sup>32</sup> 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 *qan* or *qa'an*, which would be just natural in the case of a later date composition.

<sup>33</sup> 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.

<sup>34</sup> 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.<sup>35</sup>
- (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 *Tobčiyān*,<sup>36</sup> while its Chinese version as *Shih-lu* ‘Veritable records’.
- (4) During these editorial works, the “Urtext”, which is the *\*Činggis qan-u uǰayur*, 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 *qa’an* on several persons from the ancestry of Činggis.
- (5) The revised work, called *\*Činggis qayan-u uǰayur* differed in many ways from the original, as reflected by a comparison with the text of Altan Tobči.
- (6) For the compilation of the *Tobčiyān* an account was framed on the reign of Ögödei in the style of *\*Činggis qan-u uǰayur*, 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 *Tobčiyān*.
- (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 qayan-u uǰayur* 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

<sup>35</sup> One of these manuscripts was the base for the version from which Lubsangdanjīn copied the passages of the Mnt into his *Altan tobči*. It is sure, however, that the given manuscript was not the one used by the Ming transcribers.

<sup>36</sup> 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 tobčiyān*<sup>37</sup>.

- (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.<sup>38</sup> 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*. Then 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: lii–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.

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

<sup>38</sup> 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 Činggis 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: lxxvii) The extreme popularity of this text among researchers and in general is revealed by the fact that the bibliographical data<sup>39</sup> of this mass of literature fills a whole volume (cf. Cerenpil – Serĵaw 1990).<sup>40</sup> 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.<sup>41</sup> 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 Duyarĵab 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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<sup>39</sup> Most important bibliographies and sources relating the Mnt are listed by de Rachewiltz in notes Nr. 350-353. (2004: cix-cx)

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

<sup>41</sup> On the role Pozdneev played in this story, one should check the works of Aalto (1951), Krueger (1966), Manalĵaw (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 trusty.

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

What concerns the remaining transcriptions, with some exceptions as the unpublished work of John C. Street 1997, Daščeden 1985, and Kuribayashi Hitoshi – Chojinjab 2001, the reconstruction of the text in Uighur-Mongol script is representative. Such editions are Bayar 1981, Ozawa Shigeo<sup>42</sup> 1984–1989, Eldengtei – Ardažab 1986, Irinčin 1987, Sum‘‘yābātar 1990.

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 in 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

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<sup>42</sup> 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.<sup>43</sup> 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.<sup>44</sup> 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.

## 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<sup>45</sup> 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<sup>46</sup> 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

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<sup>43</sup> This is not the case, however, with the poetic passages of the text, which were rendered into a literary translation by Géza Képes.

<sup>44</sup> 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)

<sup>45</sup> 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)

<sup>46</sup> E.g. the plural formations, case suffixes, inflectional verbal suffixes.

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 Stanisław Godziński (1985), which deals both with inflectional and derivational morphology of Middle Mongol, neglecting however the sources written in Uighur-Mongol script.

de 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. De 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 de Rachewiltz (2004: lxxv) mentions the following: “*i* > *i*, *q(i)* > *k(i)*, *h* (init.) ~ zero, *a'a* ~ *ā*, *e'e* ~ *ē*, *o'o* ~ *ō*, *u'u* ~ *ū*, *ü'ü* ~ *ū̄*, *a* ~ *o* and *a* > *u* (through assimilation). Moreover, the value of certain consonants (*q/γ*, *k/g* and *t/d*) is still uncertain.”

Several points offered by de 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 place, most likely, however long before the Middle Mongol period.<sup>47</sup> 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* ~ *orqo* ‘people’, *qorqa-* ~ *qorqo-* ‘to confine’, *qotat* ~ *qotot* ‘cities’, *oqatur* ‘horse having a bald tail’ ~ *Oqotur* (personal

<sup>47</sup> 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 ы and Turkic *ı*. [...] These two vowels (\**i* and \**i*) converged already in Common Mongolian and both were treated as *i*. Only after and before \**q* and \**γ*, i.e., in the syllables *qī* and *γī* (and *īqa*, *īya*, 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 *qilinča* ‘sin’, (now *kilinče*), *qilyasun* ‘hair’ (now *kilyasun*), and so on.” Poppe’s argumentation is somewhat inconsistent. As I told above, *q* and *γ* 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 *īqa* and *īya* by Poppe did not underwent any change in their shape of script, cf. LM *niya-*, *jīya-*, *siyai*, *siqa-*, *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* ~ *önöčid* ‘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<sup>48</sup> marking with very few deviations occurs in inlaut, syllable initial position (cf. *aduqai* instead of *atuqai*, *amturi-* instead of *amduri-*, parallel forms as *aqdala-* ~ *aqtala-*). At the end of words and syllables, however, there occurs only *-t*.<sup>49</sup> 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. *Tayyiči’ut* vs. *Tayyiči’d-i*, *kö’üt* vs. *kö’üd-eče*, 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<sup>50</sup> 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

<sup>48</sup> 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-dur-iyān* ~ *amin-tur*, etc.

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

<sup>50</sup> Cf. the forms *čiqurğu* and *čiqurqu* 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<sup>51</sup> and Arabic scripts.<sup>52</sup> On the other hand, *k* and *g* occurring in front vocalic words are marked correctly by the transcription, with the only exception of the sequence *kü*,<sup>53</sup> 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, ü, ö, 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:

<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>q</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gh</i>
	<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>h</i>	
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ng</i>	
	<i>l</i>			
	<i>r</i>			
	<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>	

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 *γ* or *ǰ*). 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

<sup>51</sup> 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 *γ* unterscheidet.”

<sup>52</sup> 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 customary in Middle Mongol studies to follow the written image in the transcription.”

<sup>53</sup> Some examples, where *gü* is noted instead of *kü*: *gür-*, *gü'ün*, *güregen*, *günesü*, *güjü'ün*, *güčü*, *güliče-*, *gürdü*. The correct marking occurs as well, cf. *külü'üt*, *küyyiče-*, *kü'ürge*, *kündü*. These examples reveal, that instability due to the ambiguity of the text in Uighur 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. *š* in Middle Mongol probably is on the merger of becoming a phoneme, that is why *š* 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 phonetic 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.<sup>54</sup> 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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<sup>54</sup> 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 *südü* ‘tooth’ revealing the process *\*sidün* → *südü* as opposed to *\*sidün* → *\*šidün* → *\*šüdü* > Khalkha *šüd*, Buryat *šüden*.

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,<sup>55</sup> 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 Kalmuck. 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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<sup>55</sup> 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<sup>56</sup> for this work as basic text is that of Ligeti which appeared in 1964.<sup>57</sup>

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.

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<sup>56</sup> 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-lxxii in the work of de Rachewiltz.

<sup>57</sup> 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 *\*bičigül-* ‘to cause or let someone to write’. Although the counterparts of this latter form are usually quoted in the dictionaries, decoding<sup>58</sup> 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’.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>-1</sup>*, *-\*GA<sup>-2</sup>*, *-\*gUl-* and *-\*lgA-*. Poppe mentions a fifth causative suffix, *-l-*, which was present in the Pre-classical Mongol, but later disappeared, the suffix *-lgA-* being used instead.

Their use is determined by the following distributional rules.

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<sup>58</sup> 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.

<sup>59</sup> 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  $-gA^{-1}$  is added to intransitive stems ending in a vowel. The vowel of the suffix is long.
2. The suffix  $-GA^{-2}$  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  $-gUl-$  is added to transitive and intransitive stems ending in a vowel.
4. The suffix  $-lgA-$  is added to transitive and intransitive stems ending in the juncture  $-GV-$ .

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  $-gA-$  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  $-gA-$  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 Poppe's 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  $*-lgA-$  is missing, there appear only  $*-GA-$  and  $*-gUl-$ . 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.

**-GA-**

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 abaqa-yu’an uruq-a ülü bolqan doromjilaǰu qaqačǰu geǰü 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); *aqā 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); *qamuq Mongqo[l] Tayyiči’ut Onan-nu Qorqonaq-ǰubur quraǰu Qutula-yi qahan bolqaba* ‘all the Mongols and Tayiči’ut gathered in the Qorqonaq Valley by the Onan and made Qutula qa’an’ (Mnt 57); *namayi yekin nidün-ü surmusun aman-u qaqaşun bolqamui 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 < \**bolga-* ← \**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’uǰui iseri boqunitqaǰu de’ekši qarǰui hüni dölüsgeǰü yekin teyin ayu’ulba či qan ečige 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) *boyonı* ‘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 **büte’e-/bütü’e-** ‘to complete, to finish’: *üges-i anu medere’ülǰü üges-tür anu gürgen büte’eǰü mün tende gēbei* ‘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); *Sača Taiču qoyar-i büte’et qarıǰu ireǰü* ‘Having disposed of Sača and Taiču he returned’ (Mnt 137); *tende Tolun-čerbi Iluqu-yi qardaǰu büte’ebe* ‘when Tolun Cerbi reported that he had seized Iluqu and killed him.’ (Mnt 267); *imayi büte’eǰü Tangyut irgen-ü eke ečige-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); */// Jürčedei uduǰu arqa-bar Jaqa-gambu-yi qaqačan baraqaşan-i qartaǰu bariǰu bütü’eǰü’ü* ‘Jürčedei 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-/bütüge-* ← \**büte-/bütü-*<sup>60</sup> ~ 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) *bütü-* ‘to be (come) formed or fulfilled; to be(come) executed, carried out or materialized; to come true (of a wish); to be made of, consist of; to be(come) possible or feasible; to succeed’ << Turkic, cf. Old Turkic *bit-/büt-* “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 *joba’a-/jobo’a-* ‘to agonize, to cause to suffer’: *gege’en üdür-ün setkil činu joba’aqı bi* ‘I would be trouble your heart in the bright day’ (Mnt 201); *qaǰar-a ere aqta-yi ülü širqan ülü joba’an öljeitü hoy-yin irgen-i oro’ulju irebe či* ‘Without wounding or causing suffering to man or gelding in the lands where you went, you came back having subjugated the fortunate People of the Forest’ (Mnt 239); *irge ülü joba’an šülen-e ede ulus-ača sürüg-ün niken šilegü 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 ečige-yin bidan-u jürüge inu ülü joba’an üde manaqar-<i> oroju qarču sergü’eju 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 ečige-yin bidan-u setkil jobo’aju bü alqasa’ul* ‘Do not distress or rend the heart of our father the Qan’ (Mnt 181); *Činggis qahan ečige-yü’en joban bayyi’uluqsan ulus-i bü jobo’aya* ‘We shall not cause suffering to the nation that Our father Činggis Qa’an established with so much toil’ (Mnt 279) < \**jobaga-/joboga-* ← \**joba-/jobo-* ~ LM (L) *joba-* ‘to suffer, worry, grieve; to be tortured, tormented; to be in trouble’;

Mnt *sönö’e-* ‘to extinguish’: *ö’erün qal-ıyan sönö’egü metü ö’erün ger-i’e[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 *ičuqa-* was an extant verb. I am inclined to consider it as a reading error instead of *iču’a-*, however cf. the verb *ja’aqı-*.

Mnt *iču’a-/ičuqa-* ‘to return’: *jiči müt jokilduya ke’ekdejü Qoriǰin qadun Qu’určın qadun jirin-i iču’aju jokilduya ke’en elčileldün büküi-tür* ‘Later, however, on being told, ‘We want to make peace’, they returned both Qoriǰin Qatun and Qu’určın Qatun to the Jürkin’ (Mnt 132); *Qoriǰin qadun Qu’určın jirin-i iču’aju ökbei bida* ‘gave them back both Qoriǰin Qatun and Qu’určın’ (Mnt 136); *dürbekset ulus-i ičuqaya ke’en Činggis qahan qonoqsan qaǰar-ača morilaǰu dürbekün irgen-i iču’an yabuqui-tur* ‘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, /// *Hö’elün üjin geǰü newükderün tuqlaǰu beye-ber morilaǰu jarimut irgen-i ičuqaba tede ber ičuqdaqsan irgen ülü toqtan Tayyijı’ud-un qoyinača newüjü’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

<sup>60</sup> 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 ičuqaya ke'en Činggis qahan qonoqsan qaĵar-ača morilaĵu dürbekün irgen-i iču'an yabuqui-tur* '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); *tede irge ičuqa'at Činggis qahan yeke čerik mün tende bawuĵu qonobai* 'After Činggis Qa'an had brought back those people, he camped on the spot for the night with his great army' (Mnt 146); *Mongqol-i iču'asu ičuqaqsan-u qoyina basa busu setkil bida tende eyetüldüt ĵe* 'If the Mongols agree to withdraw, after their withdrawal we shall there and then take up another different counsel' (Mnt 248) < *ičuqa-* ← \**iču-* ~ Mnt *iču-* 'to go back', to turn back';

Mnt *ĵa'aqa-* 'to show': *ĵewüdün sayin ĵewüdülebe ya'un ĵewüdün aqu ta Kiyat irgen-ü sülder ireĵü ĵa'aqaqsan aĵu'u* 'I had a dream of good omen. What kind of dream is it? The august spirit of you, Kiyat people, has come in my dream and has announced your visit' (Mnt 63) < \**ĵigaga-* ← \**ĵiga-* ~ LM (L) *ĵiya-* '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 guttural 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 vowel<sup>61</sup>.

- (4) Mnt *quriya-/quriya'a-*<sup>62</sup> 'to collect, to gather': *qutuqtai sutai üĵin-i // quriyaĵu iregü bolun // qotola Merkit-e huntawu bolba* 'who took away // The favoured and fortunate lady, // I have brought disaster upon // The whole of the Merkit' (Mnt 111); *ede ečige kö'ün qoyar odun baraqsan ulus nada quriyaĵu ögürün ken-ü emüne quriyaĵu ögün ĵobomui* '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); *Qurčaqus-buyuruq qan ečige-yin činu ĵoban edüi quriyaĵu aqsan ulus-i činu mana'u mede'ülgü ken-e ber yekin mede'ülgü* 'the people that your father Qurčaqus Buyuruq qan gathered laboriously in such great number? How will he let anyone govern it?' (Mnt 167); *Naiman irgen-ü ulus-i Altay-yin ölke-de muqtqaqĵu quriyabai* 'utterly defeated and conquered the people of the Naiman tribe on the southern slopes of the Altai' (Mnt 196) /// *ulus quriya'an ĵobaqsat eke büyü ĵe kö'üd-ün minu aqa ĵoči büi ĵe de'ü-ner-ün minu nilqa Otčigin büi ĵe* 'The one who toiled most gathering the people was mother. The eldest of my sons is ĵoči. The youngest of my younger brothers is Otčigin'<sup>63</sup> (Mnt 242) < \**kuriga-* ← \**kuri-/kura-* ~ LM (L) *qura-* 'to gather, assemble; accumulate';

Mnt *alĵiya-* 'to separate': *čimayi amduriqarun qolo odu'asu čimadača alĵiyaquy-ača ayuĵu ya'araĵu ĵalkiqu-yi ĵalki'at asqaqu-yi 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)

<sup>61</sup> With or without sign of the earlier *-i* sound of the word, cf. Khal.B. *xurāx* 'to collect' but Buryat *xur'āxa* 'sobirat', *ubirat*'

<sup>62</sup> These two forms are not variants but rather two different derivations. In *quriya'a-* we see two causative suffixes.

<sup>63</sup> At this point I find more correct the translation of Ligeti, who renders the text as follows: 'Akik a birodalom népének öszegvűjtésén a legtöbbit fáradoztak, az anya volt, fiaim közül legidősebb, a Dzsocsi, öcséim közül a legfiatalabb, Otcsigin volt az' [Those who suffered most on the gathering the people were the mother, my eldest son ĵoči, and my youngest brother Otčigin.]

< \*aldaga<sup>64</sup> ← \*alda- ~ LM (L) alda- ‘to lose; let go, drop; to lose control of, to do something by mistake, or by accident, to make a slip’;

- (5) Mnt **nökči’e-/nökčiye-** ‘to kill’: *edö’e činu üge-ber čisu ülü qarqan nökči’etügei ke’en ügüle kē’et čisu ülü qarqan nökči’ejü yasu inu ile bü gētkün sayitur baritqun ke’en jarliq bolba Jamuqa-yi tende nökči’ejü yasu inu bari’ulba* ‘Now, according to your request, you shall die without your blood being shed.’ He ordered that Jamuqa be put to death without his blood being shed and that his body should not be abandoned in the open, but be given a fitting burial. He had Jamuqa executed there and then, and had his body buried as arranged’ (Mnt 201); *tende Činggis qahan Iluqu-yi nökčiyetkün ke’en Tolun-čerbi qardažu nökči’etügei ke’en jarliq bolba* ‘Činggis Qa’an then ordered that Iluqu be put to death and that Tolun Čerbi seize and execute him with his own hands’ (Mnt 267) < \*nökčige- ← \*nökči- ~ LM (L) nögči- ‘to pass by, pass on; to die’;

Mnt **to’oriqa-** ‘to encircle’: *te’ünü qoyinača duyalžu to’oriqažu ayisuqun-i üježu basa Tayang qan Jamuqa-dača asa[q]ču’u tede ya’ut erte talbiqsat unuqan eke-yü’en sün kököjü eke-yü’en horčin torolun güyyigü unuqat metü yekin teyin to’oriqan ayisai tede ke’en asaču’u* ‘When he saw them approaching from the rear and encircling them, leaping in delight, Tayang Qan again asked Jamuqa, ‘What sort of people are these, who are like foals let loose early in the morning – foals that after sucking their mother’s milk are always gambolling around her? Why are they approaching, encircling us in this manner?’ (Mnt 195) < \*togoriga- ← \*togori- ~ LM (L) toyori- ‘to go about, circle; to surround, encompass, circumvent, detour, circumabulate; to tour; to roll (of a wagon (obs.))’;

After consonants the form of the suffix is either -ka- or -ga- (6). It is worth to mention that the form -ga- is observable only in front-vocalic verbs, since the Chinese transcription practically<sup>65</sup> never makes a distinction between *k* and *g* occurring in back-vocalic words (Street 1957: 4).<sup>66</sup>

(6)

-n (ng) Mnt **busanqa-** ‘to destroy’: *Merkit irgen-i tedüi busanqažu ičuya ke’eldübei* ‘Thus we destroyed the Merkit people: let us now withdraw!’ (Mnt 113) < \*busangka- ← \*busang- ~ Mnt busang- ‘to scatter’;

-l Mnt **arilqa-** ‘to purify’: *buyi tanu arilqažu // burbui tanu ergü’üljü* ‘Cleaning your whole body, // Causing you to lift your heels’ (Mnt 254) < \*arilka- ← \*aril- ~ LM (L) aril- ‘to become clean or purified; to disappear, vanish; to clear up (of weather)’;

Mnt **bürelge-** ‘to destroy, to ruin’: *qolumta minu bü bürelgetkün Belgütey-yi bü tebčitkün* ‘Anyway, do not destroy my hearth, pray do not make away with Belgütei!’ (Mnt 77) < \*bürelke- ← \*bürel- ~ LM (L) būril- ‘to die (obs.); to be wasted, squandered, destroyed, or exterminated; to perish, be ruined’;

<sup>64</sup> The supposed etymology has some phonological problems, and needs further investigation.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. the forms *Čiqurğu* and *Čiqurqu* listed by Ligeti (1962: 193) as an evidence in favor that the original text of the Mnt was written in Uighur-Mongol script.

<sup>66</sup> A difference is marked, however, in the Sino-Mongol inscriptions written in Uighur-Mongol script.

-s Mnt **bosqa-** ‘to erect’: *Bilge-beki Töd’en qoyar qatqulduqui tuq bosqatqun* ‘You Bilge Beki and Töd’en raise the war standard’ (Mnt 181); *Ong qan altan terme bosqaǰu genet qurimlan aǰu’ui* ‘Ong Qan had set up his golden tent of thin woollen cloth<sup>67</sup> and was feasting’ (Mnt 184); *Ong qan genet büi altan terme bosqaǰu qurimlamui* ‘Ong Qan is off his guard; he has pitched his golden tent and is feasting’ (Mnt 185); *salulçaqui qurim qurimlaya ke’eldüǰü yeke čačir bosqaǰu qurimlaqui-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 töreksen eke-yü’en // gemüri’ülü’esü // genü’er inu // gesge’esü ülü 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 **emüsge-** ‘to put on, to dress’: *Qa’atai-darmala-yi erüsbe abčiraǰu // qa[b]tasun buqa’u emüsgeǰü // Qaldun-burqan-na jori’ulba* ‘They seized Qa’atai Darmala and brought him back, // They forced him to wear a cangue made of a wooden board, // They took him straight to Qaldun Burqan.’ (Mnt 112); *qara alağ ešige daqu emüsgeǰü Selengge-yin Bu’ura-ke’er-e Merkid-ün a’ur nödübe* ‘they gave him a kidskin coat with black spots to wear, and in the Bu’ura Steppe by the Selengge River he pounded grain in a Merkit’s mortar’ (Mnt 152) < \*emüsge- ← \*emüs- LM (L) emüs- ‘to wear, put on (as clothes, headgear)’

-t (-d) Mnt **čatqa-** ‘to satiate’: *qal-iyar hülürige’ültele bidanu aqtas ber čadumu je aqtas-ıyan čatqan Naiman-u qara’ul-i hülde’et daručaǰu* ‘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 ayımaq-un gü’ün-i ö’ere böldeyitketkün ke’en jarlıq bolba* ‘and separate from 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 a calling over, to check’: *bayyıǰu qonoǰu üdür geyi’ülün bügütge’esü Öködei Boroqul Bo’orču qurban ügei aǰu’u* ‘They spent the night standing in battle order, when they held a roll-call, Öködei, Boroqul and Bo’orču were not there’ (Mnt 172) /// *keşik ororun kešigün noyan ö’er-tür-ıyen keşiklekset keşikten-i bügütkeǰü keşik oroǰu qurban qonolduǰu ye’ütkeldütügei* ‘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) < \*bükütke- ← \*büküt- ~ Mnt bügüt- ‘to be entire, undamaged’;

<sup>67</sup> *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.

-r Mnt **dü'ürge-** 'to fill, to charge': *alaqči'ut qoni<n>d-i adu'ulaǰu // alam dü'ürgesü // qongqoqči'ut qoni<n>d-i adu'ulaǰu // qoton dü'ürgesü* 'I shall tend pied sheep, // And shall fill the bottom of the cart with them. // I shall tend brown sheep, And shall fill the sheep-fold with them' (Mnt 124); *oro'ulurun kebte'ül qorčın turqaq oro'ulurun tümen dü'ürgen oro'ulutqun* 'When you recruit them and have nightguards, quiverbearers and dayguards enrolled, recruit them so as to make up a full ten thousand' (Mnt 224); *naiman ja'ut de'ere minqa dü'ürgetügei* 'On top of the eight hundred, add to the number so as to make up a full thousand' (Mnt 225); *qorčın-i minqan dü'ürgeǰü Yisün-te'e aqalaǰu atuqai* '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-lü'e oroqsat turqa'ut de'ere minqan dü'ürgeǰü Bo'orǰu-yin uruq-ača 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) < \*dügürke- ← \***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': *Čotan öki-yen hüdejü Gürelgü dotora Senggür-qoroqan-a бүкүи-түр гүргеǰү irebe* 'Čotan escorted her daughter and took her to Temüjin's home, which at that time was on the Senggür Stream in the Gürelgü Mountains.' (Mnt 94); *Jamuqa-yin ede üges inu Qasar Belgütei qoyar ireǰü Temüjin-e ügüleǰü To'oril qan-na ke'en gürgebe* 'Qasar and Belgütei came and reported these words of Jamuqa to Temüjin, who had them conveyed to To'oril Qan' (Mnt 107); *dayin ayiši ke'en söni dülin kelen gürgen otču'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'

-k Mnt **ökke'ül-** 'to make someone give': *qal ötör tüle'ülü'et qala'un da'a'ulu'at Öködey-e umdān eri'ülǰü ökke'ülǰü dayisun ire'esü qatqulduya ke'eǰü büle'ei* '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) < *ökgeǰül-* ← \*ögge- ← \***ög-** ~ LM (L) *ög-* '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 *hoqtorıqa-* (9), the stem of which is transitive.

- (7) tr. ← intr.: Mnt **bučalqa-** 'to boil': *qarirun Činos-un kö'üd-i dalan toqo'ot bučalqaǰu Ne'üdei Čaqa'an-u'a-yin teri'ü inu hoqtolǰu morin-u se'ül-tür čirčü otču'ui* 'as he was about to return home, Jamuqa had the princes of the Činos boiled alive in seventy cauldrons. Having cut off the head of Čaqa'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 çerig-iyen či'ulqaju çerik e'üsgejü To'oril qan öterlen iktünejü* '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 Baya'ut aqa de'ü-yen či'ulqasuqai ke'e'esü je teyin Baya'ut aqa de'ü-yen či'ulqaju či mede minqan ke'en jarliq bolba* 'If you allow me to choose the reward, as my Baya'ut brothers are scattered about among all the various tribes, by your favour let me bring together my Baya'ut brothers.' Thereupon, Činggis Qa'an ordered, 'Yes, be it so! Bring together your Baya'ut brothers and you take command – one thousand!' (Mnt 213); *soyurqa'asu Negüs aqa de'ü-yü'en či'ulqasuqai ke'e'esü Činggis qahan jarliq bolurun teyin bö'esü Negüs aqa de'ü-yen či'ulqaju či uruq-un uruq-a gürtele medeju ülü'ü aqu* '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, Činggis 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 minqa 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-ün ötögüs quta'ar quta'ar keşik-tür ene jarliq keşikten-e sonosqatqun ese sonosqa'asu keši'üd-ün ötögüs 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-ün ötögüs quta'ar quta'ar keşik oroqui-tur ye'ütkeldüqii-tür ene jarliq keşikten-e sonosqatuqai jarliq sonosu'at bürün keşikten keşik ho'ara'asu jarliq-un yosu'ar ere'ülüye ene jarliq keşikten-e ese sonosqa'asu keši'üd-ün ötögüs 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 **ürge-** 'to make somebody carry': *Soqor elči-yi inu ašgiju yabuqan eme'el inu ürgeju qari'ulju'ui* 'after beating him, sent the messenger Soqor back on foot, forcing him to carry his saddle on his back' (Mnt 245) < \*egürge- ← \*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': *Qali'udar güyyičejü bariqu jürüğe yadaju urida'un qoyina'un inu hoqtoriqan yabuqui-tur* '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) < \*hoktoriqa- ← \*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-/dölüsge-* 'to get involved'.

## Literature

Schmidt 1831: 77; Street 1957: 65; Godziński 1985: 66–67; Sanžeev 1963: 19–44; (esp. p. 27<sup>68</sup>); Ramstedt 1912: §9; 1952: §85; GWM §224–225; Bold 1986: 124; Önörbayan 1998: 36; 2000: 54–55; Poppe 1960: 99; Dondukov 1964: 147–148; Cydypov 1988: 60; Benzing 1985: 2; Szabó 1943: §49;

## -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 be calm’: *se’üder-eče busu nökör ügei-tür // se’üder bolju // setkil minu amu’ulba je ta // setkil-tür aduqai ke’ebe // se’ül-eče busu čiču’a ügei-tür // se’ül bolju // jirüge minu amu’ulba je ta // če’ejī datora 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 sayıqa-tur gü nököčejü ögütkün* ‘put the sworn friend’s mind at ease, be the good companions of my sworn friend!’ (Mnt 127); *jirim ülü kin bayyiju // jirüge amu’uluqsan // čing setkilten kebte’ül minu // jirqalang oron-tur gürgebe* ‘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 qačča’ar odu’asu ja’ura čeri’üt samawui čaq-tur čimayi ber ülü a’ulqu öki taki činu samawuraqu* ‘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); *tumdaqā ba a’uluya ke’elü’e müt ele dayyijin 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 noqut qalawud-un ödün hüsün anu burqaliq časun metü butaraju keyisju 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 ügüeldükset El-qutur Qulbari Alin-taiši-tan de’ü-ner-iyen noyad-ıyan bari’ulju’ui* ‘Then Ong Qan had his younger brothers and chiefs arrested: El Quulr, Qulbari, Alin Taisi and the others who had thus conspired.’ (Mnt 152); *Činggis qahan to’osun üje’et aqtas-ıyan 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*

<sup>68</sup> Sanžeev distinguishes 3 causative suffixes, the distribution of which depends on the stem-final sound.

*Sügegei-je'ün qoyar-a dawu bari'ulurun* 'he gave Arqai Qasar and Sügegei-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 qo'as sayit ökit darqalan abqa'ulju qučin 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 ilējü oljalaqsat adu'un ya'u ke abuqsad-i bügüde-yi 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 Güčülük qan ulus-ıyan abqa'ulju tere dayyijju qaruqsar čö'en gü'ün Merkid-ün Toqto'a qoyar neyilejü* 'Güčülük Qan of the Naiman, after his people had been captured by Činggis Qa'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 abuqsan 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-ıyer mör-tür bayyiqsan modut hoqtočin čabči'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 *-gUl-*, supported by later stages of Mongolic as well.

- (3) Mnt **ayu'ul-** 'to frighten, to scare': *qan ečige minu ya'un čimar-tur nama ayu'ulbai či ayu'ulqu bö'esü mawun kö'üd-ıyen mawun berined-ıyen nuyir kangqan yekin ülü ayu'ulu či ding sa'uķui iseri boqunitqaju de'ekši qarķui hüni dölüsgejü yekin teyin ayu'ulba či qan ečige 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 Ong qan-ni qor-ıyar-ıyan ayu'ulju dayyiji'ulju ükü'ülbe* 'These people with their quivers terrified the great old Ong 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': *Qongqotadai Čaraqa ebügen-ü kö'ün Mönqlik oyira büi kē'esü uriju ire'üljü ügülerün* 'When they told him that Mönqlik, 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'ülü'et Činggis qahan Ong qan-tur ene kele gürgejü ilē'esü* (Mnt 141); *Ong qan-ni ire'ülü'et Činggis qahan Ong qan qoyar qamtutču* 'After getting Ong Qan to come, Činggis Qa'an and Ong Qan decided to move jointly' (Mnt 142); *Qada'an-i uriju ire'üljü dergečen sa'ulbai* '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 čuqtai müsüt gü'üleldün bariju bitü'üljü ququlun yadaba* 'The five sons each took the five bound arrow-shafts in turn, but they were unable to break them.' (Mnt 19); *ulus irgen-düriyen jasaqlaju 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); *öčigen ayil bitü'üljü qono'ulkuitur Sorqan-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 Sorqan Šira' (Mnt 84); *bida elčin ha'ulurun ulus bitü'ülün ha'ulqamui* '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-/büt-* "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 *-gUl-* in certain cases may have a passive meaning (7). It is more interesting that as well as the suffix of the passive voice, *-gUl-* is also added to intransitive verbs to form a passive construction (8). The question of the causative forms denoting passive constructions was discussed by Sanžeev (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 ququčiju o'orba* 'One by one they immediately broke the single arrowshafts and threw them away' (Mnt 19); *kebte'ül söni ger horčin kebtegün-iyen kebte'üljü e'üten-tür bayyiqun-iyen keşiklen bayyi'ultuqai* '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 teri'ün-e quriju yisün koltü čaqa'an tuq bayyi'ulu'at Činggis qahan-na qan nere tende ökbei* '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 < \**bayigul-* ← \**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 **soči'ul-** 'to frighten, to scare': *kö'ü minu noqay-yača čočimtawu büle'e quda kö'ü minu noqay-yača bü soči'ul* 'my son is afraid of dogs. Quda, don't let him be frightened by dogs!' (Mnt 66) < \*sočigul- ← \*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'ül-** 'to make raise': *buyi tanu arilqaju // burbui tanu ergü'ülju // ere-yin egem-tür // aqta-yin qarqam-tur gürgeju* '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 ör-iyen qan ergü'ülju dotona yabuqun tümen keşikten-i qol-un ulus-i ö'er-düriyen bolqa'ulun baraju* '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) < \*ergügül- ← \*ergü- ~ LM (L) ergü- '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 jarliq bolurun kiduqun-i anu kidu'ulju hüleksed-i anu čeri'üt-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'ül-**: *Ong qan-ni ire'ülü'et Činggis qahan Ong qan qoyar qamtutču* '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 qatquldu'an-tur sujijas-ban šilürteju čisun törítge'esü ülü bolun amduriqdarun naran šingge'ülün mün tende šitüldüju bawuju* '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-**: *mültüs alda'ulju dantur edüi idüreju irebe bi* 'when I suddenly managed to escape and have just come in haste to join you' (Mnt 145)

- (8) Mnt **ükü'ül-**: *Naiman Merkit bolun qamtutču bayyildun yadaju buru'uilan gödölürün Erdiš ketülürün čübtüsčü olonki-yan usun-tur ükü'ülju'üi* '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

Schmidt 1831: 77; Street 1957: 42; Godziński 1985: 65–66; Sanžeev 1963: 19–44. (esp. p. 26); Ramstedt 1912: §19; 1952: §81 (esp. p. 167); GWM §226; Bold 1986: 125; Önörbayan 1998: 35; 2000: 53–54; Poppe 1960: 100; Dondukov 1964: 145–146; Cydypov 1988: 59–60; Benzing 1985: 167; Szabó 1943: §65;

## 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 sound 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 arqamġi-yan Sartau’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’eliü’e či Sartau’ul irgen-e altan arqamġi-yan tasuldaġu olulčan 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 simplexes (2) or derived stems (3):

- (2) Mnt **kikde-** ‘to be done, to be treated’: *sayin ečige-yin činu quriyaqdaqsan ulus-i manu bürin-ü ulus a[b]ču newükderün itqaqu 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 setkiġü nököčesü bi* ‘Remembering the help and good things done to me in former days by his father Yisügei Qan, I shall stand by Temüġin’ (Mnt 105); *qurim dotoraça üġeġü qarču ireġü ügülerün 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 ö’er-iyen emečilekden ügülekeġü Tayang qan ügülerün* ‘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 women; to take for a wife; to treat someone as one’s wife’ ← \**eme* ~ *eme* ‘woman, wife; female’;

Mnt **amurli’ulda-** ‘to be calm’: *debülküi toqo’an-i // delegi šinaqa bolġu amurli’uldaġu* ‘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,<sup>69</sup> 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'ü-ben Taičar-i alaqdaba ke'en jamuqa teri'üten jadaran harban qurban qarın nököčejü* 'Because his younger kinsman Taičar had been killed, Jamuqa, at the head of the Jadaran, and his allies making thirteen tribes' (Mnt 129); *ere-yü'en alaqdarun Temüjin-i ere-yi minu aburatuqai* 'As my husband was being killed, I cried and wailed and called on Temüjin to save my husband' (Mnt 146); *Ong qan-nu de'ü Erke-qara Ong qan aqa-da'an alaqdarun buru'utču otču* 'when Ong Qan's younger brother Erke Qara was about to be killed by his elder brother Ong Qan, he escaped' (Mnt 151); *ösöl ösön kisan kisan Tatar irgen-i či'ün-tür üljü ülitken kiduqui-tur alaqdarun Tatar-un Qargil-šira o'určaq bolun qarču* '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); *ečige činu Čaqān-qo'a minu emüne kiči'ejü qatqulduqu bolun Dalan-baljut-ta qatqulduqui-tur jamuqa-da alaqdalua* 'Your father Čaqān Qo'a was fighting zealously before me at the battle of Dalan Baljut when he was killed by Jamuqa' (Mnt 218); *Sarta'ul irgen-e Uquna teri'üten ja'un elčin-iyen jetgüjü alaqdač* 'one hundred envoys with Uquna 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 ***baraqda-*** 'to become exhausted, to run out': *üge baraqdalua* 'Enough of this matter' (Mnt 246) < \**barakda-* ← \**bara-* ~ LM (L) *bara-* 'to finish, end, terminate; to expire';

Mnt ***büširekde-*** 'to be believed': *amatu keletü gü'ün ügülen bö'etele yekinülü büširekdegü* 'When any man with a mouth and a tongue says these things, how can one not believe

<sup>69</sup> Cf. the following verbs: LM (L) *asaγuyda-* 'pass. of *asaγu-*'; LM (L) *sonosuyda-/sonosta-* 'to be(come) heard or audible; to resound; to become known'; LM (L) *yabuγuluyda-* 'to be sent or dispatched, carried out, executed'; LM (L) *jakiruyda-* 'to be governed by, be under the jurisdiction of'; Khal.K. *tailagdax* (< \**tayilugda-*) 'kibomlik, kinyilik, szétnyilik, megoldódik; felmentést kap vmi alól; jártassá válik vmiben'; Khal.K. *tođrūlagdax* (< \**tođoragulugda-*) 'meghatároztatik, meghatározódik, pontosítódik, pontosítatik'; Khal.K. *orčūlagdax* (< \**orčigulugda-*) 'lefordítódik; lefordítják'; Khal.K. *xötlögdöx* (< \**kötölügde-*) 'vezettetik, vezetik vminél fogva'; Khal.K. *čiregdex* (< \**čirügde-*) 'vontatják, vonszolják; meghurcolják; kellemetlenségbe keveredik'.

him?’ (Mnt 167) < \*büşirekde- ← \*büşire- ~ 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 erijü ese oldalāi* ‘searched for her, but could not find her’ (Mnt 112); *Hö’elün eke Merkid-ün nuntuq-ača oldaqsan Gücü neretü kö’üken-i Tayyıcı’ud-un ditora Besüd-ün nuntuq-ača oldaqsan Kököcü neretü kö’üken-i Tatar-un nuntuq-ača oldaqsan Şigiken-qutuqu neretü kö’üken-i jürkin-ü nuntuq-ača oldaqsan Boro’ul neretü kö’üken-i ede dörben-i ger ditora teji’erün* ‘Mother Hö’elün reared in her tent these four: the boy called Gücü found in the Merkit camp, the boy called Kököcü found in the Besüt camp among the Tayiçi’ut, the boy called Şigiken Qutuqu found in the Tatar camp, and the boy called Boro’ul found in the Jürkin camp.’ (Mnt 138) < \*olda- ← \*ol- ~ LM (L) ol- ‘to find, get, acquire, obtain, earn; to achieve’

Mnt **či’ulda-** ‘to be gathered, assembled’: *yisün keleten irgen Teb-tenggeri-tür či’uldaju nada qariyatan irge-ben Teb-tenggeri-deče quyura Soqor neretü elçi ilēlü’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) < \*čigulda- ← \*čigul- ~ LM (L) čiyul- ‘to assemble, accumulate, gather’;

Mnt **morila’ulda-** ‘to be sent on a raid’: *ba bürün busu heligetü bulqa irgen-tür morila’uldaju jöb-i tab-i bolqu bolba 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) < \*morilagulda- ← \*morilagul- ~ Mnt *morila’ul-* ‘aufsitzten lassen, ins Feld schicken’;

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

- (6) Mnt **abda-/abta-**<sup>70</sup> ‘to be taken’: *niken gege’en soqosun geügi ja’uqsan-i Bekter Belgütei aqa de’ü qoyar-a bulıju abdaba 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-ıyan abda’asu ulus üge<y>ü bolu’asu yekikün 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’eldüle’ei kele-ben abdaqun ken-ü ama itqaqun ke’ejü’üi* ‘We should have had our tongues taken out! Whose mouth can we now stop from repeating it?’ (Mnt 169); *Senggüm bayyilduqu bolun morin-u’an quya qağdaju abdaqu bolju* ‘Senggüm had just joined battle [with Kökse’ü Sabraq at Hula’an Qut;] 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 Čiledü-dača bulıju abtala’at ke’en edö’e tere ösöl ösön ire[k]se[t] aju’u* ‘Now these Three Merkit had come to take their revenge because Mother Hö’elün had formerly been abducted from Čiledü’ (Mnt 102) *Yeke-čiledü-deče Yisügei-ba’atur-a Hö’elün eke-yi bulıju abtalāi* ‘n former days Mother Hö’elün was abducted by Yisügei Ba’atur from Yeke Čiledü’ (Mnt 111);

<sup>70</sup> 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 mawuqaṅ eme'eltü-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'<sup>71</sup> (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 nidün-yen ne'eju usun quyuju u'uju ya'un bolbi ke'en asaqtaju bö'es öçirün* 'the Qa'an, opening his eyes, requested water, drank it and asked, 'What has happened?' The shamans then reported' (272) ← \*hasak- ~ Mnt hasaq-/asaq- 'to ask';

Mnt **ökte-/ökde-** 'to be given': *gü'ün-ne ese ökteksen bö'esü 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-qo'a neretei gü'ün-ne ber ökte'ei üdü'üi ökin aju'u* 'Her name was Alan Qo'a and she had not yet been given to any other man' (Mnt 7); *uriju ülü ökteküi mörtei či // učira'asu idegü yosutai či //güreju ülü öktegü mörtei či //gürte'esü idegü yosutu či* '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 /// *Barqujin-qo'a neretei ökin-ni Qori-Tümed-ün noyan Qorilartai-mergen-ne ökdexen aju'u* 'a girl named Barqujin Qo'a, and she had been given in marriage to Qorilartai Mergen, a chief of the Qori Tumat' (Mnt 8); *Tatar-un Yeke-čeren-ü Yisüi neretei ökin ökdexen güregen gü'ün büle'ei bi* 'I am the bridegroom to whom was given the daughter of the Tatar Yeke Čeren called Yisüi' (Mnt 156); *soyurqal ökdegüye bi ya'un duta'u tusa ese bolula'a ya'un duta'u gücü 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 **gürte-** 'to reach, to arrive': *gürte'esü idegü yosutu či* 'You are one for whom the custom holds // To eat if food comes by her' (Mnt 71); *genete güртеjü kö'ü-ben üjeju nikente uyyilamu nikente dongqodumu* '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-ıyan güртеbei bi* 'I took a fall on purpose. I hesitated, so I lost my life' (Mnt 140); *qara'ul-un ene kele güртеjü Tayang qan kangqay-yin Qaçir-usun-a aju'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 güртеjü 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';
- (9) Mnt **erüste-** 'to be defeated': *Temüjin ügülerün minu tula či erüste'üjei bi qarbulaldusu* 'I am afraid you'll come to harm because of me. I'll trade shots with him!' (Mnt 91);

<sup>71</sup> "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.

*üküleng-e üli erüstegüy-eče // umtaraju aju'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- ← \*erüs- ~ LM (L) erüs- 'to emulate, rival, compete; to forestall';

Mnt **sonosda-/sonosta-** 'to be heard': *qayyilaju dawu-ban ese sonosdabai* 'I called him but my voice // He did not hear.'<sup>72</sup> (Mnt 183); *amin-tur qor setkigü-yi inu ese sonosdaba je* (Mnt 201); /// *eke öter bos qajar derbelümüi tübüri'ün sonostamu* (Mnt 98) < \*sonosta- ← \*sonos- ~ LM (L) sonos- 'to hear, listen; to obey, yield to advice'

- (10) Mnt **de'ermette- /dērmette-** 'to be robbed': *üčügen čaq-tur širqa aqtatan naiman morit de'ermettejü ja'ura qurban qonoju nekejü ayisukui-tur jolqaldubai je či* '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 jilda uqamsar berke hoi-tur horum-iyar yabuqun bolun qara'ul-a anu qoyina'un dērmettejü horum bo'oju Boroqul-noyan-i bariju alaju'ui* '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': *joči-darmala adu'u-ban de'ermetcü o[t]taju nököd-iyen jürüge yadaqdaju mün joči-darmala nekejü otču* 'Joci Darmala, thus robbed of his herd, went alone in pursuit, his companions lacking the courage to go with him' (Mnt 128); *basa qahan ečige-de'en yeke oro ba sa'uldaju olon ulus-iyar de'ere minu ačiju ottaju bö'et bor darasun-a ilaqdaqu minu buru'u bolba* (Mnt 281) < \*otta- ← \*ot- ~ 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'uldaba bi* 'But I was greatly frightened' (Mnt 103); *qurban Merkid-ün Uduyit-ta Burqan-qaldun-ni qurbanta quči'ulju ayu'uldala'a bi* 'I was frightened by the Uduyit of the Three Merkit circling three times around Burqan Qaldun' (Mnt 199) < \*ayugulda- ← \*ayugul-<sup>73</sup> ~ Mnt ayu'ul- 'in Furcht setzen, erschrecken'

Mnt **čabčiqda-** 'to be cut': *Belgütei teyin čabčiqdaju bö'et ya'un-a ba üli bolqan üli senggeren* 'Although cut in this way, still Belgütei, thinking nothing of it, did not bother' (Mnt 131) < \*čabčikda- ← \*čabči- ~ LM (L) čabči- 'to hew, chop; to blink; to kick with a forefoot or forefeet (of a horse)';

Mnt **ebdekde-** 'to be broken, to be destroyed': *Kitat irgen-ü qajar usun-u ejet qa<n>t irgen orqo-ban dawuliqdarun balaqat qotod-iyar ebdekderün türgün-e adalamui* '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) < \*ebdekde- ← \*ebde- ~ LM (L) ebde- 'to destroy (concrete or abstract objects), break,

<sup>72</sup> Cf. the active voice translation of the passive construction.

<sup>73</sup> 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 butaraqdaǰu Ong qan Ergüne huru'u ǰamuqa-yi nekebe* 'As they were dispersing in this way, Ong Qan pursued ǰamuqa 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 idegü yosutu či* 'You are one for whom the custom holds // To eat if food comes by her' (Mnt 71); *genete gürteǰü kö'ü-ben üǰeǰü nikente uyyilamu nikente dongqodumu* '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-ıyan gürtebei bi* 'I took a fall on purpose. I hesitated, so I lost my life' (Mnt 140); *qara'ul-un ene kele gürteǰü Tayang qan ǰangqay-yin Qaçir-usun-a aǰu'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 gürteǰü aman kelen ǰabqan alǰaqdarun* '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 üǰin geǰü newükderün tuqlaǰu beye-ber morilaǰu ǰarimut irgen-i içuqaba tede ber içuqdaqsan irgen ülü toqtan Tayyǰı'ud-un qoyınaça newüǰü'üi* '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 üge ügüle'ülǰü ker içuqdaqui* (Mnt 265) < \*içukda- ← \***içu-** ~ Mnt içu- 'to turn back, to go back'

Mnt **irekde-** 'to arrive, to come': *jürkin-e irekdeqüy-eçe ǰırqo'an üdüt güličeǰü yadaǰu Činggis qahan To'oril qan qoyar qamtu çerik e'üsçü* 'having waited for six days from the time it should have come to the Jürkin, Činggis Qa'an and To'oril Qan, unable to wait any longer, together set out with their troops' (Mnt 133); *jürkin-i ǰırqo'an üdüt güličeǰü 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 ö'er-dürıyen irekdeǰü ö'esün çerik morilaǰu* 'Prompted by his coming to him, Yisügei Qan moved his own army into the field' (Mnt 150); *ǰamuqa nökö't-te'en bariǰu irekdeǰü qahan anda-da ügüle* 'When ǰamuqa 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'a bi* 'I have been seized by the Tatars' (Mnt 53); *Čabčiyal daba'an-i bekilekdeǰü* 'the Čabčiyal Pass was defended' (Mnt 247). This statement needs some observations. The two examples of Doerfer are not identical. The accusative case in the second quotation is needed because

Čabčiyal daba'an is not the subject of the sentence but Jebe<sup>74</sup>, while the agent of the verb *bekilekde-* is not known.

2. the verb is transitive, the main patient (Hauptpatients) is indirect. In such cases the agent is in dative case *-a*, the direct patient in accusative (or Casus indefinitus = unbestimmten Akkusativ), while the indirect patient in nominative, e.g.: *niken gege'en soqosun geügi ja'uqsan-i Bekter Belgütei aqa de'ü qoyar-a buliü abdaba* 'A shiny dace bit our hook, but it was snatched away from us by our brothers Bekter and Belgütei' (Mnt 76); *tenggiri qajar-a gücü nemekdejü* 'and with my strength increased by Heaven and Earth,' (Mnt 113); *Büri-bökö ulus-un bökö Belgütey-ye niru'u-ban ququldaü ükübe* 'Büri Bökö, the strongest man among his people, perished, his spine broken by Belgütei' (Mnt 140)
3. the case of passive constructions with an intransitive verb. In such instances the indirect patient stays in nominative, the direct patient in accusative (or Casus indefinitus = unbestimmten Akkusativ), e.g.: *qara'ul-un ene kele gürtejü Tayang qan kangqay-yin Qaçir-usun-a aju'ui* 'When this news from the patrolmen reached him, Tayang Qan was at Qaçir Usun in the Qangqai Mountains' (Mnt 194); *Ögödei qahan ebetčin gürtejü* 'There Ögödei Qa'an fell ill' (Mnt 272); *Senggüm-i unaqdaü Kereyit bügüde'er Senggüm-ün de'ere eke'ertcü bayyibai* 'When Senggüm fell all the Kereyit turned back and stood guard over him.' (Mnt 171); *Iluqu-burqan Šidurqu-yi irekdejü tende Činggis qahan Iluqu-yi nökcüyetkün ke'en* 'Being thus visited by Iluqu Burqan Šidurqu, Činggis Qa'an then ordered that Iluqu be put to death' (Mnt 267); *ečige minu Naqu-bayyan ke'ekdeyü* 'My father is called Naqu Bayan' (Mnt 90)<sup>75</sup>; *eme gü'ün noqai ni'urtai ke'ekdeyi je bi* 'You call me "A woman with a dog's face' (Mnt 188); *Mongqol-un aqtas turuqat ke'ekdemüi bida* 'We are told that the geldings of the Mongols are lean' (Mnt 194); *qurim ülü qurimlan morilaqdaba* 'refused to join the feast and rode off' (Mnt 275).

There are two major statements in this paper of Doerfer. The first of them is that all Mongolic verbs, even the intransitive ones can stay in passive voice. (Doerfer 1966: 44) Of course the statement cannot be verified, however, the abundant amount of examples assures that this feature is included in the structure of Mongolic.

The second statement of Doerfer is that while causative verbs often refer to something awaited,<sup>76</sup> passive verbs refer to something unawaited, e.g. *genete gürtejü kö'ü-ben üjeü nikente uyyilamu nikente dongqodumu* (Mnt 93) 'plötzlich überkommen (= als man plötzlich zu ihm gelangte) und als er seinen Sohn erblickte, da weinte er einerseits und andererseits schalt er'; *elsen irekdejü Činggis qahan eye-tür anu oroju* (Mnt 248) 'als er (unerwartet schliesslich) um Unterwerfung angegangen wurde, da trat Tschinggis Chan in Friedensverhandlungen ein'.

The use and function of passive verb suffix with an intransitive stem recently was described again by Rybatzki (2003: 65) as follows:

<sup>74</sup> The whole sentence reads as follows: *Čabčiyal gürčü Čabčiyal-daba'an-i bekilekdejü tende Jebe ügülerün ani uduju gödölgeü ire'ülün tende soriya ke'ejü qaribai* (Mnt 247)

<sup>75</sup> As the verb *ke'e-* 'to say' is transitive, this example should be omitted.

<sup>76</sup> E.g. *manaqar erte üdür 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) auseinandergewandert waren'

1. indirect use of the passive, e.g. Mnt *ǰirqo'an üdüt güličejü 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 *ülü 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 *barǰu 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 *ičuqda-* above. On the other hand Rybatzki's example Mnt *ülü 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 ireǰü eme kö'ü-ben daulǰu a[b]daba* '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-ıyan // qalqalaqdaba je bi* 'Thanks to Qaldun Burqan // My life, a grasshopper's life, // Was indeed shielded!' 'Moja žizn' zaščiščena (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.<sup>77</sup> 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-ıyan* the reflexive-accusative suffix is observable.

<sup>77</sup> In turn some examples of him are worth of further research, to give an exact description of this feature. cf. LM *qayıran sayıqan degüü-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.<sup>78</sup>

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

Schmidt 1831: 75; Street 1957: 42–44; Godziński 1985: 68–69; Sanžeev 1963: 44–50; Ramstedt 1912: §66; 1952: §84 (esp. p. 173); GWM §229–231; Bold 1986: 125; Önörbayan 1998: 37–38; 2000: 59–60; Poppe 1960: 100; Dondukov 1964: 150–151; Cydypov 1988: 60–61; Benzing 1985: 29, 46; Szabó 1943: §63;

## Cooperative voice

### -(U)lčA-

The suffix *-(U)lčA-* 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-*<sup>79</sup> 'to ask from each other': *Bodončar-i kenü'ei ba ya'unu'ai be ke'en asaqu ügei Bodončar be tede irgen-i ya'un irgen ke'en asa'ulčaqu ügei yabulduba* 'Thus they got

<sup>78</sup> Khal.K. *xocrogdox* (< \**kočorugda-*) 'lemarad, elmarad, visszamarad (haladásban, fejlődésben)' ← \**kočor-* ~ LM (L) *qočor-* 'to remain, stay, or lag behind; to be left behind; to die'; Khal.K. *xeltregdex* (< \**keltüriqde-*) 'megszabadul vmitől, 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. *jüdegdex* (< \**jüdegde-*) 'kínossá/szégyenletessé válik; nagyon megfárad, eltörődik' ← \**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 'kínossá/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'.

<sup>79</sup> 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) < \**asaqulča-* ← \**hasak-* ~ Mnt *hasaq-/asaq-* ‘fragen, ausfragen’;

Mnt *bolulča-* ‘to agree, to enter a kind of relation together with somebody else’: *bolulčaju Yisügei-ba’atur ügülerün* ‘So they both agreed and Yisügei Ba’atur said’ (Mnt 66); *erten-ü anda bolulčaqsan-ıyan duradulčan* ‘Remembering how earlier on they became sworn friends’(Mnt 116); *minu tula aqa de’ü-tür mawuqalin bolulča’ujai* ‘On my account, I fear we may fall out with our kinsmen’<sup>80</sup> (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’: *Ĵamuqa Ong qan-lu’a qamtu ayisulčaju ayisun aju’ui* ‘As they approached, Ĵamuqa was advancing together with Ong Qan.’ (Mnt 170) < \**ayisulča-* ← \**ayis-* ~ LM (L) *ayis-* ‘to approach, draw near’;

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

- (2) Mnt *abulča-* ‘to take, accept together’: *Be[l]günütei Bügünütei Buqu-qatagi Buqatu-sa[l]ji dörbe’üle abulčaba* ‘Belgünütei, Bügünütei, Buqu Qatagi and Buqatu Salji all took their share’ (Mnt 23); *Činggis qahan Ong qan qoyar tende Tatar-i da’uliju qubiyalduju abulčaju geyi[t]-tür-ıyen 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); *ara’atu moqay-a adarda’asu // adarqan-i inu bü abulčaya* ‘Should a snake with venomous fangs // Spread slander about us, // Let us not accept his slander’ (Mnt 164); *Tümen-Tübe’en-i tüge’eldüju tügetele 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 *gürülče-* ‘to reach to each other, to reach together’: *gürülčeju jici tanilduju* ‘As soon as they came face to face and recognized each other’ (Mnt 108); *tere kele ire’et ülü bawun dayin-u esergü kele abuya ke’en yabuju gürülčeju kele a[b]ču* ‘When this news came,

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lexicalised, cf. LM (L) *asayu-* ‘to ask, inquire, question; to ask for, request (rare)’ and the modern forms like Khal.B. *asūx* ‘to ask’ and the somewhat irregular *asūxa* ‘sprāšivat’, *zadavat’ vopros’*. On the other hand this spirantization raises some questions. It is marked by Poppe (1944: 99-100), that in the Mnt as well as in texts written in ‘Phags-pa script final gutturals before the plural suffix +*Ud* are spirantized. The problem is even more difficult, because in the modern Mongolic languages this phenomenon is not traceable. However the Mnt and the examples in ‘Phags-pa script together insist not concern it an isolated problem.

<sup>80</sup> Loose translation. de Rachewiltz marks in the notes that “Ligeti’s interpretation is somewhat different from the one proposed here.” (de Rachewiltz 2004: 485). Ligeti’s translation, which I think is more exact reads as follows: “Csak össze ne zördülj miattam a testvérekkel!” (‘Just do not squabble with the brothers because of me’)

without setting up camp they went towards the enemy in order to gain information.<sup>81</sup> They met and gained the information' (Mnt 142); *manaqarši yabu'ulju gürülčeju Köyiten bayi[l]duju* 'Next day the troops were sent forward and when they met, at Köyiten they battled.' (Mnt 143); *urtu-yin üjü'ür-e gün-ü hira'ur-a gürülčesü* '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 < \**kürülče-* ← \**kür-* ~ LM (L) *kür-* 'to reach, arrive at; to touch; to amount to; to be sufficient';

Mnt *ösülče-/esülče-* 'to grow up together': *töregü-lü'e töreldüksen // ösgü-lü'e ösülčeksen* 'Who at birth were born together with me, // When growing, grew up together with me' (Mnt 204); *töreqüi-lü'e töröldüksen // ösqüi-lü'e esülčeksen* (Mnt 211) 'id.' < \**ösülče-* ← \**ös-* (?*es-*) ~ LM (L) *ös-* 'to grow, multiply; to increase';

- (3) Mnt *bayyi'ululča-* 'to establish together': *ulus bayyi'ululčan yabulduqsat-ta minqan minqalaju minqad-un noyat tüšijü soyurqal üge ügülesü* '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'ululčaqsat jobolduqsad-i minqad-un noyat bolqaju* 'made commanders of a thousand those who had established the state with him and who suffered with him' (Mnt 224) < \**bayigululča-* ← \**bayigul-* ~ LM (L) *bayiyul-* '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': *erten-ü anda bolulčaqsan-ıyan 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 *ijilidülče-* 'to grow friendly, to shake together': *aqa de'ü-tür sayi ijilidülčen büküi-tür* 'now that we have just grown friendly with our kinsmen' (Mnt 131) < \**ijilidülče-* ← \**ijilid-* ~ LM (L) *ijilid-* '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 *-lči-*, e.g. *jalbarilči-* (Heissig 1953: 520) which may be not merely an orthographical feature, but probably reflects the spoken dialect of the scribe<sup>82</sup> 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).

<sup>81</sup> 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).

<sup>82</sup> Cf. the form *-balji-* in the same text, as the counterpart of the suffix *-balja-* (Heissig 1953: 520, 521).

- (4) Mnt **gödölülče-** ‘to move together, to depart together’: *tende jamuqa Ong qan-lu’a qamtu gödölülčeju yaburun* ‘Jamuqa then moved on together with Ong Qan and, as they went’ (Mnt 160) < \*ködölülče- ← \*ködöl- ~ LM (L) ködel- ‘to move, budge, shake, stir; to be moved; to start, depart; to act, be actuated; to be touched’;

Mnt **e’üsülče-** ‘to set forth, to depart together’: *Činggis qahan uda’aran e’üsülčeju 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) < \*egüsülče- ← \*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 ečiğe-yin činu nilqa nuntuq hüni butara’ulčaju atuqai* ‘Allow the youngest brother of your good father, together with his people, to let the smoke of their camp swirl up!’<sup>83</sup> (Mnt 242) < \*butaragululča- ← \*butaragul- ~ LM (L) butaragul- ← \*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.<sup>84</sup> This feature (5) appears in the Mnt as well.<sup>85</sup>

- (5) Mnt **de’ermedülče-** ‘to steal from each other, to pillage each other’: *erte Čöji-darmala Taičar qoyar-un adu’u-ban de’ermedülčeksen-ü tula* ‘Once, when Čöji Darmala and Taičar stole from each other their herds of horses’ (Mnt 201) < \*degermedülče- ← \*degermet- ~ Mnt de’ermet- ‘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 Önörbayan<sup>86</sup> and Dondukov<sup>87</sup> this feature is present in the modern Mongolic languages as well.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>83</sup> The translation of de Rachewiltz here slightly differs from Ligeti’s, who has “Jó atyádnak ő a legfiatalabb öccse, a szállás füstjét hadd űzze el véled együtt.” ‘He is the youngest brother of your good father. Let him disperse the smoke of the camp together with you.’

<sup>84</sup> Khalkha *būḍax* ‘to fire, to shoot, to shoot at, to fire on’ → *būḍalcax* ‘to shoot at each other’;

Khalkha *yarix* ‘to speak, to talk; to talk about, to speak of’ → *yarilcax* ‘to converse, to talk to each other, to talk’;

Khalkha *xelex* ‘to say, to speak’ → *xelcax* ‘to converse, to talk to each other’;

<sup>85</sup> For another Middle Mongol example cf. MA (255) *nim nikendü yama ögölčebeler* ‘delilis’ drug s drugom vsem, čto ugodno’.

<sup>86</sup> 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.

<sup>87</sup> 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’) vmeste s kem-l.; hodit’ drug k drugu’; *xaragdalsaxa* ‘sovm. byt’ vidimym, vidnet’ sja’ (Dondukov 1964: 149).

<sup>88</sup> intr. ← intr.: Khal.K. *irelcax* (< \*irelče-) ‘együtt érkezik/jön’ ← \*ire- ~ LM (L) ire- ‘to come, arrive, approach’

intr. ← intr.: Khal.B. *bailcax* (< \*bayilča) ‘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’;

- (6) intr. ← intr.: Mnt **qarulča-** ‘to go out together, to go out at the same time as somebody else’: *Altani uda’araldun güyyijü qarulčaju* ‘Altani followed her out and running together with her caught up with Qargil Sira’ (Mnt 214) < \*qarulča- ← \*gar- ~ LM (L) yar- ‘to go or come out, emerge, leave; to climb, ascend; to pass over, across, or through’;

intr. ← intr.: Mnt **salulča-** ‘to part/depart from each other’: *salulčaqui qurim qurimlaya* ‘we decided to hold a parting feast’ (Mnt 275) < \*salulča- ← \*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 **sonosulča-** ‘to hear together, to listen to together’: *Šigi-qutuqu-lu’a jarqu kebte’ül-eče jarqu sonosulčatuqai* ‘Some of the nightguards shall decide on judicial matters together with Šigi Qutuqu.’ (Mnt 234) < \*sonosulča- ← \*sonos- ~ LM (L) sonos- ‘to hear, listen; to obey, yield to advice’;

tr. ← tr.: Mnt **seri’ülülče-** ‘to revitalize together’: *umartaqsan-ıyan duratqalduju // umtaraqsan-ıyan seri’ülülčeju* ‘Let us each remind the other of what he has forgotten, Let us each wake up the other who has fallen asleep’<sup>89</sup> (Mnt 200) < \*serigülülče- ← \*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 *-ča-* (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-<sup>90</sup> ~ 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 iquriqaldun jibši’erülčen büqüi-tür* ‘As they pressed on each other downhill and uphill,

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tr. ← tr.: Khal.K. *xyadalcax* (< \*kidulča-) ‘öldöklésben részt vesz, együtt öldököl/mészárol vkivel’ ← \*kidu- ~ LM (L) kidu- ‘to cut; to massacre, slaughter, kill; to annihilate, destroy’;

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

<sup>89</sup> 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 Jamuqa 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 elfelejtettünk, juttassuk egymás eszébe, ami elszenderült, 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.

<sup>90</sup> 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); *Köyiten bayilduğu iquriqaldun jibšiyerülčen 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': *üje'esü Börte üjin-i tanıju 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

Street 1957: 65–66; Godziński 1985: 70; Sanžeev 1963: 57–58; GWM §233; Ramstedt 1912: §36; 1952: §83; Schmidt 1831: 78–79; Bold 1986: 125; Önörbayan 1998: 37; 2000: 57–58; Poppe 1960: 101; Dondukov 1964: 149–150; Cydypov 1988: 62–63; Benzing 1985: 76; Szabó 1943: §69;

## 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': *Büri-bökö tere gü'ü-ben hoyimasču Belgütei nasuda abaldurun bara'un qanču-ban mültüljü ničügün yabuqu büle'e* 'Büri Bökö took that man under his protection. Now, Belgütei, when wrestling, used to remove his right sleeve and go on fighting bare-armed.' (Mnt 131); *Činggis qahan niken üdür Büri-bökö Belgütei qoyar-i abaldu'uluya ke'ebe* 'Činggis Qa'an said, Let us make Büri Bökö and Belgütei wrestle with each other' (Mnt 140); *hontučaju čimada qarda'asu heregey-yen hoqtolju o'orsuqai abalduju čimada ilaqda'asu unaqsan qajar-ača bü bossuqai* '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-ün Ong qahan büriün urida Yisügei qa'an-u čaq-tur sayibar el*

*alduqsan-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 olulcaju büšireye // ke'en teyin üge baralduju amara'alın 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': *güčütü omoqtu Güčülük gürülčeküi alaldukuı üdür maqa ene omogıyan bü talbituqai* 'May the strong and proud Güčülük not lose this pride of his on the day when we meet on the battlefield and slay one another!' (Mnt 194); *alalduqui üdür // haran-u miqa idet tede* 'On the day of killing // They eat human flesh' (Mnt 195); *anggida ber ö'ere yabu'asu // alalduqui üdür // a'uşgi jürüge-ben ebetgü 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) *ala-* 'to kill, murder; to butcher'

- (3) Mnt ***qamtutqaldu-*** 'to take part in gathering': *qara buluqan daqu-yin qari'u // qaqaçaqsan ulus-i činu // qamtutqalduju öksü* 'In return for the black sable coat, // I shall bring together for you // Your divided people' (Mnt 104) < \**kamtudkaldu-* ← \**kamtudka-* (\**kamtu+d-KA-*) ~ LM (L) *qamtudqa-* 'to combine, unite, unify; to collect; to put or join together';

Mnt ***andačilaldu-*** 'to swear friendship to each other'<sup>91</sup>: *jamuqa bura'u-yin qoyar eber ni'aju nükelejü dawutu yor-ıyan Temüjin-e ö[k]čü Temüjin-ü arča manglaitu qodoli araljju andačilaldubai* '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.'<sup>92</sup> (Mnt 116) < \**andačilaldu-* ← \**andačila-*<sup>93</sup>;

Mnt ***čabčilaldu-*** 'to strike together, to strike (of both)': *čajıradai jamuqa-yi qa ergüye ke'en ajırqa ge'ün ke'üs čabčilalduju andaqalduju* 'Saying, Let us raise Jamuqa the Čajırat as qan, they jointly hacked the backs<sup>94</sup> of a stallion and a mare and together swore an oath of friendship.'<sup>95</sup> (Mnt 141) < \**čabčilaldu-* ← \**čabčil-* ~ LM (L) *čabčila-* 'freq. of *čabči-*' ('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

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Hungarian *egymással szemben testvériséget fogad*.

<sup>92</sup> 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)

<sup>93</sup> 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-*.

<sup>94</sup> There is no counterpart of the word back in the original, and I do not find "hack the back" as an English phrase.

<sup>95</sup> 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 denominal 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. Önörbayan 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 ***andaqaldu-*** ‘to swear to each other’: *ǰajiradai ǰamuqa-yi qa ergüye ke’en aǰirqa ge’ün ke’üs čabčilalduǰu andaqalduǰu* ‘Saying, Let us raise ǰamuqa the ǰajirat as qan, they jointly hacked the backs of a stallion and a mare and together swore an oath of friendship.’ (Mnt 141) < *\*andakaldu-* ← *\*andaka-* ~ Mnt *andaqa-* ‘Eid leisten, schwören’;

Mnt ***qarbulaldu-/qarbiyaldu-*** ‘to exchange arrow-shoots’: *Belgütei mudut ququru tatalaǰu šibe’e bariǰu Qasar qarbulalduǰu* ‘Belgütei tore out trees and, hauling them up together, erected a palisade. While Qasar exchanged arrow shots’ (Mnt 79); *nökör numu sumu nada-ača bi qarbulaldusu ke’ebe Temüǰin ügüleriün minu tula či erüste’üǰei bi qarbulaldusu ke’eǰü esergü qarın qarbulalduba* ‘Friend, give me the bow and arrows. I’ll trade shots with him! Temüǰin 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’ünü qoyına qabur alanggir numutan qarbiyalduın büküi-tür* ‘After that, in the spring, as they practised shooting with their firwood bows’ (Mnt 116) < *\*karbul-/\*karbiya-*<sup>96</sup> ~ LM (L) *qarbul-* ‘to shoot intermittently’;

Mnt ***olǰalaldu-*** ‘to capture, seize from each other’: *olon ulus bulqa büle’e // oron-duriyan ülü oron // olǰalaldun büle’e* ‘The many people were in turmoil: They did not enter their beds to rest, But fought against each other’<sup>97</sup> (Mnt 254) < *\*olǰalaldu-* ← *olǰala-* ~ LM (L) *olǰala-* ‘to seize, capture, take prisoner; to profit, gain, make a fortune’;

Mnt ***ungšilaldu-*** ‘to shout to each other’: *bidan-u manglan tedentür ungšilalduǰu ungšǰu ǰilda boldaǰu manaqar qatqulduya ke’eǰü ičuǰu 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 *\*ungš-*. The meaning given by Haensch for the verb *ungšilaldu-* and *ungš-* ‘rufen nennen’ is not quite exact. Those meanings given by Ligeti as ‘to shout’ is probably more close.

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

<sup>96</sup> 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.

<sup>97</sup> The translation given by de Rachewiltz is actually the same as that of Ligeti’s. However a different interpretation is possible 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.’



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 haquqsan čisun inu ama'ar-ıyan šimjü söni qonolduju* 'Boroqul got off his horse and stopped by him, sucked the clotting blood with his mouth and spent the night with him' (Mnt 214); *keşik oroju qurban qonolduju ye'ütkeldütügei* 'after spending three days and nights with them the company shall be relieved' (Mnt 227) < \*konoldu- ← \*kono- ~ LM (L) qono- 'to spend the night';

Mnt **unaldu-** 'to fall together, on each other': *yasu hüsü-ben kemkerü unalduju hünji'ü bayıtala daručaju ülüldüjü'üi* '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 **yabuldu-** 'to go together, to go side by side': *tede irgen 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 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 bayı'ı'ululčan yabulduqsat-ta minqan minqalaju minqad-un noyat tüšijü soyurqal üge ügülesü* '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) < \*yabuldu- ← \*yabu- ~ LM (L) yabu- 'to go; to walk; to depart, go away';

- (6) Mnt **qurimlaldu-** 'to make a feast together'<sup>99</sup>: *Tayıçı'ut Onan-nu ergi de'ere qurimlalduju naran šingge'esü tarqaba* 'the Tayıçı'ut held a feast on the bank of the Onan. At sunset they dispersed.' (Mnt 81) < \*qurimlaldu- ← \*kurimla (= \*kuri-m+LA-) ~ LM (L) qurimla- '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 other person is Činggis himself, being the object of the action):

- (7) Mnt **sakildu-** 'to guard each other': *bökleksen čisun-i jelme šimin šimin ama'an čisudaju jelme busu gü'ün ülü itegen sakilduju sa'uju söni düli boltala bökleksen čisun-i ama'ar dü'üreng 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 spat 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 *širgü'eleju sa'alduju*, the first member of which was identified by Eldengtei – Oyundalai – Asaraltu, here quoted from the work of de Rachewiltz 2004: 556. They stated that *širgü'ele-* means 'to put a

<sup>99</sup> 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 *\*sagaldurga*, 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 daijju qarču Uiyud-un Tangyud-un qaĵar-iyar yadaĵu ayisurun tabun ima'at űirgölejü sa'aju idejü teme'en-ü čisun qanaĵu idejü qačča soqor qali'un moritu irebe je či*, which probably is a later interpolation. The meaning of the whole passage quoted from the text is still obscure, but at least there appears a possibility not to connect this verb with milking.

- (8) Mnt ***sa'aldu-*** 'to milk': *tabun ima'at űirgü'elejü sa'alduju teme'en-ü čisun qanaĵu ide'et yadaĵu Güse'ür-na'ur-a ire'esü* '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 Güse'ür.' (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'olaldu-*** 'to enumerate, to count': *tendeče Činggis qahan Dalan-nemürge-eče Qalqa huru'u gödölürün to'o to'olaldubai to'olaldu'asu qoyar minqan ĵirwa'an ĵa'ut bolbai* 'Then Činggis 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'u-yin Keltegei-qada bawuju to'a-ban to'olalduju minqan tende minqalaju minqan-u noyan ĵa'un-u noyan harban-u noyan tende tüšibei* '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) < *\*togonaldu-* ← *\*togala-* ~ LM (L) *toyala-* 'to count, calculate, enumerate';

tr. tr. Mnt ***salqaldu-*** 'to separate from each other': *edö'e Altan Qučar qoyar-un uru'ud-ača tanlu'a salqalduya* 'We shall separate also some of the offspring of Altan and Qučar' (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. ← intr. Mnt ***bolĵaldu-*** 'to meet each other': *Onan-müren-nü teri'ün-e Botoqan-bo'orĵi-da bolĵalduya* 'we shall meet at Botoqan Bo'orĵi at the source of the Onan River' (Mnt 106); *ba tani uda'aran gödöljü Kelüren-ü Arqal-geügi-de bolĵalduya ta tende iretkün* 'We shall follow close behind you and meet at Arqal Geügi on the Kelüren River. You must come there!' (Mnt 183) < *\*bolĵaldu-* ← *\*bolĵa-* ~ LM (L) *bolĵo-* 'to agree on; to make an appointment; to determine beforehand, prearrange; to foresee, surmise, know beforehand';

intr. intr. Mnt ***iquriqaldu-*** 'to press each other in a battle': *doroqši de'ekši iquriqaldun ĵibši'erülčen büqüi-tür* 'As they pressed on each other downhill and uphill, and reformed their ranks' (Mnt 143); *Köyiten bayilduju iquriqaldun ĵibšiyerülčen бүкүi-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.<sup>100</sup>

- (10) Mnt *jolqaldu-* 'to meet each other': *tere ö'ede möčgi'et Kimurqa-qoroqan-nu Beder-qoši'un-u Qorčukui-boldaq-a büküi-tür jolqalduba* 'he followed the tracks up along this stream and came upon his own people who were staying at the time at the Qorčuqui Hill of the Beder Promontory by the Kimurqa Stream' (Mnt 88); *Börte üjin-i teyin jolqalduju Merkit irgen-eče aburaqsan yosun eyimü* 'This is how Lady Börte was rescued from the Merkit tribe, and how she was reunited with Temüjin' (Mnt 110); *bi ö'esün Kelüren-ü Bürgi-ergideče uqduñ yorčiju Güse'ür-na'ur-a jolqaldubai* 'from the Bürgi Escarpment on the Kelüren River, I in person went to receive you, and we met at Lake Güse'ür' (Mnt 177); *širqa aqtatan naiman morit de'ermettejü ja'ura qurban qonoju nekejü ayisukui-tur jolqaldubai je* '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) < \**jolgaldu-* ← \**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 qaǰar-tur-ıyan buluqan keremün görö'etei qaǰar-ıyan 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 \**koril-* ~ 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 *jasaglaldu-* 'to clarify the orders for each other': *türün-ü dobtulqan-tur ese eke'erüksen gü'ün-i mökörü'ülüye ke'en jasaglaldubai* '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) < \**jasaglaldu-* ← \**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 qayilaǰu kö'ün baraba ke'eküi-lü'e Altani uda'araldun güyyijü qarulçaǰu Qargil-šira-yin qoyinača güyyičejü* 'Altani followed her out and running together with her caught up with Qargil Šira' (Mnt 214) < \**udagaraldu-* ← \**udagara-* ~ LM (L) *udayara-* 'to last, continue; to be protracted or prolonged';

<sup>100</sup> *Uriangqadai gü'ün čö'e buqu alaǰu qabırqas inu abıt inu šıraǰu bügü-yi jolqajü* (Mnt 12); *yadanggi gü'ün kö'ü-be'en kötöljü yabuqu-yi jolqajü* (Mnt 14); *Yisügei-ba'atur Onan-müren-ne šibawulan yabukui-tur Merkid-ün Yeke-čiledü Oloqunu'ut irgen-eče öki a[b]čü e'üsgejü ayisuqu-yi jolqajü* (Mnt 54); *Čekčer Čiqurǰu qoyar-un ja'ura Onggiradai Dei-sečen-ni jolqaba* (Mnt 61); etc.

Mnt **qarmaldu-** ‘to gather, to collect (together with others)’: *qara kerī’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) < \**karmaldu* ← \**karma-* ~ LM (L) *qarma-* ‘to rake up, gather together’;

### Literature:

Schmidt 1831: 78–79; Street 1957: 65–66; Godziński 1985: 69–70; Sanžeev 1963: 58–59; Ramstedt 1912: §67; GWM §232; Bold 1986: 125; Önörbayan 1998: 38; 2000: 60–62; Poppe 1960: 100; Dondukov 1964: 148–149; Cydypov 1988: 63; Benzing 1985: 76; Szabó 1943: §67;

### -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. *dayi+ča-* ‘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 simplexes, however usually they are disyllabic ones (1).

- (1) Mnt **qarbuča-** ‘to shoot arrows conversely’: *odun oqjatču qarin qarbučaju uqurqatu qulan sumutu buqu 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 güčü erdemtü tula qarbučaju qaruqsan-i // qarbuju oro’ulqu 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) < \**karbuča-* ← \**karbu-* ~ LM (L) *qarbu-* ‘to shoot (an arrow or firearms)’;

Mnt **jöriče-** ‘to move, advance (?in a confusion)’: *Tayyiči’ut ber kökiü mün söni bö’et jöričen jamuqa jük gödölbei* ‘The Tayiči’ut, for their part, became frightened and that same night in great confusion actually moved to Jamuqa’s side’ (Mnt 119); *qonoqsat kekte’ül-eče busut dotoqši jöričen oroqun haran-i bariqsat kekte’ül* ‘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-*<sup>101</sup> ~ 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’;

<sup>101</sup> 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 büi je bi čima-tur nököčesü* ‘men’s troubles are the same for all. I will be your companion’<sup>102</sup>; (Mnt 90) *Belgütey-yi Bo’orču-yi nököčeye ke’en urju ilēbe* ‘he sent Belgütei to invite Bo’orču to join him as his companion’ (Mnt 95); *anda-yin setkil amu’ulju anda-da minü sayıqa-tur gü nököčejü ögütkün* ‘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 \*nökör and \*nököbüri, cf. LM (Kow) *nököbüri* ‘posobie, pomošč’ also was derived. Doerfer (TMEN 388) pointed out that the original meaning of *nökör* 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 nekeju Teletü-amasar-a güyičejü* ‘He pursued them and, overtaking them at the Teletü Pass’ (Mnt 136); *Tarqutai-kiriltuq-un kö’üt de’ü-ner inu buliju abuya ke’en güyyičejü ireju’üi* ‘the sons and younger brothers of Tarqutai Kiriltuq said, ‘Let us take him away from them! They approached and overtook them.’ (Mnt 149); /// *Ürünggü huru’u hülde’et Kişil-baş-na’ur-a güyičejü Buyiruaq qan-ni tende muqutqaba* [‘Pursuing Buyiruaq Qan down] along the Ürünggü River, they overtook him at Lake Kişil Baş, and there they finished him off.’ (Mnt 158); Further occurrences: Mnt 184, 196, 199, 214, 236, 237, 249; /// *niken çaqa’an moritu gü’ün u’urqa bariju qačča’ar küyyičejü ayisu* ‘one man on a white horse and holding a pole-lasso drew closer and caught up with them’ (Mnt 91); *qoyitus nököt küyyičejü irebe* ‘His companions, who had fallen behind, caught up with him’ (Mnt 91) < \*güyi- ~ LM (L) *güyü-/güyi-* ‘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 soyiluaq kö’ün-eče’en qaqačaqu-yü törö-deče qaqačaba hiričegü-yü üyyile-deče hiričebei bi* ‘By abandoning my son // I abandoned the norm; // By parting from him // I parted from my duty.’<sup>103</sup> (Mnt 178) ← ?;

Mnt **güliče-** ‘warten’: *edö’e iregü čaq bolba qorumut güliče* ‘Now is about the time of his coming. Wait a little!’ (Mnt 31); *Belgütey-yi bü tebčitkün ke’e’et jabilan sa’uju güličebe* ‘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 bayyiju qočorču [ne]’uri dumda terget güličejü ne’uri bö’et* ‘Temüjin could not understand these words of Jamuqa and remained silent. Falling behind, he waited for the carts in the middle of the moving camp - for it was a moving camp’<sup>104</sup> (Mnt 118); Further occurrences: Mnt

<sup>102</sup> Although semantically the translation is right, it does not picture that in the Mongolic text there is a Dative case *čima-tur nököčesü* ‘Let me take company with you/I will consort with you’.

<sup>103</sup> 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)

<sup>104</sup> The translation of *ne’uri 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) < \***küli-**, cf. LM (L) *küliye-* ‘to wait, expect; to receive, accept; to acknowledge, admit; to be indulgent or tolerant’; LM (L) *küligelje-* ‘to wait for, wait a little; to tarry; to hesitate’;

Mnt **hontuča-** ‘to shoot a long-distance arrow’: *oqjatču qaruqsan-i // hontučaju oro’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); *hontučaju čimada qarda’asu heregey-yen hoqtolju o’orsuqai* ‘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 Yisüngge. On the other hand the verb Khalkha verb *ontusax* ‘célba talál (nyíl, 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 geju newübe* ‘looking down on him, they left him and moved away’ (Mnt 11); *Dei-sečen-nü Börte üjin-i yisün nasutu büküi-tür üjeju irekse’er qaqačaju büle’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 qamtutqaju öksü* ‘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 < \***kagača-** ← \***kaga-**, ~ LM (L) *qaya* ‘intensifying adverbial particle placed before verbs expressing breaking or cleaving’. To picture the “verbal nature” of the word \**kaga*, the following derivatives should be mentioned: \**kagas* (< \**kaga-s*) ~ LM (L) *qayas* ‘half; semi-; clear(ly), distinct(ly), neat(ly)’; \**kagadasun* (< \**kaga-dAsUn*) ~ LM (L) *qayadasun* (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 it needs some amendment. It is true that in the situation described by the verbs formed 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] dūrbeju yabuqun Merkid-i söni-de gü daručaju* ‘but even in the night our troops were pressing hard after the hastily fleeing Merkit’ (Mnt 110); *Naiman-u qara’ul-i hülde’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); *hünji’ü bayitala daručaju ülüldüju’üi* ‘died crushing each other till they were like heaps of rotten logs’ (Mnt 196); *Činggis qahan qol čerik daručaju Kitad-i gödölgeju* ‘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 holds, delay, or shelve (as official business); to deduct or withhold from one’s wages or salary’;

Mnt *temeče-* / *demeče-* ‘to strive, to struggle’// Mnt *denggeče-* ‘to be equal’: *ulus ülü temečet* ‘We do not strive for dominion’ (Mnt 64); *qamqa’ulsun keyyisküi-tür qara hoi 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 bö’esü a’ula-yin ündür temečeye* ‘If this is so, let us go up to the top of the mountain!’ (Mnt 195); *Tayang qan üge-tür minu ükütgüjü ö’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 bü daba’ulutqun* ‘fight for the Tunggon Pass and do not let them cross the defile!’ (Mnt 251); *Oyirat-un Quduqa-beki hoi demečen Šisgis jorin ködöljü’üi* ‘Quduqa Beki of the Oyirat went towards the Šisgis River, making for the forest’ (Mnt 144); *minu metü oroču de’ü sača’u denggečen qubi ker abqu* ‘How can a late-born younger brother like me take the same and equal share as that of the others?’ (Mnt 203); *qadanadus minqali’ut sača’un bolju denggečen* ‘If outside leaders of a thousand, regarding themselves as equal to and a match for my guards’ (Mnt 228); *kö’üd-ü’en aburi ülü itqan denggečen setkikün bolun* ‘By not restraining your sons’ nature, you and your sons began thinking that you were equal to me’ (Mnt 246) *Mönglik ečiğe-yin uruq-tur ken denggečekün büle’ei* ‘who among Father Mönglik’s offspring would have dared to consider himself equal to me’<sup>105</sup> (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 < \**tengeče-* ← \**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 *tāñ* ‘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 \**sörgeče-* ~ Khal.K. *sörgöcöx* ‘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

<sup>105</sup> de Rachewiltz himself admits that the translation of e.g. Ligeti (“Ha megfékezted volna féktelen 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. *\*kürülče-*, *\*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 **tamtul-** ‘to tear off’: *jaqa-ban bü tamtulutqun* ‘Do not tear off your collar!’ (Mnt 126) < *\*tamtul-* ← *\*tamtu-*, cf. LM (L) *tamtu-* ‘to break to pieces, crush, ruin, devastate’; LM (L) *tamtuy* ‘broken in small pieces, tattered, fragmentary; good for nothing’; LM (L) *tamtuči-* ‘to tear to pieces, rip; to destroy; to pillage’; LM (L) *tamturi-* ‘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 Temüjin’s cangue, burnt it in the fire’ (Mnt 85) < *\*čučal-* ← *\*čuča-* ~ LM (L) *čuča-* ‘to undo, untwine, untwist’;

- (2) Mnt **sewürel-** ‘to sigh’: *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-neče činu heyilü’esü* ‘If they abandon your door’ (Mnt 137); *Širgü’etü ebügen-ü kö’üt inu heyilükset irebei* ‘the sons of Old Širgü’etü 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’ünü qoyinača duyalju to’oriqažu ayisuqun-i üježü* ‘When he saw them approaching from the rear and encircling them’ (Mnt 195); *edö’e ese’ü bayasču 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) ← \**tuyi-*, cf. LM (L) *tuyiba-* ‘to be unsteady or shaky’;

Mnt **juqul-** ‘to pull out, to drive out’: *kituqai-ban temteljü juqulun yabuqui-tur* ‘as he was going forward feeling for and drawing out his knife’ (Mnt 214) \**jukul-* ← \**juku-/jugu-*, cf. Mnt *juqus* ‘in the greatest hurry’ (Mnt 55);

- (3) Mnt **ötöl-** ‘to get old’: *ökin gü’ün-nü jaya’an töreksen e’üten-tür ötölgü ügei* ‘But the fate of a girl is not to grow old in the family in which she was born’ (Mnt 66); *bi ber edö’e // ötölbe namayi ötöljü // ündüt-te qaru’asu qa’učitba bi // qa’učitču 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 ötölbe* ‘My wife is young, but I, her husband, have become old’ (189) < \**ötül-* ← \**öt-* (?\**öte-*), cf. LM (L) *ötegü* ‘old man, senior’ ?<< Turkic, 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 dēl* ‘šuba stjanulas’<sup>106</sup> and *tatala-* ~ *tatalalduba tūnlē* ‘borolis’ drug s drugom’ / *tatalaqdaba* ‘byl taščen’. That is why for example Szabó 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: §4).

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-/mültüle-** ‘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 mültüleksen ničügün mürü inu* ‘his shoulder, which had been left exposed and bare’ (Mnt 131) < \**möltül-* ← \**mültü-*, 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 Turkic suffix of passive voice, cf. its Turkic translation: *tartildi 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’.

lösen, aufgehen (eines Bandes) und abfallen’; LM (L) *möltü/möltüs* ‘slightly, somewhat, superficially’;

- (5) Mnt **mürgüle-** ‘to poke with horns’: *qo’aqčın üni’en irejü jamuqa-yi horčijü yabuju ger tergen inu mürgüle’et jam’uqa-yi mürgüjü öre’ele eber-iyen ququraju so[l]jir ebertü bolju* ‘There came a fallow cow. She circled Jamuqa and struck his tent-cart with her horns; then she butted him too, breaking one of her two horns. Being thus left with uneven horns’ (Mnt 121) < \**mörgül-* ← \***mörgü-** ~ LM (L) *mörgü-* ‘to butt (of animals); to hit, knock one’s forehead against something; to pray; to bow’;

Mnt **tatala-** ‘to tear’: *Belgütei mudut ququru tatalaju šibe’e bariju* ‘Belgütei tore out trees and, hauling them up together, erected a palisade’ (Mnt 79); *modun-u geši’üt ququru tatalaju itüges-ün büle’üt suqučijü a[b]čü ašgilalduju jürkin-i ilaqču Qorijin qadun Qu’určin qadun jirin-i buliju abubai* (Mnt 132) < \**tatal-* ← \***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)’;

Mnt **ačila-**<sup>109</sup> ‘to load, burden’: *ama’ar alaqsan // ačilasu ülü boli // üge-tür ükü’ülüksen // übči’esü ülü 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 suddenly<sup>110</sup> (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’: *kituqai-ban temteljü juqulun yabuqui-tur* ‘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. *temčix* ‘meg-megtapint, tapogat; tapogatózik’ < \**temteči-*.

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

<sup>109</sup> 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 \**ači’asu*, which would be the verb *ači-* with a conditional gerund.

<sup>110</sup> 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 *+l-* 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) *ulaski-* ‘to shimmer with red; to flash’;

- (7) Mnt *aril-* ‘to clarify’ *e’ülen arilju // eke naran üjeksən metü* ‘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) *ariyun* ‘cleanliness, purity, chastity; clean, pure, clear; chaste; sinless; holy, sacred’;

Mnt *gerel-* ‘to boggle, to become frightened’: *Činggis qahan gerelju šiqaqdaju jayila qaruya* ‘Činggis 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’, \**köre-* ~ LM (L) *körö-* ‘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 panick-stricken, to overlook; to take a false step, to commit a mistake; to be credulous’;<sup>111</sup>

Mnt *tulbal-* ‘to cleave, to crack’: *tulu-yin niru’un 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 hoqtorqui bolqabai // helige ba anu hemtelbei bida // oro ba anu hoqtorqui 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-* ‘halbieren, zweiteilen, in zwei Stücke reißen’; LM (L) *emtere-* ‘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)töredezik’ < \**emteyi-*; Bur. *emseger* (*šüdetei*) ‘bez perednyh zubov’ < \**emčeger*; Bur. *emserxe* ‘otlamyvat’sja (o zube, lezvii, topore i t.d.)’ < \**emčere-*;

Mnt *hoqtol-* ‘to cut’: *Ne’üdei Čaqa’an-u’a-yin teri’ü inu hoqtolju morin-u se’ül-tür čirčü otču’ui* ‘Having cut off the head of Čaqa’an U’a of the Ne’üs, he dragged it away bound to the tail of his horse’ (Mnt 129); *bosoqa-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. < \**hogtol-* ← \**hogto-/hogto-*, cf. LM (L) *oytoči-* ‘to cut into small pieces, mince, chop up, hash’: LM (L) *oytoyor* ‘tailless, short-tailed, bobtailed’; LM (L) *oytoyi-* ‘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

<sup>111</sup> 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 *caxilgān 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’: *qorčın qor bawurčın ayaqa saba kekte’ül-e ta’ulju ottuqai* ‘The quiverbearers shall leave, turning over their quivers - and the stewards their bowls and vessels - to the nightguards’ (Mnt 229); *ye’ütgejü qarqun kekte’ül ta’ulju gü qarču ottuqai* ‘the outgoing nightguards when relieved shall likewise hand theirs over and depart’ (Mnt 229); /// *kekte’ül keşik ye’ütkekdürün belge anu da’ulju oroju iretügei* ‘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); *emčü tümen keşikten-i inu Ča’adai aqa Tolui qoyar Ögödei qahan-na tawulbai qol-un ulus-i mün yosu’ar tawulbai* ‘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 Ča’adai and Tolui to Ögödei 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 qarin hawulju* ‘He swiftly rode back to his tent’ (Mnt 54); *eme kö’ün inu // ečültele hawuluya // [...] qotola ulus-i inu // 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 olu’asu oluqsa’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); *edö’e irebe kē’et ha’ulju otču ke’er-e buquqsan nambuqa sa’ulqa-ban ačiraba* ‘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’ud-*) ‘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* ‘excrescens 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 *ketül-* (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) *getül-* ‘to traverse, cross, ford, wade, ferry across; to be delivered, freed, saved’: *dalai-yi getülküi 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  $\gamma$  (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 \**sagugul-* and \**ugugul-* 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-*<sup>112</sup> ‘to quote, to cite’: *qa’učin üges qadalun* ‘Citing old sayings’ (Mnt 78); *qa’učin üges qadalju* ‘Citing old sayings’ (260) < \**kadal-* ← \**kada-* ~ LM (L) *qada-* ‘to rise, go up’.

Mnt *nitul-* ‘to cut, to cleave’: *čeuigen čila’un-i čewürün // 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-iyān // qa’uldaquy-ača* ‘The skin of my black face // Peeled off in shame’ (Mnt 201) < \**kagul-*; ← \**kagu-*, cf. LM (L) *qayudasun* ‘sheet of paper; list; leaflet; page; note, memo’; LM (L) *qayura-* ‘to peel off’; LM (L) *qayus kegüs* ‘superficially, lightly, perfunctorily’;

Mnt *bürel-* ‘to annihilate, to destroy’ : *bügüde Merkid-i büreltele // Börte üjin-i činu aburaju öksü bi* ‘Even to the complete destruction of the Merkit, // I shall rescue for you your Lady Börte’ (Mnt 104) < \**bürel-* ← ?\**büre-/bür-* 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’: *buqu-yin örö’ele quya inu ququlju* ‘cut off one thigh of the three-year-old deer’ (Mnt 16); *niji’el müsüt ququlutqun ke’ejü ökbe* ‘She gave an arrow-shaft to each of them and said, ‘Break it!’ (Mnt 19); *niru’u inu ebüdükleju ququlju ilebe* ‘he

<sup>112</sup> It is obscure if the passage *qadalun da’un qarbiwu’an qajaqsat* 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. < \**kugul-* ← \**kugu-*<sup>113</sup> 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 gētkün* 'If they depart from your golden threshold // Put an end to their lives and // Cast them away!' (Mnt 137); *Ibaqa-yin oro bü 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 quyyi-yan tasuluqsat* 'Have snapped at their own afterbirth, Have cut their own birth cord' (Mnt 244) < \**tasul-* ← \**tasu-*<sup>114</sup>, cf. LM (L) *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) *tasuy* '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' *dekdeksen jürügen-i // derge nökör bolju töde'eju // debülküi toqo'an-i // delegei šinaqa bolju amurli'uldaju* '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 \**yäg*, cf. Old Turkic *yeg* 'better' (ED 909). (Cf. the probably wrong comparison in the EDAL)

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

Mnt *möröl-* 'to long for': *Yisügei aqa Temüjin-i maši mörölju öre-ben ebedümü Temüjin-i abura irebe ke'eju'ü Dei-sečen ügülerün 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) < \**möröl-* ← *mörö-*, cf. LM (L) *möröged-* 'to miss, long for';

<sup>113</sup> Cf. Old Turkic *kök-* 'to decrease, diminish' (ED 609).

<sup>114</sup> 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).<sup>115</sup> 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:

Ramstedt 1912: §4–6; 1952: §81; GWM §227, §254, §236; Byambasan 1970: 277–278; Önörbayan 1998: 37, 41; 2000: 58–59; Poppe 1960: 101; Dondukov 1964: 126–127; Cydypov 1988: 64; Benzing 1985: 75; Szabó 1943: §50;

### -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 (*arīt-*) of the Turkic verb *\*ari-*, cf. Old Turkic *ari-* ‘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 *ari-* is intransitive.

- (1) Mnt ***arči-*** ‘to wipe, to scrub’: *Otčigin bosu’at nilbusu’an arči’at qarču* ‘Whereupon Otčigin rose, wiped away his tears and, going out of the tent’ (Mnt 245); *manglay-yin kölesün arčin yadatala* ‘To the point where they could not wipe off The sweat of their brow’ (Mnt 260) < *\*arči-* ← *\*ari-*.

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.<sup>116</sup>

- (2) Mnt ***čabči-*** ‘to strike’: *Belgütey-yin mürü kangqas ča[b]čiqsan tere büle’e* ‘It was he who, with his sword, split open Belgütei’s shoulder’ (Mnt 50); *ničügün mürü inu Büri-bökö*

<sup>115</sup> 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 deverbative nominals, and denominative attributive are quoted. (EDAL 186–190)

<sup>116</sup> Cf. Mnt *tebči-* ‘to abandon, to desert, to leave’; Mnt *qubči-* ‘to collect’; Mnt *übči-* ‘to flay, to skin’; Mnt *jübči-* ‘to attach’; Mnt *seči-* ‘to pierce, to stick’; Mnt *nökči-* ‘to pass (of time)’; Mnt *čoči-/soči-* ‘to get frightened’; Mnt *horči-* ‘to surround’; Mnt *quči-* ‘to wrap, to cover’.

*üldü'er kangqas čabčiju'u* 'On this occasion, Büri Bökö's sword split open his shoulder, which had been left exposed and bare' (Mnt 131); *Qasar Itürgen-tür ülü keleleldün mün tende čabčiju gēbe* 'Qasar who, without saying a word to him, cut Itürgen 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 (of 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).<sup>117</sup>

Mnt <sup>1</sup>*qabči*-<sup>118</sup> 'to hide, to keep private': *üjeks-en-iyen ülü ni'un sonosuqsan-iyen ülü qabčiqun büle'e* 'never hid from me what they saw, never concealed from me what they heard' (Mnt 210); *üjeks-en-iyen sonosuqsan-iyen ülü ni'un qabčin ji'an aqun büle'ei* 'without hiding or concealing, have always reported to me what they saw and heard' (Mnt 216) < \*kabči- ← \*kab- << Turkic \*kap-, Old Turkic kap- present in such Old Turkic words as *kapak, kapiğ, kapğa, kapgak* (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-verb<sup>119</sup> (3):

- (3) Mnt <sup>2</sup>*qabči*- 'to catch, seize' *Qargil-šira bosu'at kö'üken-i su'u-dur-iyen qabčiju qarču yabuju ayisurun* 'Qargil Šira rose and seizing the child pressed him under his arm' (Mnt 214) < \*kabči- ~ LM (L) qabči- 'to squeeze, clamp; to pinch; to exert pressure, oppress; to compel, force out' ← \*kab- << Turkic \*kap-, cf. Old Turkic kap- 'to grasp, or seize, with the hands, teeth, etc' (ED 580a)

Mnt *hoqtoči*- 'to cut': *hula'an buqa-yin yabuqsan mör-iyer mör-tür bayyiqsan modut hoqtočin čabči'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) < \*hoktoči- ← \*hokto-, cf. LM (L) *oyto/oyta* 'fully, completely, entirely, altogether (used only to emphasize negation)'; LM (L) *oytos* 'apart; fragment, chip, splinter'; LM (L) *oytoyor* 'tailless, short-tailed, bobtailed'; LM (L) *oytoy*- 'to be(come) short (of hair, tail, or clothing)'; LM (L) *oydong* 'short (as tail, skirt)'; LM (L) *oyoli* 'adze'; LM (L) *oyotor/oytor* 'short'; LM (L) *oqor/aqur* '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.<sup>120</sup>

<sup>117</sup> 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 denominal derivation čab+či- 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).

<sup>118</sup> For the verb *qabči*- 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'.

<sup>119</sup> This statement is affirmed by the modern data as well, cf. \*buudači- ~ LM (K) *buudači*- 'lő (egyét), meglő' ← \*buuda- ~ LM (L) *buuda*- 'to shoot with a firearm', \*agusči- ~ LM (K) *uusči*- 'feloldódik, beolvad (pl. kisebbség a többségbe)' ← \*agus- ~ LM (L) *ayus*- 'to dissolve, pass into solution' etc.

- (4) Mnt **qaltači-/qatači-** ‘to crush, to obliterate’: *qamuq Merkid-i qa[l]tačiju // 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); *qamuq Qa’at-Merkid-i qaltačiju // qatun Börte-yü’en // qari’ulun aburaya* ‘Crushing all the Qa’at Merkit, // We shall rescue your wife Börte, // Causing her to return!’ (Mnt 105) < \*kaltači- ← \*kalta-, cf. LM (L) *qaltas* ‘half’; Khal.K. *xalti/xal’t* ‘igekötö hirtelen, sebtiben; úgy ahogy, felületesen; könnyedén, éppen csak’; Khal.K. *xaltčix* ‘(fa kérgét itt-ott) lehánt(ja); nehezen silabizál, gyöngén olvas’ (< \*kaltači-) 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<sup>121</sup> (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 *cowxčix* ‘bain bain cowxrox’ is clearly intransitive.

- (5) Mnt **yorči-** ‘to trail, to advance, to go’: *šingqula-yi unužu ükü’esü inu üküšügei a’asu inu asuqai ke’ejü Onan-müren huru’u yorčiju talbiba yorčiju Baljun-ara[l] gürcü tende ebesün nembüle ger kijü tende aba sa’uba* ‘If I die, I die; if I live, I live! he said and left riding fast downstream along the Onan River. He went on and when he reached Baljun Aral he built a grass hut and made his home there’ (Mnt 24); *Onan-müren ö’ede qataraju yorčiju talbiba* ‘trotting off upstream along the Onan River’ (Mnt 32); *Yisügei-ba’atur Temüjin-ni yisün nasutu büküi-tür Hö’elün eke-yin törgüt Olqunu’ut irgen-tür naqaču-nar-ača inu öki quyusu ke’en Temüjin-ni abu’at yorčiba* ‘Yisügei Ba’atur set out to go to the Olqunu’ut people, relatives of Mother Hö’elün, taking Temüjin with him and saying, ‘I shall ask his maternal uncles for a girl in marriage for him.’’ (Mnt 61); Further occurrences: Mnt 73, 77, 84, 86, 90, 93, 140; 151, 155, 169, 173, 177, 188, 195, 198, 244, 249, 257 < \*yorči- ← \*yori-<sup>122</sup> << Turkic, cf. Old Turkic *yori-* ‘to walk, march’ (ED 957a). The verb was copied once again from a different Turkic variety, cf. \**žori-* ~ LM (L) *žori-* ‘to move in the direction of; to strive, intend, plan; to be resolved’.

The function of the suffix is to form verbs which indicate that the action is performed suddenly, unexpectedly<sup>123</sup> (6). Önörbayan was the first to notice that depending on the context, the

<sup>120</sup> Khal.K. *tülxčix* ‘félrelök, meglök; kulccsal kinyit vmit’ < \**tülkiči-* ← \**tülki-* ~ LM (L) *tülki-* ‘to push, shove; to reject; to delay, put off’;

<sup>121</sup> Some later examples: \**žubači-* ~ LM (K) *žubči-* (intr.) ‘menekül, eltűnik, nyoma vész’ ← \**žuba-* (intr.) ~ LM (K) *juwax* ‘rejtve/rejtőzködve kúszik, surran (fűben, sűrűben vad)’, \**sandagači-* (tr.): LM (K) *sandayači-* ‘szétdúl, összeront, összekuszál, összezavar mozzanatos vagy gyakortó alakja’ ← \**sandaga-* (tr.): LM (L) *sandaya-* ‘to muss up; to throw about, cause disorder, disorganize’

<sup>122</sup> It should be mentioned, that beside of this quite clear etymology, supposing a denominal derivation is also possible. Consider the noun *yor* in the Mnt, meaning ‘whistling arrowhead made of bone’. In turn it is obscure what is the connection between this word and that of \**iro* ~ LM (L) *iro-a* ‘foreboding, bad omen, premonition’.

<sup>123</sup> Some further examples: \**ebdeči-* ~ LM (K) *ebdeči-* ‘egyszercsak elront, összetör, tönkretesz; újra meg újra elront, összetör, tönkretesz vmit’ ← \**ebde-* ~ LM (L) *ebde-* ‘to destroy (concrete or abstract objects), break, wreck, ruin,

meaning of the derived verb may include an iterative shade so the action happens quickly and repeatedly.

- (6) Mnt **ququči-** ‘to brake, to fracture’: *niji’el-i ya’u bayyi’ulqun ququčijū o’orba* ‘they immediately broke the single arrowshafts and threw them away’ (Mnt 19) < \***kuguči-** ← \***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) *quyuča-* ‘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 *kop* when qualifying a V. connotes comprehensive action; when qualifying an Adj. means ‘thoroughly, completely’; when qualifying a N. means ‘all’ (ED 579b);

Mnt **suquči-** ‘to pull out’: *modun-u geši’üt ququru tatalajū itüges-ün büle’üt suqučijū a[b]ču* ‘breaking off tree branches, pulling out the churners of the kumis leather bags and grabbing them (Mnt 132) < \***suguči-** ← \***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) *suyud-* ‘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) *suyuli-* ‘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. *tošgičix* ‘csettintget, cuppog, cuppantgat’, Khal.K. *xošxičix* ‘kiáltoz, rikoltoz (pl. több madár), füttyentget, füttyög (pl. mormota)’, *xašgičix* ‘kiáltozik, ordítózik’ 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’uči-*, which remained untranslated in the dictionary of Haenisch.

Mnt **qada’uči-** ‘to take care’: *teyin ke[b]te qada’uči gü kē’et nökcibe* ‘Lie just so and be careful! And with these words he went off.’ (Mnt 82); *anda qada’uči* ‘Sworn friend, take care!’ (Mnt 196).

The shape of the word supposes a reconstructed form \**kadaguči-*, which if really contains the suffix *-či-* then its root must be something like \**kadagV-*. In turn that could be connected to such

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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 quarrell)’, intensively or repeatedly e.g. \**ileči-* ~ LM (K) *ileči-* ‘meg-megsimít vkit/vmit, (meg)simogat’ ← \**ile-* ~ LM (L) *ile-/ili-* ‘to caress, stroke with one’s hand; to rub, massage’, \**nukuči-* ~ LM (K) *nuquči-* ‘nyomkod, töröget, szétdörzsöl vmit’ ← \**nuku-* ~ LM (L) *nuqu-/niqu-* ‘to rub, massage; to mash, press, knead; to crumple; to finish off, dispose of completely, kill’, \**tülkiči-* ~ LM (K) *tülkiči-* ‘félrelök, meglök; kulccsal kinyit vmit’ ← \**tülki-* ~ LM (L) *tülki-* ‘to push, shove; to reject; to delay, put off’.

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’: *ölösčü turuju irebe ke'en Ong qan-a qubčiri qubčiju ökčü güre'en ditora oro'ulju 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 oro'asu či Sübe'etei gölmi qubči'ur bolju ši'üjü qubčiju ülü'ü abqu* ‘If they turn into fishes and plunge into the Tenggis Sea, you, Sübe'etei, will you not become a casting-net and a dragnet, and get them by scooping them out?’ (Mnt 199); *Güčügür moči-da irge tutaqdaju endeče tendeče 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 kö'üt-te harban nökö't 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); *ečiğe-yen ögüksen qubi keşik bö'esü inu beye qad-iyar oluqsan jö'eksen ere aqta kedüi bö'esü inu 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 irgen-eče'en teme'et qubčiju tawun yadatala abčiraju ökbei* ‘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:

Street 1957: 64; Ramstedt 1912: §5, §24-25; 1952: §86; GWM §253; Bold 1986: 126; Önörbayan 1998: 41; 2000: 75-77; Poppe 1960: 101; Benzing 1985: 27; Szabó 1943: §60;

#### -lĵA-

The suffix *-lĵA-* 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, Önörbayan 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 *-lĵA-*, *-bAlĵa-* and *-KAlĵA-*.

- (1) Mnt **darbalja-** ‘to quiver’: *dabčitu qor darbaljaqui-tur // dayyiji[q]či Dayyir-usun // edö’e Orqon Selengge 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 Selengge’ (Mnt 105) < \**darbalja-* ← \**darba*<sup>124</sup> ~ 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 gü’ün ayisu gürcü ayisuqui-tur dōro inu köl-iyen unjiljaju ayisu üje’esü qačča gü’ün 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) < \**unjilja-* ← \**unji*<sup>125</sup> ~ LM (L) *unji-* ‘to hang down, be suspended; to drag along the ground; to droop; to be weak or sickly’;

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

- (2) Mnt **müčilje-** ‘to smile’: *ene üge-tür Ča’adai müčiljeju ügülerün* (Mnt 255) ← ?\**müči-*; 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.<sup>126</sup>

The data from the Mnt and some comparative data taken from LM and Khalkha<sup>127</sup> 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:

Godziński 1985: 71; Ramstedt 1912: §76; GWM §239; Önörbayan 1998: 42; 2000: 107–110; Poppe 1960: 101; Dondukov 1964: 152–153; Benzing 1985: 78; Szabó 1943: §70;

<sup>124</sup> Cf. Buryat *darba-darba* govoritsja o pokačivanii čego-l. sodrannogo ili visjačego.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. Buryat *unža-unža* govoritsja o dviženii kogo-l. dolgovjazogo ili čego-l. rastjanutogo.

<sup>126</sup> 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 onomatopoeic origin could be postulated.

<sup>127</sup> LM (L) *sebilje-* ‘to blow gently’ ← \**sebe-* ~ LM (L) *sebi-/sebe-* ‘to wave; to fan’; LM (L) *qayibalja-* ‘to sway’ ← \**kayiba-* ~ LM (L) *qayiba-* ‘to sway or rock from side to side; to swim (of birds and animals)’; LM (L) *dayibalja-* ‘to totter, wobble, sway, rock’ ← \**dayiba-* ~ LM (L) *dayiba-* ‘to wobble, totter, sway’; LM (L) *derbelje-* ‘to flutter, flap in the wind’ (cf. Mnt *darbalja-*) ← \**derbe-* ~ LM (L) *derbe-* ‘to flutter; to struggle (as birds or fish)’; LM (L) *tuyibalja-* ‘to be unsteady on one’s feet’ ← \**tuyiba-* ~ LM (L) *tuyiba-* ‘to be unsteady or shaky’; Khal.K. *širweljex* (< \**sirbelje-*) (cf. LM (L) *sirbalja-*) ‘ráng, rezeg; farkát csóválja; barátságatlanul tekintget, csapdos’ ← \**širbe-* ~ LM (L) *sirbe-* ‘to sweep; to dust’; Khal.K. *cerweljex* (< \**čerbelje-*) ‘lengedezik, hajldozik (fű, vetés a szélben)’ ← \**čerbe-* ~ LM (L) *čerbe-* ‘to swing, sway’;

## -bAlĵA- / -KAlĵA-

-bAlĵA- and -KAlĵA- 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 -lĵA-, e.g. Godziński (1985: 71). Interestingly Street (1957: 65) mentions only the formant -GAlĵA-. As there is no distributional rule when which form, -bAlĵA- or -KAlĵA- 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): *sanayalĵa*- ‘to reflect on’ ← *sana*- ‘to think’; *anibalĵa*- ‘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 -lĵA-.

In some LM texts and there appear some allomorphs of these suffixes, namely -bUlĵa- and -GUlĵa- (Szabó 1943: §74), or even -balĵi-, e.g. *tatabalĵi*- and *čayilabalĵi*- (Heissig 1953: 520, 521).

In the Mnt they occur in the following verbs:

Mnt *darbalĵa*-<sup>128</sup> ‘to quiver’: *dabčitu qor darbalĵaqui-tur // dayyiji[q]či Dayyir-usun // edö’e Orqon Selengge 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 Selengge’ (Mnt 105) < \**darbalĵa*- ← ?\**dar*-<sup>129</sup> cf. LM (L) *tar*-<sup>130</sup> ‘onomat. describing the sound of tapping or of footsteps on a hard surface’;

Mnt *šičabalĵa*- ‘to creep’ *qarurun naran sara-yin kili-yer šira noqai metü šičabalĵaju 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) < \**šičabalĵa*- ← \**čiča*-<sup>131</sup>, cf. LM (L) *čičab* ‘suddenly, jerkily, with a start’; LM (L) *čičab ki-* / *čičebki-* ‘to jerk, start, move suddenly’; Khal.K. *čacasxix* (< \**čičas ki-*) ‘felriad, felrezzen’; LM (L) *čičay-a* ‘looseness of the bowels, diarrhea; watery feces’; \*Khal.K. *čacganax* (< \**čičagana-*) ‘össze-összerezzen, meg-megrándul, rángatózik’;

Mnt *niqsaqalĵa*- ‘to stagger, to wobble’: *üdesi naran šinggeksen-ü qoyina Belgütei dargi oqodur qongqor-tur tarbaqat ačiju niqsaqalĵatala yabuqan kötö[l]jü irebe* ‘Belgütei 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) < \**niqsaqalĵa*- ← \**niqsa*-, cf. LM (L) *niy* ‘solid(ly), dense(ly), condensed’; LM (L) *niyču* ‘thickness; thick, dense(ly) (of grass or trees); crowded’; *niyta* ‘thick(ly), dense(ly), compact(ly); thorough(ly), accurate(ly)’;

<sup>128</sup> Above the verb *darbalĵa*- was used to demonstrate the suffix -lĵA-.

<sup>129</sup> Cf. Buryat *darba-darba* govoritsja o pokačivanii čego-l. sodrannogo ili visjačego.

<sup>130</sup> Other shades for the meaning of this onomatopoeic word is probable as well, cf. LM (L) *tarčigina-/tarĵigina-/darčigina*- ‘to rustle (of leaves); to knock, tap, clatter, stamp; to jar, rattle (from detonation)’.

<sup>131</sup> The initial consonant of the root is not sure, cf. LM (L) *sečen* ~ *čečen*; *saču-* ~ *čaču-*; *sečeg* ~ *čečeg*.

Mnt *ketügelje-* ‘to move crosswise’: *naran šinggeksen-ü qoyina ordo-yin qoyina’un urida’un ketügeljen yabuqu gü’ün-i bariju kebte’ül bariju qonoju manaqar<i> kebte’ül 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) ← *\*ketü-*, cf. MMC *ketüs* ‘across’ (Mnt 195, 255);

Mnt *čerbegelje’ül-* ‘to dangle in the air’: *müt čeri’üt Belgütey-yin eke-yi sundula’ulju qoyar köl inu čerbegelje’ülju qadaraju gürčü ire’e[t]* ‘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) < *\*čerbegelje-gül-* ← *\*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.<sup>132</sup> The meaning of oscillating action appears in the case of the stems which describe a kind of movement.<sup>133</sup>

An interesting comparison is offered by the verb-pair *\*tatagalja-* and *\*tatabalja-* to determine if there is a difference in the meaning of the suffixes. For the LM we find LM (L) *tatayalja-* ‘to abstain or refrain from; to hesitate, be indecisive; to disagree; to worry about’ and LM (L) *tatabalja-* ‘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, *\*tatagalja-* is more mental, while *\*tatabalja-* 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) *tatayalja-* ‘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: §88) he states, that *-bAlja-/bUlja-* is a compound of *-bU-* and *-lja-*. Some of his examples for ascertaining the suffix *-bU-* are the following: *\*julbu-* ← *julu-* (tü. *yul-*); *\*delbe-/delbü-* ‘sich ausbreiten’ ← *\*deli-* ‘den Bogen spannen’; *\*jül-bü-* ‘die Haut abwerfen; hautlos werden (z. B. die Schlange), die Farbe verlieren’ ← *\*jül-gü, jül-ge-* ‘abreiben, abschaben’; *\*kel-be-yi-/kel-bü-yi-* ‘sich lehnen, seitwärts neigen’, *\*kel-be-ni-, kelberi-*; *\*ur-bu-* ‘sich

<sup>132</sup> LM (L) *anibalja-* ‘to blink or wink repeatedly’ ← *\*ani-*

<sup>133</sup> Cf. LM (L) *damnayalja-* ‘to waver, falter, hesitate, be uncertain, doubt’ ← *\*damna-* ~ LM (L) *damna-* ‘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. *jogsgoljox* (< *\*jogsagalja-*) ‘meg-megäll, meg-megtorpan’ ← *\*jogsa-* ~ LM (L) *joyso-* ‘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' \**čirbu-yur* > \**čilbuyur* od. *čirbuyul*, 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 *ququra-*, *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 // čeügen čilawun čewürelü'e* 'The deep water has dried up, // The shining stone is shattered' (Mnt 72) < \**nitura-* ← \**nitu-* ~ 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';

- (2) Mnt **anggiĵira**<sup>134</sup> ‘to separate from something/somebody’: *edö’e qan eĉige minu ama’ar kele’er-ü olulĉajū anggiĉiraba ĉi* ‘And now, my father the Qan, when you separated from me, did you explain face to face?’<sup>135</sup> (Mnt 177) < \***anggiĵira**- ← \***anggiĵi**-;

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

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

- (3) Mnt **abura**- ‘to retain, preserve, to keep, to protect’: *haĉi minu aburan sori[t]qun* ‘Strive to revenge me!’ (Mnt 53); *Tayyiĉi’ut aqa de’ü-ye’en qašī’u ker aburaqun bida* ‘how to take vengeance for the outrage committed by our Tayiĉi’ut kinsmen’ (Mnt 76); *edö’e mün kü tede namayi aburamu ĵe* ‘Now those same people will surely save me’ (Mnt 84); *šibawuqan-i turumtai buta-tur qorqobasu buta aburaĵu’ui* ‘When a sparrow-hawk causes a sparrow to take shelter into a bush, the bush saves its life’ (Mnt 85); *qan eĉige minu eme kö’ü aburaĵu 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 *abi*- (ED 6a)<sup>137</sup>.

Mnt **sa’ara**- ‘to hesitate’: *bariĵu ülü sa’araku bars metü* ‘Like a tiger never hesitant // When seizing its prey’ (Mnt 78) < \***sagara**- ← \***saga**-<sup>138</sup>, 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).

- (4) Mnt **ĵibtura**- ‘to reduce’: *Teb-tenggeri-yi ügei bolqa’at Qongqotan ĉirai ĵibturaĵu’ui ĵe* ‘After Teb Tenggeri had been annihilated, the proud air of the Qongqotan was much reduced’ (Mnt 246) < \***ĵibtura**- ← \***ĵibVt**- ← \***ĵib**- ~ LM (L) *ĵib*- /*ĉib*- ‘to sink/to sink, to become submerged’;

Mnt **ququra**- ‘to break’: *ĵam’uqa-yi mürgüĵü öre’ele eber-iyen ququraĵu so[l]ĵir ebertü bolĵu eber minu aĉa ke’en ke’en* ‘She circled Ĵamuqa and struck his tent-cart with her horns; then she butted him too, breaking one of her two horns. Being thus left with uneven

<sup>134</sup> As the stem \***anggiĵi**- is not traceable, usually the verb *anggiĵira*- is quoted as an example of the suffix +*ĵirA*-. In turn it is clear that the suffix is compound in +*ĵi*- and -*rA*-.

<sup>135</sup> 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?’;

<sup>136</sup> 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 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*-, *qaškira*-, *qorkira*-, *kürkire*-.

<sup>137</sup> Cf. Old Turkic *ol ani kišidin abidi* ‘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. *abi*- ‘causative form of *abi*- but with the same meaning’ (ED 7a), *abi*n- ‘reflexive form of *abi*-’ (ED 12b). An early Turkic loanword in Hungarian as *óv* (Berta 1999).

<sup>138</sup> ?Cf. Old Turkic *sak*- ‘to think’.

horns, “Bring me my horn!” she kept saying’ (Mnt 121); *Belgütei uqa otču de’ere inu aqdalaju qoyar jaqas inu solbin megejilen tataju niru’u inu ebüdükleju ququļu ilebe Büri-bökö niru’u-ban ququraju ügülerün* ‘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 čirai-ban ququraju bayyildun yadaju busangqaqdabai je* ‘the Naiman and the Merkit lost heart; they could no longer fight and were scattered’ (Mnt 208) < \**kukura-* ← \**kuku-*<sup>139</sup> ~ LM (L) *quyu* ‘reinforcing adverbial particle placed before verbs expressing breaking or separation; with a snap’; cf. LM (L) *quyus* ‘middle, equinox’; LM (L) *quyul-/qayul-* ‘to break in two (of long objects), fracture (bone); also used figuratively’ LM (L) *quyuči-* ‘to break into pieces (of long stick-like objects)’;

Mnt *so’ura’ul-* ‘to let someone escape’: *tus qan-ıyan üje’et bariju ker ala’ulqu ke’en tebčin yadaju ami-yan qoroqun küngketügei ke’en su’ora’ulun bulqaldula’a bi* ‘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) < \**suguragul-* ← \**sugura-* ← \**sug-*, << Turkic, cf. Old Turkic *sug-* ‘Hap. leg. to draw out or drain’ (ED 805a);

Mnt *tasura-* ‘to secede’: *olangniyan tasuraqdaju tende bariqdalula’a* ‘his saddle-strap broke and he was captured on the spot’ (Mnt 158) < \**tasura-* ← \**tasu-*<sup>140</sup>, cf. LM (L) *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’: *tenggisgetei tergen-i // terge’ür de’ere bü te’üre’ülsü* ‘I shall not let an axle-cart collapse on the road’ (Mnt 124) < \**tegüre-* ← \**tegü-*<sup>141</sup>, cf. LM (L) *tegüs* ‘complete, full, whole, fulfilled; perfect, accomplished; twins’; LM (L) *tegüs-* ‘to come to an end; to be finished, fulfilled, carried out, completed; to be perfect, complete’ LM (L) *teğülder* ‘full of ...; full (of moon); perfect, complete; completely, perfectly, entirely’;

In LM<sup>142</sup> 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’ari-* ‘to pass, to pass by’: *Suldus-un Sorqan-šira jö[b] da’ariju üjeju ügülerün [...]* *basu Sorqan-šira da’ariju ügülerün* ‘Sorqan Šira of the Suldus happened to pass by [and

<sup>139</sup> Cf. Old Turkic *kök-* ‘to decrease, diminish’ (ED 609).

<sup>140</sup> 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.

<sup>141</sup> Cf. Old Turkic *tög-* ‘to pound, crush, grind’, the causative form of which is present in Hungarian as *tör-*.

<sup>142</sup> LM (L) *čuburi-/čubura-* ‘to move one after another; to drip’; LM (L) *qalyuri-* ‘to slide, slip, glide’; LM (L) *yutura-/yuturi-* ‘to be confused, put in disorder; to despair, lose courage; to grieve, be unhappy’; LM (L) *ilberi-* ‘to be smooth, slick; to be crafty or cunning; to flatter’; LM (L) *matari-/matara-* ‘to bend, curve, stoop’;

he saw Temüjin lying in the stream] As Sorqan Šira again passed by Temüjin, he said to him' (Mnt 82, 83); *erüge de'ere inü oroju // erkin e'ede inu // embürü da'ariju // eme kö'ün inu // ečültele hawuluya // qutuq e'ede inu // ququru da'ariju // qotola ulus-i inu // qo'osun boltala hawuluya* 'Descending on the smoke-hole // Of that coward Toqto'a'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 morilarun Burqan-qaldun-u ebür-iyer Temüjin anda-yi da'ari'at irejü Onan-müren-nü teri'ün-e Botoqan-bo'orji-da boljalduya* 'After elder brother To'oril Qan has set out and, passing by my sworn friend Temüjin 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 dülin gödöljü ayisuqui-tur ja'ura mör-tür Tayyiči'ud-i da'ariba* 'without pitching camp they set off, travelling at night. As they proceeded, they passed the Tayiči'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 *šiljiri-* 'to swirl, to move': *šiljirin büküi boro'on-a // šilgütken büküi jü'en-e // čitqun büküi qura-da // šiltesütei ger minu horčin // jirim ülü kin bayyju // jirüge amu'uluqsan* '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) < \*siljiri- ← \*silji-;<sup>143</sup>

Mnt *bultari-* 'to dodge, to evade': *bidantur kešik oro'uldaqun haran bultariju ülü bolqu haran bidanu dergede yabukui-ban berkešiy'e'sü busu-yi oro'ulju tere gü'ün-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': *güčürgegün-i güjü'üt anu kinggüritkün // omorqaqun-i omori'u[t] onglajitqun* 'Cut the neck of the braggart, // Cleave the breast of the arrogant!' (Mnt 124) < \*kingüri- ← *kingü-*; cf. Mnt *kinggüs* 'quer durch'; Mnt *kinggürü* 'quer durch'; Mnt *kinggül-* 'quer durchbrechen'

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 mönggün adu'usun ide'en joli'a ökgüye ke'en abitla'asu ülü talbiran dület türgün-e adalamui* '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' (Mnt 272); *uruq-un gü'ün-eče bolqu-yü ke'e'esü talbiramui* 'When we say, 'Could a person from the Qa'an's family serve as a substitute?', the illness abates' (Mnt 272) < \*talbira- ← \*talbi- ~ LM (L) *talbi-* 'to place, put, set, lay or put down; to install; to set free, release, let loose'

<sup>143</sup> There exists the verb in LM (L) *silji-* '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-iyān duratqaldūju // umtaraqsan-iyān seri’ülülčejü aya* ‘Do remind him of what he has forgotten, Do wake him up when he has fallen asleep’ (Mnt 200, 272); *umartaqsan-i duratqaǰu // umtaraqsan-i seri’ülǰü* ‘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) umta- ‘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) *asqara-* ‘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) *ebde-* ‘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,<sup>144</sup> 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 sumučī kituqā<i>r-iyān hoqtori’at mori-yan qaltari’ulu’at qarḳui-lu’a Tayyičī’ut sakijū aǰu’u* ‘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’ut were keeping watch’ (Mnt 80) < \*hoktori- ← \*hokto- ~ LM (L) *oyto/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) *oytoči-* ‘to cut into

<sup>144</sup> 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. *šawxrax* (< \*šibqara-) ‘utolsó cseppig kiürít, elfogyaszt vmit; kifacsarja, kiráz(za, a vizet vmiből) ← \*šibka- ~ LM (L) *sibqa-* ‘to scrape out; to scoop out; to empty out; to exhaust; to put forth one’s strength or effort’;

LM (L) *jöbsiyere-* (tr.) ‘to approve, consent, permit, sanction; to surround, go around’ ← \*jöbsige- ~ LM (L) *jöbsiye-* ‘to agree, approve, sanction, consent’.

small pieces, mince, chop up, hash’: LM (L) *oytoyor* ‘tailless, short-tailed, bobtailed’; LM (L) *oytoyi-* ‘to be(come) short (of hair, tail, or clothing)’;

Mnt **asara-** ‘to take care, to take charge’: *qol da’aritu qodoli se’ültü oroq šingqula-yin kilqasu<n>-bar huraqalaju bariju 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); *üčüget qoçoruqsat de’ü-ner-iyen belbisün bergen-iyen asaraq-u-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 kö’üd-iyen de’ü jirqodu’ar kö’ün bolqan Šikiken-quduqu ke’en nereyitčü eke asaraba* ‘The Mother named him Šikiken 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, 278; < \*asara- ← \*asa-;

- (9) Mnt **büšire-** ‘to speak gratefully, to revere, to believe’: *To’oril qan jamuqa qoyar-i Temüjin büširen ügülerün* ‘Temüjin, speaking gratefully to To’oril Qan and Jamuqa, said’ (Mnt 113); *tus qan-iyen tebčin yadaju üje’et ker ükü’ülkün ke’ejü talbijü ilējü ba büširen gücü 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); *südü’er ama’ar ügüleldüjü büšireye* ‘By talking only mouth to mouth // We shall believe each other!’ (Mnt 164); *Činggis qahan Badai Kišiliq qoyar-un üges büširejü* ‘Činggis Qa’an believed the words of Badai and Kišiliq’ (Mnt 170); *Qori-sübeči Ong qan-ni bariju’u bi Ong qan büyü kē’esü ülü tanin ese büširejü tende alaju’u* ‘Qori Sübeči seized Ong Qan and although the latter declared, ‘I am Ong Qan’, Qori Sübeči did not recognise him and, disbelieving him, slew him on the spot’ (Mnt 188); Further occurrences: Mnt 177 < \*büšire-<sup>145</sup> ← \*büsi-.<sup>146</sup>

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 denominal suffix +rA- forms verbs which denote acquirement of a quality.

- (10) Mnt **butara-** ‘to scatter’: *qarčiqai-bar bari’uluqsan noqut qalawud-un ödün hüsün anu burqaliq časun metü butaraju keyisjü iremü* ‘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]dijü öksü* ‘In return for the sable coat, // I shall unite for you // Your scattered people.’ (Mnt 96, 104); *tenggeri-de ese ta’alaqadaba bida ke’eldü’et butaraju’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 ebetbe* ‘Breast was torn apart, // Brought pain to my liver.’ (Mnt 105); < \*hemtere- ← \*hemte-<sup>147</sup>;

<sup>145</sup> The verb in LM has the form *bisire-* ‘to believe in, revere, worship; to adore, admire; to respect, esteem’.

<sup>146</sup> The stem \*büsi-/ \*bisi- is unattested, but its existence is affirmed by the verb \*bisil- ~ LM (L) *bisil-* ‘to contemplate, meditate, reflect, think, imagine; to apply oneself with zeal, practice’; cf. the Hungarian verb *bízik*.

<sup>147</sup> LM (L) *emtele-* ‘to jag, 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/éle le)töredezik’;

Mnt **hükdere-** ‘to rive (as a laceration)’: *Quyildar yaras-ıyan ana’ai üdü’üye Činggis qahana itqa’asu ülü bolun görö’esün-tür dobtulqu bolun hükderejü nökcibe* ‘Quyildar, 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**<sup>148</sup> ← \***hügte-**, cf. LM (L) **ügtege-** ‘to pull out, tear out’;

Mnt **mültüre-** ‘to rive (as a laceration)’: *mori-yan kötöljü ayisukui-tur morin-ača eme’e[l] inu mültürejü qoçorçu’u qarıju üje’esü eme’el kömüldürgelekse’er olangla[q]sa’ar mültürejü qoçorçu’u olang či boltuqai kömüldürge basa ker mültüregü 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) < \***möltüre-** ← \***möltü-**, cf. Mnt **mültüs** ‘abrupt(ly)’ (Mnt 145); LM (L) **möltü/möltüs** ‘slightly, somewhat, superficially’;

Mnt **qolbara-** ‘to unite, to associate’: *kö’üd-ün aqa joçi ba qoyar büi 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

Schmidt 1831: 79–80; Street 1957: 65; Godziński 1985: 60; GWM §237; Ramstedt 1912: §40; Önörbayan 1998: 38, 41; 2000: 62, 77–80; Poppe 1960: 100; Dondukov 1964: 128–130; Benzing 1985: 140; Szabó 1943: §55;

## Other deverbal verb suffixes

-s-

There 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 **jšusa-**. 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

<sup>148</sup> Cf. Khal.K. **bügtrex** (< \***bügtere-**) ‘súlyosbodik (betegség); fulladozik; kifulladás’.

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-ün belge sün tösüre’et esüg-iyen söni-de üdür çayitala bülekü büle’e tere belge sonosçu yabubasu büle’ür-ün dawu sonosçu gürçü* ‘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 bolju // sonosqu-yin tula // ünen bolju // üjegü-yin tula* ‘Hearing is as keen as a weasel’s, Her sight as sharp as an ermine’s,’ (Mnt 103); *Temüjin-ü dawu sonosçu taniju tergen-eçe bawu’a[t]* ‘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]taqai çiki-ben dere-tür ülü talbin // qançu-ban derelejü qormai-ban debüsçü // şilüsün-iyen umdälaju* ‘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-<sup>149</sup> ← \*deb(V)-, cf. LM (L) *debel* ‘long garment, dress, gown, robe; clothes’; LM (L) *debse* ‘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 simplexes (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 // qatangqu de’el-iyen emüsbe bi // qatan jida-ban bariba bi [...] oroq qurdun-iyen unuba bi // hüdēsütü quyaq-iyen emüsbe bi // onggitu üldü-be’en bariba bi* ‘I have mounted my swift black horse, // I have put on my armour // 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 emüsküi-tür // amtatayi ideküi-tür // Kököçü minu ke’egü büle’e* ‘When you wore gold-embroidered clothes, // And ate tasty dishes, // He called you “my Kököçü.”’ (Mnt 188); *qurban dabqur quyaq emüsçü // qurban buqa jitung’üljü ayisu je* ‘Wearing a three-layered armour, // He is pulled along in his cart by three bulls’ (Mnt 195); *çaqa’an de’el emüsçü // çaqān aqta unu’ulju // sa’uri de’ere // sa’ulju takiju* ‘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 asaquqsan gü’ün kebte’ül tere gü’ün-i tere gü üdür-ün unuqsan aqta eme’eltü qadārtu-yi emüsükxen qubçasun 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 that person was riding that very day, with saddle and bridle, together

<sup>149</sup> 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); < \*emüs- ← **emü**<sup>150</sup>, cf. Mnt *emüdin* 'Hose';

Mnt **e'üs-** 'to start up': *Činggis qahan To'oril qan qoyar qamtu čerik e'üsčü Ulja huru'u Ongging-čingseng-lü'e qamsan ayisuqui-tur* '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 Ulja to launch the attack in conjunction with Ongging Čingsang' (Mnt 133); *Činggis qahan Ong qan-tur ene kele gürgeju ilē'esü Ong qan kele gürge'ülü'et čerik e'üsčü ötörlen Činggis qahan-tur Ong qan gürčü 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); < \*egüs- ← **egü**- cf. \*egür<sup>151</sup> ~ LM (L) *üür/ür* 'dawn, daybreak'; LM (L) *egüd-* 'to originate, spring up, begin, start; to take place; to be born; to found, initiate'; LM (L) *egülde* 'kind, species; breed, stock, race, blood'; ?LM(L) *egüri* 'long time, long ago; old, ancient';

Mnt **nis-** 'to fly': *čaqañ šingqor naran sara qoyar-i atqum nişju ireju qar de'ere 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 ji'ürtü bolju nişču tenggeri-tür qaru'asu či Sübe'etei šingqor bolju nişču ülü'ü bari'ujıyi* 'If they grow wings and fly up into the sky, you, Sübe'etei, will you not fly up like a gerfalcon and catch them?' (Mnt 199) < \*nis- ← **ni**- ~ LM (L) *nigi*<sup>152</sup> 'to blow the nose';

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

Mnt **čübtüs-** 'to fall in water': *Naiman Merkit bolun qamtutču bayyildun yadaju buru'uilan gödölürün Erdiş ketülürün čübtüsčü olonki-yan usun-tur ükü'üljü'üi* '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 Erdiş, most of them fell into the river and drowned' (Mnt 198); *Šin-müren-e gürtele hüldeju yabuqdarun Šin-müren-tür čübtüsčü oroqun bolun olon Sarta'ul-ıyan tende Šin-müren-tür sö'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) < \*čöbtüs- ← **čöbtü**- ~ LM (L) *čöbte-* 'to settle, fall to the bottom (as sediment, esp. of melted butter); to become turbid, cloudy, muddy (of liquids); to deteriorate, become spoiled';

<sup>150</sup> There are the chances, that this root is not a simplex, cf. Old Turkic *üm* 'trousers, drawers' (ED 155b)

<sup>151</sup> The noun meaning 'dawn' was present in the form \*ör as well, cf. LM (L) *örlüge* '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.

<sup>152</sup> 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 /i/ in a monosyllabic word, which in some cases is open for lengthening for example in Khalkha, cf. \*ki- > xī- '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 hoi jubur dawuristala yeke dawu-bar uyyilaǰu* ‘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 it 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-** ‘fliegen’ ← \***ni-**;

LM (L) **tegüs-**<sup>153</sup> ‘to come to an end; to be finished, fulfilled, carried out, completed; to be perfect, complete’ ← \***teg-** (?\***tegü-**) ?<< Turkic \***täg-** ~ Old Turkic **täg-** 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) *tegüs* ‘complete, full, whole, fulfilled; perfect, accomplished; twins’; LM (L) *teğülder* ‘full of ...; full (of moon); perfect, complete; completely, perfectly, entirely’; LM (L) *tögerig/tögürig* ‘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 transitive<sup>154</sup> (7).

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

Mnt **ülis-** ‘to swagger, to come out with’: *nikente ger-teče qarču ya’u ber qačča’ar tuniqsan metü üge dawu ülisčü ireǰü či* ‘having left home but once, you pretend that you alone accomplished everything and come out with such abusive and provocative language’ (Mnt 277) < \***ülis-** ← \***üli-** ~ LM (L) *üli-* ‘to compare, give an example; to weigh’;

- (6) Mnt **bayas-** ‘to rejoice at sg.’: *Hö’elün eke Qasar ki’et de’ü-ner inu herüǰü aǰu üǰeǰü bayasba* ‘Mother Hö’elün, Qasar and his younger brothers were worrying about him, but when they saw him they rejoiced’ (Mnt 93) *Dei-sečen Temüǰin-i üǰeǰü maši yeke bayasču üǰülerün* ‘When Dei Sečen saw Temüǰin he was very glad’ (Mnt 94); *Qasar-i ire’ülü’et bayasču Činggis qahan Ong qan-tur elčün ilēye ke’en eyetüǰü* ‘Činggis 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-** ← \***baya-**, cf. LM (L) *bayar* ‘joy, happiness, delight, enjoyment’;

<sup>153</sup> It is important to note that in Khalkha there appears a transitive meaning as well, cf. Khal.K. *tögsöx* (< \***tegüs-**) ‘befejez, bevégez, elvégez vmit, befejezödik, bevégezödik, végez van’.

<sup>154</sup> Another interesting point is offered by the verb \***deles-**, which has at the same time transitive and intransitive meanings: Khalkha *jürx delsex* ‘to have palpitations’ and *modör delsex* ‘to strike with a stick’.

Mnt **ölös-/ölüs-** ‘to hunger, to starve’: *kei ö’ede // kegüliyen keyisümser // ke’er qaĵar-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’ün-eĉe Činggis qahan ö’esün esergü otĉu ölösĉü turuĵu irebe ke’en Ong qan-a qubĉiri qubĉiĵu ökĉü* ‘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 ĉinu üdür düli-de ese gürgebe ĵe turuqsan-i ĉinu sara-yin ĵarim-a ese gürgebe ĵe 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’urĉaq bolun qarĉu ĵiĉi yadaĵu ölösĉü oroĵu ireĵü* (Mnt 214); < \*ölös-<sup>155</sup> ← \*öl-, cf. LM (L) *ölbelĵe-* ‘to look for food (mostly of animals)’; LM (L) *ölöng* ‘starvation, famine, hunger; starving, hungry’;

- (7) Mnt **hünis-** ‘to reek’: *qoĵi’ulas tutum // qongši’ut // hüngĵi’üles tutum // hüngši’üt hünistele // talbiba* ‘Every tree stump reeked with their stench, // Every dead tree with their foul smell.’ (Mnt 27); ← \*hün-, cf. LM (L) *ünür* ‘odor, smell, fragrance, aroma’; LM (L) *ünüri-* ‘to smell, emit an odor, give forth an aroma’;

Mnt **hünüs-** ‘to smell, to scent’: *hünür minu hünüsĉü yabu* ‘Never forget to breathe my scent!’<sup>156</sup> (Mnt 55); *Mönglik eĉige maqalai inu abĉu hünüsĉü ebür-tür-iyen talbiba* ‘As they were wrestling, Teb Tenggeri’s hat fell in front of the fireplace. Father MÖnglik took his hat, smelled it and placed it in his bosom’ (Mnt 245) ← \*hün-, cf. LM (L) *ünür* ‘odor, smell, fragrance, aroma’; LM (L) *ünüri-* ‘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 *+yit-* in *nereyit-* and *+tU-* in *eyetü-* are merely allomorphs of the suffix *-(V)t-*.

<sup>155</sup> The judging of the verb \*ölös- 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 \*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?

<sup>156</sup> 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: “Szívd 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 taniju abu’at uduritču Onan-müren ö’ede qataraju yorčiju 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 hawulju Nekün-taisi aqa-yu’an Dāritai-otčigin de’ü-ben uduritču irejü’üi* ‘He swiftly rode back to his tent, then returned leading his elder brother Nekün Taiši and his younger brother Dāritai Otčigin’ (Mnt 54); *Nekün-taisi aqa inu uduritču Dāritai-otčigin de’ü inu kiligü dergečejü ayisuqui-tur* ‘his elder brother, Nekün Taiši, led the way, and his younger brother, Dāritai Otčigin, rode alongside the shaft of the cart’ (Mnt 56); *Oyirad-un Quduqa-beki-yi uqtun urida elsen Tümen-Oyirad-ıyan 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 **hülüt-**<sup>157</sup> / **ülüt-** / **ülit-** ‘to remain’: *Merkid-i jük jük hülüttele qubiya’ulbai* ‘he had the Merkit distributed here and down to the last one’ (Mnt 198) /// *kanğlin Kibča’ud-i Bağigid-i oro’ulju Ejl Jayaq Meget balaqasu ebdejü Orusud-i kiduğu ülüttele talabai* ‘brought the Qanglin, Kibča’ut and Bağigit people under submission. They crossed<sup>158</sup> the rivers Ejl and Jayaq, destroyed the city of Meget, slew the Orusut and plundered them until they were utterly crushed.’ (Mnt 274) /// *terme gerten // teme’en ači’atan // Tangyudud-i čeri’üt ilējü onoqsa’ar ülittele tala’ulbai* ‘He sent troops against the Tanguts // Who had tents of thin woollen 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) < \*hülüt- ← \***hüle-** (?\***hül-**) ~ 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 \*ül-, rather than from \*ülü ~ LM (L) *ülü* ‘negation preceding verbs’.

Mnt **köyit-** ‘to stir, instigate’: *Čoji-darmala Taičar qoyar-un adu’u-ban de’ermedülčeksen-ü tula Jamuqa anda či buru’uy-a bulqa köyitčü irejü Dalan-baljut-ta qatqulduğu* ‘Once, when Čoji Darmala and Taičar stole from each other their herds of horses, you sworn friend Jamuqa, wickedly stirred up rebellion against me. We fought at Dalan Baljut’ (Mnt 201) < \*kögit- ← \***köge-**<sup>159</sup>, cf. LM (L) *kögere-* ‘to become excited; to rejoice; to boast’;

Mnt **sögöt-** ‘to kneel’: *buru’u bö’esü namančilan sögöt ke’ejü Teb-tengeri-yin qoyinača sögötgejü’üi* ‘If you were wrong, kneel down and make amends’, and they had him kneel down behind Teb Tenggeri’ (Mnt 245); *Otčigin manaqarši erte Činggis qa’an-i bosu’ai üdü’üye oron dотора бүқіі-tür oroğu uyyıla’at sögötčü ügülerün* ‘early next day, when Činggis Qa’an had not yet got up and was still in bed, he went into his tent. He wept

<sup>157</sup> The forms *hülüt-* ‘erschöpfen, vernichten’ and *ülüt-/ülit-* ‘enden, aufhören’ were treated separately by Haenisch, , but obviously they are etymologically related.

<sup>158</sup> “The word *ketüljü* ‘the crossed’ after the names of the two rivers ‘Ejl and Jayaq’ has been inadvertently omitted from the text” (de Rachewiltz 2004: 1009)

<sup>159</sup> de Rachewiltz (2004: 756) does not give the etymology of the verb, but quotes a parallel form from Kirghiz *köyüt-* ‘to talk someone into something’.

and, kneeling down, said' (Mnt 245) < \*sögüt- ← \*sög- ? << Turkic, cf. Old Turkic sök- 'to kneel down' (ED 818a), cf. Khal.K. sōg 'mondatszō, mellyel a tevét letérdepeltetik';

Mnt **üderit-** 'to make halt to rest': *manaqarši üdür düli naran kebeli'ülün Qalaqaljıt-elet gürçü üderin ba'uba üderitçü büküi-tür* 'at noon of the following day he reached Qalaqaljıt sands, where he halted to rest and eat, waiting 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 dawuliqdaqsan kegesü-ben duratçu oyisuladun qujırju qoro qolıju ökcı'üi* '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 üçüget mawun mandutala minu ya'u mede'ülkün* '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); *bürin-ü emüne dörö kičiyegü gü'ün-i ülü uqan öyisüledüksen-ıyer ö'eriye buru'uşıyaba 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-<sup>160</sup> ← \*ösüle- ~ Mnt **oyisula-** 'to harm secretly, to kill'; cf. LM (L) **ösle-** '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 hači 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'utala // a'ulas metü balaqat-tur // abarı'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-<sup>161</sup> ← \*hagu- ~ LM (L) **ayu-** 'to scoop out, drain; to complete, finish';

Mnt **üyyilet-** 'to do, make': *kö'ün-i ker tebčisü ke'emüi ta čidan ele üyyiledütkün ta medetkün ke'eju'üi* 'How shall we do away with the son? Just do what you can - it is for you to decide!' (Mnt 167); *erkin tusa činu Kereyit-lu'a Qalaqaljıt-elet qatqulduqui-tur herüju büqüi-tür Quyıldar anda aman aldaba je üyyile inu Jürčedei čü üyyiletbe* 'Your most important service was at the time when we were fighting with the Kereyit at the Qalaqaljıt Sands and were worrying about the outcome of the battle. Sworn friend Quyıldar then made an oath but you, Jürčedei, carried out his task' (Mnt 208) ← \*üyile-? cf. *Qunan Kökö-čos qoyar-ača eye üge'ü bü üyyiletkün Qunan Kökö-čos qoyar-tur eyetüju üyyiletkün ke'en jarliq 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

<sup>160</sup> Quoting a personal communication with Poppe, de Rachewiltz considers *oyisulat-* to be a misreading of *öyisület-*. "Now *öyisület-* (~ *öyisüle-*) is no doubt a variant of mo. *öšele-* (= *öšiyele-*) '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 *ös*, cf. LM (L) *ös* 'hatred, revenge', while *öš* is only a backformation from one of its derivatives.

<sup>161</sup> 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 // ötögüs üges orkidun // maši mawulabi* ‘Citing old sayings, // Quoting ancient words, // mightily reviled her sons’ (Mnt 78); *dongqodurun // ötögüs 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 **nereyit-** ‘to name, to nominate’: *jat irgen-ü kö’ün büle’e ke’en Jařiradai nereyitbe* ‘As he was the son of strangers, they named him Jařiradai’ (Mnt 40); *tere kö’ün-i Ba’aridai nereyitbe* ‘her son was named Ba’aridai’ (Mnt 41); *ide’en-e baruq tula Yeke-Barula Üčügen-Barula nereyitču Barulas oboqtan bolqaju* ‘were also voracious eaters, they were named Yeke Barula and Üčügen Barula; they too had to take the clan name Barulas’ (Mnt 46); *erketü tenggiri-de nereyitču // eke etügen-e gürgeju // ere hačitu Merkit irgen-i // ebür ba anu hoqtorqui bolqabai* ‘Called by Mighty Heaven, // Called through by Mother Earth, // We emptied the breasts of the Merkit people’ (Mnt 113); *minqad-un noyat tüšin nereyidürün* ‘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 < *\*nereyi-* ← *\*nere/\*nereyi-*. Street (1957: 64) quotes *+yid-* as an independent suffix, the only example of which would be *nereyid-*. It is more safe to trace the suffix *+yid-* back to the compound of *+yi-* and *-t*<sup>162</sup>, however, the supposed stem *nereyi-* 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 **oqjat-** ‘to take fright’: *dawu bari’ulurun Toqto’a-yin Qudu Qal Čila’un teri’üten kö’üt inu odun oqjatču qarin qarbučaju uqurqatu qulan sumutu buqu bolju otbai* ‘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 qaruqsan-i // qarbuju oro’ulqu büle’e // oqjatču qaruqsan-i // hontučaju oro’ulqu büle’e* ‘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) < *\*okjat-* ← *\*okja*<sup>163</sup>, cf. LM (L) *oɣjum/oɣjam* ‘abyss, steep slope, abrupt(ly)’;

Mnt **böldeyit-** ‘to separate’: *tere üge-tür ĵamuqa öre böldeyitču qarču nököde’en ügülerün* ‘At these words ĵamuqa drew apart and told his companions’ (Mnt 170); *ĵamuqa Tayang qan-a ede üges eyin ügüle’et Naiman-nača qaqačan böldeyitču qarču Činggis qahan-na kele oro’ulju ilerün* ‘After speaking such words to Tayang Qan, ĵamuqa separated from the

<sup>162</sup> Cf. Khal.K. *ulaitax* (< *\*ulayid-*) ‘vörösen izzik; átforrósodik’ which can be analyzed in the same manner, however, the meaning of this verb is intransitive.

<sup>163</sup> Neither the etymology nor the meaning of the verb *oqjat-* 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 *oqjat-* 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-<sup>164</sup> ←? This verb is possibly derived from the verb \*böl-, cf. Old Turkic böl- 'to divide, separate, distinguish', however the further model of derivation remains obscure.

Mnt **hiluqat-** 'to stir up?': *hiluqatqu-yū metü-tür // hiluqatba // qalqu-yū metü-tür // qalqun bolun // qayiran kö'ün-ü minu // qačar-tur // qada'asun 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- ← ?

Mnt **hončit-** 'to chastise': *sača'un oroqsat minu keşikten-i nadača eye ügei bü hončidutqun* 'do not reprimand my guards, who have enrolled as guards equal to you, without my permission' (Mnt 227) < \*hončit- ← ?

Mnt **mö'elet-/möke'elet-** 'to bang, to beat': *Temüjün Burqan de'ereče bawuğu ebče'ü-ben mö'eletcü ügülerün* 'Temüjün came down from Mount Burqan and, beating his breast, said' (Mnt 103); *qar-ıyan ebče'ün-düriyen mö'ele[t]čü naran [jük] yisünite sögö[t]čü sačuli öči'üli 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); *Činggis qahan ügülerün möngke tenggeri medetügei ke'ejü ebče'ü-ben möke'eletbe* 'Činggis Qa'an beat his breast and said, 'Let Eternal Heaven decide what should be!'' (Mnt 172) < \*mögeget- ← ?

Mnt **naruyit-** 'to stretch the hand?': *čamča-ban mültüljü morin de'ereče naruyitču abkui-lu'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 *naruyit-* 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 \*aruyit-, 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'uldağuy-ača // qalidun yadan // qan anda-yi-yan // qala'un čirai üjen yadağı 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': *müt yabun yadağı nuras-tur quladu'at tenggeri-de ese ta'alaqadaba bida ke'eldü'et butarajı'ui* 'Unable to proceed, they tumbled into ravines. Saying to each other, 'We are not loved by Heaven!', they scattered.' (Mnt 143); *tere söni Naiman buru'uyılan gödölkün bolun Naqu de'ereče qulatču de'ere de'ere'en qutaqlaldıju* '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) < \*gulat- ← \*gul-, cf. LM (L) *yuldu* 'lengthwise, the length of; declivous, sloping'; LM (L) *yulyu-*

<sup>164</sup> de Rachewiltz connects the stem of this verb with that of the noun *bolday* 'isolated hill' "both deriving from \*bolda- ~ \*bölde- 'to stand alone'" (2004: 578).

/γulya- ‘to glide, slide, skate, skid; to crawl’; LM (L) γulsa- ‘to glide, slide, skate, skid; to crawl’;

Mnt **törit-** ‘to stop’: *bidanu'ai Sa'ari-ke'er-i gürcü tende töritcü ker kikün ke'eldü'esü* ‘When our soldiers reached the Sa'ari Steppe they halted there and discussed what to do’ (Mnt 193); *eyin gü töritcü aqtas-ıyan çattala ene Sa'ari-ke'er-i delgen bawıju* ‘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 **töyit-** ‘to trip’: *Büri-bökö Belgütey-yi örö'ele qar-ıyar bariju örö'ele köl-ıyer töyitcü unaqaju ülü gödölgen daruqu büle'e* ‘seizing Belgütei 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) < \*tögit- (?\*tügit-) ← ?\*tüg- << Turkic, cf. Old Turkic *tüg-* ‘to tie (a knot), to knot (a string)’ (ED 477)

Mnt **tüyit-** ‘to cover’: *Börte üjin ditora öngdeyju sa'uju köñjile-yi'en jaqa-bar ebçe'ü-ben tüyitcü Otçigin-u uyyılaqu-yi üjēju nilbusu alda'at ügülerün* ‘Lady Börte sat up in bed, covering her breasts with the edge of the blanket. Seeing Otçigin 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.<sup>165</sup> 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

<sup>165</sup> 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/közvetítés révén) eltorzul (pl. üzenet, hír); elhúzódik’ ← *sun-* ~ LM (L) *sun-* / *sung-* / *sunu-* (LM (K) also *suna-*) ‘to stretch, extend, lengthen’.

\**kogji-* ~ LM (L) *kogji-* ‘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, intumescence; 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) *sangqayi-* ‘to sit erect’.

\**dagji-* ~ LM (L) *dayi-* ‘to tremble, quiver, shake; to chatter, rattle’ ←? \**dagi-* ~ Khal.K. *dagix* (< \**dagi-*) ‘lovat (túl)hajszol, meghajszol, elcsigáz, nem kímél’.

\**sülji-* ~ LM (L) *sülji-* ‘to braid, plait, twine, wreath; to interweave, interlace’, ←? \**sül-* ~ Khal.K. *sülbex* (< \**sülbe-*) ‘megtűz, rátűz, összetűz vmit, keresztűszúr, átszúr, beledöf vmit’, LM (L) *sülje* ‘anything interwoven, braided band; braid, plait; spool; roller, cylinder’.

\**ugji-* ~ LM (L) *uyji-* ‘to feed a baby from a bottle’, ←? \**ugu-* ~ LM (L) *uyu-* ‘to drink; to eat liquid food; to absorb liquids; to smoke tobacco’, *uyji* / *ubujji* ‘baby’s feeding-bottle (usually a cow’s horn)’.

verbs which probably were derived by *-jī-* (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 omori’u[t] onglajitqun* ‘Cleave the breast of the arrogant!’ (Mnt 124) ←? **\*ongla-**, cf. Mnt *onglalda-* ‘to be cut off’
1. LM (L) *ongyula-* ‘to consecrate, dedicate to the tutelary deities; to bury’
  2. LM (L) *ongyui-* ‘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 qulajiju Barqujin oron buru’utba* ‘Jebke of the Jalayir then left in and fled into the Barqujin Lowland’ (Mnt 244) ←? **\*kul-/\*gul-**, cf. LM (L) *yuldu* ‘lengthwise, the length of; declivous, sloping’; LM (L) *yulyu-/yulya-* ‘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 **nengjī-** ‘to search’: *ö’er ja’ura nengjileldüye ke’eldüjü nengjileldübe* ‘Let us hold a search among ourselves, and began searching one another’ (Mnt 86); *Sorqan-šira-yin ger-tür tergen-tür iseri-yin dōro 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 **araljī-** ‘to exchange’: *dawutu yor-iyan Temüjin-e ö[k]čü Temüjin-ü arča manglaitu qodoli araljiju andačilaldubai* ‘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 araljin 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 Postposn. meaning ‘between (two places), among (a number of people)’, and the like’ (ED 196);

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

A further difficulty is that while the verbs quoted from other sources are intransitive, *araljī-* in the Mnt is transitive but *ünjī-* is intransitive, however the verbs *\*süljī-* and *\*ugjī-* are transitive. That is possibly because the suffix does not change the transitivity of the base.

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

**Literature:**

Ramstedt 1912: §63; Szabó 1943: §48;

## 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 Huliyatu-subčit da’arin görü’en inu abala’at Tu’ula-yin Qara tün-ni jorin ičubai* ‘then passing by Qača’uratu Subčit and Huliyatu Subčit, where he hunted wild game, he withdrew in the direction of the Black Forest by the Tu’ula River.’ (Mnt 115); *oro’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 oro’a görögesün-tür abalarun niken-e gü 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 **aqtala-/aqdala-** ‘to ride, to straddle’: *Širgü’etü ebügen bosun yadaqu Tarqutay-yi tergen de’ere unuju gedergü de’ere inu aqtalan sa’uju kituqai qarqaju ügülerün* ‘Old Širgü’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 üküqüi-düriyen dere abun ükücü ke’e’et aqtaļu yeke kituqay-iyarān qo’olai inu ququlura gürküi-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) /// *Belgütei uqa otču de’ere inu aqdalaju qoyar jaqas inu solbin megejilen tataju niru’u inu ebüdüklejü ququlju ilebe* ‘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.’ (Mnt 140) < \*aktala- ← \*akta ~ LM (L) ayta ‘gelding; gelded, castrated’

Mnt **doromjila-** ‘to disesteem’: *dörben kö’üt inu Dobun-mergen abaqa-yu’an uruq-a ülü bolqan doromjilaļu qaqaçaju gejü 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 ügülejü Ča’ur-beki-yi ülü ögün ese ta’alaļu’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 quyu'asu mü't lü bidan-i doromjilažu ülü ögün büle'e 'When we requested Ča'ur Beki, those same people despised us and would not provide her' (Mnt 168) < \*doromjila- ← \*doromji ~ LM (L) doromji 'low, abject, base; downtrodden, oppressed; dull; inconspicuous; humiliation, contempt; inferiority, weakness; object of contempt';

- (2) Mnt **adu'ula-/adūla-** 'to pasture': *alaqči'ut qoni<n>d-i adu'ulažu // alam dü'ürgesü // qongqoqči'ut qoni<n>d-i adu'ulažu // qoton dü'ürgesü // qo'olančar mawui büle'e bi // qoni<n>t adu'ulažu // ğonğiyasun idesü 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); Čigidei Yadir jüyil-e jüyil-e noqo'an-tur aqtas-ıyan adu'ulan yabuqui-tur 'While [they rested and ate] Čigidei and Yadir, [the horseherders of Alčidai], led their geldings to pasture, some here and some there, on the fresh grass' (Mnt 170); *jük jüg-ün minqat minqad-ača ge'üt qarqaju sa'a'at sa'ari<n> čintan-i adu'ula'at nuntu[q]čitan-i orošin tölet qarqaju unuqučin boltuqai* '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) /// *Tayyiči'udai Qutu Moriči Mulqalqu qurban-ni adu'u adūlatuqai ke'ebe* 'And he said, Tayiči'udai, Qutu Moriči and Mulqalqu shall tend the herds of horses!' (Mnt 124) < \*adugula- ← \*adugun ~ LM (L) aduyun 'herd of horses; horse';

Mnt **ebesüle-** 'to graze': *širqa aqtatan naiman mori[t] tere yeke ğuri'en-ü kiğa'ar-a ebesülen bayyiju büküy-yi üjebe* 'They saw the eight horses, the light-bay geldings, standing at the edge of that large camp, grazing' (Mnt 90) < \*ebesüle- ← \*ebesün ~ LM (L) ebesün 'grass, hay, herb';

Mnt **šibawula-** 'to hawk, to hunt with falcons': *Yisügei-ba'atur Onan-müren-ne šibawulan yabuqui-tur* 'At that time Yisügei Ba'atur was hunting with falcons along the Onan River' (Mnt 54); *qan minu torluq Tayang jö'ölen büyyü či šibawulaqu abalaqu qoyar-ača buši setkil erdem ügei büi* 'you, my qan Torluq Tayang, are soft. You have no thought or skill except for falconry and hunting' (Mnt 189); *bidan-i šibawulaqui abalaqui-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); Further occurrences: Mnt 233, 278 < \*sibagula- ← \*sibagun ~ LM (L) sibayun 'bird, fowl; child';

- (3) Mnt **abitla-** 'to foretell, to bode from intestines': *irgen orqa altan mönggün adu'usun ide'en joli'a ökgüye ke'en abitla'asu ülü talbiran dület türgün-e adalamui uruq-un ğü'ün-eče bolqu-yü ke'en abitla'asu qahan nidün-yen ne'eğü usun quyuju u'uğu ya'un bolbi ke'en asaqtaju bö'es öčirün* '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'a ögüye ke'en abitla'asu dület türgen-e jü'ürmedemüi* '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 otču de'ere inu aqdalajū qoyar jaqas inu solbin megejilen tatajū niru'u inu ebüdüklejū ququļju ilebe* '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.' (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 delijū talbi'asu // a'ula alus bükün // harban qorin haran-i ülgetele qarbuyu* 'When he is angry and draws his bow, // And releases a forked-tip arrow, // He shoots and pierces ten or twenty men // Who are beyond a mountain;' (Mnt 195); *eke a'urlajū gürčü tergen-eče bawu'at eke ö'esün Qasar-un huyaqsat qanču dalju talbi'at maqalai büse inu Qasar-a ökcü* '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 üge-tür ö'er-ün beye-ben či čaqlaba či mede ke'ebe* 'You yourself have determined your own part; you decide!' (Mnt 203); *tergen-tür jarimud-ıyan čaqlajū talbituqai ke'ebe* 'but exactly one half of them shall stay at the carts' (Mnt 232); *bidani šibawulaqui abalaqui-tur jarimud-ıyan ordo ger tergen-tür čaqlajū talbijū bidan-lu'a jarim kekte'ül yabutuqai* '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 **čimarla-** 'to chastise': *qodulaqu-yi čimarlaqu-yi jamuqa de'ü medetügei ke'ebe* 'it is up to younger brother Jamuqa to punish and lay blame!' (Mnt 108) < \*čimarla- ← \*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 #A- (GWM §245)<sup>166</sup> is not present in the Mnt (4)

- (4) Mnt **kemle-** 'to measure': *abalabasu kemlejū abalatqun* 'If you make a battue [in order to give additional provisions to your troops,] hunt with moderation' (Mnt 199); *ečige-yen ögüksen qubi keşik bö'esü inu beye qad-ıyar oluqsan jö'eksen ere aqta kedüi bö'esü inu emčü qubi-ača anggida bidanu kemleksen kem-ıyer qubčijū teyin qubčijū jasajū 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

<sup>166</sup> This feature, however does not take effect in every case, cf. LM (L) *olongla-* 'to buckle the saddle girth'; LM (L) *aqajımla-* 'to do something slowly or sluggishly; to procrastinate'; LM (L) *jarčımla-* 'to establish as a principle; to make a rule or law; to follow a principle'; LM (L) *munğla-* 'to be in need, wanting' etc.

mounts in this manner, they shall be given to them' (Mnt 224) < \*kemle<sup>-167</sup> ← \*kem ~ LM (L) kem 'measure, size, proportion; limits; measure of time, term';

Mnt **ölümle-** 'to fight to death': *alaldaqui üdür // ami-yan öreksen-ü tula // üküldüqüi üdür // ölümleksen-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 kölesün ula-tur gürtelä ula-yin kölesün // manglai-tur qartala ölümleñ kiçiyen yabukui çaq-tur* 'Till the sweat of his brow reached the soles of his feet, // Till the sweat from the soles of his feet went up to his brow' (Mnt 254); *qan eçige-yin minu tus-u'an emüne ölümlegü Doqolqu-yi kegesülegü buru'u alji'as edö'e minu emüne ken teyin ölümleñ 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 ölüm 'death' (ED 146a);

Mnt **qaramla-** 'to be covetous': *basa tenggeri qağar-aça jaya'atu töröksen görö'esün-i aqa de'ü jük odu'ujı ke'en qaramlañu quru'a yo'urqa nödü'üljü jetgüñü aqu bolun* "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; jealousy; stinginess; regret';

There is not 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 bayyiqsa'ar ede bügün-i aqalañu 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 Ögöle-čerbi aqalañu atuqai Qudus-qalçan-lu'a eyetüldüñü atqun* 'Ögele Čerbi shall be the commander of the seventy dayguards, acting in consultation with Qudus Qalçan' (Mnt 191); *çi Qubilai çerig-ün üyyile bügüde-yi aqalañu ülü'ü aqu* 'Qubilai, will you not be in charge of military affairs?' (Mnt 209); *kebte'ül-i Yeke-ne'ürin aqalañu minqa medeñü 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 irgen-ü qağar usun-u ejet qa<n>t irgen orqa-ban dawuliqdarun balaqat qotod-ıyan ebdekderün türgün-e adalamui irgen orqa altan mönggün adu'usun ide'en joli'a ökgüye ke'en abitla'asu ülü talbiran dület türgün-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 **qağarçıla-** 'to act as a guide': *Buqa qağarçılañu otba* 'Buqa went with him acting as a guide' (Mnt 239); *ireñü joçi-yi uduritçu tümen Oyirat-duriyan qağarçılañu Şiqşit-tur oro'ulba*

<sup>167</sup> Cf. LM (L) kemne-/kemle-.

(Mnt 239) < \**kaĵarčila-* ← \**kaĵarči* ~ LM (L) *yaĵarči-* ‘guide, conductor’ ← \**kaĵar* ~ LM (L) *yaĵar* ‘ground, soil, earth, land, terrain’

Mnt *ača’ala-* ‘to burden, to load’: *tendeče Činggis qahan to’osun üje’et aqtas-ıyan 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) < \**ačigala-* ← \**ačigan* ~ LM (L) *açıyan* ‘load, burden, freight, cargo’ ← \**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’;

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 otču morin-u ĵunda’ul metü qormailaju a[b]čirat ĵe 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 *qančula-* ‘to hold in the sleeve’: *gü’ün tutum qančun-duriyan kituqai qančulaju dere abun üküye ke’eldüjü* ‘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!’<sup>168</sup>’ (Mnt 154) < \**kančula-* ← \**kanču* ~ LM (L) *qanču/qančui* ‘sleeve’;

‘to do the thing noted by the primary word’

Mnt *hačila-* ‘to wreak’: *heligen-ü uru[q] busut-u bida // hači-ıyan ker hačilaqun bida* ‘Are we not of kindred blood? // How shall we avenge this injury?’ (Mnt 105) < \**hačila-* ← \**hači* ~ LM (L) *ači* ‘favor grace; merit; requital; reward; benefit; consequence, result’

Mnt *ĵewüdüle-* ‘to dream’: *Yisügei quda bi ene söni ĵewüdün ĵewüdülebe* ‘Quda Yisügei, I had a dream last night, I did.’ (Mnt 63); *ĵewüdün sayin ĵewüdülebe* ‘I had a dream of good omen’ (Mnt 63) < \**ĵegüdüle-* ← \**ĵegüdün* ~ LM (L) *ĵegüdün/ĵegüden* ‘dream’;

‘to use the thing noted by the primary word’

Mnt *büsele-* ‘to bind, to belt’: *üčüget kö’üd-ıyen teĵi’erün // ukitala boqtalaju // hōĵitala büselejü // Onan-müren ö’ede irada güyyijü* ‘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 boqtalaju // ho’oĵital büselejü // niyitaitala boqtalaju // niduratata büselejü tani-ıyan ösgerün*

<sup>168</sup> 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 jasalduju // eremdek jemdek jiqasu // elgüjü geügilejü // je'ü-ber geügi eke'ülju // jebüge qadara geügilejü // čilüme gubči'ur huyaju // jiramut jiqasu ši'üjü // jiči eke-yü'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) < \*geügile- ← \***geügi** ~ LM (L) *geüge/geügi/gügegi* 'hook, fishhook';

Mnt **arqala-** 'to deceive': *sorilduya ke'esü ülü bolun arqalaju gebtemü çaqtu nökor 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) *ary-a* '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 umdān ide'en-i kekte'ül daruqalatuqai ötken ber miqan ide'en-i kekte'ül daruqalaju bolqatuqai umdān ide'en-i qor qomsa bol'asu daruqalaqdaqsat kekte'ül-eče eriye ke'ebe qorčün umdān ide'e tüke'erün daruqalaqsat kekte'ül-eče eye ügei bü tükētügei* '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); *umdān ide'en-i ötken miqa kekte'ül daruqalatuqai ke'en jarliq bolba* 'The nightguards shall supervise drink and food – the uncut meat' (Mnt 278) < \*darukala- ← \***daruka**<sup>169</sup> ~ LM (L) *daruy-a* 'chief, superior; chairman; commander; director, manager; elder';

Mnt **darqala-** 'to be a freeman, darqan': *ulus-un qo'as sayit ökit darqalan abqa'ulju qučin 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); *qorčila'ulju ötökle'ülj'ü uruq-un uruq-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); *Erdiš qudus hoy-yin irgen-tür gürtel nuntuq darqalan nuntuqlaju hoy-yin irgen-i daru'ul-un Qorči tümen medetügei* 'Freely establishing his camp along the Erdis River up to the People of the Forest, Qorči 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-ün qajar Selenge-*

<sup>169</sup> 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 nuntuqlaǰu darqalasu* ‘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-ün ötögülegün-i tüširün* ‘issued the order appointing those who were to be the elders of the four companies of dayguards on roster duty’ (Mnt 227) < \*ötegüle- ← \*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 tumbulaǰu manglailan ǰasalduba* ‘at these words of mine those same Jirgin were ordered to the forefront as vanguard’ (Mnt 170); *Uru’ud-un jürčedei ebin či ya’u ke’emü čimayi manglailaya ke’ebe* ‘Uncle Jürčedei of the Uru’ut, let us make you the vanguard; what do you say?’ (Mnt 171); *Činggis qa’an-u emüne ba Uru’ut Mangqut manglailan qatquldusu*<sup>170</sup> ‘Let us, Uru’ut and Mangqut, fight as vanguard in front of Činggis Qa’an!’ (Mnt 171); *hula’an degelten-i manglailan ǰasaǰu Tunggon-amasar-i temečen daba’a bü daba’ulutqun* ‘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’: *Jürčedei Arqai qoyar-i alginčilaǰu*<sup>171</sup> ‘He sent Jürčedei and Arqai ahead to reconnoitre’ (Mnt 183); *Kelüren ö’ede Jebe Qubilai qoyar-i alginčilaǰu yabu’at* ‘He rode upstream along the Kelüren River and sent Jebe and Qubilai ahead to reconnoitre.’ (Mnt 193); *Činggis qahan ö’esün alginčilaǰu Qasar-i qol ǰasa’ulba* ‘Činggis Qa’an in person formed the vanguard, putting Qasar in charge of the main body of the army’ (Mnt 195); *Balǰuna-na’ur-ača morilarun Jürčedey-yi alginčilaǰu Kereyit-tür morilaǰu* ‘When we set out again from Lake Balǰuna, Jürčedei went ahead to reconnoitre. We took the field against the Kereyit’ (Mnt 208) < \*alginčila- ← \*alginči<sup>172</sup> ~ Mnt *alginči* ‘scout, patrol’;

Mnt **emčüle-** ‘to make servant’: *yeren tabun minqad-ača minu beye ča’ada emčülen ilqaǰu irekset tümen emčü keşikten-i minu mona qoyina minu oro sa’uqsan kö’üt uruq-un uruq-a minu ede keşikten-i geri’es metü setkiǰü* ‘As for my ten thousand personal guards who have come to serve in my presence, chosen for personal service from the ninety-five

<sup>170</sup> Cf. the former shade of meaning.

<sup>171</sup> Cf. *ene üge-yi jöbšiyejü jürčedei Arqai qoyar-i alginčila’ulǰu sönit düli’et gürčü* (Mnt 185);

<sup>172</sup> In his etymological proposal de Rachewiltz (2004: 276) connected the military term *alginči* ‘scout, spy’ with the Old Turkic verbs *alka-*, *alkan-*, *alğan-* ‘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 *alın* ‘forehead’ (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 Jürčedei 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 baražu nayyan kebte'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 baražu nayyan kebte'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) < \***jağula-** ← \***jağun** ~ LM (L) *jağun* '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'olaldju minqan tende minqalažu minqan-u noyan ja'un-u noyan harban-u noyan tende tüšibe* '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 minqalan ja'u ja'ulan harban harbalan baražu nayyan kebte'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 minqalažu minqad-un ja'ud-un harbad-un noyat tüšjü* 'Forming units of a thousand, he appointed the commanders of a thousand, of a hundred and ten' (Mnt 224) < \***mingala-** ← \***mingan** ~ LM (L) *mingyan* 'thousand'

Mnt **tümele-** 'to form a unit consisting of ten thousand men': *minqa minqalažu minqad-un ja'ud-un harbad-un noyat tüšjü tümen tümelejü tümed-un noyat tüšjü* '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:

Schmidt 1831: 81; GWM §245; Ramstedt 1912: 98–99; 1952: §95/2; Bold 1986: 121–124; Önörbayan 1998: 39; 2000: 22–27; Poppe 1960: 97; Dondukov 1964: 126–128; Cydypov 1988: 57; Benzing 1985: 74; Szabó 1943: §83;

### +(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’ü qoyar tümet morilatuqai qamtutqu bolja’an Jamuqa de’ü-deče 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 qamtutču tendeče gödöl[l]jü* ‘Temüjin, To’oril Qan and Jaqa Gambu came together and started off from there’ (Mnt 108); *qamtudun bara’asu // qaqaçaķui berke bolqun-ü // qamtudun bara’asu // qara nidün-iyen hirmes ülü kikün tede // qaçar-ıyan qatquqda’asu // qara čısın qaru’asu // qaltarı ügei qatanggin Mongqol-tur // qamtudu’asu bolqu-yu* ‘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) *gürülčeküi alalduķui üdür maqa ene omogıyan bü talbituqai gürülçen qamtudun bara’asu qaqaçaķui maqa berke büi je* “May the strong and proud Güçülük 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 < \*kamtu- ← \***kamtu** ~ LM (L) *qamtu* ‘together, along with, jointly, simultaneously’

Mnt **bügüt-** ‘to be complete’: *čeri’üt 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 daldatču Qasar emüneče daldatču sumuban salbaju gürküi-tür Bekter üje’et ügülerün* ‘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(ly): latent(ly); reticent(ly); illegal(ly); secret, something hidden or unknown’;

Mnt **buru’ut-** ‘to flee’: *Selengge huru’u Barqujin oron čö’en beyes-iyen duta’an buru’utču’ui* ‘went downstream along the Selengge 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 alaqqdarun buru’utču otču Naiman-u Inanča 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 Inanča Qan of the Naiman’ (Mnt 151); *basa te’ünü qoyina Naiman-ača ayuju buru’utču Sarta’ul-un qajar-a Čui-müren-e Qara-kidad-un Gür qan-tur otba* ‘After that, he fled again for fear of the Naiman and went to the gür qan of the Qara Kidat on the Čui River, in the country of the Sarta’ul’ (Mnt 152); Further occurrences: Mnt 156, 177, 244, 254 < \*burukut- ← **buruku**<sup>173</sup> ~ Mnt *buru-* ‘to avoid’;

Mnt **qodolit-** ‘to shoot with a knob-headed arrow’: *öčigen nikente bilji’ür qodoliduqsan-iteyin gü buliju abula’a* ‘Once already, the other day, a lark we shot with a knob-headed arrow,<sup>2</sup> they snatched it away from us, just like that’ (Mnt 77); *Belgütei noyan Merkidei ele yasutu gü’ün-ni eke-yi minu abčira ke’eju qodolitqu büle’e* ‘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. Khal.K. *godil* ‘tompavégű nyíl; tompa, gömbös nyílhegy’;

- (2) Mnt **belet-** ‘to prepare, make ready’: *Otčigin bosu’at nilbusu’an arči’at qarču qurban bökös-i beletču bayyiba* ‘Whereupon Otčigin 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’: *ötölbe namayi ötöljü // ündüt-te qaru’asu qa’učitba bi // qa’učitču // 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) < \*kagučit- ← \***kagučin** ~ LM (L) *qayučin* ‘old (mostly of inanimate objects); ancient, former; past, last; obsolete; worn out; chronic illness’;

<sup>173</sup> *buruku* is the Nomen Futuri form of the verb *buru-*.

If the auslaut consonant of the stem is other than *-n*, there are two possibilities again:

I. The use of a linking vowel is observable<sup>174</sup>, which can be either *i* (3) or *u* (?o) (4):

- (3) Mnt **bo'olit-** 'to enslave': *hüleksed-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) *boʷol* 'slave, serf, bondsman; slavery, servitude, serfdom; knave (playing card)';

Mnt **jusurit-** 'to flatter': *jusuritču yekin teyin šili'un aqa de'ü-yü'en ulkin jingkün ügüleyü* 'How can you speak so deceitfully, backbiting and slandering your upright brother?' (Mnt 160) *Yegei-qongtaqar-un kö'ün To'oril či ken-ü ulus-ut öksü ke'en jusuridun yabuyu či* 'You, To'oril, are Yegei Qongtaqar's son. You constantly flatter Ong Qan saying, "I will give you people" - whose people?' (Mnt 180) < \**jisurit-* ← **jisur** ~ LM (L) *jisur/jusur* 'flattery, adulation; wily, crafty, cunning, sly';

Mnt **ebürit-** 'to admit, ?to embrace'<sup>175</sup>: *hüleksset eme kö'ün anu ebüri[t]kün medüs-i ebüritbe e'üten-tür oro'uldaqun medüs-i e'üten-düriyen oro'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 hümegei helige ebüritcü yabuya aqa de'ü-yi baraba* 'Our elder brother the Qan // Has a miserable nature; he goes on // Harboursing a rottenliver' (Mnt 152); *edö'e Temüjin kö'ün-tür teyin yabuqsan-ıyan umartaju hümegei helige ebüritcü yabumu* 'Now, forgetting that he kept himself alive like this thanks to his son Temüjin, he goes on harbouring a rotten liver' (Mnt 152) < \**ebürit-* ← \***ebür** ~ LM (L) *ebür* ~ *öbür* 'breast, bosom, front, lap; part of the dress or coat covering the breast; south; southern side of a mountain';

Mnt **uyyit-** 'to tire of sg': *edö'e bidan-ača uyyitqu çaq bolba* 'Now the time has come when he has grown tired of us' (Mnt 118) < \**uyit-* ← \***uy** ~ LM (L) *ui* 'mourning sorrow';

- (4) Mnt **dongqot-** 'to utter a word, to scold': *basa mün üge ügüle'esü aqa inu ya'un-a ber ülü bolqan qari'u inu ese dongqotba* 'When he repeated the same words, his elder brother again ignored them and did not answer' (Mnt 34); *Jürcedei-yi dongqotqu-yin urida Mangqud-un Quyildar-sečen ügülerün* 'Before Jürcedei could utter a word, Quyildar Sečen of the Mangqut said' (Mnt 171); *eke čimatču ese dongqotba* 'The mother dissatisfied,

<sup>174</sup> Cf. LM (L) *ijilid-* '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';

LM (L) *jabсарid-* 'to cleave, split; to break up; to be neither here nor there' ← \**jabсар*: LM (L) *jabсар* 'gap, interstice, slit; crevasse, fissure; hiatus; interval, time between, pause, intermission, break; weakness, blemish, fault, loophole';

LM (L) *muqulayid-* 'to make round' ← \**mukulag*: LM (L) *muqulay* 'rounded, ball-shaped, globular, spherical; kiosk, pavilion'

<sup>175</sup> 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 megmaradt nők közül az ágyasnak valókat ágyasokká tették, az ajtón bebocsátani valókat az ajtajukon bebocsátották."

thinking them too few, but she did not complain<sup>176</sup> (Mnt 242); *Mönglik ečiḡe-yi dongqotču dongqodun baraju* ‘So he railed at Father Mönglik. 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) *dongsi-* ‘to talk to much, babble, prate; to wander about idly, gad, saunter’; LM (L) *dongyos-* ‘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*<sup>177</sup> ~ 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) *domog* ‘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 not known, must be seen, that the suffix *-m* is more productive than *-mA*.

- (5) Mnt *de’ermet-* ‘to rob’: *niken üdür širqa aqtatan naiman mori[t] ger-ün dergede bayyiju büküy-yi de’erme irejü üjetele de’ermetču 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’ermetču abču otču’ui Joči-darmala adu’u-ban de’ermetču o[t]taju* ‘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) *degerem* ‘robbery, pillage; violence; bandit, brigand highwayman, robber’;

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

- (6) Mnt *čimat-* ‘to get sore’: *edö’e qan ečiḡe 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 dongqotba* ‘The mother dissatisfied, thinking them too few, but she did not complain’ (Mnt 242); *Činggis qahan Joči Ča’adai Ögödei qurban kö’üd-i čimatču qurban üdür ese a’ulja’ulba* ‘Činggis Qa’an reprimanded Joci, Ča’adai and Ögödei - 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’üt inu örö jirüḡe-ben ebetču söni namayi üjējü buqa’u minu ab[č]u sulalaju qono’a’ululāi* ‘His two sons, Čimbai and Čila’un, felt in their hearts very sorry for me, and seeing me at night they took my cangue,

<sup>176</sup> Actually she did not utter a word.

<sup>177</sup> 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 hemterebe 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 üküldüküi üdür // öre jürüge-ben ebetgü büle'e či // anggida ber ö'ere yabu'asu // alalduqui üdür // a'ušgi jürüge-ben ebetgü büle'e či* '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 ebetčü 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 dawuliqdaqsan kegesü-ben duratču oyisuladun* 'and remembered their grievance for his former raid upon them' (Mnt 67); *ügüleksen üges minu ülü umartan üde manaqar duratču ügüleldü[t]kün 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- ← \*duran ~ LM (L) *dur-a(n)* 'wish, desire, wanting, liking, inclination; volition; arbitrariness; taste, fancy';
- (8) Mnt **seri'üt-** 'to cool down': *bida ičüju qahan-u mara'a seri'üdü'esü basa jiči 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.<sup>178</sup> The following cases may be observed:

<sup>178</sup> 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) *jujajad-* '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) *ninged-* 'to be too thin (of flat objects); LM (L) *noyitad-* '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) *ibčayuda-* '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) *öčügüde-* 'to become smaller; to reduce';
- (5) the two verb form are designated to be variants of each other, e.g. LM (L) *čöged-/čögede-* 'to be too few; to be insufficient'; LM (L) *mayuda-/mayud-* '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'; *öndürde-/öndürid-* '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.: *ilegüd(e)-* 'to be(come) superfluous, redundant, or abundant; to exceed'

The problem is that there is not only a *+d-* verb suffix in Mongolic, but also *+dA-*,<sup>179</sup> 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. *qamnut-*, *büküt-*, etc.) the suffix *+t-* must have another function as well, consider such verbs as *qodolit-*. 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’<sup>180</sup>.

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 *delet-* (9), the etymology of which is unknown.

- (9) Mnt ***delet-*** ‘to strike, to whip’: *qubi-yu’an quya inu deletčü 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 // bürixsen bürkiren bükü // dawutu kö’ürge-ben deletbe bi* ‘I have beaten my bellowing drum // Covered with the hide of a black bull’ (Mnt 106); *neke’ülün üjü’ülen temür telege deletčü hūker jil ča’ura’ulbai* ‘And so, in the Year of the Ox, he had an iron cart made to pursue them to the very end’ (Mnt 199) < *\*delet-* ←?

<sup>179</sup> Furthermore there is not only one *+dA-* denominal verb suffix. Beside of the above mentioned one, consider the suffix *+dA-* quoted by Poppe in the GWM S242, 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’ ← *dayun* ‘voice’, *buuda-* ‘to shoot’ ← *buu* ‘rifle’, *degermede-* ‘to rob’ ← *degerme* ‘robbery’, and *aryada-* ‘to outwit’ ← *arya* ‘trick’. Poppe’s remark that the suffix forms “mostly transitive verbs” may deserve some attention.

<sup>180</sup> Contrary to the meaning given by Haenisch, the verb is clearly transitive, cf. *bökleksen čisun-i jelme šimin šimin ama’an čisudaju jelme busu gü’ün ülü itegen sakilduju* (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-*, *qamtutqa-*, *tübšitke-*, *bügütke-*.

### Literature:

Schmidt 1831: 80; Ramstedt 1912: §61; 1952: §95/3; GWM §241, §242; Önörbayan 1998: 39; 2000: 35–38; Poppe 1960: 97 (under *+dA-*); Dondukov 1964: 131–133; Cydypov 1988: 61–62; Benzing 1985: 29; Szabó 1943: §76;

### +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 *arqada-*, *beri'ede-* and *osolda-*. Street marks 6 examples, but he only quotes *arqada-* ‘to deceive’ and *čisuda-* ‘to become bloody’. Later stages show a large amount of derivatives.<sup>181</sup>

One cannot find any restriction on the final sound of the base, so stems with a final vowel occur (cf. *arqada-*) 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,<sup>182</sup> 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,<sup>183</sup> 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”,<sup>184</sup> (2) when added to nouns designating musical instruments, the derived verb will have the meaning “to play the given

<sup>181</sup> Cf. LM (L) *bekede-* ‘to smear or soil with ink; to blacken, dye black’; LM (L) *belgede-* ‘to signify, prognosticate; to explain signs, divine, forebode’; LM (L) *bilegüde-* ‘to whet, hone, sharpen on a stone’ ← *\*bilegü:* LM (L) *bilegüü/bileü* ‘whetstone, hone’; LM (L) *čalmada-* ‘to catch with a lasso’

<sup>182</sup> Cf. LM (L) *čögede-* ‘to be too few; to be insufficient’ ← *\*čögen*; LM (L) *olada-* ‘to multiply, propagate, increase’ ← *\*olan*. however exceptions occur: Khal.K. *barāndax* (< *\*baraganda-*) ‘túl(ságosan) sötét(nek bizonyul)’; LM (L) *eriyende-* ‘to be too motley or variegated’; Khal.K. *namxandax* (< *\*namkanda-*) ‘túl alacsonynak bizonyul vmihez / vmire’; Khal.K. *xatandax* (< *\*katanda-*) ‘túl(ságosan) merevnek v keménynek bizonyul’; Khal.K. *turxandax* (< *\*turukanda-*) ‘túlságosan soványak bizonyul’. The explanation of these exceptions could be the relatively late derivation.

<sup>183</sup> Cf. “to express the use of the object designated by the primary word” (GWM §242)

<sup>184</sup> E.g. LM (L) *altada-* ‘to gild, decorate with gold’ ← *\*altan*; LM (L) *čayirda-* ‘to coat or plate with zinc’ ← *\*čayir*; LM (L) *josuda-* ‘to stain with ocher or colcothar’ ← *\*jos*; LM (L) *palangda-* ‘to enamel’ ← *\*palang*;

instrument'<sup>185</sup>. (3) In a certain number of examples the primary word is not the instrument of the action but its result.<sup>186</sup> (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'.<sup>187</sup>

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<sup>188</sup>. 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 ayuǰu arqadan unaqu ariyaqu bolun amin-dur-ıyan gürtebei bi* 'fearing the Qa'an, I took a fall on purpose. I hesitated, so I lost my life' (Mnt 140); *Ong qan ečige Senggüm anda qoyar namayi arqadan uriqsan-tur ayisurun ja'ura Mönglik ečige-yin ger-tür qono'asu* 'when Father Ong Qan sworn friend Senggüm 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'eǰü sača'un keşikten-i minu ö'erün qar köl gürgüjü beri'edesü beri'e-yin qari'u beri'e gü nudurqa-yin qari'u nudurqa gü qari'ultuqai* (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

<sup>185</sup> LM (L) *biskigürde-* 'to play the flute' ← \*bişikigür; LM (L) *büriyede-* 'to blow a trumpet or horn' ← \*büriyen; LM (L) *čuyurda-* 'to play a čuyur' ← \*čugur; LM (L) *damaruda-* 'to rattle the skull drum; to shake the head' ← \*damaru; LM (L) *dünggürde-* 'to beat a drum'; LM (L) *kenggergede-* 'to beat the drum or tambourine' ← \*kenggergen; LM (L) *kögjimde-* 'to play a musical instrument'; LM (L) *lingbüde-* 'to play on a flute' ← \*lingbü; LM (L) *quyurda-* 'to play the quyr' ← *kugur*; LM (L) *šobsiyurda-* 'to play a pipe; to deceive, cheat; to call animals or game with a call' ← \*šobšigur; LM (L) *tobsiyurda-* 'to play the tobsiyur' ← \*tobšigur; 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' ← \*yatuga;

<sup>186</sup> LM (L) *yobilda-/qobilda-* 'to cut a groove in wood or metal' ← \*gobil/kobil; LM (L) *qobilda-* 'to make a groove' ← \*kobil; LM (L) *qobil* 'groove'; LM (L) *jaǰalmayida-* 'to cross, put crosswise' ← \*jaǰalmai; LM (L) *jaǰalmai* 'cross (of any shape); cross-shaped, cruciform'; LM (L) *buqulda-* 'to stack hay' ← \*bukal; LM (L) *buqul* 'a haystack, rick';

<sup>187</sup> 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';

<sup>188</sup> LM (L) *almayida-* 'to be careless, inattentive, absent-minded, or forgetful'; LM (L) *ayajimda-* 'to be too slow or sluggish; to procrastinate'; LM (L) *bačiyuda-* 'to be pressed, stifled; to be in agony; to too short (of time)'; LM (L) *nüserde-* 'to be clumsy; to be foolish'; LM (L) *boyonid-* 'to be too short or low'; LM (L) *čingyad-* 'to be too strong, tight, strict etc.' LM (L) *čalayarda-* 'to be negligent, careless, or inaccurate; to err, omit, make mistakes, blunders'; LM (L) *čočimayda-* 'to be too sudden or unexpected, happen too suddenly'; LM (L) *čulyuyida-* 'to be too plain, smooth, etc.'; LM (L) *čürgerde-* 'to be pot-bellied'; LM (L) *dutayuda-* 'to (prove to) be insufficient, short, or incomplete' LM (L) *kerčegeyide-* 'to be too fierce, cruel, or brutal'; LM (L) *najayayida-* 'to be slow, hesitant; to be careless'; LM (L) *nomoyida-* 'to be slow, move slowly, linger, dawdle; to be apathetic'; LM (L) *örögesüde-* 'to be single, unpaired or odd'; LM (L) *qobdoyda-* 'to be too gluttonous or greedy'; LM (L) *qoyarda-* 'to be dual; to be two-faced'; LM (L) *qoyiyurda-* 'to be too far back'; LM (L) *tarčiyda-* '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 umdān bü osoldasuqai // ke'en bawurčın bolba* 'We shall not neglect your drinks In the evening! // And so they became stewards' (Mnt 124); *edö'e Altan Qučar qoyar-un uru'ud-ača tanlu'a salqalduya teden-i üjējü 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 'mishap (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'.<sup>189</sup> de Rachewiltz translates according to this shade the passage *qar inu qardaǰu // köl inu köldeǰü // 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.<sup>190</sup>

The second shade of meaning is to use the thing denoted by the stem for beating or harming<sup>191</sup>. 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 qardaǰu // köl inu köldeǰü // öksügei* 'We shall seize his hands, And grasp his feet!' (Mnt 166) < \*kölde- ← \*köl ~ LM (L) köl 'foot, leg';

Mnt **qarda-/qarta-**<sup>192</sup> 'to lay hands on': *čimayi qan-ıyan qardaba ke'en ese teki ala'asu qan-ıyan qardaba ke'en alaqu gü ala'asu teki mün gü alaqdaqu gü bi mün ele üküqüi-düriyen dere abun üküü* '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 Tarqutay-yi bariǰu güürü'esü Činggis qahan bidan-i tus qan-ıyan qardaǰu ireǰü'üi ke'en Činggis qahan bidani tus-ıyan qardaǰu irekset ya'un itegelten haran ede bidan-tur basa ker nököčekün nököčel üge'ün haran tus qan-ıyan qardaqsat haran-i mököri'üldekün* 'If

<sup>189</sup> Cf. LM (L) *bayaǰayurda-* '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) *geǰigede-* 'to hold, pull or seize by the queue, grab by the hair'; LM (L) *küjügüde-* 'to place one's arms around another's neck, embrace; to hang around the neck; to seize by the neck'; LM (L) *suyuda-* '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) *üsüde-* 'to grab by the hair';

<sup>190</sup> Cf. *ba Hö'elün eke-yin kö'ün-i // aqa-yi alaǰu // de'ü-yi te[b]čǰü // öksügei ke'eǰü'üi* (Mnt 166)

<sup>191</sup> Cf. LM (L) *alayada-* 'to strike or slap with the palm of the hand or with a paw; to clap'; LM (L) *soyoyada-* '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

<sup>192</sup> 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 iluqu-yi nökcüyetkün ke'en Tolun-čerbi qardaju nökcü'etügei ke'en jarliq bolba tende Tolun-čerbi iluqu-yi qardaju büte'ebe* 'Činggis Qa'an then ordered that Iluqu 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 Iluqu and killed him,' (Mnt 267) Further occurrences: Mnt 166, 200 /// *nökö'ete dayyisun bolun qaqačaqsan-i jürčedei uduju arqabar jaqa-gambu-yi qaqačan baraqsan-i [45b] qartaju bariju bütü'eju'ü je* 'he became hostile and separated from us, Jürčedei 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:

Godziński 1985: 57–58; GWM §242; Schmidt 1831: 81; Ramstedt 1912: §49; 1952: 95/4; Bold 1986: 111–113; Önörbayan 1998: 39; 2000: 27–29; Poppe 1960: 97; Dondukov 1964: 131–133; Cydypov 1988: 59; Benzing 1985: 29; Szabó 1943: §77;

### +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 *kökere-*, MA *belbesüre-*, MA *jüjāra-*, 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 *+ri-*.

Mnt *qolba'ara-* 'to join, to become a pair': *Ča'adai ba qoyar qolba'aran gücü öksü Ögödey-yi ke'eldüye ke'ebe Činggis qahan jarliq bolurun qolba'aratala ya'un büi ötögen eke a'ui büi büret usut olon büi* "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 as to cooperate with each other? Mother Earth is wide: its rivers and waters are many.' (Mnt 255) < \**kolbagara-* ← \**kolbagan*<sup>193</sup> ~ LM (L) *qolboyan* '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 ečige-de qolbaran gücün öksü* (Mnt 255). I am not sure

<sup>193</sup> This word has Turkic connections, cf. Old Turkic *kōš* '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’: *teli ke’en soyurqaju jiči jaliraba* ‘Enough of this matter!’ And, his anger abated, he showed favour to him again’ (Mnt 246); *soyurqa’asu a’ulja’ulu’asu bolqu-yū ke’en öči’esü Činggis qahan jaliraju joči Ča’adai Ögödei qurban kö’üd-i a’ulja’ulju dongqodurun* ‘Will you not, therefore, show favour to them again and allow them into your presence?’ Upon their petition, Činggis Qa’an, appeased, allowed the three sons Joči, Ča’adai and Ögödei into his presence. He rebuked them’ (Mnt 260) < *\*jalira*<sup>194</sup> ← *\*jali* ~ LM (L) *jali* ‘ruse, craft, cunning, trick, deceit’;

Mnt *samawura-* ‘to get in trouble, to get harmed’: *či qačča’ar odu’asu ja’ura čeri’üt samawui čaq-tur čimayi ber ülü a’ulqu öki taki činu samawuraqu ke’eju qurban üdür qurban söni törıtgeju’üi* ‘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 büyyü bi bida qamtu öki činu qahan-na üje’ülüye ja’ura čeri’üt samawuraqu ke’en itqalu’a edö’e Naya’a-dača busut čeri’üt-tür učira’asu samawu-tur tüi[t]küi-tür oroqu-yū aju’u* ‘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) < *\*samagura-* ← *\*samagu* ~ LM (L) *samayun* ‘confusion, disturbance; disorder, disorganization; rebellion, mutiny’

Mnt *quši’ura-* ‘to be in the front’: *te’ünü qoyinača ayisuqun öyeseksen šibawun metü šilemelčeju quši’uraju ayisqun ken büyyü ke’en Tayang qan jamuqa-dača asačču’u* ‘Who is the one approaching from the rear, coming forward at the head of the army and drawing near like a greedy, slaving falcon?’ (Mnt 195) < *\*kosigura-* ← *\*kosigun* ~ LM (L) *qosiyun/qusiyun* ‘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 görö’esün abala’asu // uturaju öksü ba* ‘When in a battue 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 battue’, cf. Old Turkic *ūč* ‘extremity, end, tip’ (ED 17b).<sup>195</sup> I find it plausible to make one more

<sup>194</sup> 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)’.

<sup>195</sup> This comparison including Manchu *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 *ūd-* ‘to follow’ (ED 38a); *uduz-* ‘to lead, or conduct (someone)’.

Mnt *ǰüsere-* ‘to fall (of rain)’: *qura üdür söni ürgülǰi ǰüsereküi-tür* ‘the rain poured down incessantly day and night’ (Mnt 205) < \**ǰüsere-* ← \**ǰüse-* ~ LM (L) *ǰisü-/ǰüsü-* ‘to cut lengthwise, cut into stripes, slice, shred, incise’, but cf. LM (L) *ǰüsen/ǰüsün* ‘inundation, continuous or intense rain’.

The first point is that there appear some clearly denominal 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 *uda’ara-* ‘to follow, to go after’: *ba tani uda’aran gödölǰü Kelüren-ü Arqal-geügi-de bolǰalduya ta tende iretkün* ‘We shall follow close behind you and meet at Arqal Geügi on the Kelüren River. You must come there!’ (Mnt 183); *ǰürčedei Arqai qoyar-i alǰinčilaǰu Balǰuna-na’ur-ača Činggis qahan uda’aran e’üsülčejü qarun morilaqsa’ar Kelüren-ü Arqal-geügi-de gürbe* ‘He sent ǰürčedei and Arqai ahead to reconnoitre, and at once set forth from Lake Balǰuna together with the army. They rode out and arrived at Arqal Geügi on the Kelüren River’ (Mnt 183); *eke mede’et söni bö’et uda’aran čaqa’an teme’en köljü qara’utai tergetei söni-de dülin yorčijü* ‘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 ülü uda’arakuy-ača // umartaǰu aǰu’u // üküleng-e ülü erüstegüy-eče // umtarǰu aǰu’u* ‘I forgot // As if I would not follow the forefather; // I slept // As I would not be caught by death’ (Mnt 254) < \**udagara-* ← \**udaga* ~ LM (L) *uday-a* ‘one of a number of recurring or multiplied instances, or repeated acts; occasion, instance’;

Mnt *hačira-* ‘to take revenge, to pay back’: *ede qurban Merkit qurban ǰa’ut haran üdür-ün erte Toqto’a-beki-yin de’ü Yeke-čiledü-deče Yisügei-ba’atur-a Hö’elün eke-yi bulijü abtalāi ke’en te’ün-i ösön hačiran otču’ui* ‘those three Merkit with three hundred men, said, ‘In former days Mother Hö’elün was abducted by Yisügei Ba’atur from Yeke Čiledü, the younger brother of Toqto’a Beki’, and they set out to take revenge for that’ (Mnt 111) < \**hačira-* → \**hači* ~ LM (L) *ači-* ‘favor, grace; merit; requital; reward; benefit; consequence, result’;

?Mnt *ča’ura-* ‘to go on military campaign’: *Sübe’etei-ba’atur temür telegetü Merkid-ün Toqto’a-yin Qutu Čila’un teri’üten kö’üd-i inu neken ča’uraǰu Čui-müren-e güyyičejü muqutqǰu irebe* ‘Sübe’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); *üntür daba’a daban // örgen müret ketülün // urtu ča’ur ča’uran // olon ulus-ıyan ǰibši’erün setkibeı* ‘has thought of // Establishing order over his many people, // Climbing high passes, // Crossing wide rivers // And waging a long campaign’ (Mnt 254); *urtu ča’ur ča’uraǰu // oqor bolqa bolqǰu öksü* ‘I shall go forth for him on a long campaign // Or fight in a short fight’ (Mnt 255) < \**čagura-*.

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:

Godziński 1985: 61–62; Schmidt 1831: 80; Ramstedt 1912: §40; 1952: §95/8; Bold 1986: 118–119; Önörbayan 1998: 39; 2000: 33–35; Poppe 1960: 97; Dondukov 1964: 128–130; Cydypov 1988: 61; Benzing 1985: 140; Szabó 1943: §85;

### +čĭlA-

The denominal verb suffix +čĭlA- has several derivatives and is present in the linguistic monuments<sup>196</sup> of the Mongolic languages from quite early periods until recent times<sup>197</sup>.

The material provided by the Mnt should be handled with caution, as not all verbs ending in čĭlA- 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: *esükčĭle*-<sup>198</sup> ‘to drink milk’; *kelečĭle*-<sup>199</sup> ‘to report’; *qajarčĭla*-<sup>200</sup> ‘to guide’; *tarbaqačĭla*-<sup>201</sup> ‘to hunt for marmots’; *alginčĭla*- ‘to scout’; *alaqčĭla*-<sup>202</sup> ‘to be arbitrary’, *qorčĭla*-<sup>203</sup> ‘to appoint to the rank of quiverbearer’; *ö’ermičĭle*-<sup>204</sup> ‘to differentiate oneself’. There remains one verb the background of which is not completely clear. That is the verb *namančĭla*- ‘to apologize’. The stem of *namančĭla*- is of Sanskrit origin, but a word like *namanči* is not attested for Mongolic.

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

<sup>196</sup> Contrary to the opinion of Godziński and Rybatzki (Godziński 1985: 57, Rybatzki 2001: 14) the suffix is traceable from many Middle Mongol sources.

<sup>197</sup> In modern languages the suffix is absolutely productive, as we can see in the case of such Khalkha examples like Khal.B. *sistemčĭlex* ‘to systematize’, Khal.B. *kalendar’čĭlax* ‘to arrange according to the calendar, to roster’, Khal.B. *awtomatčĭlal* ‘automation’, Khal.B. *koloničĭlox* ‘to colonize’, Khal.B. *monopol’čĭlox* ‘to monopolize’.

<sup>198</sup> Derived from \**esükči* ‘one who likes kumiss’, cf. LM (L) *miqačĭn* ‘ogre, carnivorous’ ← \**mikan*.

<sup>199</sup> Derived from \**keleči* ~ LM (L) *keleči* ‘interpreter, commentator’.

<sup>200</sup> Derived from \**kajarči* ~ LM (L) *γajarči* ‘guide, conductor’.

<sup>201</sup> Derived from \**tarbakači* ~ LM (L) *tarbaqačĭn* ‘marmot hunter or trapper’.

<sup>202</sup> Derived from \**alakčĭn* ~ LM (L) *alayčĭn* ‘motley, variegated, parti-colored, piebald’

<sup>203</sup> Derived from \**korči* ~ Mnt *qorči(n)* ‘quiverbearer’.

<sup>204</sup> Derived from \**ögermiče* (?-i) ~ LM (L) *öbermiče* ‘difference, distinction; peculiarity, special characteristics; individual(ity); especial(ly), particular(ly), different(ly)’.

- (1) Mnt **de'üçile-** 'to treat as a younger brother': *derge-de'en kekte'üljü // de'üçilen ösgebe je namayi* 'She let me lie at her side // And brought me up as the younger brother of her children' (Mnt 203) < \*degüçile- ← \***degü-** ~ LM (L) *degüü* 'younger brother or sister; younger';

Mnt **kö'üçile-** 'to treat as one's own son': *köl-düriyen kekte'üljü // kö'üçilen 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 nuntuq-aça // köser-eçe olju // köl-düriyen dürüjü // kö'üçilen teji'erün* '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) < \*kögüçile- ← \***kögün** ~ Mnt *kö'ün* 'Sohn';

Mnt **emeçile-** 'to compare to a woman, treat as a woman': *ene üge-tür Tayang qan ö'eriyen emeçilekten ügülekejü Tayang qan ügülerün* 'to these words, whereby Tayang Qan himself was spoken of as behaving like a woman, Tayang Qan said' (Mnt 194) < \*emeçile- ← \***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) **boyolçila-** 'to treat as a slave, enslave; to be a slave, live in servitude' ← \***bogol** ~ LM (L) *boyol* 'slave, serf, bondsman; slavery, servitude, serfdom; knave (playing card)';
- LM (L) **jabçila-** 'to do something in one's spare time' ← \***jab** ~ LM (L) *jab* 'free time, leisure; occasion';
- LM (L) **kilbarçila-** '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) **kitadçila-** '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 *köbegüçile-* 'to treat as one's son' and *köbegünçile* 'to take someone as his son' show. (This latter quoted from GWM §240).

- (3) LM (L) **ebügeçile-** 'to respect the ancients, honor the elders' ← \***ebügen**: LM (L) *ebügen* 'old man; old (of men)';
- LM (L) **uraçila-** '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) *dötečile-* ‘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) *sanaya(n)* ‘thought, thinking, idea, reflection, attention; opinion, conception, sentiment; frame of mind’;

LM (L) *surtalčila-* ‘to explain, expound; to propagandize’ ← *\*surtal*: 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) *könggebčile-* ‘to make lighter or easier, relieve, alleviate, assuage’ ← *\*könggen*: LM (L) *könggen* ‘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. *aniwčlax* (LM (K) *anibčila-*) ‘*sūrūn pislog*’. This verb was, however, is not *\*anibčila-* but *anibčil-*, which is the frequentative form of the verb *anibči-* ~ Khal.B. *aniwčix*<sup>205</sup> ‘to blink’. In the same manner, following the tradition of earlier dictionaries, *seyičile-* given by Kara as a LM form of *sičlex* ‘*újra meg újra bemetsz vmibe, vés vmit*’ 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)’.

<sup>205</sup> Bawden’s example under this word is *nüdiġ aniwčix* ‘to blink the eyes’ which suggests that this verb is transitive.

LM (L) *yayarabčila-* ‘to hurry, hasten’ ← \**yayarab* ← \**yagara-* ~ LM (L) *yayara-* ‘to hurry, hasten, rush, speed; to be busy’;

This problem was briefly discussed by Önörbayan (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: *büdūwčil-*, *türgewčil-*. As it is not characteristic for Mongolic languages that protetical sounds appear Önörbayan’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) *tösüb* ‘plan, project, conjecture, assumption; estimate. budget’ ← \**tös-* ~ LM (L) *tösü-* ‘to assume, presume, guess; to have a general knowledge, a rough idea of’; LM (L) *sedüb* ‘subject, problem; theme; topic; thesis, argument’ ← \**sed*<sup>206</sup>; LM (L) *sedü-* ‘to plan, devise, think out; to work out; to invent; to start, set going’. Other examples, as Khalkha *aniwčlax* are results of wrong segmentation. In the case of Khalkha *ixewčlex*, 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 derived from the word *tarbayačīn* ‘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 *kö’üčile-* ‘to treat like a son’ from the word *kö’üči* ‘one who deals with a son’, because we do not know a Mongolian word like *kö’üči*, 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.

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

## Literature:

Street 1957: 63; Godziński 1985: 57; Ramstedt 1912: §100; GWM §240; Bold 1986: 123; Önörbayan 1998: 39; 2000: 29–31; Poppe 1960: 98; Dondukov 1964: 142–144; Cydypov 1988: 58–59; Benzing 1985: 27; Szabó 1943: §102;

## +rKA-

+rKA- is denominal 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.<sup>207</sup>

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

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

Mnt **dayyisurqa-** ‘to be hostile’: *qaqča öndegen hü’ütügei mün aqa gü’ün-ü ebče’ün-tür dayyisurqan 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 güjü’üt anu kinggüritkün // omorqaqun-i omori’u[t] onqlajitqun* ‘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 Nekün-usun-a ülü oron qada’un yorčiju Čöl-tür oroju usurqarun qulat hilu’atuju bayyiqun-i Senggüm bawuju mariyažu’u* ‘Senggüm did not go to Nekün Usun of Didik Saqal, but bypassed it and entered the

<sup>207</sup> Cf. Buryat *omogorxoxo* ‘gordit’sja; pohvaljat’sja’; Khalkha *čavdagarxax* ‘túl zšugorinak/fukarnak bizonyul’; Khalkha *nomorxox* ‘tudálékoskodik, tudákoskodik; tudományával kérkedik’; Khalkha *xovdogroxox* ‘telhetetlenkedik, mohó(n)/kapzsi(n viselkedik’; etc.

<sup>208</sup> 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* ‘felfuvalkodottan méltatlankodik’; Khal.K. *xarilxax* ‘idegenkedik vmitől’. It seems that there is only one exception to this rule, cf. Khal.K. *morirxox* ‘lovát dicséri, lovával kérkedik/henceg, lovaglásban való jártasságát fitogtatja’.

<sup>209</sup> 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-iyān tebčīn 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 ügüleriñ qahan soyurqa'asu namayi gü'ün-e bodo-da bolqajū 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 büčijü 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 *tsoyurka-* '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 *güčürge-* 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:

Street 1957: 63; Godziński 1985: 62; Ramstedt 1912: §44–45; GWM §247; Bold 1986: 114–116; Önörbayan 1998: 40; 2000: 41–43; Poppe 1960: 97–98; Dondukov 1964: 130–131; Cydypov 1988: ; Benzing 1985: 145; Szabó 1943: §97;

### +(i)s-

The denominal 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 denominal 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 *+yis-*, for which the only example would be the verb *keyyis-*. There is no need to separate the suffixes *+is-* and *+yis-*, 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-*, *jšusa-*, 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.<sup>210</sup>

- (1) Mnt *keyis-/keyyis-* ‘to blow (of wind)’: *kei bolu'asu qarčiqai-bar bari'uluqsan noqut qalawud-un ödün hüsün anu burqaliq časun metü butaraju keyisju 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 ö'ede // kegüliyen keyisümser // ke'er qajar-a // ke'eli-ben ölüsümser büliyi* ‘Whose tuft has never blown // Against the wind, // Whose belly has never hungered // In the steppe’ (Mnt 56); *Burqan-ni qučilduqsat qurban ja'ut Merkid-i uruq-un uruq-a gürtel hünesü'er keyistele ülitgebe* ‘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 abču // terme gertü // teme'en ači'atu // irgen-i inu hünesü'er keyistele tala'ulbai* ‘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) /// *qamqa'ulsun keyyisküi-tür // qara hoi temečekči // Qa'atai-darmala edö'e // Qaraži-ke'er-e büi je* ‘Qa'atai Darmala, who when the saltwort // Is carried by the wind, // Quickly flees into a dark forest, // He must now be in the Qaraži Steppe’ (Mnt 105) < *\*keyis-* ← *\*kei* ~ LM (L) *kei* ‘air, wind, atmosphere, gas’;

<sup>210</sup> 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. *xucsax* ‘(nőstény juh) kost kівán’; Khal.K. *ürsex* ‘kicsinyéhez nagyon ragaszkodik’.

Mnt **umda'as-/umdās-** 'to parch, to be thirsty': *Činggis qahan dotora'an sergüjü ügüleriün čisun haqču baraba umda'asumu bi ke'ebe* 'Činggis Qa'an revived and said, 'The blood has dried up completely; I am thirsty.' (Mnt 145) /// *Šira-ke'er-e Tatar irgen qurimlan büküitür jolqaju umdāsču 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 ö'ede // kegüliyen keyisümser // ke'er qaĵar-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'ün-eče Činggis qahan ö'esün esergü otču ölösčü turuĵu irebe ke'en Ong qan-a qubčiri qubčiju ökčü* '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); *ölösükse-i činu üdür düli-de ese gürgebe ĵe turuqsan-i činu sara-yin ĵarim-a ese gürgebe ĵe 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'určaĵ bolun qarču ĵiči yadaĵu ölösčü oroĵu ireĵü* '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); < \*ölüs-<sup>211</sup> ← \***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': *qoĵi'ulas tutum // qongši'ut // hüngĵi'üles tutum // hüngši'üt hünistele // talbiba* 'he placed all about, so that // Every tree stump reeked with their stench, // Every dead tree with their foul smell.' (Mnt 27) < \***hünis-** ← \***hüni** ~ Mnt *hüni* 'smoke';

## Literature:

Ramstedt 1912: §61; 1952: §95/3; Szabó 1943: §86; Önörbayan 1998: 39, 40; 2000: 35–38; 44–45;

<sup>211</sup> The judging of the verb \*ölös- is rather difficult. This verb above was listed among the examples of the deverbial 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 unique 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<sup>212</sup>.

Mnt *eyi-* ‘to act in this manner’: *Ambaqai qahan-ni ükübe’ü či ke’ejü Hö’elün-ne gürtele eyin ke’ekdeküi bolbi* ‘Is it because you say to yourself that Ambaqai Qa’an is dead, that we are being spoken to in this way’ (Mnt 71); *manu bürin-ü ulus a[b]ču newükderün itqaqu bolun eyin kikdebe* ‘When I tried to stop them, this is how I was treated’ (Mnt 73); *Suldus-un Sorqan-šira jö[b] da’ariju üjeju ügülerün jö[b] ele eyimü arqatu-yin tula* ‘Sorqan Šira 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);<sup>213</sup> < \*eki- ← \*e, cf. LM (L) *ene* ‘demonstr. pron. this, he, she, it’, LM (L) *egün* ‘stem of the demonstrative pronoun *ene*’

Mnt *teyi-* ‘to act in that manner’: *Alan-qo’a-yi tende quyuju Dobun-mergen-nü abuqsan yosun teyimü* ‘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); *Tünggeli[k]-qoroqan huru’u newüju ire[k]se[t] irgen-tür teyimü teyimü gü’ün teyimü mori<n>tu büle’e 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) *tegün* ‘stem of the demonstrative pronoun *tere*’; etc.

In addition I should remark that a deverbal verb 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: *jumuyi-/jimuyi-*<sup>214</sup> ‘den Mund, die Augen zusammengepresst halten’; *gedeyi-* ‘den Kopf rückwärts halten, zurückgebogen sein’; *yuduyi-* ‘den Kopf senken, vorwärts hängen’ (vgl. *yudus* ‘vorwärts, nach Unten’); *jiluyi-* ‘verschwinden’ ← *jilu-*, Kalmuck *zul-* ‘fliehen’; *bökiyi-/bükiyi-/bokiyi-* ‘in gebückter Stellung stehen’ (*bökire-* ‘sich bücken, gebogen werden’); *takiyi-* ‘eine schiefe Stellung haben (z.B. die Hand)’ (*takir* ‘verrenkt, schief’); *kengkeyi-*, Kalmuck *keñkē-* ‘weit und breit sein, gross und leer dünken’; *qumiyi-* ‘zugeschnürt, zugezogen sein (z.B. die Mündung des Sackes)’ ← *qumi-* ‘einziehen, zuziehen, zusammenschnüren (gegen die Mitte)’ (*qumir-?*); *čuyuyi-/čuquyi-* ‘hervortreten, hervorgucken, überragen’; *jadayi-* ‘offen, breit sein, flach liegen’ (vgl. *jadayai* ‘offen, breit, weit’; *badayi-*, *badayira-* ‘aufschwellen (z.B. das Zahnfleisch)’ (*badara-* ‘sich verbreiten, vermehren’, *badur* ‘mästen’; *qurčiyi-* ‘sich runzeln, einschrumpfen’; *salbayi-/saldayi-/saljiyi-* ‘herabhängen’; *ulčayi-* ‘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

<sup>212</sup> 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.

<sup>213</sup> Further occurrences will not be listed.

<sup>214</sup> 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 irgen-eče öki a[b]ču e’üsgejü ayisuqu-yi jolqaju önggeyjü üje’esü öngge jisü bušitai öki qatu üjejü* ‘the Merkit Yeke Čiledü who was on his way home, taking with him a girl of the Olqunu’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- ← \*önge-, 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 öñ ‘the front of anything’ (ED 167b); 2. << Turkic, cf. Old Turkic ün- ‘to rise’ (ED 169a).

Mnt **öngdeyi-** ‘to sit up, to rise’: *datora nidün minu geyibe ke’e’et öngdeyjü sa’utala üdür geyjü gegen bolju üje’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 donqodu’ai üdü’üye Börte üjin datora öngdeyjü sa’uju* ‘Before Činggis Qa’an could utter a sound, Lady Börte sat up in bed’ (Mnt 245) < \*öngdeyi- ← \*öngde- << ?Turkic, cf. Old Turkic öñed- ‘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-*,<sup>215</sup> which is strengthened by semantics, cf. Khal.(Cewel) *xalaix* ‘xarax, ajix, ajiglax’.

Mnt **qarayi-** ‘to leap, jump’: *qayila’asu // qarayju ülü üjegü čimayi // qayibasü // qa’ulqa inu ülü olqu či* ‘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 tüsüre’et esüg-iyen söni-de üdür čayitala bülekü büle’e* ‘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 širal üdür geyin бүкүи-түр* ‘early one morning - the light was yellowish as day began to dawn’ (Mnt 98); *Tenggelik[k]-qoroqan ö’ede gödöljü ayisun бүкүи-түр herü baru-da üdür geyin бүкүи-түр 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); *datora nidün minu geyibe ke’e’et öngdeyjü sa’utala üdür*

<sup>215</sup> I am indebted for György Kara, who attracted my attention on this possibility.

*geyǰü gegen bolǰu* ‘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’<sup>216</sup>, *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 onomatopoeic verbs.

### Literature:

Ramstedt 1912: §70; 1952: §71; GWM §251; Önörbayan 1998: 43; 2000: 102–104, 124–125; Dondukov 1964: 151–152; Cydypov 1988 64; Benzing 1985: 186; Szabó 1943: §80;

### +ǰA-

The denominal verbs suffix *+ǰA-* was mentioned by Street (1957: 63) to be present in the verb *übüļǰe-*. Godziński (1985: 58) discussed this suffix as an allomorph of the suffix *+ǰi-*. While it is true that Classical-Mongolian and the modern languages refer to the form *+ǰi-*, it must be mentioned that the examples of this suffix have to be separated from that of *+ǰi-* 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 *+ǰi-* but with different functions, or we should presume that the form *+ǰA-* is the original one, which later coincided with *+ǰi-*.

The suffix has a very special meaning ‘to spend the season denoted by the stem’. Taking in account other sources<sup>217</sup>, it can be stated that it forms verbs from names of seasons, except the noun for summer, for which cf. *ǰusa-* ‘to spend the summer’ under *+sA-*.

Mnt *übüļǰe-* ‘to spend the winter (somewhere)’: *ulus irgen-i anu gödölǰeǰü ireǰü Činggis qahan Quba-qaya übüļǰebei* ‘Činggis Qa’an carried away the people of their tribe, and spent the winter at Quba Qaya’ (Mnt 148); *tere übüļ ǰerge’er newüǰü Činggis qahan Quba-qaya-yi übüļǰebe* ‘That winter, in an orderly way they moved to new pastures and Činggis Qa’an wintered at Quba Qaya’ (Mnt 151); *tere übüļ übüļǰeǰü noqai ǰil namur inu Činggis qahan Čaqa’an-Tatar Alči-Tatar Dutaut Alqui-Tatar tede Tatar-tur Dalan-nemürǰes bayyilduǰu qatqulduquy-yin urida* ‘After having spent that winter (1201–1202) at Quba

<sup>216</sup> A connection between this verb and the Old Turkic *bar* never was suggested.

<sup>217</sup> Cf. LM (L) *qaburǰi-* ‘to pass the spring season (at a given place)’; LM (L) *namurǰi-* ‘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 Nemürge: the Ča'a'an 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<sup>218</sup>, 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 üge činu ya'un bolumui haran ba ünemšige'üjei ke'eju'üi* 'What is this idle talk of yours? Some people here may take it seriously' (Mnt 169) < \**ünemšige-*<sup>219</sup> ← \**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'e'ei üdü'üye eremšijü* '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*<sup>220</sup> ← \**noyamši-* ← \**noyan* ~ LM (L) *noyan* 'lord, prince, chief, superior, commandant, seigneur; title sometimes given to the son of a prince or high-ranking nobleman';

<sup>218</sup> Cf. LM (L) *mergemši-* 'to have or acquire outstanding abilities; to pretend to be an expert'; LM (L) *ejšemsi-* 'to become master or lord of something; to take possession of, conquer, appropriate, occupy; to familiarize oneself with; to command, control'; Khalkha *neremšix* 'vmilyen néven ismertté válik, elnevezése bevetté válik'; Khalkha *örimšix* 'magabiztosan viselkedik, úgy viselkedik, mint aki otthon érzi magát'.

<sup>219</sup> \**ünemšige-* is the causative form of \**ünemši-*.

<sup>220</sup> \**noyamšiq* is derived by the aid of the deverbal noun suffix *-g*.

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’: *daldariqsan-ıyan dalbaru çabçildusu qojıdaqsan-ıyan borbin-ıyan kinggürü çabçildusu* ‘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-* ← ***\*dalda*** ~ 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’<sup>221</sup>: *manaqarşı üdür düli naran kebeli’ülün Qalaqaljit-elet gürcü üderin ba’uba* ‘at noon of the following day he reached Qalaqaljit Sands, where he halted to rest and ear’ (Mnt 170) < *\*üderi-* ← ***\*üde*** 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,<sup>222</sup> separating the suffix *+ri-* seems to be plausible.

<sup>221</sup> Cf. the meaning given by Street: ‘stop for evening meal’.

<sup>222</sup> Cf. LM (L) *toyoqan* ‘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) *toyorçay* ‘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'oriķui tutum // toyi jōkiyu // derelgü gü tutum // dem jōkiyu* 'Every time they turn about, // Their battle array holds; // Every time they wheel round, too, // Their ranks hold' (Mnt 170); *jirqo'an Qongqotan kö'üt inu e'üten bosoju qolumta to'orin bayyiju qančud-ıyan šimalıqadardun Činggis qahan gerelju šıqadaju jayıla qaruya ke'e'et qarqu-lu'a Činggis qa'an-i horčın qorčın turqa'ut to'orin bayyibai* '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.<sup>223</sup> Later in LM the verb appears as *uquri-* 'to step back, retreat; to go back on one's word or promise'.

Mnt **iquri-** 'to retreat in haste': *Tayang qan ügülerün ele tede doromji-ača qolo bayiya ke'eju qoyınaqši iquriju a'ula asan bayyiba* 'Tayang Qan said, 'Let us then stay away from those vile creatures!' He retreated 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 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 kigürjü olun yadan yadaju širi širbusun ideju 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;

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(L) *toyıy* 'the kneecap, patella' (for which cf. Old Turkic *tobik* '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) *toyimuy* 'hornless; shaven (of head)').

<sup>223</sup> Cf. *Köyiten bayi[l]duju dorqaşı de'ekši iquriqaldun jibši'erülčen büqüi-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 *nököče-* ‘be, become a friend’ ← *nökör* ‘companion, friend’.

Godziński (1985: 56) mentions examples from the Mnt and other Middle Mongol sources, e.g. *nököče-* (Mnt; H; MA); *qala’uča-* ~ *qalawuča-* (MA), *qalūča-* (Leiden); *denggeče-* (Mnt), *tengčewülbe* (MA); *dergeče-* (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 *nököče-* 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/denggeče-* is of denominal or of deverbal origin.

There remain the verbs *dergeče-* and *hontuča-*, from which *dergeče-* 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-otčigin de’ü inu kiligü dergečejü ayisuqui-tur* ‘his younger brother, Dāritai Otčigin, rode alongside the shaft of the cart’ (Mnt 56); *Dāritai-o[t]čigin dergečejü yabuju ügülerün* ‘Dāritai Otčigin, riding beside her, said’ (Mnt 56); *Qada’an-i uriju ire’üljü dergečen 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 *hontuča-* ‘to shoot a long-distance arrow’: *oqjatču qaruqsan-i // hontučaju oro’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) *hontučaju čimada qarda’asu heregey-yen hoqtolju o’orsuqai* ‘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. *Yis ontud-/ontut-*. It was the idea of Kara to trace back the Khalkha verb *ontusax* ‘célba talál (nyíl, 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 *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’;

**Literature:**

Street 1957: 63; Godziński 1985: 56; Ramstedt 1912: §34; 1952: §95/6; Önörbayan 1998: 40; 2000: 45–46; Poppe 1960: 98; Dondukov 1964: 138–139; Cydypov 1988: 59; Benzing 1985: 22; Szabó 1943: §89;

**+sA-**

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 *ǰusa-*.

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 *ǰusa-* (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 *+ǰA-* (*+ǰi-*).

- (1) Mnt *ǰusa-* ‘to spend the summer’:<sup>224</sup> *übüł übüłǰejü ǰusaǰu namur inu Merkit irgen-u Toqto’a-beki-tür morilaǰu* ‘When winter was over and summer had passed, in the autumn I rode against Toqto’a Beki of the Merkit’ (Mnt 177); *Bala-yi güličen Altan-qorqan-u niri’un Soltan-u ǰusalang ǰusaǰu Tolui-tur elčün 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 Tolui’ (Mnt 259); *tende Činggis qahan qarǰu ǰa’ura Erdiš ǰusaǰu dolodu’ar hon takiya ǰil namur Tūla-yin qara tün-e ordos-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 ǰusaǰu* ‘Činggis Qa’an spent the summer on Časutu Mountain’ (Mnt 266) < *\*ǰusa-* ← *\*ǰun* ~ LM (L) *ǰun* ‘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 kö’üt aburi-yan alqasa’uǰai* ‘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); *kö’üt sayi edüi ayalan surun büküi-tür kö’üd-i šingtalun mene metü yekin eyin dongqodumu kö’üt ayuǰu setkil-iyen alqasa’uǰai* ‘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-* ← *\*alqa* ~ 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’: *edö’e ene qanalqa-tur qamsaya bida* ‘Now, taking this opportunity, let us jointly attack them!’ (Mnt 133); *ebüges ečiges-i bidan-u baraqsat Tatar-i qamsaya bida* ‘Let us jointly attack the Tatars who have destroyed our fathers and forefathers’ (Mnt 133); *Činggis qahan To’oril qan qoyar qamtu čerik e’üsčü Ulǰa huru’u Ongging-čingseng-lü’e qamsan ayisuqui-tur* ‘As they approached, moving downstream along the Ulǰa to launch the attack in conjunction with Ongging Čingsang’ (Mnt 133); *Megüǰin-se’ültü-yi qamsaǰu alaqsan tanu Altan qan-a maši yeke tusa*

<sup>224</sup> 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 ǰusaǰu*”. It is quite interesting that for the same expression Ligeti and de Rachewiltz has “*Erdiš ǰusaǰu*”.

*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 öšten kišten ebüges ečiges-i bidan-u baraqsat Tatar-i qamsan morilaya 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); *či bara’un qar bol bi endeče qamsaju tedeket Mongqol-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-i ilērün qada’un otču Sultan-u činana qarču bidan-i gürge’ülün qamsatqun ke’eju ilēbe* ‘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); *Sübe’etei Büjek qoyar-un dalda-da yabuju olo’ar büri-yer qamsaju Orusu[t] Kibča’ud-i oro’ulju* ‘you set out under the shelter of Sübe’etei and Büjek, with the full force of the army, to bring the Orusut Kibča’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) *qamu-* ‘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 olon adu’un anu joqsaju ülü’ü qočoru’ujai ordo ger anu e’üreju ülü’ü qočoru’ujai* ‘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 Saqlaqar-modun horčin qabirqa-ta qa’ulqa ebüdük-te ölkek 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-juburun Qutula qan-nu de[b]segü Saqlār-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) *debdeči-*, *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’: *Činggis qahan bolu’at Bo’orču-yin de’ü Ögölei-čerbi qor a[q]saba Qaçi’un-toqura’un qor a[q]saba jetei Doqolqu-čerbi aqa de’ü qoyar qor aqsaba* ‘Having become qa’an, Činggis ordered<sup>225</sup> the younger brother of Bo’orču, Ögölei Čerbi,

<sup>225</sup> The text does not speak about any order. Cf. also the next example. The actor is Činggis himself, who hangs on the quivers on the mentioned persons. This in fact was the nomantion ceremony of these persons for the rank of quiver-bearer.

to carry a quiver, Qači'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 üldüs aqsaju* 'Qubilai, Čilgütei and Qarqai Toqura'un together with Qasar were ordered to carry swords' (Mnt 124); *qor aqsquy-a turqa'ud-un kešik kešik qorčin-iyān teyin aqalaju oro'ultuqai* 'These four shall make their quiverbearers join the various companies of dayguards to carry quivers and so be their commanders'<sup>226</sup> (Mnt 225); *qor aqsquya turqa'ud-un dörben kešik kešik-tür ačid-un qorčin-iyān jasaju oroldutuqai* 'marshalling their quiverbearers of the bodyguards, shall respectively join the four separate companies of the dayguards to carry quivers' (Mnt 278) < \*agsa- ← \*ag ~ Khal.K. ag 'szoros, szúk, szorosan, szúken';

Mnt **buqsa-** 'to hold back': *ginji-ben mültüldejü edö'e ese'ü buqsaju aqsat bayasču teyin šilemeljen ayisai tede* 'Loosed from their iron chains - which had surely restrained them! - they are now full of joy and are approaching thus, slaving at the mouth' (Mnt 195) < \*bugsa- ← \*bug, cf. LM (L) *buuly-a* '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': *ayisuqun öyeseksen šibawun metü šilemelčejü quši'uraju ayisqun ken büyyü* 'Who is the one approaching from the rear, coming forward at the head of the army and drawing near like a greedy, slaving falcon?' (Mnt 195); *Temüjin anda minu öyeseksen šibawun metü eyin šilemeljen ayisu* 'The one approaching us is my friend Temüjin' (Mnt 195);

### Literature:

Street 1957: 63; Godziński 1985: 62–63; Ramstedt 1912: §91; 1952: §90; Poppe 1960: 98; Dondukov 1964: 155–156; Cydypov 1988: 59; Benzing 1985: 146; Szabó 1943: §87;

### +tU-

The denominal verb suffix *+tU-* was quoted by Street (1957: 63). According to him the suffix has only one derivative, the verb *eyetü-* (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 *eyetüldü-*, which demands the use of a connective vowel. There are 18 such occurrences in contrast with the 7 occurrences without the reciprocal suffix.

<sup>226</sup> As noted by de Rachewiltz (2004: 822-823) this passage is quite difficult and is rendered differently by most translators.

- (1) Mnt **eyetü-** ‘to agree, to accord’: *Qasar-i ire’ülü’et bayasču Činggis qahan Ong qan-tur elčün ilēye ke’en eyetüjü Jewüredei Qali’udar Uriangqadai Čaqurqan qoyar-iyar ügülejü ilērün* ‘Činggis Qa’an received Qasar and rejoiced. They agreed to send messengers to Ong Qan. Through Qali’udar of the Je’üret and Čaqurqan of the Uriangqai Činggis Qa’an sent a message’ (Mnt 183); *uruq-un uruq-a gürtele Šigi-qutuqu-yin natur eyetüjü yosulaju kökö bičik čaqa’an ča’alsun-tur debterleksen-i bü ye’ütkeügei* ‘Until the offspring of my offspring, let no one alter any of the blue writing that Šigi Qutuqu, after deciding in accordance with me, shall make into a book with white paper.’ (Mnt 203); *Qunan Kökö-čos qoyar-ača eye üge’ü bü üyyiletkün Qunan Kökö-čos qoyar-tur eyetüjü üyyiletkün* ‘Do not act without the agreement of Qunan and Kökö Čos. Act only in consultation with them’ (Mnt 210); *Mongqol-un qan-tur edö’et-tür elsen eyetüye eye-tür oroju Mongqol-i iču’asu ičuqaqsan-u qoyina basa busu setkil bida tende eyetüldüt 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):

- (2) Mnt **hilu’atu-** ‘to be teased by gadflies’: *Senggüm Didik-saqal-un Nekün-usun-a ülü oron qada’un yorčiju Čöl-tür oroju usurqarun qulat hilu’atuju [6a] bayyiqun-i Senggüm bawuju mariyaaju’u* ‘Senggüm did not go to Nekün Usun of Didik Saqal, but bypassed it and entered the Čöl. While searching for water, he dismounted and stalked some wild asses that were standing there, plagued by gadflies’ (Mnt 188) < \**hilugatu-* ← \**hilugan* ~ LM (L) *ilaqan* ‘fly, gnat, gadfly’, Ordos *ilō* ‘taon’ which assures the correctness of the etymology.

Mnt **uqtu-/uqdu-** ‘to meet, to receive, to welcome’: *Oyirad-un Quduqa-beki-yi uqtun urida elsen Tümen-Oyirad-iyar uduridun irebe* ‘Quduqa Beki of the Oyirat came to submit ahead of the Tümen Oyirat’ (Mnt 239) /// *basa bi ö’esün Kelüren-ü Bürgi-ergi-deče uqdu yorčiju* ‘furthermore, from the Bürgi Escarpment on the Kelüren River, I in person went to receive you’ (Mnt 177); *ede qurban-i ayisai ke’en Qada esergü uqdu altatai hartai a’urasu bari’at jungdu dotoraça qarču esergü irebei* ‘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:

Street 1957: 63; Godziński 1985: 63–64; Bold 1986: 114; Önörbayan 2000: 43–44; Poppe 1960: 98; Dondukov 1964: 133–134; Cydypov 1988: 61; Benzing 1985: 158;

### +*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 *dayyiči-*. 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-/dayji-*** ‘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 ülü da’usun jiči dayyijin gödöljü* ‘Then, in less than a year, he rebelled and left once more’ (Mnt 152); *Temüjin-lü’e dayyijju qaruqsan Mongqol qa’a otqun* ‘As for the Mongols who have rebelled against us and who left with Temüjin, where can they go?’ (Mnt 174); Further occurrences: Mnt 177, 188, 198, 257, 266 /// *Merkid-ün jarimut ulus dayijju Taiqal-qorqa qorqalaju’ui* (Mnt 198) < \**dagiji-* ← \**dagin* ~ LM (L) *dayin* ‘war, battle; hostility, enmity’, cf. Old Turkic *yaǰi* ‘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’s<sup>227</sup> Khalkha dictionary. In turn Bawden has *daijix* ‘(*daijin jailax*, *daijin jugatax*) ‘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’oĵi-*:

Mnt ***qo’oĵi-*** ‘die (Flaum?-)Federn abwerfen’: *qoluqat qo’oĵju’u // šilüget šiberijü’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:

<sup>227</sup> Neither Kara, nor Cewel has *daičix* or *daijix*.

*quluqat qo'oǰǰu'u // šilüget šiberǰü'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'oǰi-* really should be translated as 'to moult' on the base of LM (L) *γuuǰi-* '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' seems 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 *\*silö* 'juice, soup', cf. LM (L) *silükei* 'slobbery, driveling; glutinous'; LM (L) *silüsün* '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',<sup>228</sup> 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 *qulan* 'wild ass' there is no traceable etymon for the verb *qulaǰi-*:

Mnt **qulaǰi-** 'to take fright, to flee': *ǰalayirtai ǰebke tende qulaǰǰu Barquǰin oron buru'utba* 'ǰebke of the ǰalayir then left in fright and fled into the Barquǰin 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 *+ǰi-* appears as an element of the compound suffix *+ǰirA-* listed separately by Godziński (1985: 58), but not mentioned by Street. The suffix was listed by Poppe in connection with Literary Mongol<sup>229</sup> 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 *+ǰi-*. As no parallel forms in *+ǰi-* and *+ǰirA-* appear, it seems that such a compound was used when the form with *+ǰi-* loses its meaning, or the meaning becomes obscure.

Mnt **angǰičira-** 'to take leave, to separate': *edö'e qan ečige minu ama'ar kele'er-ü olulčaju angǰičiraba či* 'And now, my father the Qan, when you separated from me, did you explain face to face?' (Mnt 177) < *\*angǰijira-* ← **\*angǰi** ~ LM (L) *angǰi* 'class, group,

<sup>228</sup> It is clear that the Khalkha word *šilbe* suggested by the EDAL (1251) 1. does not mean a 'two year old camel'. Khal. *šilbe* means 'shin'; 2. the meaning 'two year old camel' pertains to Khal. *šar šilbe*; 3. the word cannot be connected with *šilüget*.

<sup>229</sup> The examples quoted by Poppe are the following: *sayǰira-* 'to improve', *angǰijira-* 'to separate'; *mayuǰira-* 'to deteriorate'.

part, section, category; unit, detachment; branch of science; different(ly), separate(ly), apart’;

### Literature:

Godziński 1985: 58; GWM §243, §244; Ramstedt 1912: § 64; Önörbayan 1998: 40; 2000: 38–39, 46–47; Poppe 1960: 98; Dondukov 1964: 137; Cydypov 1988: 62; Benzing 1985: 190; Szabó 1943: §78;

### +lǰA-

The denominal verb suffix +lǰA- was mentioned by Street (1957: 63). He marks one occurrence. The only example of this suffix seems to be Mnt *ši'alǰa-* (1). This fact, however arises the question if this suffix is a real one, or is a misread/misinterpreted form.

- (1) Mnt *ši'alǰa-* ‘to play a game with anklebones’: *Jamuqa quraltuq ši'a Temüjin-ne ökcü Temüjn-ü činggültüktü ši'a anda bolulčaju anda ke'eldüksen Onan-nu mölsün-tür ši'alǰaqui-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) < \*šigalǰa- ← \*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 -lǰA-. 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. *nambaljax* (< \*nambalǰa-) ‘kérkedik, hivalkodik, piperkőcködik; fensőbbiségesen viselkedik’ ← \*namba, cf. LM (K) *namba* (<< Tibetan *rnam-pa*) ‘külső, látszat; méltóságjeltség, méltóságjeltes magatartás, tekintélyföltő távolságtartás, tekintélyesség, komolyság, kimértség’;
- (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) *delbe* ‘petal of a flower; helix of the ear’, **but** LM (L) *delbeg* ‘large, wide; plentiful(ly), abundant(ly), bountiful(ly)’;

### Literature:

Street 1957: 63;

**+li-**

The denominal 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 *amurli-*, and *mawuqali-*.

Mnt ***amurli-*** ‘to ease, to still, to calm down’: *dayyisun-a dawuliqdarun ayuǰu buru’utču yabuǰu edö’e amurliba ǰe* (Mnt 156); *Bo’orču Muqali Šigi-qutuqu qurban-u kelen-tür amurliba ǰe* ‘he calmed down at the words of Bo’orču, Muqali and Šigi Qutuqu’ (Mnt 242) < \**amurli-* ← \**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 tula aqa de’ü-tür mawuqalin bolulča’uǰai* ‘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 teyin üge baralduǰu amara’alin 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’uliǰu qubiyalduǰu abulčaǰu geyi[t]-tür-iyen qarǰu 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 dawuliǰu adu’un ide’en-e haran tutqar-a aqui sa’uquy-a gürbe* (Mnt 39); *dürbeǰü yabuqun Merkid-i söni-de gü daručaǰu dawulin talan yabuqui-tur* (Mnt 110); *jürkin-i Kelüren-ü Ködö’e-aral-un Dolo’an-bolda’ut-ta büqüi-tür irgen inu dawulibai* ‘ (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 difficulties<sup>230</sup>, 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 rare<sup>231</sup>, and it is exactly the Middle Mongol period when probably under the influence (expansion) of the suffix *+la-* this phonotactic prohibition becomes cancelled.

<sup>230</sup> For the initial consonant cf. LM (L) *taǰuli-* ‘to chase, pursue; to attack; to seize’ /// *daǰuli-/dauli-* ‘to pillage, make prisoner; to seize, take possession of’, which variation also could point to foreign origin.

<sup>231</sup> Actually beside of some deverbal nouns in *+la-*, like *keregle-*, *keküdegle-*, *čayla-*, *quyayla-* it appears only in the nouns *aylay*, *tuyluy* and *öglige*. While *aylay* and *tuyluy* are probably of Turkic origin, *öglige* 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’: *boro'an ber bolu'asu // boljāl-tur // qura ber bolu'asu // qural-tur bü qojidaya* ‘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-ıyan borbin-ıyan kinggürü çabçıldusu* ‘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 nökor // je'erde-yin mina'a bolju // je-deçe ülü qojidan // jerge-deçe çolayitan // urtu ça'ur ça'uraju // oqor bolqa bolqaju öksü* ‘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) < \**kojida-* (or \**kojid a-*) ← \**kojid* ~ LM (L) *qojid* ‘later, afterward’;

?Mnt **ča'ura-** ‘to go on a campaign’: *Sübe'etei-ba'atur temür telegetü Merkid-ün Toqto'a-yin [11b] Qutu Čila'un teri'üten kö'üd-i inu neken ça'uraju Čui-müren-e güyyičejü muqutqaju irebe* ‘Sübe'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) < \**çagura-* ← \**çagur* ~ 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 **andaqa-** ‘to swear’: *edö’e kö’ü-ben üje’ü mawui setki’esü ene metü čisu-ban qarqaqdasu ke’en andaqa’u* ‘Now, if I think evil when I see my son, let my blood be shed like this!’ And, taking the oath’ (Mnt 178)<sup>232</sup> < \**andaka-* ← \***anda** ~ LM (L) *anda* ‘sworn brother, friend’;
- (2) Mnt **qubiya-** ‘to distribute, to divide’: *tedüi Kereyit irge dorayyita’ul’u jük jük qubiya’u tala’ulbai* ‘Thus [Činggis Qa’an] crushed and despoiled the Kereyit people, distributing them on all sides’ (Mnt 186); *čisutu tonoq abučči jirgin ba’atud-i jisüjü qubiya’u gürgeldün yadabai* ‘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’üt de’ü-ner-e irge qubiya’u ögüye* ‘[Činggis Qa’an decreed that] he would apportion subject people among his mother, children and younger brothers’ (Mnt 242) Further occurrences: Mnt 260, 279 < \**kubiga-* ← \***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 gü’ün čö’e buqu alaj’u qabirqas inu abit inu širaju bügü-yi jolqaj’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 yadanggi gü’ün kö’ü-be’en kötöljü yabuqu-yi jolqaj’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 šibawulan yabukui-tur Merkid-ün Yeke-čiledü Oloqunu’ut irgen-eče öki a[b]ču e’üsgejü ayisuqu-yi jolqaj’u önggeyjü üje’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 Olqunu’ut tribe to be his wife. Leaning forward to have a better look’ (Mnt 54) Further occurrences: Mnt 61, 67, 90, 155 < \**jolka-* ←<sup>233</sup> \***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 jirqaqu büle’e* ‘The Mongols rejoiced, and in their rejoicing they danced and feasted’ (Mnt 57); *qorčila’ul’ju ötökle’ül’ü uruq-un uruq-a gürtele 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); *edö’e minu turuq qorčila’ul’ju ötökle’ül’ü darqalan jirqatqun* ‘You shall be a freeman, allowed to carry a quiver and drink the ceremonial wine’<sup>234</sup> (Mnt 219) < *jirka-* ← \***jir**;

<sup>232</sup> Cf. the reciprocal form in Mnt 141: *a’jirqa ge’ün ke’üs čabčılaldu’u andaqaldu’u tendeče Ergüne-müren huru’u newüjü*.

<sup>233</sup> Semantically the derivation is clear, cf. Hungarian *szerencsėje volt vmihez/vkihez* ‘to meet’ where *szerencse* means ‘luck’. The connection of the Mongolic and the Turkic words widespreadly present in the literature is possible, but supposes a very early semantic split.

<sup>234</sup> The passage ‘to the offspring of your offspring’ is not present in the original.

Mnt **ariya-** ‘to hesitate’: *Belgütey-ye ülü ilağdaqu büle’e bi qahan-nača ayuǰu arqadan unaqu ariyaqu bolun amin-dur-ıyan gürtebei bi* ‘I would not have been defeated by Belgütei, but fearing the Qa’an, I took a fall on purpose. I hesitated, so I lost my life.’ (Mnt 140) < \*ariga- ? ← \*ari<sup>235</sup> << 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-a mungqaq budawu büyyü ke’en uruq-a ülü 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) < \*mungkağ ← \*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; Ramstedt 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 (*ququči-, suquči-, hoqtoči-*) in this work were considered to be of deverbal origin<sup>236</sup>, cf. the section of -či-. It is not doubtful, however, that as LM and Khalkha show<sup>237</sup> such a suffix exists for Mongolic.

Mnt **übči-** ‘to peel off (tr.)’: *hula’an ni’ur-ıyan // übčikdeküy-eče // urtu setkiltü anda-yi-yan // ünün čirai üjün yadaǰu yabuba je bi* ‘The skin of my red face // Came off in shame; // And so I have been living // Unable to see the true face // Of my sworn friend with a long memory.’ (Mnt 201); *ama’ar alaqsan // ačilasu<sup>238</sup> ülü boli // üge-tür ükü’ülüksen // übči’esü ülü 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)

<sup>235</sup> The etymology proposed here is obscure. To bring something against such a derivation apart from the semantic obscurity I should mention the phonetic difficulties.

<sup>236</sup> In addition Godziński quotes the verb *qaqača-*, the verb forming suffix of which he considers an allomorph of +či-.

<sup>237</sup> Khal.K. *xesegčix* (< \*kesegči-) ‘(fel)darabol, részekre bont vmit’ ← \*keseg; LM (L) *keseg* ‘part, piece, portion, fragment; group; paragraph, chapter, section; division; department; moment; some time’;

LM (L) *tobči-* ‘to speak fluently but concisely’ ← \*tob; LM (L) *tob* ‘clear(ly), distinct(ly), definite(ly);

<sup>238</sup> The form *ačila-* is quite strange. de Rachewiltz left this verb un-commented. 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 it as ‘booty’ or something like that<sup>239</sup>.

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 +*šiyA-* 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 *oroši’ul-*, the active form of which is present in the text as well.

Mnt **oroši-** ‘to introduce, to nominate’: *sa’ari<n> čintan-i adu’ula’at nuntu[q]čitan-i orošin tölet qarqaju unuqučın 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 milch 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 *köbši-*, *nobši-*,

Mnt **köbši-**: (reciproc *köbšildü-*) ‘to be cold’: *noyitan nobšilduğu // köyiten kö[b]šildüğü // nendü qutuq bolğu 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 nobšilduğu // köyiten köbšildüğü 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) < \* *köbši-* ← \***köb** ← \***kö-**, cf. LM (L) *körö-* ‘to cool off, become cool; to freeze’

Mnt **nobši-**: (reciproc *nobšildü-*) ‘to be wet’: *noyitan nobšilduğu // köyiten kö[b]šildüğü // nendü qutuq bolğu 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 nobšilduğu //*

<sup>239</sup> cf. Mnt *üb: üb tonaq: jidatu ere-yi jı’uğu čisutu tonaq tonaqčın // üldütü ere-yi hüldęü // unaqaju alaju // üb tonaq abuqčın // Uru’u[t] 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-*<sup>240</sup> ‘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 which<sup>241</sup> 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’: *edö’e tere // gölme dabşikui-tur // kö’ürge-yin dawu bolqaşu // kökidek Toqto’a Bu’ura-ke’er-e büi je* ‘Now, // That Toqto’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’: *Tayyiçi’ut unğşıju ügülerün aqa-ban Temüjin-i ilē* ‘when the Tayiçi’ut shouted, ‘Send out your elder brother Temüjin’ (Mnt 79); *Temüjin dūrbejü ayisuqun irgen-tür Börte Börte ke’en unğşıju yabuqui-tur učıraşu Börte üjin tede dūrbekün irgen-tür büjü’üi* ‘Temüjin 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 unğšilalduju unğşıju jilda boldaşu manaqar qatqulduya ke’ejü içüju 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); *Temüjin-i ere-yi minu aburatuqai ke’en unğşıju qayilaşu uyyilaba bi* ‘I cried and wailed and called on Temüjin 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) *unji-* ‘to cry, lament’

As the forms in +šiyA- (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 *samşıya-*, *buru’uşıya-*, *jöbšiye-*, *berkešiye-*, *he’üšiye-*.

Mnt **samši-/samşıya-** ‘to suffer loss/to cause to suffer loss’: *qorqaqsat Tatar-tur bidanu çeri’üt e’erekün bolun maşi samşıju’u qorqalaq-[20b]sat Tatar-i joboşu oro’ulşu ülütken či’ün-tür ülijü kiduqui-tur Tatar ügüleldürün gü’ün tutum qançun-duriyan kituqai qançulaşu dere*

<sup>240</sup> Actually the LM form of this verb is not *nor-* but *noro-*.

<sup>241</sup> Cf. *edö’e tere // gölme dabşikui-tur // kö’ürge-yin dawu bolqaşu // kökidek Toqto’a Bu’ura-ke’er-e büi je // dabçitu qor darbaljaqui-tur // dayyij[i]q]çi Dayyir-usun // edö’e Orqon Selengge qoyar-un Talqun[6a]-aral-a büi je // qamqa’ulsun keyyisküi-tür // qara hoi temečekçi // Qa’atai-darmala edö’e // Qaraji-ke’er-e büi je.*

*abun üküye ke'eldüjü basa maši gü samšju'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-yin ja'aqu-yin tula bidanu čeri'üt maši samšiyabai* 'Because Belgütei divulged the decision we took together with our kinsmen at the great council, our soldiers suffered great losses.' (Mnt 154) < \***samši**- ← \***sam**. The etymology of this verb is obscure.

Mnt: **buru'siya**- 'to consider faulty': *qahan ečige-yin minu bürin-ü emüne döro kičiyegü gü'ün-i ülü uqan öyisüledüksen-iyer ö'eriye buru'ušiyaba 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) < \***burgušiqa**- ← \***buruguši**- ← \***burugu** ~ LM (L) *buruyu* 'error, misconception, mistake, guilt; erroneous, false; unjust; wicked; contrary; left-hand side (of a person); right-hand side (of a ridding animal)';

Mnt **jöbšiy**e- 'to approve': *Börte üjin-ü üge-ber jöbšiyejü ülü bawun söni dülin gödöljü ayisuqui-tur* 'They all approved of the words of Lady Börte and without pitching camp they set off, travelling at night.' (Mnt 119); *ene üge-yi jöbšiyejü jürčedei Arqai qoyar-i alginčila'ulju sönit düli'et gürčü* 'Činggis Qa'an approved these words and sent Jürčedei and Arqai ahead to reconnoitre. They travelled through the night and having reached' (Mnt 185); *Činggis qahan Qadaq-ba'atur-un üge-yi jöbšiyejü jarliq 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 < **jöbšige**- ← \***jöbši**- ~ LM (L) **jöbši**- 'to take counsel with; to deliberate, discuss; to examine critically, analyze' ← \***jöb** ~ LM (L) **jöb** 'correct, true, right; the right or correct side';

Mnt **berkešiy**e- 'to consider difficult': *bidanu dergede yabukui-ban berkešiy'esü busu-yi oro'ulju tere gü'ün-i ere'ülejü nidün-e ečine qolo qajar-a ilēye* '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 mün kešiktü qurbanta kešik ho'ara'asu qučin dolo'an beri'es göyü'et bidan-tur yabuqui-ban berkešiyen aju'u ečine qolo qajar-a ilēye* '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 mün gü'ün ebetčin šilta'a ügei kešig-ün otögü-tür eye ügei quta'arta kešik ho'ara'asu bidan-tur yabuquy-yan berkešiyen aju'u qujin dolo'an beri'es söyü'et qola qajar-a nidün-ü ečine ilēye* '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 of Our sight' (Mnt 278) < \***berkešige**- ← \***berkeši**- ← \***berke** ~ LM (L) **berke** 'difficult, hard; burdensome, troublesome; complicated, serious; difficulty, hardship; trouble'

The analyze of the verb *he'üšiye-* 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 *ügüšiye-* ‘sušit’ na solnce’, his final statement is that *he'üšiye-* is a denominal verb in +šiyA- 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’.<sup>242</sup> 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 *\*hegü* 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) *egsige-* ‘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'üšiye-* ‘to consider disagreeable, intolerable’: *Mongqol-un ba ere aqta qajar he'üšiyejü kölčirgemüi ke'ekdemüi* ‘It is said that the men and geldings of the Mongols find our country unsuitable and fall victim to epidemics.’ (Mnt 248) < *\*hegüšiye-* ← *\*hegüši-* ← *\*heg*.

#### Literature:

Street 1957: 64; Godziński 1985: 63; Cleaves 1950: 113–114; Ramstedt 1912: 93; 1952: 95/7; GWM §248, §249; Bold 1986: 116–118; 119–120; Önörbayan 1998: 39, 40, 43; 2000: 31–32, 39–41, 128; Poppe 1960: 98; Dondukov 1964: 139; Cydypov 1988: 58, 62; Benzing 1985: 157; Szabó 1943: §88;

#### +lgU-

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 +lA-.

Mnt *büselgü-* ‘to encircle’: *Činggis qahan naran jilda boldajū Naqu-kun-nu a'ula-yi büselgün bayyijū 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) < *\*büselgü-* ← *\*büse* ~ LM (L) *büse* ‘girdle or belt (worn around outer garments)’;

#### Literature:

Street 1957: 63;

<sup>242</sup> 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)l-*, *-či-*, *-lĵA-*, *-bAlĵA-/ -kAlĵA-*, *-rA-*, *-s-*, *-(V)t-*, *-ĵi-*.

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:**

*+lA-*, *+(V)t-*, *+dA-*, *+rA-*, *+čilA-*, *+rKA-*, *+(i)s-*, *+yi-*, *+ĵA-*, *+mši-*, *+ri-*, *+čA-*, *+sA-*, *+tU-*, *+ĵi-*, *+lĵA-*, *+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 *+lA-* 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 *+šiyA-*, *+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 *-bAljA-* and *-KAljA-*.

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

**Aba1** 1265 The Letter of Ilkhan Abaga (Doerfer 1975a: 190–192, F: 237–239)

**Aba2** 1267/79 The Letter of Ilkhan Abaga (1267) (Tisserant 1946; Mostaert – Cleaves 1952: 430–445; Ligeti 1963: 83–84; 1972: 243–244; Dobo 1983: 24–30)

**Aba4** 1271 The Letter of Ilkhan Abaga (Doerfer 1975a: 193–194, F: 237–239)

**Abu1** 1320 The Fragments from a Letter of Abû Sa'îd (Pelliot 1936: 37–44; F. Pic29–31; Cleaves 1953a; Minorsky 1954: 515–527; Ligeti 1963: 104–109; 1972: 258–263; Doerfer 1974)

**Abu2** 1325 The Edict of Abû Sa'îd (Herrmann – Doerfer 1975a: 341–346)

**Ail1–30** 1478–1517 Statements Ming (Ligeti 1963: 66–85.)

**Alx** XIV c. Fragments of the Alexander romance (Haenisch 1959: 39–46; Ligeti 1963: 112–122; 1972: 197–207; Poppe 1957a; Cleaves 1959; Dobo 1983: 419–466; Cend 1973; Damdinsürüng 1959; Šongqor 1996);

**Arug** 1340 The inscription of Arug wang (Ligeti 1963: 67–69; 1972: 59–61; Cleaves 1964–1965) Luwsanbalдан 1962; Kara 1964; Dobo 1983: 307–318; Bousiyang 1980a; 1980b; 1984: 70–92; Dobo 1979;

**Arg2** 1287 The edict of Argun (Doerfer 1975a: 205–207)

**Arg3** 1289 The edict of Argun (Meadows 1850; Bonaparte 1895: 14Tab; Mostaert – Cleaves 1962; Ligeti 1963: 90–92; 1972: 245–247; Kotwicz 1925; 1936, Kozin 1935a; 1935b, Haenisch 1949, Cleaves 1951b, Mostaert 1955, Murayama 1955, Mostaert – Cleaves 1962, Dobo 1983: 31–44; Jančiw 2005: 213; Bogdanov 1928; Valdimircov 1929b; Dašnyam 2003; Kljukin 1925; Pučkovskij 1949; Cend 1964: 29–32; Murayama 1968; Shirendyb 1974)

**Arg4** 1290 The edict of Argun (Ligeti 1963: 93–94; 1972: 248–249; Mostaert – Cleaves 1952; Dobo 1983: 45–55; Cend 1964: 31–32)

**Bca** 1312 The Commentary of Bodhicaryāvātara by Chos-kyi 'od-zer (Ligeti 1963: 25–43; 1966a; 1970b: 257–284; 1972: 115–134; Haenisch 1954; Cleaves 1954; Weller 1955; 1958; Dobo 1983: 158–211; Jančiw 2005: 169–192; Tömörtogō 1968; 1969; Cerensodnom 1969: 86–88; 128–129; Čün Quva 2002a, 2002b; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 75–95; Poppe 1962; Taube 1984; Damdinsüren 1954; Damdinsürüng 1957;

**Cal1** XIV c. Calendar fragment (Ligeti 1972B: 184–186; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 148–149);

**Cal2** XIV c. Calendar fragment (Ligeti 1972B: 187; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 150);

**Cal3** XIV c. Calendar fragment (Ligeti 1972B: 187–189; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 150–152);

**Cal4** XIV c. Calendar fragment (Ligeti 1972B: 189–191; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 152–153);

**Cal5** XIV c. Calendar fragment (Ligeti 1972B: 192; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 154);

**Cal6** XIV c. Calendar fragment (Ligeti 1972B: 193–194; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 155–157);

- Cal7** XIV c. Calendar fragment (Ligeti 1972B: 194–196; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 157–158);
- Cal8** XIV c. Calendar fragment (Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 154–155);
- Cal9** XIV c. Calendar fragment (Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 158–160);
- Cal10** XIV c. Calendar fragment (Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 160);
- Cal11** XIV c. Calendar fragment (Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 161);
- Cal12** XIV c. Calendar fragment (Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 161);
- Cal13** XIV c. Calendar fragment (Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 161);
- Cal14** XIV c. Calendar fragment (Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 162);
- Cal15** XIV c. Calendar fragment (Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 162);
- Cal16** XIV c. Calendar fragment (Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 162);
- Cal17** XIV c. Calendar fragment (Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 162);
- Cal18** XIV c. Calendar fragment (Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 163);
- Cal19** XIV c. Calendar fragment (Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 163);
- Dar** 1431 The praise of Tara – Tārā-Ekaviṃśatistotra (Heissig 1976: 25–70, 100–112);
- Dhy** 1431 Eulogy of the five Dhyāni-Buddhas (Heissig 1976: 71–75, 113–115)
- Qqt1** XIV (G106) Loan-contract from Qara-qoto (Ligeti 1963: 164–165; 1972: 108–109; Cleaves 1955; Kara 2003: 21–22; Jančiw 2005: 152);
- 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);

- Qqt15** XIV (G 109) Qara-qoto (Kara 2003: 26–28);
- Qqt16** XIV (G 115) Qara-qoto (Kara 2003: 34);
- Qqt17** XIV (G 117) Qara-qoto (Kara 2003: 34–39);
- Qqt18** XIV (G 116) Qara-qoto (Kara 2003: 39–40);
- Tfn1** 1338 (T II D203) Edict of Yisün temür (Ramstedt 1909; Haenisch 1959: 29; Ligeti 1963: 150–151; 1972: 208–209; Mostaert – Cleaves 1952: 442–443; Franke 1962; Weiers 1967a: 16–33; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 181–182);
- Tfn2** 1353 (T M 94 D135 [M867]) Edict of Tuglug temür (Haenisch 1959: 33; Ligeti 1963: 160–161; 1972: 210–211; Weiers 1967a: 34–40; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 178–179);
- Tfn3** 1309+ (TM 214) Edict of Böketemür (Ligeti 1963: 153–154; 1972: 212–213; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 179–180; Franke 1968a);
- Tfn4** 1309+ (T II D306) Turfan (Ligeti 1963: 155–156; 1972: 214–215; Haenisch 1959: 30; Ramstedt 1909: 846–848; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 182; Weiers 1967a: 41–46);
- Tfn5** 1369 (T M 79 [M 866]) Ilaskoĵa (Haenisch 1959: 30; Ligeti 1963: 151–152; 1972: 216–217; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 168–170; Franke 1977a);
- Tfn6** 1317+ (TM 92) Turfan (Haenisch 1959: 31; Ligeti 1963: 162–163; 1972: 218–219; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 170–172; Franke 1976);
- Tfn7** 1352 (TM 93) Tuglug temür (Haenisch 1959: 32; Ligeti 1963: 158–160; 1972: 220–221; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 173–175);
- 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; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 190);
- Tfn10** 1325 (T II D 197) Kebek (Ramstedt 1909: 845–846; Haenisch 1959: 35; Ligeti 1963: 161–162; 1972: 226; Pelliot 1914: 449; Franke 1962: 406; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 183);
- Tfn11** 1348/1360 (T II D224) Tuglug temür (Ramstedt 1909: 843–845; Cleaves 1953a; 1953b; Haenisch 1959: 29; Ligeti 1963: 156–158; 1972: 227–228; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 176–178);
- Tfn12** 1314+ (T I U 5361) Fragment (Ligeti 1971b: 139–150; 160; 1972: 229–230; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 185);
- Tfn13** XIV (U 5981) Turfan (Ligeti 1971b: 150–153; 161; 1972: 231–232; Cerensodnom – 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; Cerensodnom – 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 – Farudi 1988);
- Du2** XIII–XIV Tunhuang (Ligeti 1972B: 35; Pelliot 1927: 148; 1929: 219);
- DuIss** (Peng Jinzhang – Wang Jianjun 2000–2004);
- FrB1a–c** 1308 (a: TM 3 D 130; b: TM 6 D 130; c: TM 2 D 130) Turfan (Haenisch 1959: (a)11; (b)14–15; (c) 10; Ligeti 1963: 130–132; 136–138; 1972: 135–140; Jančiw 2005:193–196; Cerensodnom 1963; Farudi 1996; 1997; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 114–120; Franke 1981–1982);
- FrB2** XIV (TM 40) Enumeration of the names of Mañjúsri (Haenisch 1959: 17; Ligeti 1963: 140–141; 1972: 141–143; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 101–106; Cerensodnom – Altangerel 1965; Weiers 1967b);
- 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);
- FrB4** XIV (TM 38) Turfan – Fragment of Bhagavatī-prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya (Haenisch 1959: 18; Ligeti 1963: 142–143; 1972: 146–147; Cerensodnom – Altangerel 1966; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 138–140);
- FrB5a–b** XIV (a: T II T 662; b: TM 8) Turfan – Fragments of Bhadracaryā-praṇidhāna-rāja (a: Haenisch 1959: 21; Ligeti 1972B: 148; b: Ligeti 1963: 141–142; 1972: 149; a–b: Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 96–100);
- 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]
- FrB7** XIV (T I D 155) Turfan (Haenisch 1959: 46–48; Ligeti 1963: 123–128; 1972: 153–158; Poppe 1959; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 122–131);
- FrB8** XIV (TM 4 D 130) Turfan (Haenisch 1959: 12; Ligeti 1963: 133; 1972: 159–160; Franke 1968b; Jančiw 2005: 199; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993 136–138);
- FrB9** XIV (TM 19; T I 663) Turfan (Haenisch 1959: 16, 21; Ligeti 1963: 138–139; 1972: 161–162; Cerensodnom – Taube (1993) 136–138); [belongs to FrB6]
- FrB10** XIV (T II D 159) Turfan (Haenisch 1959: 19; Ligeti 1963: 144–145; 1972: 163–164; Cerensodnom – Altangerel 1968; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 138–140);
- 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; Jančiw 2005: 200);
- FrB14A** XIV Turfan (Haenisch 1959: 22; Ligeti 1972B: 172–173; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 108–112); [belongs to FrB14D]

- FrB14B** XIV (T III 304a; T III 304b) Turfan (Haenisch 1959: 21; Ligeti 1972B: 174–175; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 144);
- FrB14C** XIV (U 4332) Turfan (Ligeti 1971b: 155–156; 1972: 176; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 195)
- 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);
- FrTeh(a–b)** 1295+ Teheran Ligeti 1963: 102–103; 1972: 256–257; Cleaves 1953a: 26–27; Pelliot 1936: 38–39. Pic27–28);
- FrTfn1** XIV Turfan (Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 194);
- FrTfn2** XIV Turfan (Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 194);
- FrTfn3–5** XIV Turfan (Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 195);
- Gaz** 1302 The letter of Gazan (Ligeti 1963: 96–97; 1972: 250–251; Mostaert – Cleaves 1952; Cend 1964: 32–33; Dobo 1983: 56–62; Jančiw 2005: 217);
- Glos1** 1324 Al-Samarkandī (Ligeti 1963: 110–111; 1972: 264–265; Blochet 1910: 117; Jančiw 2005: 221; Rachewiltz 1969);
- Glos2** XIV Rashīd ad-Dīn (Ligeti 1972B: 266–267);
- Güy** 1246 The seal of Güyük (Ligeti 1963: 18; 1972: 20; Pelliot 1922–1923; Mostaert – Cleaves 1952; Dobo 1983: 13–18; Cend 1964: 3–52; Jamsranjaw 2003: 45–58; 91–95; Šagdarsüren 2002: 50; de Rachewiltz 1983);
- 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 Jigüntei (Ligeti 1963: 59–66; 1972: 51–58; Tamura 1937; Cleaves 1951b; 1954b; Dobo 1983: 269–306);
- KüiU** 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);
- Mke2** 1257 The inscription of Möngke khan (Ligeti 1963: 19; 1972: 21; Namnandorj 1956, Damdinsüren 1957b: 35–36; 1957a: 54; Rinčen 1958; Poppe 1961; Dobo 1983: 19–23; Yonxor 1962; Jamsranjaw 2003: 59–72; 96–100);
- Nur** 1272 The document of Nūr ad-Dīn (Temir 1959; Ligeti 1963: 85–89; 1972: 270–274; Jančiw 2005: 223–226; Üganbayar ...)
- Ölj** 1305 The letter of Öljeitü (Ligeti 1963: 98–101; 1972: 252–255; Bonaparte 1895: Tab14; Mostaert – Cleaves 1962; Kotwicz 1925; 1936; Kozin 1935a; 1935b; Haenisch 1949; Cleaves 1951b; Mostaert 1955; Murayama 1955; Kljukin 1926; Cleaves 1948a, Damdinsüren 1957b: 37–41. +facsimile; Dobo 1983: 63–77; Jančiw 2005: 218–220; Cend 1964: 33–38);
- Öte** 1262 The letter of Ötemiš (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; Gerelbadrax 1999a; Korsunkiev 1980; Törbat 1997; Rintchen 1968: 73);
- Qqm2** 1348 (Ligeti 1972B: 27; Radloff 1892–1899/1995: Tab14. Pic1–2; Matsukawa 1997; Gerelbadrax 1999b; Cleaves 1967);
- 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– Subhāṣitaratnanidhi (Bosson 1969; Ligeti 1948; 1965b; 1973a);
- Top** 1453 (Cleaves 1950b);
- Tör** 1240 (Ligeti 1963: 17; 1972: 19; Cai Mei-biao 1955; Cleaves 1960; de Rachewiltz 1981, 2000; Dobo 1983: 8–12; Qaserdeni 1984; Jamsranjaw 2003: 27–46; 90);
- Uwa** 1358 (Herrmann – Doerfer 1975b);
- Xj** 1382 Xiaojing (Ligeti 1965a: 9–37; 1972: 76–104; Dobo 1983: 78–157; Jančiw 2005: 133–151; Luwsanbaldan 1961; Jayunasutu 1985; Qaserdeni 1982a; 1982b; 1988; Rinčengava – Sečenčoytu 1982; Cleaves 1982, 1983, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 2006a, 2006b, 2007, de Rachewiltz 1978, 1982a, 1986, 2007a);
- Yis** 1227+ The stele of Yisüngge (Ligeti 1963: 15–16; 1972: 17–18; Radloff 1892: Tab49. Pic3. kép; Rinčen 1958: Pic6.; Schmidt 1834; 1839ab; Gabelentz 1839; Banzarov 1891; Pozdneev 1895: 51–79; Kljukin 1927; Murayama 1950; Damdinsüren 1957b; Perlee 1962; Hambis 1960; de Rachewiltz 1976; Dobo 1983: 1–7; Radnaev 1992; Ayūšjaw 2004; Bira 1996; Komarov 1839; Korsunkiev 1982; Jamsranjaw 2003: 13–26; 89; Šagdarsüren 1981: 13; 2002: 49; Cend 1964; Jirannige 1984; Norbuodcar 1983; Sayisiyal 1980; Aalto 1966; Schott 1855);

**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; Sečenbayatur 1983);

**Zho** 1348 Zhong-wei (Ligeti 1972B: 62; Cleaves 1949 (?67); Dobo 1983: 341–344);

### **MMP – Middle Mongol in ‘Phags-pa script**

**Ana1** 1282 Ananda (Matsukawa 2002: 59–63; Tömörtogō 2002: 2–3; Jančiw 2002: 35–36; Hujegiletu 2004: 383–390);

**Ana2** 1283 Ananda (Poppe 1957b: 56–57; Ligeti 1964c: 31–32; 1972a: 32–33; Junast 1991: 128–130; Tömörtogō 2002: 3; Jančiw 2002: 37; Hujegiletu 2004: 380–382);

**Bab** 1280+ Babuša (Sugiyama 1993: 105–149)

**Buy1** 1312 Edict of Buyantu (Nakamura – Matsukawa 1993: 48–53; Tömörtogō 2002: 21–23; Jančiw 2002: 49–50; Hujegiletu 2004: 89–101);

**Buy2** 1313 Edict of Buyantu (Tömörtogō 2002: 23–24; Jančiw 2002: 51–52; Hujegiletu 2004: 102–113);

**Buy3** 1312–17 Edict of Buyantu (Junast 1989; 1991: 61–65; Tömörtogō 2002: 18–20; Jančiw 2002: 62–63; Hujegiletu 2004: 165–174);

**Buy4** 1312–17 Edict of Buyantu (Junast 1989; 1991: 67–70; Tömörtogō 2002: 20–21; Jančiw 2002: 64–65; Hujegiletu 2004: 175–183);

**Buy5** 1314 Edict of Buyantu (Junast 1991: 38–42; Tömörtogō 2002: 28–29; Jančiw 2002: 53–54; Hujegiletu 2004: 114–123; Sugiyama 1988b);

**Buy6** 1314 Edict of Buyantu (Poppe 1957b: 48–50; Ligeti 1964c: 41–46; 1972a: 43–48; Junast 1991: 48–52; Tömörtogō 2002: 24–26; Jančiw 2002: 57–58; Hujegiletu 2004: 135–145);

**Buy7** 1314 Edict of Buyantu (Poppe 1957b: 51–53; Ligeti 1964c: ...; 1972a: 49–53; Junast 1991: 43–46; Tömörtogō 2002: 26–28; Jančiw 2002: 55–56; Hujegiletu 2004: 124–134);

**Buy8** 1314 Edict of Buyantu (Poppe 1957b: ...; Ligeti 1964c: 52–59; 1972a: 54–61; Junast 1991: 53–60; Tömörtogō 2002: 29–31; Jančiw 2002: 59–61; Hujegiletu 2004: 146–164);

**Buy9** 1318 Edict of Buyantu (Ligeti 1964c: 60–64; 1972a: 62–66; Junast 1991: 71–77; Tömörtogō 2002: 31–33; Jančiw 2002: 66–67; Hujegiletu 2004: 184–195);

**Buy10** 1312 (Jančiw 2002: 152)

**Dag1** 1320 Dagi (Junast 1991: 113–117; Tömörtogō 2002: 33–34; Jančiw 2002: 68–70; Hujegiletu 2004: 351–361; Everding IX);

**Dag2** 1321 Dagi (Poppe 1957b: 54–55; Ligeti 1964c: 65–69; 1972a: 67–72; Junast 1991: 118–122; Tömörtogō 2002: 34–36; Jančiw 2002: 71–72; Hujegiletu 2004: 362–370);

**FrBook** XIV Book fragment (Junast 1991: 212–215; Tömörtogō 2002: 67; Jančiw 2002: 143; Franke 1973);

**Geg** 1323 Gegegen (Junast 1991: 76–81; Tömörtogō 2002: 37–39; Jančiw 2002: 75–77; Hujejiletu 2004: 196–207);

**Grf1a–b** 1306–07 Yen-chih (Poppe 1957b: 57; Ligeti 1972a: 117–119; Junast 1991: 147–150; Tömörtogō 2002: 63; Jančiw 2002: 145–146; Hujejiletu 2004: 422–423);

[**Grf2** 1335 Hui-hsien (Ligeti 1972a: 120; Jančiw 2002: 148);]

[**Grf3** XIII–XIV Wine]

[**Grf4**]

[**Grf5**]

**Ist** XV Istanbul (Tuna – Bosson 1962; Ligeti 1972a: 123; Junast 1991: 216–219; Tömörtogō 2002: 66–67; Jančiw 2002: 144; Hujejiletu 2004: 514–516);

**Jy** 1345 Chü-yung-kuan (Poppe 1957b: 60–66; Ligeti 1972a: 83–98; Junast 1991: 151–179; Tömörtogō 2002: 59–63; Jančiw 2002: 112–128; Hujejiletu 2004: 424–452; Röhrborn – Sertkaya 1980);

**Kun** 1321 Kun dga' (Junast 1991: 142–146; Tömörtogō 2002: 36–37; Jančiw 2002: 73–74; Hujejiletu 2004: 410–412);

**KüiP** 1272+ Küiten gol (Tömörtogō 2002: 72–73; Jančiw 2002: 111; Hujejiletu 2004: 510–513; Matsukawa – Matsui 1999);

**Kül1** 1305 Külüg (Ligeti 1964c: 33–38; 1972a: 38–42; Junast 1991: 137–141; Tömörtogō 2002: 15–17; Jančiw 2002: 44–46; Hujejiletu 2004: 399–409; Everding X);

**Kül2** 1309 Külüg (Tömörtogō 2002: 17–18; Hujejiletu 2004: 78–88; Matsukawa 2002a: 63–66);

**Mla** 1276 Mangala (Poppe 1957b: 46–47; Ligeti 1964c: 19–23; 1972a: 20–24; Junast 1991: 123–127; Tömörtogō 2002: 1–2; Jančiw 2002: 22–23; Hujejiletu 2004: 371–379; Lewicki 1937: 16–19);

**PaiB** XIII–XIV Bogotol (Poppe 1957b: 58; Ligeti 1964c: 108–109; 1972a: 113–114; Junast 1991: 186–189; Tömörtogō 2002: 68–69; Jančiw 2002: 130; Hujejiletu 2004: 465–467; Dang 2001: 32–33)

**PaiH** XIII–XIV Huang Jun (Dang 2001: 36–37)

**PaiK** XIII–XIV Kazhabslumb (Tömörtogō 2002: 69; Hujejiletu 2004: 465–467; Baoxing 2000)

**PaiKe** XIII–XIV Ke'er'qin Yu-yi Chung-ch'i (Dang 2001: 36);

**PaiL** XIII–XIV Lan-chou (Hujejiletu 2004: 465–467; de Rachewiltz 1982b; Dang 2001: 36)

**PaiM** XIII–XIV Minussinsk (Poppe 1957b: 57; Ligeti 1964c: 105–106; 1972a: 109–110; Junast 1991: 182–185; Tömörtogō 2002: 67–68; Jančiw 2002: 129; Hujejiletu 2004: 458–464; Dang 2001: 32);

**PaiMe** XIII–XIV Metropolitan Museum (Dang 2001: 37)

**PaiN** XIII–XIV Nyuki (Poppe 1957b: 58; Ligeti 1964c: 106–107; 1972a: 111–112; Junast 1991: 182–185; Tömörtogō 2002: 67; Jančiw 2002: 129; Hujejiletu 2004: 458–464; Dang 2001: 32–33);

**PaiP** XIII–XIV Peking (Poppe 1957b: 58; Ligeti 1964c: 109–110; 1972a: 115–116; Ĵunast 1991: 109–191; Tömörtogō 2002: 69–70; Ĵančiw 2002: 131; Hujejiletu 2004: 470–471; Dang 2001: 34);

**PaiQ** XIII–XIV Ch'ing-shui-he Hujejiletu 2004: 458–464; Baoxing 2000; Dang 2001: 37);

**PaiS** XIII–XIV So-lun (Baoxing 2000; Dang 2001: 37)

**PaiY** 1355– Yang-chou (Ĵunast 1991: 192–194; Tömörtogō 2002: 70; Ĵančiw 2002: 132; Hujejiletu 2004: 468–469; Dang 2001: 35);

**Qub3** 1277–1289 Qubilai (Ĵunast 1991: 11–15; Tömörtogō 2002: 5–6; Ĵančiw 2002: 26–38; Hujejiletu 2004: 11–20; Everding I; Bosson 1985);

**Qub4** 1280–1292 Qubilai (Ligeti 1964c: 24–30; 1972a: 25–31; Ĵunast 1991: 21–27; Tömörtogō 2002: 8–10; Ĵančiw 2002: 32–34; Hujejiletu 2004: 32–47);

**Qub5** 1277–1289 Qubilai (Ligeti 1972a: 34–37; Ĵunast 1991: 6–10; Tömörtogō 2002: 3–5; Ĵančiw 2002: 24–25; Hujejiletu 2004: 2–10);

**Qub6** 1277–1289 Qubilai (Ĵunast 1991: 16–20; Tömörtogō 2002: 6–8; Ĵančiw 2002: 29–31; Hujejiletu 2004: 21–31);

**Seg** 1303 Següse (Ĵunast 1991: 131–137; Tömörtogō 2002: 14–15; Ĵančiw 2002: 42–43; Hujejiletu 2004: 391–398);

**SrnP** XIV Subhāṣitaratnanidhi (Poppe 1957b: 59; Ligeti 1964c: 95–104; 1972a: 99–108; Ĵunast 1991: 195–211; Tömörtogō 2002: 63–66; Ĵančiw 2002: 136–142; Hujejiletu 2004: 475–498; Cerensodnom – Taube 1993: 64–74);

**SrnPDu** XIV Subhāṣitaratnanidhi (Hujejiletu 2004: 499–502; Northern grottoes III: 415–417);

**Tem1** 1298 Öļjeitü (Tömörtogō 2002: 10–11; Ĵančiw 2002: 38–39; Hujejiletu 2004: 57–67);

**Tem2** 1301 Öļjeitü (Ĵunast 1991: 28–32; Tömörtogō 2002: 11–13; Ĵančiw 2002: 40–41; Hujejiletu 2004: 68–77; Matsukawa 1995: 36–37; Everding VIII);

**Tem3** 1306/1294 (Ĵunast 1991: 33–37; Tömörtogō 2002: 13–14; Ĵančiw 2002: 47–48; Hujejiletu 2004: 48–56);

**Tog1** 1335 Togon-temür (Ĵunast 1991: 82–88; Tömörtogō 2002: 44–46; Ĵančiw 2002: 88–90; Hujejiletu 2004: 241–253; Sugiyama 1988a);

**Tog2** 1336 Togon-temür (Ĵunast 1991: 89–93; Tömörtogō 2002: 46–47; Ĵančiw 2002: 91–92; Hujejiletu 2004: 254–266);

**Tog3** 1342 Togon-temür (Ligeti 1964c: 70–73; 1972a: 73–76; Ĵunast 1991: 94–98; Tömörtogō 2002: 47–48; Ĵančiw 2002: 93–94; Hujejiletu 2004: 267–275);

**Tog4** 1351 Togon-temür (Poppe 1957b: H II; Ligeti 1964c: 74–79; 1972a: 77–82; Ĵunast 1991: 99–105; Tömörtogō 2002: 51–53; Ĵančiw 2002: 100–102; Hujejiletu 2004: 304–318);

**Tog5** 1362 Togon-temür (Tömörtogō 2002: 53–55; Ĵančiw 2002: 103–106; Hujejiletu 2004: 319–332; Everding VI);

**Tog6** 1368 Togon-temür (Junast 1991: 106–112; Tömörtogō 2002: 55–58; Jančiw 2002: 107–110; Hujejiletu 2004: 333–350; Everding VII);

**Tog7** 1343 Togon-temür (Tömörtogō 2002: 49–50; Jančiw 2002: 95–96; Hujejiletu 2004: 276–286);

**Tog8** 1345 Togon-temür (Tömörtogō 2002: 50–51; 58–59; Jančiw 2002: 97–99; Hujejiletu 2004: 287–303; Everding V);

**YisT1** 1324 Yisün-temür (Tömörtogō 2002: 39–41; Jančiw 2002: 78–81; Hujejiletu 2004: 208–221; Everding II);

**YisT2** 1324 Yisün-temür (Tömörtogō 2002: 41–43; Jančiw 2002: 82–85; Hujejiletu 2004: 222–233; Everding III);

**YisT3** 1328 Yisün-temür (Tömörtogō 2002: 43–44; Jančiw 2002: 86–87; Hujejiletu 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; Saitō 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? Muqaddimat al-Adab (Poppe 1938b; Saitō 2001);

**Ras** 1363– Rasûlid hexaglott (Golden 2000);

**Vdi** XV Istanbul (Ligeti 1962);

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